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AND CIVIL WARS
IN ENGLAND.
WITH HIS LIFE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

OXFORD:

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

MDCCLXXIII.





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HISTORY OF
THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN ENGLAND,

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON:

ALSO HIS LIFE WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

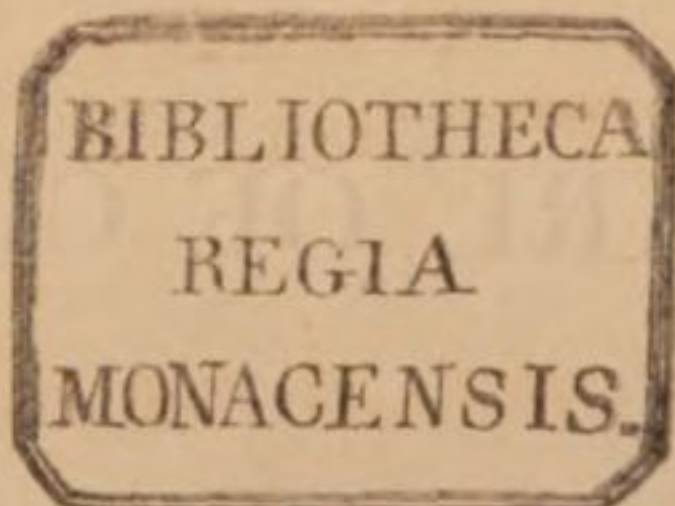
IN WHICH IS INCLUDED A CONTINUATION OF HIS

HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

A NEW EDITION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT,
WITH COPIOUS INDEXES.

OXFORD:
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A

TRUE HISTORICAL NARRATION

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

BEGUN IN THE YEAR 1641,

WITH

THE PRECEDENT PASSAGES AND ACTIONS THAT CONTRIBUTED THEREUNTO.

BOOK I.

THAT posterity may not be deceived, by the prosperous wickedness of these times, into an opinion, that less than a general combination, and universal apostasy in the whole nation from their religion and allegiance, could, in so short a time, have produced such a total and prodigious alteration and confusion over the whole kingdom; and so the memory of those few, who, out of duty and conscience, have opposed and resisted that torrent, which hath overwhelmed them, may lose the recompense due to their virtue; and, having undergone the injuries and reproaches of this, may not find a vindication in a better age; it will not be useless, at least to the curiosity if not the conscience of men, to present to the world a full and clear narration of the grounds, circumstances, and artifices of this rebellion: not only from the time since the flame hath been visible in a civil war, but, looking farther back, from those former passages, accidents, and actions, by which the seed-plots were made and framed, from whence these mischiefs have successively grown to the height they are now at. (1646)

And then, though the hand and judgment of God will be very visible, in the infatuating a people (as ripe and prepared for destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness, making the weak to contribute to the designs of the wicked, and suffering even those, by degrees, out of the conscience of their guilt, to grow more wicked than they intended to be; letting the wise to be imposed upon by men of no understanding, and possessing the innocent with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of danger; uniting the ill, though of the most different opinions, divided interests, and distant affections, in a firm and constant league of mischief; and dividing those, whose opinions and interests are the same, into faction and emulation, more pernicious to the public than the treason of the others: whilst the poor people, under pretence of zeal to religion, law, liberty, and parliaments, (words of precious esteem in their just signification,) are furiously hurried into actions introducing atheism, and dissolving all the elements of Christian religion; cancelling all obligations, and destroying all foundations of law and liberty; and

rendering, not only the privileges, but very being, of parliaments desperate and impossible: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledged in these perplexities and distractions; yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of time, the ambition, pride, and folly of persons, and the sudden growth of wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all this bulk of misery to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us, from the same natural causes and means, which have usually attended kingdoms, swoln with long plenty, pride, and excess, towards some signal mortifications, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the view of the impossibility of foreseeing many things that have happened, and of the necessity of overseeing many other things, we may not yet find the cure so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the wounds may be again bound up; though no question many must first bleed to death; and then this prospect may not make the future peace less pleasant and durable.

And I have the more willingly induced myself to this unequal task, out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that end: and though a piece of this nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, both things and persons, must be boldly looked upon and mentioned) is not likely to be published at least in the age in which it is writ, yet it may serve to inform myself, and some others, what we are to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have done, and then possibly it may not be very difficult to collect somewhat out of that store, more proper, and not useless for the public view. And as I may not be thought altogether an incompetent person for this communication, having been present as a member of parliament in those councils before and till the breaking out of the rebellion, and having since had the honour to be near two great kings in some trust, so I shall perform the same with all faithfulness and ingenuity; with an equal observation of the faults and infirmities of both sides, with their defects and oversights in pursuing their own ends; and shall no otherwise mention small and light occurrences,

than as they have been introductions to matters of the greatest moment; nor speak of persons otherwise, than as the mention of their virtues or vices is essential to the work in hand: in which as I shall have the fate to be suspected rather for malice to many, than of flattery to any, so I shall, in truth, preserve myself from the least sharpness, that may proceed from private provocation, or a more public indignation, in the whole observing the rules that a man should, who deserves to be believed.

I shall not then lead any man farther back in this journey, for the discovery of the entrance into these dark ways, than the beginning of this king's reign. For I am not so sharp-sighted as those, who have discerned this rebellion contriving from (if not before) the death of queen Elizabeth, and fomented by several princes and great ministers of state in Christendom, to the time that it brake out. Neither do I look so far back as believing the design to be so long since formed; (they who have observed the several accidents, not capable of being contrived, which have contributed to the several successes, and do know the persons who have been the grand instruments towards this change, of whom there have not been any four of familiarity and trust with each other, will easily absolve them from so much industry and foresight in their mischief;) but that, by viewing the temper, disposition, and habit, of that time, of the court and of the country, we may discern the minds of men prepared, of some to do, and of others to suffer, all that hath since happened; the pride of this man, and the popularity of that; the levity of one, and the morosity of another; the excess of the court in the greatest want, and the parsimony and retention of the country in the greatest plenty; the spirit of craft and subtlety in some, and the rude and unpolished integrity of others, too much despising craft or art; like so many atoms contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us.

KING JAMES in the end of March 1625 died, leaving his majesty that now is, engaged in a war with Spain, but unprovided with money to manage it; though it was undertaken by the consent and advice of parliament: the people being naturally enough inclined to the war (having surfeited with the uninterrupted pleasures and plenty of twenty-two years peace) and sufficiently inflamed against the Spaniard; but quickly weary of the charge of it: and therefore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt in a voyage by sea upon Cadiz, and as unsuccessful and more unfortunate a one upon France, at the Isle of Rhé, (for some difference had likewise at the same time begotten a war with that prince,) a general peace was shortly concluded with both kingdoms; the exchequer being so exhausted with the debts of king James, the bounty of his majesty that now is, (who, upon his first access to the crown, gave many costly instances of his favour to persons near him,) and the charge of the war upon Spain, and France, that both the known and casual revenue being anticipated, the necessary subsistence of the household was unprovided for; and the king on the sudden driven to those straits for his own support, that many ways were resorted to, and inconveniences submitted to, for supply; as selling the

crown-lands, creating peers for money, and many other particulars, which no access of power or plenty since could repair.

Parliaments were summoned, and again dissolved: and that in the fourth year (after the dissolution of the two former) was determined with a profession and declaration that there should be no more assemblies of that nature expected, and all men inhibited upon the penalty of censure, so much as to speak of a parliament. And here I cannot but let myself loose to say, that no man can shew me a source, from whence these waters of bitterness we now taste have more probably flowed, than from these unseasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions of parliaments; in which, by an unjust survey of the passion, insolence, and ambition of particular persons, the court measured the temper and affection of the country; and by the same standard the people considered the honour, justice, and piety of the court; and so usually parted, at those sad seasons, with no other respect and charity one toward the other, than accompanies persons who never meant to meet but in their own defence. In which the king had always the disadvantage to harbour persons about him, who, with their utmost industry, information, and malice, improved the faults and infirmities of the court to the people; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the people suspected, if not odious to the king.

I am not altogether a stranger to the passages of those parliaments, (though I was not a member of them,) having carefully perused the journals of both houses, and familiarly conversed with many who had principal parts in them. And I cannot but wonder at those counsels, which persuaded the courses then taken; the habit and temper of men's minds being, no question, very applicable to the public ends; and those ends being only discredited by the jealousies the people entertained from the manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse than in truth they were. It is not to be denied, that there were, in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages, and distempered speeches of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formed act of either house (for neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts, upon those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings.

In the second parliament there was a mention, and intention declared, of granting five subsidies, a proportion (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures now every day imposed) never before heard of in parliament. And that meeting being, upon very unpopular and unpalatable reasons, immediately dissolved, those five subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole kingdom, with the same rigour, as if, in truth, an act had passed to that purpose. Very many gentlemen of prime quality, in all the several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances. And could it be imagined, that these men would meet again in a free convention of par-

liament, without a sharp and severe expostulation, and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed upon that right? And yet all these provocations, and many other, almost of as large an extent, produced no other resentment, than the petition of right, (of no prejudice to the crown,) which was likewise purchased at the price of five subsidies more, and, in a very short time after that supply granted, that parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion on all sides, dissolved.

The abrupt and ungracious breaking off the two first parliaments was wholly imputed to the duke of Buckingham; and of the third, principally to the lord Weston, then lord high treasurer of England; both in respect of the great power and interest they then had in the affections of his majesty, and for that the time of the dissolutions happened to be, when some charges and accusations were preparing, and ready to be preferred against those two great persons. And therefore the envy and hatred, that attended them thereupon, was insupportable, and was visibly the cause of the murder of the first, (stabbed to the heart by the hand of an obscure villain, upon the mere impious pretence of his being odious to the parliament,) and made, no doubt, so great an impression upon the understanding and nature of the other, that, by degrees, he lost that temper and serenity of mind he had been before master of, and which was most fit to have accompanied him in his weighty employments: insomuch as, out of indignation to find himself worse used than he deserved, he cared less to deserve well, than he had done; and insensibly grew into that public hatred, that rendered him less useful to the service that he only intended.

I wonder less at the errors of this nature in the duke of Buckingham; who, having had a most generous education in courts, was utterly ignorant of the ebbs and floods of popular councils, and of the winds that move those waters; and could not, without the spirit of indignation, find himself, in the space of a few weeks, without any visible cause intervening, from the greatest height of popular estimation that any person hath ascended to, (insomuch as sir Edward Coke blasphemously called him our Saviour,) by the same breath thrown down to the depth of calumny and reproach. I say, it is no marvel, (besides that he was naturally to follow such counsel as was given him,) that he could think of no better way to be freed of the inconveniences and troubles the passions of those meetings gave him, than to dissolve them, and prevent their coming together: and that, when they seemed to neglect the public peace, out of animosity to him, that he intended his own ease and security in the first place, and easily believed the public might be otherwise provided for, by more intent and dispassionate councils. But that the other, the lord Weston, who had been very much and very popularly conversant in those conventions, who exactly knew the frame and constitution of the kingdom, the temper of the people, the extent of the courts of law, and the jurisdiction of parliaments, which at that time had never committed any excess of jurisdiction, (modesty and moderation in words never was, nor ever will be, observed in popular councils, whose foundation is liberty of speech,) should believe, that the union, peace, and plenty of the kingdom

could be preserved without parliaments, or that the passion and distemper gotten and received into parliaments could be removed and reformed by the more passionate breaking and dissolving them; or that that course would not inevitably prove the most pernicious to himself, is as much my wonder, as any thing that hath since happened.

There is a protection very gracious and just, which princes owe to their servants, when, in obedience to their just commands, upon extraordinary and necessary occasions, in the execution of their trusts, they swerve from the strict rule of the law, which, without that mercy, would be penal to them. In any case, it is as legal (the law presuming it will always be done upon great reason) for the king to pardon, as for the party to accuse, and the judge to condemn. But for the supreme power to interpose, and shelter an accused servant from answering, does not only seem an obstruction of justice, and lay an imputation upon the prince, of being privy to the offence; but leaves so great a scandal upon the party himself, that he is generally concluded guilty of whatsoever he is charged; which is commonly more than the worst man ever deserved. And it is worthy the observation, that, as no innocent man who made his defence ever suffered in those times by judgment of parliament; so many guilty persons, and against whom the spirit of the time went as high, by the wise managing their defence, have been freed from their accusers, not only without censure, but without reproach; as the bishop of Lincoln, then lord keeper, sir H. Marten, and sir H. Spiller; men, in their several degrees, as little beholden to the charity of that time, as any men since. Whereas scarce a man, who, with industry and skill, laboured to keep himself from being accused, or by power to stop or divert the course of proceeding, scaped without some signal mark of infamy or prejudice. And the reason is clear; for besides that, after the first storm, there is some compassion naturally attends men like to be in misery; and besides the latitude of judging in those places, whereby there is room for kindness and affection, and collateral considerations to interpose; the truth is, those accusations (to which this man contributes his malice, that his wit, all men what they please, and most upon hearsay, with a kind of uncharitable delight of making the charge as heavy as may be) are commonly stuffed with many odious generals, that the proofs seldom make good: and then a man is no sooner found less guilty than he is expected, but he is concluded more innocent than he is; and it is thought but a just reparation for the reproach that he deserved not, to free him from the censure he deserved. So that, very probably, those two noble persons had been happy, if they had stoutly submitted to the proceedings [which] were designed against them; and, without question, it had been of sovereign use to the king, if, in those peaceable times, parliaments had been taught to know their own bounds, by being suffered to proceed as far as they could go; by which the extent of their power would quickly have been manifested: from whence no inconvenience of moment could have proceeded; the house of commons never then pretending to the least part of judicature, or exceeding the known verge of their own privileges; the house of peers observing the rules of law and equity in their judgments, and proceeding deliberately upon

clear testimony and evidence of matter of fact; and the king retaining the sole power of pardoning, and receiving the whole profit of all penalties and judgments; and indeed having so great an influence upon the body of the peerage, that it was never known that any person of honour was severely censured in that house, (before this present parliament,) who was not either immediately prosecuted by the court, or in evident disfavour there; in which, it may be, (as it usually falls out,) some doors were opened, at which inconveniences to the crown have got in, that were not then enough weighed and considered.

But the course of exempting men from prosecution, by dissolving of parliaments, made the power of parliaments much more formidable, as conceived to be without limit; since the sovereign power seemed to be compelled (as unable otherwise to set bounds to their proceedings), to that rough cure, and to determine their being, because it could not determine their jurisdiction. Whereas, if they had been frequently summoned, and seasonably dissolved, after their wisdom in applying medicines and cures, as well as their industry in discovering diseases, had been discerned, they would easily have been applied to the uses for which they were first instituted; and been of no less esteem with the crown, than of veneration with the people. And so I shall conclude this digression, which I conceived not unseasonable for this place, nor upon this occasion, and return to the time when that brisk resolution was taken of totally declining those conventions; all men being inhibited (as I said before) by proclamation at the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year, so much as to mention or speak as if a parliament should be called.

And here it will give much light to that which follows, if we take a view of the state of the court and of the council at that time, by which, as in a mirror, we may best see the face of that time, and the affections and temper of the people in general.

And for the better taking this prospect, we will take a survey of the person of that great man, the duke of Buckingham, (who was so barbarously murdered at this time,) whose influence had been unfortunate in the public affairs, and whose death produced a change in all the counsels. The duke was indeed a very extraordinary person; and never any man, in any age, nor, I believe, in any country or nation, rose, in so short a time, to so much greatness of honour, fame, and fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation, than of the beauty and gracefulness and becomingness of his person. And I have not the least purpose of undervaluing his good parts and qualities, (of which there will be occasion shortly to give some testimony,) when I say, that his first introduction into favour was purely from the handsomeness of his person.

He was the younger son of sir George Villiers, of Brookesby, in the county of Leicester; a family of an ancient extraction, even from the time of the conquest, and transported then with the conqueror out of Normandy, where the family hath still remained, and still continues with lustre. After sir George's first marriage, in which he had two or three sons, and some daughters, who shared an ample inheritance from him; by a second marriage, with a young lady of the family of the

Beaumonts, he had this gentleman, and two other sons and a daughter, who all came afterwards to be raised to great titles and dignities. George, the eldest son of this second bed, was, after the death of his father, by the singular affection and care of his mother, who enjoyed a good jointure in the account of that age, well brought up; and, for the improvement of his education, and giving an ornament to his hopeful person, he was by her sent into France; where he spent two or three years in attaining the language, and in learning the exercises of riding and dancing; in the last of which he excelled most men, and returned into England by the time he was twenty-one years old.

King James reigned at that time; and though he was a prince of more learning and knowledge than any other of that age, and really delighted more in books, and in the conversation of learned men; yet, of all wise men living, he was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons, and with fine clothes. He began to be weary of his favourite, the earl of Somerset, who was the only favourite that kept that post so long, without any public reproach from the people: and, by the instigation and wickedness of his wife, he became, at least, privy to a horrible murder, that exposed him to the utmost severity of the law, (the poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury,) upon which both he and his wife were condemned to die, after a trial by their peers; and many persons of quality were executed for the same.

Whilst this was in agitation, and before the utmost discovery was made, Mr. Villiers appeared in court, and drew the king's eyes upon him. There were enough in the court enough angry and incensed against Somerset, for being what themselves desired to be, and especially for being a Scotsman, and ascending, in so short a time, from being a page, to the height he was then at, to contribute all they could to promote the one, that they might throw out the other: which being easily brought to pass, by the proceeding of the law upon his crime aforesaid, the other found very little difficulty in rendering himself gracious to the king, whose nature and disposition was very flowing in affection towards persons so adorned. Insomuch that, in few days after his first appearance in court, he was made cupbearer to the king; by which he was naturally to be much in his presence, and so admitted to that conversation and discourse, with which that prince always abounded at his meals.

And his inclination to his new cupbearer disposed him to administer frequent occasions of discoursing of the court of France, and the transactions there, with which he had been so lately acquainted, that he could pertinently enlarge upon that subject, to the king's great delight, and to the reconciling the esteem and value of all the standers by likewise to him: which was a thing the king was well pleased with. He acted very few weeks upon this stage, when he mounted higher; and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bedchamber, and knight of the order of the garter; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque ports, master of the horse, and entirely

disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of the three kingdoms, without a rival; in dispensing whereof, he was guided more by the rules of appetite than of judgment; and so exalted almost all of his own numerous family and dependants, who had no other virtue or merit than their alliance to him, which equally offended the ancient nobility, and the people of all conditions, who saw the flowers of the crown every day fading and withered; whilst the demesnes and revenue thereof was sacrificed to the enriching a private family, (how well soever originally extracted,) not heard of before ever to the nation; and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited by the old good rules of economy, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity, which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it.

Many were of opinion, that king James, before his death, grew weary of his favourite; and that, if he had lived, he would have deprived him at least of his large and unlimited power. And this imagination prevailed with some men, as the lord keeper Lincoln, the earl of Middlesex, lord high treasurer of England, and other gentlemen of name, though not in so high stations, that they had the courage to withdraw from their absolute dependence upon the duke, and to make some other essays, which proved to the ruin of every one of them; there appearing no marks, or evidence, that the king did really lessen his affection to him, to the hour of his death. On the contrary, as he created him duke of Buckingham in his absence, whilst he was with the prince in Spain; so, after his return, he executed the same authority in conferring all favours and graces, and revenging himself upon those, who had manifested any unkindness towards him. And yet, notwithstanding all this, if that king's nature had equally disposed him to pull down, as to build and erect, and if his courage and severity in punishing and reforming had been as great as his generosity and inclination was to oblige, it is not to be doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the duke entirely, before his death; which those persons, who were admitted to any privacy with [him,] and were not in the confidence of the other, (for before those he knew well how to dissemble,) had reason enough to expect.

For it is not to be doubted, that the king was never well pleased with the duke, after the prince's going into Spain; which was infinitely against his will, and contrived wholly by the duke: who, out of envy, that the earl of Bristol should have the sole management of so great an affair (as hitherto that treaty had been wholly managed by him in Spain, where he was now extraordinary ambassador, and all particulars agreed upon,) had one day insinuated to the prince the common misfortune of princes, that in so substantial a part of their happiness in this world, as depended upon their marriage, themselves had never any part, but must receive only an account from others of the nature, and humour, and beauty of the ladies they were to marry; and those reports seldom proceeded from persons totally uninterested, at least uninclined from the parts they had acted towards such preparations. From hence [he] discoursed how gallant and how brave a thing it would be, for his highness to make a journey into

Spain, and to fetch home his mistress; that it would put an end presently to all those formalities, which, (though all substantial matters were agreed upon already,) according to the style of that court, and the slow progress in all things of ceremony, might yet long retard the infanta's voyage into England many months; all which would be in a moment removed by his own presence; that it would be such an obligation to the infanta herself, as she could never enough value or requite; and being a respect never paid by any other prince, upon the like addresses, could proceed only from the high regard and reverence he had for her person; that in the great affair that only remained undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very civil deliberation, which was the restoring the palatinate, it was very probable, that the king of Spain himself might choose, in the instant, to gratify his personal interposition, which, in a treaty with an ambassador, might be drawn out in length, or attended with overtures of recompense by some new concessions, which would create new difficulties: however, that the mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the infanta herself, who would ambitiously make it her work to pay a part of her great debt to the prince; and that he might with her, and by her, present to his majesty the entire peace and restitution of his family, which by no other human means could be brought to pass.

These discourses made so deep impression upon the mind and spirit of the prince, (whose nature was inclined to adventures,) that he was transported with the thought of it, and most impatiently solicitous to bring it to pass. The greatest difficulty that was in view was, how they might procure the king's consent, who was very quick-sighted in discerning difficulties and raising objections, and very slow in mastering them, and untying the knots he had made: in a word, he knew not how to wrestle with desperate contingencies, and so abhorred the being entangled in such. This was to be first attempted by the prince himself, by communicating it to the king, as his earnest desire and suit, with this circumstance; that since his doing or not doing what he most desired, depended wholly and entirely upon his majesty's own approbation and command, that he would vouchsafe to promise not to communicate the thing proposed, before he had first taken his own resolution; and that this condition should be first humbly insisted on, before the substantial point should be communicated; and so, this approach being first made, the success and prosecution was to be left to the duke's credit, dexterity, and cultivation. All things being thus concerted between his highness and the duke, (and this the beginning of an entire confidence between them, after a long time of declared jealousy and displeasure on the prince's part, and occasion enough administered on the other,) they shortly found a fit opportunity (and there were seasons when that king was to be approached more hopefully than in others) to make their address together. And his majesty cheerfully consented to the condition, and being well pleased that all should depend upon his will, frankly promised that he would not, in any degree, communicate to any person the matter, before he had taken, and communicated to them, his own resolution.

The prince then, upon his knees, declared his suit and very importunate request, the duke standing a long time by, without saying a word, and until the king discoursed the whole matter to the prince, with less passion than they expected, and then looked upon the duke, as inclined to hear what he would say; who spoke nothing to the point, whether in point of prudence counsellable, or not; but enlarged upon the infinite obligation his majesty would confer upon the prince, by his concession of the violent passion his highness was transported with; and, after many exalted expressions to that purpose, concluded, that he doubted that his majesty refusing to grant the prince this his humble request would make a deep impression upon his spirits, and peace of mind; and that he would, he feared, look upon it as the greatest misfortune and affliction that could befall him in this world. The prince then taking the opportunity, from the good temper he saw his father in, to enlarge upon these two points, which he knew were most important in the king's own wishes and judgment, that this expedient would put a quick end to this treaty, which could not be continued after his arrival in that court; but that his marriage must presently ensue, which, he well knew, the king did the most impatiently desire of all blessings in this world: he said likewise, he would undertake (and he could not but be believed from the reasonableness of it) that his presence would in a moment determine the restitution of the palatinate to his brother and sister; which was the second thing the king longed most passionately to see before he should leave this world.

These discourses, urged with all the artifice and address imaginable, so far wrought upon and prevailed with the king, that, with less hesitation than his nature was accustomed to, and much less than was agreeable to his great wisdom, he gave his approbation, and promised that the prince should make the journey he was so much inclined to: whether he did not upon the sudden comprehend the consequences, which would naturally attend such a rash undertaking, or whether he the less considered them, because the provisions, which must be made for such a journey, both with reference to the expense and security of it, would take up much time, and could not be done in such a secret way, but that the council itself might be resumed again, when new measures should be taken. But this imagination was too reasonable not to be foreseen by them; and so they had provided themselves accordingly. And therefore, as soon as they had the king's promise upon the main, they told him, the security of such a design depended on the expedition, without which there could be no secrecy observed, or hoped for; that, if it were deferred till such a fleet could be made ready, and such an equipage prepared, as might be fit for the prince of Wales, so much time would be spent, as would disappoint the principal ends of the journey: if they should send for a pass to France, the ceremony in the asking and granting it, and that which would flow from it, in his passage through that kingdom, would be at least liable to the same objection of delay: besides that, according to the mysteries and intrigues of state, such a pass could not in point of security be reasonably depended upon; and therefore they

had thought of an expedient, which would avoid all inconveniences and hazards; and that it should be executed before it should be suspected: that it had never hitherto been, in the least degree, consulted but between themselves, (which was really true;) and therefore, if they now undertook the journey only with two servants, who should not know any thing till the moment they were to depart, they might easily pass through France, before they should be missed at Whitehall: which was not hard to be conceived, and so with the less disquisition was consented to by the king: and the farther deliberation of what was more to be done both in matter and manner, and the nomination of the persons who should attend them, and the time for their departure, was deferred to the consultation of the next day.

When the king, in his retirement, and by himself, came to revolve what had been so loosely consulted before, as he had a wonderful sagacity in such reflections, a thousand difficulties and dangers occurred to him, and so many precipices, which could hardly be avoided in such a journey. Besides those considerations, which the violent affection of a father to his only son suggested to him, he thought how ill an influence it might have on his people, too much disposed to murmur and complain of the least inadvertence, and that they looked upon the prince as the son of the kingdom, as well as his natural son. He considered the reputation he should lose with all foreign princes, (especially if any ill accident should happen,) by so much departing from his dignity in exposing the immediate heir of the crown, his only son, to all the dangers, and all the jealousies, which particular malice, or that fathomless abyss of reason of state, might prepare and contrive against him; and then, in how desperate a condition himself and his kingdoms should remain, if the prince miscarried by such an unparalleled weakness of his, contrary to the light of his understanding, as well as the current of his affection.

These reflections were so terrible to him, that they robbed him of all peace and quiet of mind; insomuch as when the prince and duke came to him about the dispatch, he fell into a great passion of tears, and told them that he was undone, and that it would break his heart, if they pursued their resolution; that, upon a true and dispassionate disquisition he had made with himself, he was abundantly convinced, that, besides the almost inevitable hazards of the prince's person, with whom his life was bound up, and besides the entire loss of the affections of his people, which would unavoidably attend this rash action, he foresaw it would ruin the whole design, and irrecoverably break the match. For whereas all those particulars, upon which he could positively and of right insist, were fully granted, (for that, which concerned the prince elector, who had unexcusably, and directly against his advice, incurred the ban of the empire in an imperial diet, must be wrought off by mediation and treaty, could not be insisted on in justice,) nor could Spain make any new demands, all the overtures they had made being adjusted; the prince should no sooner arrive at Madrid, than all the articles of the treaty should be laid aside, and new matters be proposed, which had not been yet mentioned, and could never be consented to by him: that the treaty of this marriage, how well soever

received, and how much soever desired by the king and his chief ministers, was in no degree acceptable to the Spanish nation in general, and less to the court of Rome, where, though the new pope seemed more inclined to grant the dispensation than his predecessor had been, it was plain enough, that it proceeded only from the apprehension he had to displease the king of Spain, not that he was less averse from the match, it having been always believed, both in Spain and in Rome, that this marriage was to be attended with a full repeal of all the penal laws against the catholics, and a plenary toleration of the exercise of that religion in England, which they now saw concluded, without any signal or real benefit or advantage to them. And therefore they might expect, and be confident, that when they had the person of the prince of Wales in their hands, the king of Spain (though in his own nature and inclinations full of honour and justice) would be even compelled by his clergy (who had always a great influence upon the counsels of that kingdom) and the importunities from Rome, who would tell him, that God had now put it into his hand to advance the catholic cause, to make new demands for those of that religion here; which, though he could never consent to, would at best interpose such delays in the marriage, that he should never live to see it brought to pass, nor probably to see his son return again out of Spain. Then he put the duke in mind (whom he hitherto believed only to comply with the prince to oblige him, after a long alienation from his favour) how inevitable his ruin must be, by the effect of this counsel, how ungracious he was already with the people, and how many enemies he had amongst the greatest persons of the nobility, who would make such use of this occasion, that it would not be in his majesty's power to protect him. And he concluded with the disorder and passion, with which he began, with sighs and tears, to conjure them, that they would no more press him to give his consent to a thing so contrary to his reason, and understanding, and interest, the execution whereof would break his heart, and that they would give over any further pursuit of it.

The prince and the duke took not the pains to answer any of the reasons his majesty had insisted on; his highness only putting him in mind of the promise he had made to him the day before, which was so sacred, that he hoped he would not violate it; which would make him never think more of marriage. The duke, who better knew what kind of arguments were of prevalence with him, treated him more rudely; told him, nobody could believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise he had so solemnly made; that he plainly discerned, that it proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons he had alleged; and he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been: that if he receded from what he had promised, it would be such a disobligation upon the prince, who had set his heart now upon the journey, after his majesty's approbation, that he could never forget it, nor forgive any man who had been the cause of it.

The prince, who had always expressed the highest duty and reverence towards the king, by his humble and importunate entreaty, and the duke by his rougher dialect, in the end prevailed so far,

(after his majesty had passionately, and with many oaths, renounced the having communicated the matter with any person living,) that the debate was again resumed upon the journey, which they earnestly desired might not be deferred, but that they might take their leaves of the king within two days, in which they would have all things ready which were necessary, his highness pretending to hunt at Theobald's, and the duke to take physic at Chelsea.

They told him, that being to have only two more in their company, as was before resolved, they had thought (if he approved them) upon sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter, who, though they might safely, should not be trusted with the secret, till they were even ready to be embarked. The persons were both grateful to the king, the former having been long his majesty's agent in the court of Spain, and was now secretary to the prince; the other, having been bred in Madrid, and after many years attendance upon the duke, was now one of the bedchamber to the prince: so that his majesty cheerfully approved the election they had made, and wished it might be presently imparted to them; saying, that many things would occur to them, as necessary to the journey, that they two would never think of; and took that occasion to send for sir Francis Cottington to come presently to him, (whilst the other two remained with him,) who, being of custom waiting in the outward rooms, was quickly brought in; whilst the duke whispered the prince in the ear, that Cottington would be against the journey, and his highness answered he durst not.

The king told him, that he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was now to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he was not upon his life to disclose to any man alive; then said to him, "Cottington, here is baby Charles and "Stenny," (an appellation he always used of and towards the duke,) "who have a great mind to go "by post into Spain, to fetch home the infanta, and "will have but two more in their company, and "have chosen you for one. What think you of the "journey?" He often protested, that when he heard the king, he fell into such a trembling, that he could hardly speak. But when the king commanded him to answer him, what he thought of the journey, he replied, that he could not think well of it, and that he believed it would render all that had been done towards the match fruitless: for that Spain would no longer think themselves obliged by those articles, but that, when they had the prince in their hands, they would make new overtures, which they believed more advantageous to them; amongst which they must look for many which would concern religion, and the exercise of it in England. Upon which the king threw himself upon his bed, and said, "I told you this before," and fell into new passion and lamentation, that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles.

There appeared displeasure and anger enough in the countenances both of the prince and duke; the latter saying, that as soon as the king sent for him, he whispered the prince in the ear, that he would be against it; that he knew his pride well enough; and that, because he had not been first advised with, he was resolved to dislike it; and thereupon he reproached Cottington with all possible bitterness of words; told him the king asked him only of the journey, and which would be the best way, of which he might be a competent counsellor, having made

the way so often by post: but that he had the presumption to give his advice upon matter of state, and against his master, without being called to it, which he should repent as long as he lived; with a thousand new reproaches, which put the poor king into a new agony on the behalf of a servant, who he foresaw would suffer for answering him honestly. Upon which he said, with some commotion, "Nay, by God, Stenny, you are very much to blame to use him so. He answered me directly to the question I asked him, and very honestly and wisely: and yet you know he said no more than I told you, before he was called in." However, after all this passion on both parts, the king yielded, and the journey was at that very conference agreed upon, and all directions given accordingly to sir Francis Cottington; the king having now plainly discovered, that the whole intrigue was originally contrived by the duke, and so violently pursued by his spirit and impetuosity.

The manner, circumstances, and conclusion of that voyage, with the rare accidents which happened in it, will no doubt be at large remembered by whosoever shall have the courage to write the transactions of that time, with that integrity he ought to do: in which it will manifestly appear, how much of the prophet was in the wisdom of the king; and that that designed marriage, which had been so many years in treaty, even from the death of prince Harry, and so near concluded, was solely broken by that journey: which, with the passages before mentioned, king James never forgave the duke of Buckingham; but retained as sharp a memory of it as his nature could contain.

This indisposition in the king towards the duke was exceedingly increased and aggravated upon and after the prince's return out of Spain. For though it brought infinite joy and delight to his majesty, which he expressed in all imaginable transportation, and was the argument of the loudest and most universal rejoicing over the whole kingdom, that the nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the duke had so full a harvest, that the imprudence and presumption (to say no more) of carrying the prince into Spain was totally forgotten, or forgotten with any reference to him, and the high merit and inestimable obligation, in bringing him home, was remembered, magnified, and celebrated by all men in all places; yet the king was wonderfully disquieted, when he found (which he had not before their return suspected) that the prince was totally aliened from all thoughts of, or inclination to, the marriage; and that they were resolved to break it, with or without his approbation or consent. And in this the duke resumed the same impetuosity he had so much indulged to himself in the debate of the journey into Spain.

The king had, upon the prince's return, issued out writs to call a parliament, which was in the twenty-first year of his reign, thinking it necessary, with relation to the perplexities he was in, for the breach of this match with Spain, (which he foresaw must ensue,) and the sad condition of his only daughter in Germany, with her numerous issue, to receive their grave advice. By the time the parliament could meet, the prince's entire confidence being still reposed in the duke, as the king's seemed to be, the duke had wrought himself into the very great esteem and confidence of the principal members of both houses of parliament, who were most like to be the leading men, and had all a desire to

have as much reputation in the court, as they had in the country. It was very reasonably thought necessary, that as the king would, at the opening of the parliament, make mention of the treaty with Spain, and more at large of his daughter's being driven out of the palatinate, which would require their assistance and aid; so that the prince and duke should afterwards, to one or both houses, as occasion should be offered, make a relation of what had passed in Spain, especially concerning the palatinate: that so putting the houses into some method and order of their future debate, they would be more easily regulated, than if they were in the beginning left to that liberty, which they naturally affected, and from which they would not be restrained, but in such a manner as would be grateful to themselves.

Things being thus concerted, after the houses had been three or four days together, (for in that time some days were always spent in the formality of naming committees, and providing for common occurrences, before they made an entrance upon more solemn debates,) the prince began to speak of the Spanish affairs, and of his own journey thither; and forgot not to mention the duke with more than ordinary affection. Whereupon it was thought fit, that the whole affair, which was likewise to be the principal subject matter of all their consultations, should be stated and enlarged upon, in a conference between the two houses, which his highness and the duke were desired to manage. How little notice soever any body else could take of the change, the duke himself too well knew the hearty resentment the king had of what had passed, and of the affection he still had for the Spanish treaty; and therefore he had [done], and resolved still to do, all he could, to make himself grateful to the parliament, and popular amongst the people, who he knew had always detested the match with Spain, or in truth any alliance with that nation.

So when, at the conference, the prince had made a short introduction to the business, and said some very kind things of the duke, of his wonderful care of him whilst he was in Spain, and the great dexterity he used in getting him away, he referred the whole relation to him; who made "the true ground of the prince's journey into Spain, which he well knew had begot such a terrible panting in the hearts of all good Englishmen, had been only to make a clear discovery of the sincerity of the Spaniard, and, if his intention were real, to put a speedy end to it by marrying the lady upon the place: if he found it otherwise, to put his father and himself into liberty to dispose of himself in some other place. That the ambassador, in whose hands that great affair was solely managed, when in one dispatch he wrote that all was concluded, in the next used to give an account of new difficulties, and new demands: and, when all things were adjusted at Madrid, some unexpected scruples discovered themselves at Rome, with which the councils in Spain seemed to be surprised, and appeared to be confounded, and not to know what to say. These ebbs and floods made the prince apprehend, that the purpose was to amuse us, whilst they had other designs in secret agitation. And thereupon, that his highness had prevailed with his father (how unwilling soever) to permit him to make that journey, that he might make that useful discovery, which could not be otherwise made in any seasonable time."

"That they no sooner came to Madrid, than they discovered (though the prince was treated with all the respect due to his greatness, and the obligation he had laid upon that nation) that there had never been any real purpose that the infanta should be given to him: that, during so long an abode as his highness made there, they had never procured the dispensation from Rome, which they might easily have done: and that, at last, upon the death of the pope, Gregory XV, the whole process was to begin again, and would be transacted with the formalities, which they should find necessary to their other affairs. That, instead of proceeding upon the articles, which had been pretended to be concluded, they urged nothing but new demands, and in matters of religion so peremptorily, that the principal clergymen, and the most eminent of that king's preachers, had frequent conferences with the prince, to persuade him to change his religion, and become a catholic. And, in order to move him the more successfully thereunto, they procured the pope to write a letter himself to his highness, putting him in mind of the religion of his ancestors and progenitors, and conjuring him to return to the same faith: but that it had pleased God not only to give the prince a constant and unshakable heart in his religion, but such wonderful abilities to defend the same in his discourse and arguments, that they stood amazed to hear him, and upon the matter confessed, that they were not able to answer him.

"That they would not suffer the prince to confer with, or so much as to speak to hardly, and very rarely to see his mistress, who they pretended he should forthwith marry. That they could never obtain any better answer in the business of the palatinate, than that the restoring it was not in the power of that king, though it had been taken by the sole power of Spain, and the Spanish army, under the command of the marquis Spinola, who was then in the entire possession of it: but that his catholic majesty would use his interposition, with all the credit he had with the emperor and duke of Bavaria, without whose joint consent it could not be done, and whose consent he hoped to obtain: but that he was well assured, that there was no more real intention in that point of restitution, than in the other of the marriage; and that the palatinate must not be looked to be recovered any other way than by force, which would easily bring it to pass."

Throughout his whole discourse he made frequent reflections upon the earl of Bristol, as if he very well knew the Spaniards' purposes in the whole, and concurred with them in it. "That he was so much troubled when he first saw the prince, who alighted at his house, that he could not contain himself, but wished that his highness were at home again; that he had afterwards, when he found that his highness liked the infanta, persuaded him in private that he would become a catholic; and that, without changing his religion, it would not be possible ever to compass that marriage."

He told them, "That the king had sent for the earl to return home, where he should be called to account for all his miscarriages." Whereas in truth the king had recalled him rather to assist him against the duke, than to expose him to his

malice and fury; his majesty having a great esteem of that earl's fidelity to him, and of his great abilities.

The conference ended in a wonderful applause, in both houses, of the prince and duke's behaviour and carriage throughout the affair, and in a hasty resolution to dissuade the king from entertaining any farther motions towards the match, and frankly and resolutely to enter into a war with Spain; towards the carrying on of which they raised great mountains of promises, and, prevailing in the first, never remembered to make good the latter; which too often falls out in such counsels.

When king James was informed of what the duke had so confidently avowed, for which he had no authority, or the least direction from him, and a great part whereof himself knew to be untrue; and that he had advised an utter breach of the treaty, and to enter upon a war with Spain, he was infinitely offended; so that he wanted only a resolute and brisk counsellor to assist him in destroying him: and such a one he promised himself in the arrival of the earl of Bristol, whom he expected every day.

He had another exception against the duke, which touched him as near, and in which he enlarged himself much more. Lionel Cranfeild, who, though extracted from a gentleman's family, had been bred in the city, and, being a man of great wit and understanding in all the mysteries of trade, had found means to work himself into the good opinion and favour of the duke of Buckingham; and having shortly after married a near ally of the duke's, with wonderful expedition was made a privy-counsellor, master of the wardrobe, master of the wards, and, without parting with any of these, was now become lord high treasurer of England, and earl of Middlesex, and had in truth gained so much credit with the king, (being in truth a man of great parts and notable dexterity,) that, during the duke's absence in Spain, he was not only negligent in the issuing out such sums of money as were necessary to the defraying those unlimited expenses, and to correspond with him with that deference he had used to do, but had the courage to dispute his commands, and to appeal to the king, whose ear was always inclined to him, and in whom he began to believe himself so far fastened, that he should not stand in need of the future support of the favourite. And of all this the duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own creatures, who were near enough to observe, as from others; who, caring for neither of them, were more scandalized at so precipitate a promotion of a person of such an education, and whom they had long known so much their inferior, though it could not be denied, that he filled the places he held with great abilities.

The duke no sooner found the parliament disposed to a good opinion of him, and being well assured of the prince's fast kindness, than he projected the ruin of this bold rival of his, of whom he saw clearly enough that the king had so good an opinion, that it would not be in his sole power to crush him, as he had done others in the same and as high a station. And so he easily procured some leading men in the house of commons, to cause an impeachment for several corruptions and misdemeanours to be sent up to the house of peers against that great minister, whom they had so lately known their equal in that house; which (besides their natural inclination to those kinds of executions) dis-

posed them with great alacrity to the prosecution. The wise king knew well enough the ill consequence that must attend such an activity; and that it would shake his own authority in the choice of his own ministers, when they should find, that their security did not depend solely upon his own protection: which breach upon his kingly power was so much without a precedent, (except one unhappy one made three years before, to gratify likewise a private displeasure,) that the like had not been practised in some hundred of years, and never in such a case as this.

When this prosecution was first entered upon, and that the king clearly discerned that it was contrived by the duke, and that he had likewise prevailed with the prince to be well pleased with it; his majesty sent for them, and with much warmth and passion dissuaded them from appearing farther in it; and conjured them "to use all their interest" and authority to restrain it, as such a wound to "the crown, that would not be easily healed." And when he found the duke unmoved by all the considerations, and arguments, and commands he had offered, he said, in great choler, "By God, Stenny, "you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly, "and will find, that, in this fit of popularity, you "are making a rod, with which you will be scourged "yourself." And turning in some anger to the prince, told him, "That he would live to have his "bellyfull of parliaments: and that when he should "be dead, he would have too much cause to remember, how much he had contributed to the "weakening of the crown, by this precedent he "was now so fond of;" intending as well the engaging the parliament in the war, as the prosecution of the earl of Middlesex.

But the duke's power (supported by the prince's countenance) was grown so great in the two houses, that it was in vain for the king to interpose; and so (notwithstanding so good a defence made by the earl, that he was absolved from any notorious crime by the impartial opinion of many of those who heard all the evidence) he was at last condemned in a great fine to a long and strict imprisonment, and never to sit in parliament during his life: a clause of such a nature as was never before found in any judgment of parliament, and, in truth, not to be inflicted upon any peer but by attainder.

And how aliened soever the king's affection was in truth from the duke, upon these three provocations; 1. The prince's journey into Spain; 2. The engaging the parliament to break the match and treaty with Spain, and to make a war against that crown; and, 3. The sacrificing the earl of Middlesex in such a manner, upon his own animosity; yet he was so far from thinking fit to manifest it, (except in whispers to very few men,) that he was prevailed with to restrain the earl of Bristol upon his first arrival, without permitting him to come into his presence, which he had positively promised, and resolved to do; and in the end suffered his attorney general to exhibit a charge of high treason, in his majesty's name, against the said earl, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; but so little dejected with it, that he answered the articles with great steadiness and unconcernedness, and exhibited another charge of high treason against the duke in many particulars.

And in this order and method the war was hastily entered into against Spain, and a new

treaty set on foot for the prince of Wales with the daughter of France; which was quickly concluded, though not executed till after the death of king James; who, in the spring following, after a short indisposition by the gout, fell into a quartan ague, which, meeting many humours in a fat, unwieldy body of [fifty-eight] years old, in four or five fits carried him out of the world. After whose death many scandalous and libellous discourses were raised, without the least colour or ground; as appeared upon the strictest and malicious examination that could be made, long after, in a time of license, when nobody was afraid of offending majesty, and when prosecuting the highest reproaches and contumelies against the royal family was held very meritorious.

Upon the death of king James, Charles prince of Wales succeeded to the crown, with as universal a joy in the people as can be imagined, and in a conjuncture, when all the other parts of Christendom, being engaged in war, were very solicitous for his friendship; and the more, because he had already discovered an activity, that was not like to suffer him to sit still. The duke continued in the same degree of favour at the least with the son, which he had enjoyed so many years under the father. Which was a rare felicity; seldom known, and in which the expectation of very many was exceedingly disappointed; who, knowing the great jealousy and indignation that the prince had heretofore had against the duke, insomuch as he was once very near striking him, expected that he would now remember that insolence, of which he then so often complained; without considering the opportunity the duke had, by the conversation with the prince, during his journey into Spain, (which was so grateful to him,) and whilst he was there, to wipe out the memory of all former oversights, by making them appear to be of a less magnitude than they had been understood before, and to be excusable from other causes, still being severe enough to himself for his unwary part, whatsoever excuses he might make for the excess; and by this means to make new vows for himself, and to tie new knots to restrain the prince from future jealousies. And it is very true, his hopes in this kind never failed him; the new king, from the death of the old even to the death of the duke himself, discovering the most entire confidence in, and even friendship to him, that ever king had shewed to any subject: all preferments in church and state given by him; all his kindred and friends promoted to the degree in honour, or riches, or offices, as he thought fit, and all his enemies and enviers discountenanced, and kept at that distance from the court as he appointed.

But a parliament was necessary to be called, as at the entrance of all kings to the crown, for the continuance of some supplies and revenue to the king, which have been still used to be granted in that season. And now he quickly found how prophetic the last king's predictions had [proved], and were like to prove. The parliament that had so furiously advanced the war, and so factiously adhered to his person, was now no more; and though the house of peers consisted still of the same men, and most of the principal men of the house of commons were again elected to serve in this parliament, yet they were far from wedding the war, or taking themselves to be concerned to make good any declarations made by the former: so that,

though the war was entered in, all hope of obtaining money to carry it on was even desperate; and the affection they had for the duke, and confidence in him, was not then so manifest, as the prejudice they had now, and animosity against him, was visible to all the world: all the actions of his life ripped up and surveyed, and all malicious glosses made upon all he had said and all he had done: votes and remonstrances passed against him as an enemy to the public; and his ill management made the ground of their refusal to give the king that supply he had reason to expect, and was absolutely necessary to the state he was in. And this kind of treatment was so ill suited to the duke's great spirit, which indeed might easily have been bowed, but could very hardly be broken, that it wrought contrary effects upon his high mind, and his indignation, to find himself so used by the same men. For they who flattered him most before, mentioned him now with the greatest bitterness and acrimony; and the same men who had called him our saviour, for bringing the prince safe out of Spain, called him now the corrupter of the king, and betrayer of the liberties of the people, without imputing the least crime to him, to have been committed since the time of that exalted adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now; so fluctuating and unsteady a testimony is the applause of popular councils.

This indignation, I say, so transported the duke, that he thought it necessary to publish and manifest a greater contempt of them than he should have done; causing this and the next parliament to be quickly dissolved, as soon as they seemed to entertain counsels not grateful to him, and before he could well determine and judge what their temper was in truth like to prove: and upon every dissolution, such who had given any offence were imprisoned or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supply to the king's occasions, yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required. And many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by those extraordinary ways; and the duke himself would passionately say, and frequently do, many things, which only grieved his friends and incensed his enemies, and gave them as well the ability as the inclination to do him much harm.

In this fatal conjuncture, and after several costly embassies into France, in the last of which the duke himself went, and brought triumphantly home with him the queen, to the joy of the nation; in a time, when all endeavours should have been used to have extinguished that war, in which the kingdom was so unhappily engaged against Spain, a new war was as precipitately declared against France; and the fleet, that had been unwarily designed to have surprised Calés, under a general very unequal to that great work, was no sooner returned without success, and with much damage, than the fleet was repaired, and the army reinforced for the invasion of France; in which the duke was general himself, and made that notable descent upon the Isle of Rhé, which was quickly afterwards attended with many unprosperous attempts, and then with a miserable retreat, in which the flower

of the army was lost. So that how ill soever Spain and France were inclined to each other, they were both mortal enemies to England; whilst England itself was so totally taken up with the thought of revenge upon the person who they thought had been the cause of their distress, that they never considered, that the sad effects of it (if not instantly provided against) must inevitably destroy the kingdom; and gave no truce to their rage, till the duke finished his course by the wicked means mentioned before in the fourth year of the king, and the thirty-sixth of his age.

John Felton, an obscure person, who had been bred a soldier, and lately a lieutenant of a foot company, whose captain had been killed upon the retreat at the Isle of Rhé, upon which he conceived that the company of right ought to have been conferred upon him, and it being refused to him by the duke of Buckingham, general of the army, he had given up his commission of lieutenant, and withdrawn himself from the army. He was of a melancholic nature, and had little conversation with anybody, yet of a gentleman's family in Suffolk, of good fortune and reputation. From the time that he had quitted the army, he resided in London; when the house of commons, transported with passion and prejudice against the duke of Buckingham, had accused him to the house of peers for several misdemeanours and miscarriages, and in some declaration had styled him, "the cause of all the evils the kingdom suffered, and an enemy to the public."

Some transcripts of such expressions, (for the late license of printing all mutinous and seditious discourses was not yet in fashion,) and some general invectives he met with amongst the people, to whom that great man was not grateful, wrought so far upon this melancholic gentleman, that, by degrees, and (as he said upon some of his examinations) by frequently hearing some popular preachers in the city, (who were not yet arrived at the presumption and impudence they have been since transported with,) he believed he should do God good service, if he killed the duke; which he shortly after resolved to do. He chose no other instrument to do it with than an ordinary knife, which he bought of a common cutler for a shilling: and, thus provided, he repaired to Portsmouth, where he arrived the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke was then there, in order to the preparing and making ready the fleet and the army, with which he resolved in few days to transport himself to the relief of Rochelle, which was then straitly besieged by the cardinal of Richelieu; and for relief whereof the duke was the more obliged, by reason that, at his being at the Isle of Rhé, he had received great supplies of victual, and some companies of their garrison from that town, the want of both which they were at this time very sensible of, and grieved with.

This morning of St. Bartholomew the duke had received letters, in which he was advertised that Rochelle had relieved itself; upon which he directed that his breakfast might speedily be made ready, and he would make haste to acquaint the king with the good news, the court being then at Southwick, the house of sir Daniel Norton, five miles from Portsmouth. The chamber wherein he was dressing himself was full of company, of persons of quality, and officers of the fleet and army.

There was monsieur de Soubize, brother to the duke of Rohan, and other French gentlemen, who were very solicitous for the embarkation of the army, and for the departure of the fleet for the relief of Rochelle; and they were at this time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehension that the news the duke had received that morning might slacken the preparations for the voyage, which their impatience and interest persuaded were not advanced with expedition; and so they had then held much discourse with the duke of the impossibility that his intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their enemies, in order to abate the warmth and zeal that was used for their relief, the arrival of which they had so much reason to apprehend; and a little longer delay in sending it would ease them of that terrible apprehension, their forts and works toward the sea and in the harbour being almost finished.

This discourse, according to the natural custom of that nation, and by the usual dialect of that language, was held with that passion and vehemence, that the standers by, who understood not French, did believe that they were very angry, and that they used the duke very rudely. He being ready, and informed that his breakfast was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in the very passage, turning himself to speak with sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel of the army, who was then speaking near his ear, he was on a sudden struck over his shoulder upon the breast with a knife; upon which, without using any other words but that, "The villain hath killed me," and in the same moment pulling out the knife himself, he fell down dead, the knife having pierced his heart.

No man had seen the blow, or the man who made it; but in the confusion they were in, every man made his own conjectures, and declared it as a thing known; most agreeing that it was done by the French, from the angry discourse they thought they heard from them. And it was a kind of a miracle, that they were not all killed in that instant; the soberer sort, that preserved them from it, having the same opinion of their guilt, and only reserving them for a more judicial examination and proceeding.

In the crowd near the door there was found upon the ground a hat, in the inside whereof there was sewed upon the crown a paper, in which were writ four or five lines of that declaration made by the house of commons, in which they had styled the duke an enemy to the kingdom, and under it a short ejaculation or two towards a prayer. It was easily enough concluded that the hat belonged to the person who had committed the murder: but the difficulty remained still as great, who that person should be; for the writing discovered nothing of the name; and whosoever it was, it was very natural to believe that he was gone far enough not to be found without a hat.

In this hurry, one running one way, another another way, a man was seen walking before the door very composedly without a hat; whereupon one crying out, "Here is the fellow that killed the duke!" upon which others ran thither, every body asking, "Which is he? Which is he?" To which the man without the hat very composedly answered, "I am he." Thereupon some of those who were most furious, suddenly ran upon the

man with their drawn swords to kill him; but others, who were at least equally concerned in the loss, and in the sense of it, defended him; himself with open arms very calmly and cheerfully exposing himself to the fury and swords of the most enraged, as being very willing to fall a sacrifice to their sudden anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate justice which he knew must be exercised upon him.

He was now known enough, and easily discovered to be that Felton, whom we mentioned before, who had been a lieutenant in the army. He was quickly carried into a private room by the persons of the best condition, some whereof were in authority, who first thought fit so far to dissemble, as to mention the duke only as grievously wounded, but not without hope of recovery. Upon which Felton smiled, and said, he knew well he had given him a blow, that had determined all those hopes. Being then asked (which was the discovery principally aimed at) by whose instigation he had performed that horrid and wicked act, he answered them with a wonderful assurance, "That they should not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit or power enough in him, to have engaged or disposed him to such an action; that he had never intrusted his purpose and resolution to any man; that it proceeded only from himself and the impulsion of his own conscience; and that the motives thereunto would appear, if his hat were found, in which he had therefore fixed them, because he believed it very probable that he might perish in the attempt. He confessed that he had come to the town but the night before, and had kept his lodging, that he might not be seen or taken notice of; and that he had come that morning to the duke's lodging, where he had waited at the door for his coming out; and when he found, by the motions within, that he was coming, he drew to the door, as if he held up the hanging; and sir Thomas Fryer speaking at that time to the duke, as hath been said, and being of a much lower stature than the duke, who a little inclined towards him, he took the opportunity of giving the blow over his shoulder."

He spoke very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spoke to him, with the temper of a man who thought he had not done amiss. But after he had been in prison some time, where he was treated without any rigour, and with humanity enough; and before, and at his trial, which was about four months after, at the king's bench bar, he behaved himself with great modesty and wonderful repentance; being, as he said, convinced in his conscience, that he had done wickedly, and asked the pardon of the king, the duchess, and of all the duke's servants, whom he acknowledged to have offended; and very earnestly besought the judges, that he might have his hand struck off, with which he had performed that impious act, before he should be put to death.

The court was too near Portsmouth, and too many courtiers upon the place, to have this murder (so wonderful in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in England in many ages) long concealed from the king. His majesty was at the public prayers of the church, when sir John Hipposly came into the room, with a troubled countenance, and, without any pause in

respect of the exercise they were performing, went directly to the king, and whispered in his ear what had fallen out. His majesty continued unmoved, and without the least change in his countenance, till prayers were ended; when he suddenly departed to his chamber, and threw himself upon his bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the loss he had of an excellent servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been deprived of him; and he continued in this melancholic and discomposure of mind many days.

Yet the manner of his receiving the news in public, when it was first brought to him in the presence of so many, (who knew or saw nothing of the passion he expressed upon his retreat,) made many men to believe that the accident was not very ungrateful; at least, that it was very indifferent to him; as being rid of a servant very ungracious to the people, and the prejudice to whose person exceedingly obstructed all overtures made in parliament for his service.

And, upon this observation, persons of all conditions took great license in speaking of the person of the duke, and dissecting all his infirmities, believing they should not thereby incur any displeasure of the king. In which they took very ill measures; for from that time almost to the time of his own death, the king admitted very few into any degree of trust, who had ever discovered themselves to be enemies to the duke, or against whom he had ever manifested a notable prejudice. And sure never any prince manifested a more lively regret for the loss of a servant, than his majesty did for this great man, in his constant favour and kindness to his wife and children, in a wonderful solicitous care for the payment of his debts, (which, it is very true, were contracted for his service; though in such a manner, that there remained no evidence of it, nor was any of the duke's officers intrusted with the knowledge of it, nor was there any record of it, but in his majesty's own generous memory,) and all offices of grace towards his servants.

After all this, and such a transcendent mixture of ill fortune, of which as ill conduct and great infirmities seem to be the foundation and source, this great man was a person of a noble nature, and generous disposition, and of such other endowments, as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great king. He understood the arts and artifices of a court, and all the learning that is professed there, exactly well. By long practice in business, under a master that discoursed excellently, and surely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in indoctrinating his young unexperienced favourite, who, he knew, would be always looked upon as the workmanship of his own hands, he had obtained a quick conception, and apprehension of business, and had the habit of speaking very gracefully and pertinently. He was of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him; and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige; from which much of his misfortune resulted. He was of a courage not to be daunted, which was manifested in all his actions, and his contests with particular persons of the greatest reputation; and especially in his whole

demeanour at the Isle of Rhé, both at the landing and upon the retreat: in both which no man was more fearless, or more ready to expose himself to the brightest dangers. His kindness and affection to his friends was so vehement, that it was as so many marriages for better and worse, and so many leagues offensive and defensive; as if he thought himself obliged to love all his friends, and to make war upon all they were angry with, let the cause be what it would. And it cannot be denied that he was an enemy in the same excess, and prosecuted those he looked upon as his enemies with the utmost rigour and animosity, and was not easily induced to a reconciliation. And yet there were some examples of his receding in that particular. And in the highest passion, he was so far from stooping to any dissimulation, whereby his displeasure might be concealed and covered till he had attained his revenge, (the low method of courts,) that he never endeavoured to do any man an ill office, before he first told him what he was to expect from him, and reproached him with the injuries he had done, with so much generosity, that the person found it in his power to receive further satisfaction, in the way he would choose for himself.

And in this manner he proceeded with the earl of Oxford, a man of great name in that time, and whom he had endeavoured by many civil offices to make his friend, and who seemed equally to incline to the friendship: when he discovered (or, as many thought, but suspected) that the earl was entered into some cabal in parliament against him; he could not be dissuaded by any of his friends, to whom he imparted his resolution; but meeting the earl the next day, he took him aside, and after many reproaches for such and such ill offices he had done, and for breaking his word towards him, he told him, "he would rely no longer on his friendship, nor should he expect any further friendship from him, but, on the contrary, he would be for ever his enemy, and do him all the mischief he could." The earl, (who, as many thought, had not been faulty towards him, was as great-hearted as he, and thought the very suspecting him to be an injury unpardonable,) without any reply to the particulars, declared, "that he neither cared for his friendship, nor feared his hatred;" and from thence avowedly entered into the conversation and confidence of those who were always awake to discover, and solicitous to pursue, any thing that might prove to his disadvantage; which was of evil consequence to the duke, the earl being of the most ancient of the nobility, and a man of great courage, and of a family which had in no time swerved from its fidelity to the crown.

Sir Francis Cottington, who was secretary to the prince, and not grown courtier enough to dissemble well his opinion, had given the duke offence before the journey into Spain, as is before touched upon, and improved that prejudice, after his coming thither, by disposing the prince all he could to the marriage of the infanta; and by his behaviour after his return, in justifying to king James, who had a very good opinion of him, the sincerity of the Spaniards in the treaty of the marriage, "That they did in truth desire it, and were fully resolved to gratify his majesty in the business of the palatinate; and only desired, in the manner

“ of it, to gratify the emperor and the duke of Bavaria all they could, which would take up very little time.” All which being so contrary to the duke’s positions and purposes, his displeasure to Cottington was sufficiently manifest. And king James was no sooner dead, and the new officers and orders made, but the profits and privileges which had used to be continued to him who had been secretary, till some other promotion, were all retrenched. And when he was one morning attending in the privy lodgings, as he was accustomed to do, one of the secretaries of state came to him, and told him, “ that it was the king’s pleasure that he should no more presume to come into those rooms ;” (which was the first instance he had received of the king’s disfavour ;) and at the same instant the duke entered into that quarter. Upon which sir Francis Cottington addressed himself towards him, and desired “ he would give him leave to speak to him :” upon which the duke inclining his ear, moved to a window from the company, and the other told him, “ that he received every day fresh marks of his severity ;” mentioned the message which had been then delivered to him, and desired only to know, “ whether it could not be in his power, by all dutiful application, and all possible service, to be restored to the good opinion his grace had once vouchsafed to have of him, and to be admitted to serve him ?” The duke heard him without the least commotion, and with a countenance serene enough, and then answered him, “ That he would deal very clearly with him ; that it was utterly impossible to bring that to pass which he had proposed : that he was not only firmly resolved never to trust him, or to have to do with him ; but that he was, and would be always, his declared enemy ; and that he would do always whatever should be in his power to ruin and destroy him, and of this he might be most assured ;” without mentioning any particular ground for his so heightened displeasure.

The other very calmly replied to him, (as he was master of an incomparable temper,) “ That since he was resolved never to do him good, that he hoped, from his justice and generosity, that he would not suffer himself to gain by his loss ; that he had laid out by his command so much money for jewels and pictures, which he had received : and that, in hope of his future favour, he had once presented a suit of hangings to him, which cost him 800*l.* which he hoped he would cause to be restored to him, and that he would not let him be so great a loser by him.” The duke answered, “ he was in the right ; that he should the next morning go to Oliver, (who was his receiver,) and give him a particular account of all the money due to him, and he should presently pay him ;” which was done the next morning accordingly, without the least abatement of any of his demands.

And he was so far reconciled to him before his death, that being resolved to make a peace with Spain, to the end he might more vigorously pursue the war with France, (to which his heart was most passionately fixed,) he sent for Cottington to come to him, and after conference with him, told him, “ the king would send him ambassador thither, and that he should attend him at Portsmouth for his despatch.”

His single misfortune was, (which indeed was productive of many greater,) that he never made a noble and a worthy friendship with a man so near his equal, that he would frankly advise him for his honour and true interest, against the current, or rather the torrent, of his impetuous passion ; which was partly the vice of the time, when the court was not replenished with great choice of excellent men ; and partly the vice of the persons who were most worthy to be applied to, and looked upon his youth, and his obscurity, as obligations upon him to gain their friendships by extraordinary application. Then his ascent was so quick, that it seemed rather a flight than a growth ; and he was such a darling of fortune, that he was at the top before he was seen at the bottom, for the gradation of his titles was the effect, not cause, of his first promotion ; and, as if he had been born a favourite, he was supreme the first month he came to court ; and it was want of confidence, not of credit, that he had not all at first which he obtained afterwards ; never meeting with the least obstruction from his setting out, till he was as great as he could be : so that he wanted dependants before he thought he could want coadjutors. Nor was he very fortunate in the election of those dependants, very few of his servants having been ever qualified enough to assist or advise him, and were intent only upon growing rich under him, not upon their master’s growing good as well as great : insomuch as he was throughout his fortune a much wiser man than any servant or friend he had.

Let the fault or misfortune be what or whence it will, it may very reasonably be believed, that, if he had been blessed with one faithful friend, who had been qualified with wisdom and integrity, that great person would have committed as few faults, and done as transcendent worthy actions, as any man who shined in such a sphere in that age in Europe. For he was of an excellent nature, and of a capacity very capable of advice and counsel. He was in his nature just and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful ; nor was it ever known, that the temptation of money swayed him to do an unjust or unkind thing. And though he left a very great inheritance to his heirs ; considering the vast fortune he inherited by his wife, the sole daughter and heir of Francis earl of Rutland, he owed no part of it to his own industry or solicitation, but to the impatient humour of two kings his masters, who would make his fortune equal to his titles, and the one [as much] above other men, as the other was. And he considered it no otherwise than as theirs, and left it at his death engaged for the crown, almost to the value of it, as is touched upon before.

If he had an immoderate ambition, with which he was charged, and is a weed (if it be a weed) apt to grow in the best soils ; it doth not appear that it was in his nature, or that he brought it with him to the court, but rather found it there, and was a garment necessary for that air. Nor was it more in his power to be without promotion, and titles, and wealth, than for a healthy man to sit in the sun in the brightest dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no ambition, who was so seated in the hearts of two such masters.

There are two particulars, which lie heaviest

upon his memory, either of them aggravated by circumstances very important, and which administer frequent occasions by their effects to be remembered.

The first, his engaging his old unwilling master and the kingdom in the war with Spain, (not to mention the bold journey thither, or the breach of that match,) in a time when the crown was so poor, and the people more inclined to a bold inquiry, how it came to be so, than dutifully to provide for its supply: and this only upon personal animosities between him and the duke of Olivarez, the sole favourite in that court, and those animosities from very trivial provocations, and flowed indeed from no other fountain, than that the nature and education of Spain restrained men from that gaiety of humour, and from that frolic humour, to which the prince's court was more inclined. And Olivarez had been heard to censure very severely the duke's familiarity and want of respect towards the prince, (a crime monstrous to the Spaniard,) and had said, that "if the infanta did not, as soon as she was married, suppress that license, she would herself quickly undergo the mischief of it:" which gave the first alarm to the duke to apprehend his own ruin in that union, and accordingly to use all his endeavours to break and prevent it: and from that time he took all occasions to quarrel with and reproach the Conde duke.

One morning the king desired the prince to take the air, and to visit a little house of pleasure he had (the Prado) four miles from Madrid, standing in a forest, where he used sometimes to hunt; and the duke not being ready, the king and the prince and the infante don Carlos went into the coach, the king likewise calling the earl of Bristol into that coach to assist them in their conversation, the prince then not speaking any Spanish; and left Olivarez to follow in the coach with the duke of Buckingham. When the duke came, they went into the coach, accompanied with others of both nations, and proceeded very cheerfully towards overtaking the king: but when upon the way he heard that the earl of Bristol was in the coach with the king, he broke out into great passion, reviled the Conde duke as the contriver of the affront, reproached the earl of Bristol for his presumption, in taking the place which in all respects belonged to him, who was joined with him as ambassador extraordinary, and came last from the presence of their master, and resolved to go out of the coach, and to return to Madrid. Olivarez easily discovered by the disorder, and the noise, and the tone, that the duke was very angry, without comprehending the cause of it; only found that the earl of Bristol was often named with such a tone, that he began to suspect what in truth might be the cause. And thereupon he commanded a gentleman, who was on horseback, with all speed to overtake the king's coach, and desire that it might stay; intimating, that the duke had taken some displeasure, the ground whereof was not enough understood. Upon which the king's coach stayed; and when the other approached within distance, the Conde duke alighted, and acquainted the king with what he had observed, and what he conceived. The king himself alighted, made great compliments to the duke, the earl of Bristol excusing himself upon the king's command, that he should serve as a trustman. In

the end don Carlos went into the coach with the favourite, and the duke and the earl of Bristol went with the king and the prince; and so they prosecuted their journey, and after dinner returned in the same manner to Madrid.

This, with all the circumstances of it, administered wonderful occasion of discourse in the court and country, there having never been such a comet seen in that hemisphere; and their submissive reverence to their princes being a vital part of their religion.

There were very few days passed afterwards, in which there was not some manifestation of the highest displeasure and hatred in the duke against the other. And when the Conde duke had some eclairsissement with the duke, in which he made all the protestations of his sincere affection, and his desire to maintain a clear and faithful friendship with him, which he conceived might be, in some degree, useful to both their masters; the other received his protestations with all contempt, and declared, with a very unnecessary frankness, "that he would have no friendship with him."

And the next day after the king returned from accompanying the prince towards the sea, where, at parting, there were all possible demonstrations of mutual affection between them; and the king caused a fair pillar to be erected in the place where they last embraced each other, with inscriptions of great honour to the prince; their being then in that court not the least suspicion, or imagination, that the marriage would not succeed. Insomuch that afterwards, upon the news from Rome, that the dispensation was granted, the prince having left the desponsorios in the hands of the earl of Bristol, in which the infante don Carlos was constituted the prince's proxy to marry the infanta on his behalf; she was treated as princess of Wales, the queen gave her place, and the English ambassador had frequent audiences, as with his mistress, in which he would not be covered: yet, I say, the very next day after the prince's departure from the king, Mr. Clark, one of the prince's bedchamber, who had formerly served the duke, was sent back to Madrid, upon pretence that somewhat was forgotten there, but in truth, with orders to the earl of Bristol not to deliver the desponsorios (which, by the articles, he was obliged to do within fifteen days after the arrival of the dispensation) until he should receive further orders from the prince, or king, after his return into England.

Mr. Clark was not to deliver this letter to the ambassador, till he was sure the dispensation was come; of which he could not be advertised in the instant. But he lodging in the ambassador's house, and falling sick of a calenture, which the physicians thought would prove mortal, he sent for the earl to come to his bedside, and delivered him the letter before the arrival of the dispensation, though long after it was known to be granted; upon which all those ceremonies were performed to the infanta.

By these means, and by this method, this great affair, upon which the eyes of Christendom had been so long fixed, came to be dissolved, without the least mixture with, or contribution from, those amours, which were afterwards so confidently discoursed of. For though the duke was naturally carried violently to those passions,

when there was any grace or beauty in the object; yet the duchess of Olivarez, of whom the talk was, was then a woman so old, past children, of so abject a presence, in a word, so crooked and deformed, that she could neither tempt his appetite, or magnify his revenge. And whatever he did afterwards in England was but *tueri opus*, and to prosecute the design he had, upon the reasons and provocations aforesaid, so long before contrived during his abode in Spain.

The other particular, by which he involved himself in so many fatal intricacies, from which he could never extricate himself, was, his running violently into the war with France, without any kind of provocation, and upon a particular passion very unwarrantable. In his embassy in France, where his person and presence was wonderfully admired and esteemed, (and in truth it was a wonder in the eyes of all men,) and in which he appeared with all the lustre the wealth of England could adorn him with, and outshined all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and overacted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities; he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses: insomuch as when the king had brought the queen his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the duke, to be by him conducted into England; the duke, in his journey, after his departure from that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with great privacy. But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his reception; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as served him to decline the danger. But he swore, in the instant, "that he would see and speak with that lady, in spite of the strength and power of France." And from the time that the queen arrived in England, he took all the ways he could to undervalue and exasperate that court and nation, by causing all those who fled into England from the justice and displeasure of that king, to be received and entertained here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the persons were, and the more notorious the king's displeasure was towards them, (as in that time there were very many lords and ladies of that class,) the more respectfully they were received and esteemed. He omitted no opportunity to incense the king against France, and to dispose him to assist the Hugonots, whom he likewise encouraged to give their king some trouble.

And, which was worse than all this, he took great pains to lessen the king's affection towards his young queen, being exceedingly jealous, lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs: and in this stratagem, he so far swerved from the instinct of his nature and his proper inclinations, that he, who was compounded of all the elements of affability and courtesy towards all kind of people, had brought himself to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards the queen.

One day, when he unjustly apprehended that she had shewed some disrespect to his mother, in not going to her lodging at an hour she had

intended to do, and was hindered by a very accident, he came into her chamber in much passion, and, after some expostulations rude enough, he told her, "she should repent it." And her majesty answering with some quickness, he replied insolently to her, "that there had been queens in England who had lost their heads." And it was universally known, that, during his life, the queen never had any credit with the king, with reference to any public affairs, and so could not divert the resolution of making a war with France.

The war with Spain had found the nation in a surfeit of a long peace, and in a disposition inclinable enough to war with that nation, which might put an end to an alliance the most ungrateful to them, and which they most feared, and from whence no other damage had yet befallen them, than a chargeable and unsuccessful voyage by sea, without the loss of ships or men. But a war with France must be carried on at another rate and expense. Besides, the nation was weary and surfeited with the first, before the second was entered upon; and it was very visible to wise men, that when the general trade of the kingdom, from whence the support of the crown principally resulted, should be utterly extinguished with France, as it was with Spain, and interrupted or obstructed with all other places, (as it must be, in a war, how prosperously soever carried on,) the effects would be very sad, and involve the king in many perplexities; and it could not but fall out accordingly.

Upon the return from Cales without success, though all the ships, and, upon the matter, all the men were seen, (for though some had so surfeited in the vineyards, and with the wines, that they had been left behind, the generosity of the Spaniards had sent them all home again;) and though by that fleet's putting in at Plymouth, near two hundred miles from London, so that there could be very imperfect relations, and the news of yesterday was contradicted the morrow; besides the expedition had been undertaken by the advice of the parliament, and with an universal approbation of the people, so that nobody could reasonably speak loudly against it; yet, notwithstanding all this, the ill success was heavily borne, and imputed to ill conduct; the principal officers of the fleet and army divided amongst themselves, and all united in their murmurs against the general, the lord viscount Wimbledon; who, though an old officer in Holland, was never thought equal to the enterprise, and had in truth little more of a Holland officer than the pride and formality. In a word, there was indisposition enough quickly discovered against the war itself, that it was easily discerned it would not be pursued with the vigour it was entered into, nor carried on by any cheerful contribution of money from the public.

But the running into this war with France (from whence the queen was so newly and so joyfully received) without any colour of reason, or so much as the formality of a declaration from the king, containing the ground, and provocation, and end of it, according to custom and obligation in the like cases, (for it was observed that the declaration which was published was in the duke's own name, who went admiral and general of the expedition,) opened the mouths of all men to inveigh against it with all bitterness, and the sudden ill effects of it, manifested in the return of the fleet to Portsmouth,

within such a distance of London, that nothing could be concealed of the loss sustained; in which most noble families found a son, or brother, or near kinsman wanting, without such circumstances of their deaths which are usually the consolations and recompenses of such catastrophes. The retreat had been a rout without an enemy, and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves; in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crowded to death, or drowned without the help of an enemy: and as many thousands of the common men were wanting, so few of those principal officers who had attained to a name in war, and by whose courage and experience any war was to be conducted, could be found.

The effects of this overthrow did not at first appear in whispers, murmurs, and invectives, as the retirement from Calais had done; but produced such a general consternation over the face of the whole nation, as if all the armies of France and Spain were united together, and had covered the land: mutinies in the fleet and army, under pretence of their want of pay, (whereof no doubt there was much due to them,) but in truth, out of detestation of the service, and the authority of the duke. The counties throughout the kingdom were so incensed, and their affections poisoned, that they refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted upon them; by which they often underwent greater inconveniences and mischiefs than they endeavoured to prevent. The endeavour to raise new men for the recruit of the army by pressing (the only method that had ever been practised upon such occasions) found opposition in many places; and the authority by which it was done not submitted to, as illegal; which produced a resort to martial law, by which many were executed; which raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people. And this distemper was so universal, the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, that all wise men looked upon it as the prediction of the destruction and dissolution that would follow. Nor was there a serenity in the countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come; but only in those who wished the destruction of the duke, and thought it could not be purchased at too dear a price, and looked upon this flux of humours as an inevitable way to bring it to pass.

And it cannot be denied, that from these two wars so wretchedly entered into, and the circumstances before mentioned, and which flowed from thence, the duke's ruin took its date: and never left pursuing him, till that execrable act upon his person; the malice whereof was contracted by that sole evil spirit of the time, without any partner in the conspiracy. And the venom of that season increased and got vigour, until, from one license to another, it proceeded till the nation was corrupted to that monstrous degree, that it grew satiated, and weary of the government itself; under which it had enjoyed a greater measure of felicity, than any nation was ever possessed of; and which could never be continued to them, but under the same. And as these calamities originally sprung from the inordinate appetite and passion of this young man, under the too much easiness of two indulgent masters, and the concurrence of a thousand other accidents; so that, if he had lived longer, (for he was taken away at the age of thirty-six years,) the

observation and experience he had, which had very much improved his understanding, with the greatness of his spirit, and jealousy of his master's honour, (to whom his fidelity was superior to any temptation,) might have repaired many of the inconveniences which he had introduced, and would have prevented the mischiefs which were the natural effects of those causes.

There were many stories scattered abroad at that time, of several prophecies and predictions of the duke's untimely and violent death. Amongst the rest there was one, which was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon. There was an officer in the king's wardrobe in Windsor castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years, or more. This man had, in his youth, been bred in a school, in the parish where sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged, in that season of his age, by the said sir George, whom afterwards he never saw. About six months before the miserable end of the duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him, on the side of his bed, a man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his eyes upon him, asked him, if he knew him. The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being asked the second time, whether he remembered him; and having in that time called to his memory the presence of sir George Villiers, and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered, "that he thought him to be that person." He replied, "he was in the right; that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him; which was, that he should go from him to his son the duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not do somewhat to ingratiate himself to the people, or, at least, to abate the extreme malice they had against him, he would be suffered to live a short time." And after this discourse he disappeared; and the poor man, if he had been at all waking, slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after, the same person appeared to him again in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him, whether he had done as he had required him: and perceiving he had not, gave him very sharp reprehensions; told him, "he expected more compliance from him; and that, if he did not perform his commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should be always pursued by him;" upon which, he promised him to obey him. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that he had only dreamed; and considered, that he was a person at such a distance from the duke, that he knew not how to find any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say. And so with great trouble and inquietness, he spent some time in thinking what he should do, and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

The same person appeared to him the third time,

with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, "That in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon considering, how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the duke, having acquaintance with no person about him; and if he could obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him, that he was sent in such a manner; but he should at best be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed, by his own or the malice of other men, to abuse the duke; and so he should be sure to be undone." The person replied, as he had done before, "That he should never find rest, till he should perform what he required; and therefore he were better to despatch it: that the access to his son was known to be very easy; and that few men waited long for him: and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living, but to the duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them, but he would believe all the rest he should say;" and so repeating his threats, he left him.

And in the morning, the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London; where the court then was. He was very well known to sir Ralph Freeman, one of the masters of requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him. To him this man went; and though he did not acquaint him with all particulars, he said enough to him to let him see there was somewhat extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and discretion of the man made the more impression in him. He desired that "by his means he might be brought to the duke; to such a place, and in such a manner, as should be thought fit: that he had much to say to him; and of such a nature, as would require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing." Sir Ralph promised "he would speak first with the duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure;" and accordingly, in the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter. The duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, "That he was the next day early to hunt with the king; that his horses should attend him at Lambeth-bridge, where he would land by five of the clock in the morning; and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk, and speak with him, as long as should be necessary." Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the duke at his landing, who received him courteously; and walked aside in conference near an hour, none but his own servants being at that hour in that place; and they and sir Ralph at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the duke sometimes spoke, and with great commotion; which sir Ralph the more easily observed, and perceived, because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke; having procured the conference, upon somewhat he knew there was of extraordinary. And the man told him in his return over the water, "That when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit, the substance whereof

he said he durst not impart to him, the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come to that knowledge only by the devil; for that those particulars were only known to himself, and to one person more, who, he was sure, would never speak of it."

The duke pursued his purpose of hunting; but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon; and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall; with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms: and when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before observed in him, in any encounters with her: towards her he had ever a most profound reverence. And the countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, sir Thomas Compton, she had been created countess of Buckingham, shortly after her son had first assumed that title) was, at the duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within few months after) was brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised; but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow, as was expected from such a mother, for the loss of such a son.

This digression, much longer than it was intended, may not be thought altogether unnatural in this discourse. For as the mention of his death was very pertinent, in the place, and upon the occasion, it happened to be made; so upon that occasion it seemed the more reasonable to enlarge upon the nature, and character, and fortune of the duke; as being the best mirror to discern the temper and spirit of that age, and the rather and because all the particulars before set down are to be found in the papers and memorials of the person, whose life is the subject of this discourse, who was frequently heard to relate the wonderful concurrence of many fatal accidents, to disfigure the government of two excellent kings; under whom their kingdoms in general prospered exceedingly, and enjoyed a longer peace, a greater plenty, and in fuller security, than had been in any former age; and who was so far from any acrimony to the memory of that great favourite, (whose death he had lamented at that time, and endeavoured to vindicate him from some libels and reproaches, which vented after his death,) that he took delight in remembering his many virtues, and to magnify his affability and most obliging nature; and he kept the memorial of that prediction, (though no man looked upon relations of that nature with less reverence and consideration,) the substance of which (he said) was confirmed to him by sir Ralph Freeman, and acknowledged by some servants of the duke's, who had the nearest trust with him, and who were informed of much of it before the murder of the duke.

And because there was so total a change of all counsels, and in the whole face of the court, upon the death of that omnipotent favourite; all thoughts of war being presently laid aside, (though there

was a faint looking towards the relief of Rochelle by the fleet, that was ready under the command of the earl of Lindsey,) and the provisions for peace and plenty taken to heart; it will not be unuseful nor unpleasant to enlarge the digression, before a return to the proper subject of the discourse, by a prospect of the constitution of the court, after that bright star was shot out of the horizon; who were the chief ministers, that had the principal management of public affairs in church and state; and how equal their faculties and qualifications were for those high transactions; in which mention shall be only made of those who were then in the highest trust; there being at that time no ladies, who had disposed themselves to intermeddle in business: and hereafter, when that activity began, and made any progress, it will be again necessary to take a new survey of the court upon that alteration.

Sir Thomas Coventry was then lord keeper of the great seal of England, and newly made a baron. He was a son of the robe, his father having been a judge in the court of the common pleas; who took great care to breed his son, though his first-born, in the study of the common law; by which himself had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the society of the Inner Temple, his son made a notable progress, by an early eminence in practice and learning: insomuch as he was recorder of London, solicitor general, and king's attorney, before he was forty years of age. A rare ascent! All which offices he discharged with great abilities, and singular reputation of integrity. In the first year after the death of king James, he was advanced to be keeper of the great seal of England (the natural advancement from the office of attorney general) upon the removal of the bishop of Lincoln; who, though a man of great wit and good scholastic learning, was generally thought so very unequal to the place, that his remove was the only recompense and satisfaction that could be made for his promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the disgrace proceeded only from the private displeasure of the duke of Buckingham. The lord Coventry enjoyed this place with an universal reputation (and sure justice was never better administered) for the space of about sixteen years, even to his death, some months before he was sixty years of age; which was another important circumstance of his felicity, that great office being so slippery, that no man had died in it before for near the space of forty years. Nor had his successors, for some time after him, much better fortune. And he himself had use of all his strength and skill (as he was an excellent wrestler) to preserve himself from falling, in two shocks: the one given him by the earl of Portland, lord high treasurer of England; the other by the marquis of Hamilton, who had the greatest power over the affections of the king of any man of that time.

He was a man of wonderful gravity and wisdom; and understood not only the whole science and mystery of the law, at least equally with any man who had ever sate in that place; but had a clear conception of the whole policy of the government both of church and state, which, by the unskilfulness of some well-meaning men, justled each the other too much.

He knew the temper and disposition and genius of the kingdom most exactly; saw their spirits

grow every day more sturdy and inquisitive and impatient; and therefore naturally abhorred all innovations which he foresaw would produce ruinous effects. Yet many, who stood at a distance, thought that he was not active and stout enough in the opposing those innovations. For though, by his place, he presided in all public councils, and was most sharp-sighted in the consequence of things; yet he was seldom known to speak in matters of state, which, he well knew, were for the most part concluded, before they were brought to that public agitation; never in foreign affairs, which the vigour of his judgment could well comprehend; nor indeed freely in any thing, but what immediately and plainly concerned the justice of the kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procured references to the judges. Though in his nature he had not only a firm gravity, but a severity, and even some morosity, (which his children and domestics had evidence enough of,) yet it was so happily tempered, and his courtesy and affability towards all men was so transcendent, so much without affectation, that it marvellously reconciled to all men of all degrees, and he was looked upon as an excellent courtier, without receding from the native simplicity of his own manner.

He had, in the plain way of speaking and delivery, without much ornament of elocution, a strange power of making himself believed, the only justifiable design of eloquence: so that though he used very frankly to deny, and would never suffer any man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclined to gratify, when in truth he was not, holding that dissimulation to be the worst of lying; yet the manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his condescension such, to inform the persons whom he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wishes.

But then, this happy temper and these good faculties rather preserved him from having many enemies, and supplied him with some well-wishers, than furnished him with any fast and unshaken friends; who are always procured in courts by more ardour, and more vehement professions and applications, than he would suffer himself to be entangled with. So that he was a man rather exceedingly liked, than passionately loved: insomuch that it never appeared, that he had any one friend in the court, of quality enough to prevent or divert any disadvantage he might be exposed to. And therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to him, that he retired within himself as much as he could, and stood upon his defence without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own ruin. To conclude; his security consisted very much in the little credit he had with the king; and he died in a season most opportune, and in which a wise man would have prayed to have finished his course, and which in truth crowned his other signal prosperity in the world.

Sir Richard Weston had been advanced to the white staff, to the office of lord high treasurer of England, some months before the death of the duke of Buckingham; and had, in that short time, so much disobliged him, at least disappointed his expectation, that many, who were privy to the duke's most secret purposes, did believe, that, if he had

outlived that voyage in which he was engaged, he would have removed him, and made another treasurer. And it is very true, that great office too had been very slippery, and not fast to those who had trusted themselves in it: insomuch as there were at that time five noble persons alive, who had all succeeded one another immediately in that unsteady charge, without any other person intervening: the earl of Suffolk; the lord viscount Mandeville, afterwards earl of Manchester; the earl of Middlesex; and the earl of Marlborough, who was removed under pretence of his age and disability for the work, (which had been a better reason against his promotion, so few years before, that his infirmities were very little increased,) to make room for the present officer; who, though advanced by the duke, may properly be said to be established by his death.

He was a gentleman of a very good and ancient extraction by father and mother. His education had been very good amongst books and men. After some years study of the law in the Middle Temple, he travelled into foreign parts, and at an age fit to make observations and reflections; out of which, that which is commonly called experience is constituted. After this he betook himself to the court, and lived there some years; at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known; and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to be preferred.

He spent the best part of his fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his father) in his attendance at court, and involved his friends in securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful fortune, before he received the least fruit from it, but the countenance of great men and those in authority, the most natural and most certain stairs to ascend by.

He was then sent ambassador to the archdukes, Albert and Isabella, into Flanders; and to the diet in Germany, to treat about the restitution of the palatinate; in which negotiation he behaved himself with great prudence, and with the concurrent testimony of a wise man, from all those with whom he treated, princes and ambassadors, and upon his return was made a privy counsellor, and chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of the lord Brooke, who was either persuaded, or put out of the place; which, being an office of honour and trust, is likewise an excellent stage for men of parts to tread, and expose themselves upon; and where they have occasion of all natures to lay out and spread all their faculties and qualifications most for their advantage. He behaved himself very well in this function, and appeared equal to it; and carried himself so luckily in parliament, that he did his master much service, and preserved himself in the good opinion and acceptance of the house; which is a blessing not indulged to many by those high powers. He did swim in those troubled and boisterous waters, in which the duke of Buckingham rode as admiral, with a good grace, when very many who were about him were drowned, or forced on shore with shrewd hurts and bruises: which shewed he knew well how and when to use his limbs and strength to the best advantage; sometimes only to avoid sinking, and sometimes to advance and get ground: and by this dexterity he kept his credit with those who could do him good,

and lost it not with others, who desired the destruction of those upon whom he most depended.

He was made lord treasurer in the manner and at the time mentioned before, upon the removal of the earl of Marlborough, and few months before the death of the duke. The former circumstance, which is often attended by compassion towards the degraded, and prejudice towards the promoted brought him no disadvantage: for besides the delight that season had in changes, there was little reverence towards the person removed; and the extreme visible poverty of the exchequer sheltered that province from the envy it had frequently created, and opened a door for much applause to be the portion of a wise and provident minister. For the other, of the duke's death, though some, who knew the duke's passions and prejudice, (which often produced rather sudden indisposition, than obstinate resolution,) believed he would have been shortly cashiered, as so many had lately been; and so that the death of his founder was a greater confirmation of him in the office, than the delivery of the white staff had been: many other wise men, who knew the treasurer's talent in removing prejudice, and reconciling himself to wavering and doubtful affections, believed, that the loss of the duke was very unseasonable; and that the awe or apprehension of his power and displeasure was a very necessary allay for the impetuosity of the new officer's nature, which needed some restraint and check, for some time, to his immoderate pretences and appetite of power.

He did indeed appear on the sudden wonderfully elated, and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at court, or in the affection of any considerable dependants. And yet, though he was not superior to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the king, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior, as to be able to lessen him in the king's affection by his power. So that he was in a post, in which he might have found much ease and delight, if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such an extent, that he might, at the same time, have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the king; whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might, by industry and order, have been easily improved: and no man better understood what method was necessary towards that good husbandry, than he.

But I know not by what frowardness in his stars, he took more pains in examining and inquiring into other men's offices, than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehement a desire to be the sole favourite, that he had no relish of the power he had: and in that contention he had many

rivals, who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition; the king himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others, than was necessary for the capacity they served in. Which resolution in his majesty was no sooner believed, and the treasurer's pretence taken notice [of,] than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife and all his daughters were declared of the Romish religion: and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to church, he was never thought to have zeal for it; and his domestic conversation and dependants, with whom only he used entire freedom, were all known catholics, and were believed to be agents for the rest. And yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession. For the penal laws (those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose) were never more rigidly executed, nor had the crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgences of his office towards them.

No man had greater ambition to make his family great, or stronger designs to leave a great fortune to it. Yet his expenses were so prodigiously great, especially in his house, that all the ways he used for supply, which were all that occurred, could not serve his turn; insomuch that he contracted so great debts, (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and restrained that intentness and industry, which was necessary for the due execution of his office,) that the king was pleased twice to pay his debts; at least, towards it, to disburse forty thousand pounds in ready money out of his exchequer. Besides, his majesty gave him a whole forest (Chute forest in Hampshire) and much other land belonging to the crown; which was the more taken notice of, and murmured against, because, being the chief minister of the revenue, he was particularly obliged, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppose, such disinherison; and because, under that obligation, he had, avowedly and sourly, crossed the pretences of other men, and restrained the king's bounty from being exercised almost to any. And he had that advantage, (if he had made the right use of it,) that his credit was ample enough (seconded by the king's own experience, and observation, and inclination) to retrench very much of the late unlimited expenses, and especially those of bounties; which from the death of the duke ran in narrow channels, which never so much overflowed as towards himself, who stopped the current to other men.

He was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in disobliging and provoking other men, and had too much courage in offending and incensing them: but after having offended and incensed

them, he was of so unhappy a feminine temper, that he was always in a terrible fright and apprehension of them.

He had not that application, and submission, and reverence for the queen, as might have been expected from his wisdom and breeding, and often crossed her pretences and desires, with more rudeness than was natural to him. Yet he was importunately solicitous to know what her majesty said of him in private, and what resentments she had towards him. And when by some confidants, who had their ends upon him from those offices, he was informed of some bitter expressions fallen from her majesty, he was so exceedingly afflicted and tormented with the sense of it, that sometimes by passionate complaints and representations to the king; sometimes by more dutiful addresses and expostulations with the queen, in bewailing his misfortunes; he frequently exposed himself, and left his condition worse than it was before: and the eclairsissement commonly ended in the discovery of the persons from whom he had received his most secret intelligence.

He quickly lost the character of a bold, stout, and magnanimous man, which he had been long reputed to be in worse times; and, in his most prosperous season, fell under the reproach of being a man of big looks, and of a mean and abject spirit.

There was a very ridiculous story at that time in the mouths of many, which, being a known truth, may not be unfitly mentioned in this place, as a kind of illustration of the humour and nature of the man. Sir Julius Cæsar was then master of the rolls, and had, inherent in his office, the indubitable right and disposition of the six clerks' places; all which he had, for many years, upon any vacancy, bestowed to such persons as he thought fit. One of those places was become void, and designed by the old man to his son Robert Cæsar, a lawyer of a good name, and exceedingly beloved. The treasurer (as he was vigilant in such cases) had notice of the clerk's expiration so soon, that he procured the king to send a message to the master of the rolls, expressly forbidding him to dispose of that six-clerk's place, till his majesty's pleasure should be further made known to him. It was the first command of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt by the old man very sensibly. He was indeed very old, and had outlived most of his friends, so that his age was an objection against him; many persons of quality being dead, who had, for recompense of services, procured the reversion of his office. The treasurer found it no hard matter so far to terrify him, that (for the king's service, as was pretended) he admitted for a six-clerk a person recommended by him, (Mr. Fern, a dependant upon him,) who paid six thousand pound ready money; which, poor man! he lived to repent in a gaol. This work being done at the charge of the poor old man, who had been a privy-counsellor from the entrance of king James, had been chancellor of the exchequer, and served in other offices; the depriving him of his right made a great noise: and the condition of his son, (his father being not like to live to have the disposal of another office in his power,) who, as was said before, was generally beloved and esteemed, was argument of great compassion, and was lively and successfully represented to the king himself; who was graciously pleased to promise, that, "if the old man chanced to die

“before any other of the six-clerks, that office, when it should fall, should be conferred on his son, whosoever should succeed him as master of the rolls:” which might well be provided for; and the lord treasurer obliged himself (to expiate for the injury) to procure some declaration to that purpose, under his majesty’s sign manual; which, however easy to be done, he long forgot, or neglected.

One day the earl of Tullibardine, who was nearly allied to Mr. Cæsar, and much his friend, being with the treasurer, passionately asked him, “Whether he had done that business?” To whom he answered with a seeming trouble, “That he had forgotten it, for which he was heartily sorry; and if he would give him a little in writing, for a memorial, he would put it amongst those which he would despatch with the king that afternoon.” The earl presently writ in a little paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it to him; and he put it into that little pocket, where, he said, he kept all his memorials which were first to be transacted.

Many days passed, and Cæsar never thought of. At length, when he changed his clothes, and he who waited on him in his chamber, according to custom, brought him all the notes and papers which were left in those he had left off, which he then commonly perused; when he found this little billet, in which was only written, *Remember Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, he was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what to make or think of it. He sent for his bosom friends, with whom he most confidently consulted, and shewed the paper to them, the contents whereof he could not conceive; but that it might probably have been put into his hand (because it was found in that enclosure, wherein he put all things of moment which were given him) when he was in motion, and in the privy lodgings in the court. After a serious and melancholic deliberation, it was agreed, that it was the advertisement from some friend, who durst not own the discovery: that it could signify nothing but that there was a conspiracy against his life, by his many and mighty enemies: and they all knew Cæsar’s fate, by contemning or neglecting such animadversions. And therefore they concluded, that he should pretend to be indisposed, that he might not stir abroad all that day, nor that any might be admitted to him, but persons of undoubted affections; that at night the gate should be shut early, and the porter enjoined to open it to nobody, nor to go himself to bed till the morning; and that some servants should watch with him, lest violence might be used at the gate; and that they themselves, and some other gentlemen, would sit up all the night, and attend the event. Such houses are always in the morning haunted by early suitors; but it was very late before any could now get admittance into the house, the porter having quitted some of that arrear of sleep, which he owed to himself for his night’s watching; which he excused to his acquaintance, by whispering to them, “That his lord should have been killed that night, which had kept all the house from going to bed.” And shortly after, the earl of Tullibardine asking him, whether he had remembered Cæsar; the treasurer quickly recollected the ground of his perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it to his friends, who likewise affected the communication, and so the whole jest came to be discovered.

To conclude, all the honours the king conferred upon him (as he made him a baron, then an earl, and knight of the garter; and above this, gave a young beautiful lady nearly allied to him, and to the crown of Scotland, in marriage to his eldest son) could not make him think himself great enough. Nor could all the king’s bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir; but after six or eight years spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was no greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense or delight in so great prosperity, with the agony that it was no greater; he died unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by most who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he left behind him.

The next greatest counsellor of state was the lord privy-seal, who was likewise of a noble extraction, and of a family at that time very fortunate. His grandfather had been lord chief justice, and left by king Harry the Eighth one of the executors of his last will. He was the younger son of his father, and brought up in the study of the law in the Middle Temple; and had passed through, and, as it were, made a progress through all the eminent degrees of the law, and in the state. At the death of queen Elizabeth, or thereabouts, he was recorder of London; then the king’s sergeant at law; afterwards chief justice of the king’s bench. Before the death of king James, by the favour of the duke of Buckingham, he was raised to the place of lord high treasurer of England; and within less than a year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that favour, he was reduced to the empty title of president of the council; and, to allay the sense of the dishonour, created viscount Mandevile. He bore the diminution very well, as he was a wise man, and of an excellent temper, and quickly recovered so much grace, that he was made lord privy-seal, and earl of Manchester, and enjoyed that office to his death; whilst he saw many removes and degradations in all the other offices of which he had been possessed.

He was a man of great industry and sagacity in business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserved so great a vigour of mind, even to his death, (when he was very near eighty years of age,) that some, who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker parts in his age, than before. His honours had grown faster upon him than his fortunes; which made him too solicitous to advance the latter, by all the ways which offered themselves; whereby he exposed himself to some inconvenience, and many reproaches, and became less capable of serving the public by his counsels and authority; which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity and ability, would have enabled him to have done; most men considering more the person that speaks, than the things he says. And he was unhappily too much used as a check upon the lord Coventry; and when the other perplexed their counsels and designs with inconvenient objections in law, his authority, who had trod the same paths, was still called upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjustifiable designs and pretences: a

guilt and mischief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be so, are liable to, and can hardly preserve themselves from. But his virtues so far weighed down his infirmities, that he maintained a good general reputation and credit with the whole nation and people; he being always looked upon as full of integrity and zeal to the protestant religion, as it was established by law, and of unquestionable loyalty, duty, and fidelity to the king; which two qualifications will ever gather popular breath enough to fill the sails, if the vessel be competently provided with ballast. He died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the rebellion, when neither religion, or loyalty, or law, or wisdom, could have provided for any man's security.

The earl of Arundel was next to the officers of state, who, in his own right and quality, preceded the rest of the council. He was a man supercilious and proud, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another nation, his house being a place to which all men resorted, who resorted to no other place; strangers, or such who affected to look like strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the court, because there only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all favourites, and great officers, without any kind of condescension; and rather suffered himself to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was always in disgrace, and once or twice prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them.

And upon these occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several journeys into foreign parts, and, with his wife and family, had lived some years in Italy, the humour and manners of which nation he seemed most to like and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by descent, and a much greater from his wife, who was the sole daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two sisters left any issue) of the great house of Shrewsbury: but his expenses were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his revenue. He was willing to be thought a scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent statues, whilst he was in Italy and in Rome, (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from Rome, though he had paid for them,) and had a rare collection of the most curious medals; whereas in truth he was only able to buy them, never to understand them; and as to all parts of learning he was almost illiterate, and thought no other part of history considerable, but what related to his own family; in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the pictures of the most considerable men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the primitive nobility, and native gravity of the nobles, when they had been most venerable: but this was only his outside, his nature and true humour being so much

disposed to vulgar delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was never suspected to love anybody, nor to have the least propensity to justice, charity, or compassion, so that though he got all he could, and by all the ways he could, and spent much more than he got or had; he was never known to give any thing, nor in all his employments (for he had employments of great profit as well as honour, being sent ambassador extraordinary into Germany, for the treaty of that general peace, for which he had great appointments, and in which he did nothing of the least importance, and which is more wonderful, he was afterwards made general of the army raised for Scotland, and received full pay as such; and in his own office of earl marshal, more money was drawn from the people by his avidity and pretence of jurisdiction, than had ever been extorted by all the officers preceding,) yet, I say, in all his offices and employments, never man used or employed by him, ever got any fortune under him, nor did ever any man acknowledge any obligation to him. He was rather thought to be without religion, than to incline to this or that party of any; he would have been a proper instrument for any tyranny, if he could have a man tyrant enough to have been advised by him, and had no other affection for the nation or the kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which, like the great leviathan, he might sport himself; from which he withdrew himself, as soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in Italy, under the same doubtful character of religion in which he lived.

William earl of Pembroke was next, a man of another mould and making, and of another fame and reputation with all men, being the most universally loved and esteemed of any man of that age; and, having a great office in the court, he made the court itself better esteemed, and more revered in the country. And as he had a great number of friends of the best men, so no man had ever the wickedness to avow himself to be his enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful speaker upon any subject, having a good proportion of learning, and a ready wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it; of a pleasant and facetious humour, and a disposition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was master of a great fortune from his ancestors, and had a great addition by his wife, another daughter and heir of the earl of Shrewsbury, which he enjoyed during his life, she outliving him: but all served not his expense, which was only limited by his great mind, and occasions to use it nobly.

He lived many years about the court, before in it; and never by it; being rather regarded and esteemed by king James, than loved and favoured. After the foul fall of the earl of Somerset, he was made lord chamberlain of the king's house, more for the court's sake than his own; and the court appeared with the more lustre, because he had the government of that province. As he spent and lived upon his own fortune, so he stood upon his own feet, without any other support than of his proper virtue and merit; and lived towards the favourites with that decency, as would not suffer them to censure or reproach his master's judgment and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly beloved in the court, because he never desired to get that for himself, which

others laboured for, but was still ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the country, for having received no obligations from the court which might corrupt or sway his affections and judgment; so that all who were displeased and unsatisfied in the court, or with the court, were always inclined to put themselves under his banner, if he would have admitted them; and yet he did not so reject them, as to make them choose another shelter, but so far to depend on him, that he could restrain them from breaking out beyond private resentments and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his country, and of the religion and justice, which he believed could only support it; and his friendships were only with men of those principles. And as his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding, so towards any, who needed support or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. And sure never man was planted in a court, that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air.

Yet his memory must not be so flattered, that his virtues and good inclinations may be believed without some allay of vice, and without being clouded with great infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulged to himself the pleasures of all kinds, almost in all excesses. To women, whether out of his natural constitution, or for want of his domestic content and delight, (in which he was most unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his wife's fortune, by taking her person into the bargain,) he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewise retained such a power and jurisdiction over his very appetite, that he was not so much transported with beauty and outward allurements, as with those advantages of the mind, as manifested an extraordinary wit, and spirit, and knowledge, and administered great pleasure in the conversation. To these he sacrificed himself, his precious time, and much of his fortune. And some, who were nearest his trust and friendship, were not without apprehension, that his natural vivacity and vigour of mind began to lessen and decline by those excessive indulgences.

About the time of the death of king James, or presently after, he was made lord steward of his majesty's house, that the staff of chamberlain might be put into the hands of his brother, the earl of Montgomery, upon a new contract of friendship with the duke of Buckingham; after whose death, he had likewise such offices of his, as he most affected, of honour and command; none of profit, which he cared not for; and within two years after, he died himself of an apoplexy, after a full and cheerful supper.

A short story may not be unfitly inserted, it being very frequently mentioned by the person whose character is here undertaken to be set down, and who, at that time, being on his way to London, met at Maidenhead some persons of quality, of relation or dependance upon the earl of Pembroke, sir Charles Morgan, commonly called General Morgan, who had commanded an army in Germany, and defended Stoad; Dr. Feild, then bishop of Saint David's; and Dr. Chafin, the earl's then chaplain in his house, and much in his favour. At supper one of them drank a health to the lord steward: upon which another of

them said, "that he believed his lord was at that time very merry, for he had now outlived the day, which his tutor Sandford had prognosticated upon his nativity he would not outlive; which he had done now, for that was his birthday, which had completed his age to fifty years." The next morning, by the time they came to Colebrook, they met with the news of his death.

He died exceedingly lamented by all qualities of men, and left many of his servants and dependants owners of good estates, raised out of his employments and bounty. Nor had his heir cause to complain: for though his expenses had been very magnificent, (and it may be the less considered, and his providence the less, because he had no child to inherit,) insomuch as he left a great debt charged upon the estate; yet considering the wealth he left in jewels, plate, and furniture, and the estate his brother enjoyed in the right of his wife (who was not fit to manage it herself) during her long life, he may be justly said to have inherited as good an estate from him, as he had from his father, which was one of the best in England.

The earl of Montgomery, who was then lord chamberlain of the household, and now earl of Pembroke, and the earl of Dorset, were likewise of the privy-council; men of very different talents and qualifications. The former being a young man, scarce of age at the entrance of king James, had the good fortune, by the comeliness of his person, his skill, and indefatigable industry in hunting, to be the first who drew the king's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly so far improved, that he had the reputation of a favourite. And before the end of the first or second year, he was made gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and earl of Montgomery; which did the king no harm: for besides that he received the king's bounty with more moderation than other men, who succeeded him, he was generally known, and as generally esteemed; being the son and younger brother to the earl of Pembroke, who liberally supplied his expense, beyond what his annuity from his father would bear.

He pretended to no other qualifications, than to understand horses and dogs very well, which his master loved him the better for, (being, at his first coming into England, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts,) and to be believed honest and generous, which made him many friends, and left him no enemy. He had not sat many years in that sunshine, when a new comet appeared in court, Robert Carr, a Scotsman, quickly after declared favourite: upon whom the king no sooner fixed his eyes, but the earl, without the least murmur or indisposition, left all doors open for his entrance; (a rare temper! and could proceed from nothing, but his great perfection in loving field sports;) which the king received as so great an obligation, that he always after loved him in the second place, and commended him to his son at his death, as a man to be relied on in point of honesty and fidelity; though it appeared afterwards, that he was not strongly built, nor had sufficient ballast to endure a storm; of which more will be said hereafter.

The other, the earl of Dorset, was, to all intents, principles, and purposes, another man; his person beautiful, and graceful, and vigorous; his wit pleasant, sparkling, and sublime; and his other parts of learning, and language, of that lustre,

that he could not miscarry in the world. The vices he had were of the age, which he was not stubborn enough to condemn or resist. He was a younger brother, grandchild to the great treasurer Buckhurst, created, at the king's first entrance, earl of Dorset, who outlived his father, and took care and delight in the education of his grandchild, and left him a good support for a younger brother, besides a wife, who was heir to a fair fortune. As his person and parts were such as are before mentioned, so he gave them full scope, without restraint; and indulged to his appetite all the pleasures that season of his life (the fullest of jollity and riot of any that preceded or succeeded) could tempt or suggest to him.

He entered into a fatal quarrel, upon a subject very unwarrantable, with a young nobleman of Scotland, the lord Bruce; upon which they both transported themselves into Flanders, and attended only by two surgeons placed at a distance, and under an obligation not to stir but upon the fall of one of them, they fought under the walls of Antwerp, where the lord Bruce fell dead upon the place; and sir Edward Sackville (for so he was then called) being likewise hurt, retired into the next monastery, which was at hand. Nor did this miserable accident, which he did always exceedingly lament, make that thorough impression upon him, but that he indulged still too much to those importunate and insatiate appetites, even of that individual person, that had so lately embarked him in that desperate enterprise; being too much tinder not to be inflamed with those sparks.

His elder brother did not enjoy his grandfather's title many years, before it descended, for want of heirs male, to the younger brother. But in these few years, by an excess of expense in all the ways to which money can be applied, he so entirely consumed almost the whole great fortune that descended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the title to his younger brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to support it; which exposed him to many difficulties and inconveniences. Yet his known great parts, and the very good general reputation he had, notwithstanding his defects, acquired, (for as he was eminent in the house of commons, whilst he sat there; so he shined in the house of peers, when he came to move in that sphere,) inclined king James to call him to his privy-council before his death. And if he had not too much cherished his natural constitution and propensity, and been too much grieved and wrung by an uneasy and strait fortune, he would have been an excellent man of business; for he had a very sharp, discerning spirit, and was a man of an obliging nature, much honour, and great generosity, and of most entire fidelity to the crown.

There were two other persons of much authority in the council, because of great name in the court; as they deserved to be, being, without doubt, two as accomplished courtiers as were found in the palaces of all the princes in Europe; and the greatest (if not too great) improvers of that breeding, and those qualifications, with which courts use to be adorned; the earl of Carlisle, and earl of Holland: both, (though men of pleasure,) by their long experience in court, well acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom, and better

versed in those abroad, than any other who sat then at that board.

The former, a younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, came into the kingdom with king James, as a gentleman; under no other character, than a person well qualified by his breeding in France, and by study in human learning, in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the king, who much delighted in that exercise; and by these means, and notable gracefulness in his behaviour, and affability, in which he excelled, he had wrought himself into a particular interest with his master, and into greater affection and esteem with the whole English nation, than any other of that country; by choosing their friendships and conversation, and really preferring it to any of his own: insomuch as upon the king's making him gentleman of his bedchamber and viscount Doncaster, and by his royal mediation (in which office he was a most prevalent prince) he obtained the sole daughter and heir of the lord Denny to be given him in marriage; by which he had a fair fortune in land provided for any issue he should raise, and which his son by that lady lived long to enjoy.

He ascended afterwards, and with the expedition he desired, to the other conveniences of the court. He was groom of the stole, and an earl, and knight of the garter; and married a beautiful young lady, daughter to the earl of Northumberland, without any other approbation of her father, or concernment in it, than suffering him and her to come into his presence after they were married. He lived rather in a fair intelligence than any friendship with the favourites; having credit enough with his master to provide for his own interest, and he troubled not himself for that of other men; and had no other consideration of money, than for the support of his lustre; and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet, than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant, and worth his care. But he found business was attended with more rivals and vexation; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence.

He left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman, and a most accomplished courtier; and after having spent, in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict computation, he received from the crown, he left not a house, nor acre of land, to be remembered by. And when he had in his prospect (for he was very sharp-sighted, and saw as far before him as most men) the gathering together of that cloud in Scotland, which shortly after covered both kingdoms, he died with as much tranquillity of mind to all appearance, as used to attend a man of more severe exercise of virtue, and as little apprehension of death, which he expected many days.

The earl of Holland was a younger son of a noble house, and a very fruitful bed, which divided a numerous issue between two great fathers; the eldest, many sons and daughters to the lord Rich;

the younger, of both sexes, to Mountjoy earl of Devonshire, who had been more than once married to the mother. The reputation of his family gave him no great advantage in the world, though his eldest brother was earl of Warwick, and owner of a great fortune; and his younger earl of Newport, of a very plentiful revenue likewise. He, after some time spent in France, betook himself to the war in Holland, which he intended to have made his profession; where, after he had made two or three campaigns, according to the custom of the English volunteers, he came in the leisure of the winter to visit his friends in England, and the court, that shined then in the plenty and bounty of king James; and about the time of the infancy of the duke of Buckingham's favour, to whom he grew in a short time very acceptable. But his friendship was more entire to the earl of Carlisle, who was more of his nature and humour, and had a generosity more applicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And it was thought by many who stood within view, that for some years he supported himself upon the familiarity and friendship of the other; which continued mutually between them very many years, with little interruption, to their death.

He was a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence, and gentle conversation; by which he got so easy an admission into the court, and grace of king James, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the duke, and to his confidence, and wisely declined the receiving any grace or favour, but as his donation; above all, avoided the suspicion that the king had any kindness for him, upon any account but of the duke, whose creature he desired to be esteemed, though the earl of Carlisle's friend. And he prospered so well in that pretence, that the king scarce made more haste to advance the duke, than the duke did to promote the other.

He first preferred him to a wife, the daughter and heir of Cope, by whom he had a good fortune; and, amongst other things, the manor and seat of Kensington, of which he was shortly after made baron. And he had quickly so entire a confidence in him, that he prevailed with the king to put him about his son the prince of Wales, and to be a gentleman of his bedchamber, before the duke himself had reason to promise himself any proportion of his highness's grace and protection. He was then made earl of Holland, captain of the guard, knight of the order, and of the privy-council; sent the first ambassador into France to treat the marriage with the queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage before he was ambassador. And when the duke went to the Isle of Rhé, he trusted the earl of Holland with the command of that army with which he was to be recruited and assisted.

And in this confidence, and in this posture, he was left by the duke when he died; and having the advantage of the queen's good opinion and favour, (which the duke neither had, nor cared for,) he made all possible approaches towards the obtaining his trust, and succeeding him in his power; or rather that the queen might have solely that power, and he only be subservient to her; and upon this account he made a continual war upon the earl of Portland the treasurer, and all others who were not gracious to the queen, or desired not

the increase of her authority. And in this state, and under this protection, he received every day new obligations from the king, and great bounties, and continued to flourish above any man in the court, whilst the weather was fair: but the storm did no sooner arise, but he changed so much, and declined so fast from the honour he was thought to be master of, that he fell into that condition, which there will be hereafter too much cause to mention, and to enlarge upon.

The two secretaries of state (which were not in those days officers of that magnitude they have been since, being only to make despatches upon the conclusion of councils, not to govern, or preside in those councils) were sir John Coke, who, upon the death of sir Albert Moreton, was, from being master of requests, preferred to be secretary of state; and sir Dudley Carleton, who, from his employment in Holland, was put into the place of the lord Conway, who, for age and incapacity, was at last removed from the secretary's office, which he had exercised for many years with very notable insufficiency; so that king James was wont pleasantly to say, "That Stenny" (the duke of Buckingham) "had given him two very proper servants; a secretary, who could neither write or read; and a groom of his bedchamber, who could not truss his points;" Mr. Clark having but one hand.

Of these two secretaries, the former was a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature; having continued long in the university of Cambridge, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the country in the condition of a private gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for industry and diligence, he was called to some painful employment in the office of the navy, which he discharged well; and afterwards to be master of requests, and then to be secretary of state, which he enjoyed to a great age: and was a man rather unadorned with parts of vigour and quickness, and unendowed with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, than transported with any vicious inclinations, appetite to money only excepted. His cardinal perfection was industry, and his most eminent infirmity covetousness. His long experience had informed him well of the state and affairs of England; but of foreign transactions, or the common interest of Christian princes, he was entirely ignorant and undiscerning.

Sir Dudley Carleton was of a quite contrary nature, constitution, and education, and understood all that related to foreign employment, and the condition of other princes and nations, very well: but was utterly unacquainted with the government, laws, and customs of his own country, and the nature of the people. He was a younger son in a good gentleman's family, and bred in Christ Church, in the university of Oxford, where he was a student of the foundation, and a young man of parts and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into France, and was soon after secretary to sir Harry Nevil, the ambassador there. He had been sent ambassador to Venice, where he resided many years with good reputation; and was no sooner returned from thence into England, than he went ambassador into Holland, to the States General, and resided there when that synod was assembled at Dort, which hath given the world

so much occasion since for uncharitable disputations, which they were called together to prevent. Here the ambassador was not thought so equal a spectator, or assessor, as he ought to have been; but by the infusions he made into king James, and by his own activity, he did all he could to discountenance that party that was most learned, and to raise the credit and authority of the other; which has since proved as inconvenient and troublesome to their own country, as to their neighbours.

He was once more ambassador extraordinary in Holland after the death of king James, and was the last who was admitted to be present, and to vote in the general assembly of the States, under that character; of which great privilege the crown had been possessed from a great part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and through the time of king James to that moment; which administered fresh matter of murmur for the giving up the towns of the Brill, and Flushing, which had been done some years before by king James; without which men thought those States would not have had the courage so soon to have degraded the crown of England from a place in their councils, which had prospered so eminently under the shadow of that power and support. As soon as he returned from Holland, he was called to the privy-council; and the making him secretary of state, and a peer of the realm, when his estate was scarce visible, was the last piece of workmanship the duke of Buckingham lived to finish, who seldom satisfied himself with conferring a single obligation.

The duke had observed, and discovered, that the channel, in which the church promotions had formerly run, had been liable to some corruptions, at least to many reproaches; and therefore had committed the sole representation of those affairs, and the vacancies which should happen, to Dr. Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, and sworn of the privy-council. And the king, after his death, continued that trust in the same hands, infinitely to the benefit and honour of the church, though, it may be, no less to the prejudice of the poor bishop; who, too secure in a good conscience, and most sincere worthy intentions, (with which no man was ever more plentifully replenished,) thought he could manage and discharge the place and office of the greatest minister in the court (for he was quickly made archbishop of Canterbury) without the least condescension to the arts and stratagems of the court, and without any other friendship, or support, than what the splendour of a pious life, and his unpolished integrity, would reconcile to him; which was an unskilful measure in a licentious age, and may deceive a good man in the best that shall succeed; which exposed him to such a torrent of adversity and misery, as we shall have too natural an occasion to lament in the following discourse, in which it will be more seasonable to enlarge upon his singular abilities, and immense virtue.

There were more (too many more) honourable persons in that time of the privy-council, whose faculties were not notorious enough to give them any great part in the affairs, nor had their advice much influence upon them. Other very notable men were shortly after added to the council, who will anon be remembered in their proper places and seasons. What hath been said before contains information enough of the persons in employment,

and the state of the court and kingdom, when the duke of Buckingham was taken from it; by which, and the lively reflections upon the qualities and qualifications of the several persons in authority in court and council, no man could expect that the vigorous designs and enterprises, undertaken by the duke, would be pursued with equal resolution and courage; but that much the greater part of them would be wholly intent upon their own accommodations in their fortunes, (in which they abounded not,) and in their ease and pleasure, which they most passionately affected; having, as hath been said, no other consideration of the public, than that no disturbance therein might interrupt their quiet in their own days: and that the rest, who had larger hearts and more public spirits, would extend their labour, activity, and advice, only to secure the empire at home by all peaceable arts, and advancement of trade, which might gratify the people, and fill the empty coffers of the impoverished crown. To which end the most proper expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge it, by continuing and propagating the war; the ways and means whereof they knew not how to comprehend; and had all the desperate imaginations and jealousies of the end and necessary consequences of it. And so they all concurred (though in nothing else) in their unanimous advice to the king "to put the quickest period he could possibly to the expensive war against the two crowns:" and, his majesty following their advice, a peace was made with both, upon better terms and conditions, and in less time, than, from the known impatience of the war, could reasonably have been expected, or hoped for. And after some short unquietness of the people, and unhappy assaults upon the prerogative by the parliament, which produced its dissolution, and thereupon some froward and obstinate disturbances in trade, there quickly followed so excellent a composure throughout the whole kingdom, that the like peace, and plenty, and universal tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation; and was the more visible and manifest in England, by the sharp and bloody war suddenly entered into between the two neighbour crowns, and the universal conflagration, that, from the inundation of the Swedes, covered the whole empire of Germany. And so we shall return to the discourse, which this very long digression hath interrupted longer than was intended.

That proclamation, mentioned before, at the break of the last parliament, and which "inhibited all men to speak of another parliament," produced two very ill effects of different natures. It afflicted many good men (who otherwise were enough scandalized at those distempers which had incensed the king) to that degree, that it made them capable of receiving some impressions from those who were diligent in whispering and infusing an opinion into men, "that there was really an intention to alter the form of government, both in church and state; of which, said they, a greater instance cannot be given, than this public declaring that we shall have no more parliaments." Then, this freedom from the danger of such an inquisition did not only encourage ill men to all boldness and license, but wrought so far upon men less inclined to ill, (though not built for examples,) that they kept not those strict guards upon themselves they used to do; especially if they found

themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, and feared not extraordinary, they by degrees thought that no fault which was like to find no punishment. Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws; and so tonnage, and poundage, and other duties upon merchandises, were collected by order of the board, which had been perversely refused to be settled by act of parliament, and new and greater impositions laid upon trade: obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own.

And by this ill husbandry the king received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men: insomuch as, of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the subject, by these ways, in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the king's use or account. To recompense the damage the crown sustained by the sale of the old lands, and by the grant of new pensions, the old laws of the forest are revived, by which not only great fines are imposed, but great annual rents intended, and like to be settled by way of contract; which burden lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and therefore like to remember it with more sharpness. Lastly, for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ is framed in a form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every county of England, "to provide a ship of war for the king's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day, to such a place;" and with that writ were sent to each sheriff instructions, that, "instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the same to the treasurer of the navy for his majesty's use, with direction, in what manner he should proceed against such as refused:" and from hence that tax had the denomination of ship-money; a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom; by which for some years really accrued the yearly sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the king's coffers: and was in truth the only project that was accounted to his own service. And, after the continued receipt of it for four years together, was at last (upon the refusal of a private gentleman to pay thirty shillings as his share) with great solemnity publicly argued before all the judges of England in the exchequer-chamber, and by the major part of them, the king's right to impose asserted, and the tax adjudged lawful; which judgment proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned (Mr. Hambden) than to the king's service.

For the better support of these extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents and instruments, who must be employed in them, and to discountenance and suppress all bold inquirers and opposers, the council-table and star-chamber enlarge their jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding" (as Thu-

cydides said of the Athenians) "for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;" and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury; the council-table by proclamations enjoining this, that was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the star-chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment; so that any disrespect to acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.

And here I cannot but again take the liberty to say, that the circumstances and proceedings in those new extraordinary cases, stratagems, and impositions, were very unpolitic, and even destructive to the services intended. As if the business of ship-money, being an imposition by the state, under the notion of necessity, upon a prospect of danger, which private persons could not modestly think themselves qualified to discern, had been managed in the same extraordinary way as the royal loan (which was the imposing the five subsidies after the second parliament spoken of before) was, men would much easier have submitted to it; as it is notoriously known, that pressure was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the king, than ever it was after; men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the king's service, as a testimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the burden reasonable; others observing, that the access to the king was of importance, when the damage to them was not considerable; and all assuring themselves, that when they should be weary, or unwilling to continue the payment, they might resort to the law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a court of law, as a right, and found it, by sworn judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the king; and, instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own; they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the king, but by the judges; which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to.

It was an observation long ago by Thucydides, "That men are much more passionate for injustice, than for violence; because (says he) the one coming as from an equal, seems rapine; when the other, proceeding from one stronger, is but the effect of necessity." So, when ship-money was transacted at the council-board, they looked upon it as a work of that power they were always obliged to trust, and an effect of that foresight they were naturally to rely upon. Imminent necessity, and public safety, were convincing persuasions; and it might not seem of apparent ill consequence to them, that upon an emergent occasion the regal power should fill up an hiatus, or supply an impotency in the law. But when they saw in a court of law, (that law that gave them title and posses-

sion of all that they had) apothegms of state urged as elements of law, judges as sharp-sighted as secretaries of state, and in the mysteries of state; judgment of law grounded upon matter of fact, of which there was neither inquiry or proof; and no reason given for the payment of the thirty shillings in question, but what concluded the estates of all the standers-by; they had no reason to hope that that doctrine, or the preachers of it, would be contained within any bounds; and it was no wonder that they, who had so little reason to be pleased with their own condition, were not less solicitous for, or apprehensive of, the inconveniences that might attend any alteration.

And here the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and the like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the judges. And no question, as the exorbitancy of the house of commons this parliament hath proceeded principally from their contempt of the laws, and that contempt from the scandal of that judgment; so the concurrence of the house of peers in that fury can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the irreverence and scorn the judges were justly in; who had been always before looked upon there as the oracles of the law, and the best guides and directors of their opinions and actions: and they now thought themselves excused for swerving from the rules and customs of their predecessors (who in altering and making of laws, in judging of things and persons, had always observed the advice and judgment of those sages) in not asking questions of those whom they knew nobody would believe; and thinking it a just reproach upon them, (who out of their gentleness had submitted the difficulties and mysteries of the law to be measured by the standard of general reason, and explained by the wisdom of state,) to see those men make use of the license they had taught, and determine that to be law, which they thought reasonable, or found to be convenient. If these men had preserved the simplicity of their ancestors, in severely and strictly defending the laws, other men had observed the modesty of theirs, in humbly and dutifully obeying them.

And upon this consideration it is very observable, that in the wisdom of former times, when the prerogative went highest, (as very often it hath been swoln above any pitch we have seen it at in our times,) never any court of law, very seldom any judge, or lawyer of reputation, was called upon to assist in an act of power; the crown well knowing the moment of keeping those the objects of reverence and veneration with the people: and that though it might sometimes make sallies upon them by the prerogative, yet the law would keep the people from any invasion of it, and that the king could never suffer, whilst the law and the judges were looked upon by the subject, as the asyla for their liberties, and security. And therefore you shall find the policy of many princes hath endured as sharp animadversions and reprehensions from the judges of the law, as their piety hath from the bishops of the church; imposing no less upon the people, under the reputation of justice, by the one, than of conscience and religion, by the other.

To extend this consideration of the form and circumstance of proceeding in cases of an unusual nature a little farther; as it may be most behoveful for princes in matters of grace and honour, and in conferring of favours upon their people, to transact the same as publicly as may be, and by themselves, or their ministers, to dilate upon it, and improve the lustre by any addition, or eloquence of speech; (where, it may be, every kind word, especially from the prince himself, is looked upon as a new bounty;) so it is as requisite in matters of judgment, punishment, and censure upon things, or persons, (especially when the case, in the nature of it, is unusual, and the rules in judging as extraordinary,) that the same be transacted as privately, and with as little noise and pomp of words, as may be. For (as damage is much easier borne and submitted to by generous minds, than disgrace) in the business of the ship-money, and in many other cases in the star-chamber, and at council-board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and insolencies, in the speeches and orations of the judges, much more offensive, and much more scandalous than the judgments and sentences themselves. Besides that men's minds and understandings were more instructed to discern the consequence of things, which before they considered not. As undoubtedly, my lord Finch's speech in the exchequer-chamber made ship-money much more abhorred and formidable, than all the commitments by the council-table, and all the distresses taken by the sheriffs in England; the major part of men (besides the common unconcernedness in other men's sufferings) looking upon those proceedings as a kind of applause to themselves, to see other men punished for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined, when they found their own interest, by the unnecessary logic of that argument, no less concluded than Mr. Hambden's.

And he hath been but an ill observer of the passages of those times we speak of, who hath not seen many sober men, who have been clearly satisfied with the conveniency, necessity, and justice of many sentences, depart notwithstanding extremely offended, and scandalized with the grounds, reasons, and expressions of those who inflicted those censures; when they found themselves, thinking to be only spectators of other men's sufferings, by some unnecessary inference or declaration, in probable danger to become the next delinquents.

They who look back upon the council-books of queen Elizabeth, and the acts of the star-chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject, as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules were set, and smartly pursued, and the party only felt the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the public, though as intolerable to the person: whereas, since those excellent rules of the council-board were less observed, and debates (which ought to be in private, and in the absence of the party concerned, and thereupon the judgment of the table to be pronounced by one, without the interposition of others, or reply of the party) suffered to be public, questions to be asked, passions discovered, and opinions to be promiscuously delivered; all advice, directions, reprehensions, and censures of those places grew to be in less reverence and esteem; so that,

besides the delay and interruption in despatch, the justice and prudence of the counsels did not many times weigh down the infirmity and passion of the counsellors; and both suitors and offenders returned into their country, with such exceptions and arguments against persons, as brought and prepared much prejudice to whatsoever should proceed from thence; and whatever excuses shall be made, or arguments given, that upon such extraordinary occasions there was a necessity of some pains and care to convince the understandings of men with the reasons and grounds of their proceeding, (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandam conscientiam* without reproach, or penalty, might have been reasonable,) it is certain the inconvenience and prejudice, that grew thereby, was greater than the benefit: and the reasons of the judges being many times not the reasons of the judgment, that might more satisfactorily and more shortly been put in the sentence itself, than spread in the discourses of the censors.

These errors (for errors they were in view, and errors they are proved by the success) are not to be imputed to the court, but to the spirit and over-activity of the lawyers themselves; who should more carefully have preserved their profession and the professors, from being profaned by those services which have rendered both so obnoxious to reproach. There were two persons of that profession, and of that time, by whose several and distinct constitutions (the one knowing nothing of nor caring for the court; the other knowing or caring for nothing else) those mischiefs were introduced; Mr. Noy, the attorney general; and sir John Finch, first, lord chief justice of the common pleas, and then lord keeper of the great seal of England.

The first, upon the great fame of his ability and learning, (and very able and learned he was,) was, by great industry and importunity from court, persuaded to accept that place, for which all other men laboured, (being the best, for profit, that profession is capable of,) and so he suffered himself to be made the king's attorney general. The court made no impression upon his manners; upon his mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected morosity, which made him unapt to flatter other men, yet even that morosity and pride rendered him the most liable to be grossly flattered himself, that can be imagined. And by this means the great persons, who steered the public affairs, by admiring his parts, and extolling his judgment as well to his face as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the service, to be an instrument in all their designs; thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony, that his knowledge in the law was greater than all other men's, than by making that law which all other men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of soap; and with his own hand drew and prepared the writ for ship-money, both which will be the lasting monuments of his fame. In a word, he was an unanswerable instance, how necessary a good education and knowledge of men is to make a wise man, at least a man fit for business.

Sir John Finch had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. Having led a licentious life in a restrained fortune, and having set up upon the stock of a good wit, and natural parts, without the superstructure of much knowledge in the profession by which he was to grow; [he]

was willing to use those weapons in which he had most skill, and (so being not unseen in the affections of the court, but not having reputation enough to guide or reform them) he took up ship-money where Mr. Noy left it; and, being a judge, carried it up to that pinnacle, from whence he almost broke his own neck; having, in his journey thither, too much a solicitor to induce his brethren to concur in a judgment they had all cause to repent. To which, his declaration, after he was keeper of the great seal of England, must be added, upon a demurrer put in to a bill before him, which had no other equity in it, than an order of the lords of the council; "that whilst he was keeper, no man should be so saucy to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should be always ground enough for him to make a decree in chancery;" which was so great an aggravation of the excess of that table, that it received more prejudice from that act of unreasonable countenance and respect, than from all the contempt could possibly have been offered to it. But of this no more.

Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be accused of much flattery in this inquisition) I must be so just as to say, that, during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run, that is, from the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year, to the beginning of this parliament, which was above twelve years, this kingdom, and all his majesty's dominions, (of the interruption in Scotland somewhat shall be said in its due time and place,) enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with; to the wonder and envy of all the parts of Christendom.

And in this comparison I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the happy times of queen Elizabeth, or for those more happy under king James. But for the former, the doubts, hazards, and perplexities, upon a total change and alteration of religion, and some confident attempts upon a farther alteration by those who thought not the reformation enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long continued war (how prosperous and successful soever) even during that queen's whole reign; and (besides some domestic ruptures into rebellion, frequently into treason; and besides the blemish of an unparalleled act of blood upon the life of a crowned neighbour queen and ally) the fear and apprehension of what was to come (which is one of the most unpleasant kinds of melancholy) from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged, successor to the crown, clouded much of that prosperity then, which now shines with so much splendour before our eyes in chronicle.

And for the other under king James, (which indeed were excellent times *bona si sua norint*;) the mingling with a stranger nation, formerly not very gracious with this, which was like to have more interest of favour: the subjection to a stranger prince, whose nature and disposition they knew not: the noise of treason, the most prodigious that had ever been attempted, upon his first entrance into the kingdom: the wants of the crown not inferior to what it hath since felt, (I mean whilst it sat right on the head of the king,) and the pressures upon the subject of the same nature, and no less complained of: the absence of the prince in Spain, and the solicitude that his highness might not be disposed in marriage to the daughter of that king-

dom, rendered the calm and tranquillity of that time less equal and pleasant. To which may be added the prosperity and happiness of the neighbour kingdoms not much inferior to that of this, which, according to the pulse of states, is a great diminution of their health; at least their prosperity is much improved, and more visible, by the misery and misfortunes of their neighbours.

The happiness of the times I mentioned was enviously set off by this, that every other kingdom, every other province were engaged, some entangled, and some almost destroyed, by the rage and fury of arms; those which were ambitiously in contention with their neighbours, having the view and apprehensions of the miseries and desolation, which they saw other states suffer by a civil war; whilst the kingdoms we now lament were alone looked upon as the garden of the world; Scotland (which was but the wilderness of that garden) in a full, entire, undisturbed peace, which they had never seen; the rage and barbarism (that the blood, for of the charity we speak not) of their private feuds, being composed to the reverence, or to the awe, of public justice; in a competency, if not in an excess of plenty, which they had never hope to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost we desired and hoped to see) free from rebellion: Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw, and a gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, and gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the revenue of the crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides much more to the people in the traffick and trade from thence; arts and sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole nation beginning to be so civilized, that it was a jewel of great lustre in the royal diadem.

When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned, it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own climate; the court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess, and luxury; the country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride and wantonness of it; the church flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and (which other good times wanted) supplied with oil to feed those lamps; and the protestant religion more advanced against the church of Rome by writing, (without prejudice to other useful and godly labours,) especially by those two books of the late lord archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and of Mr. Chillingworth, than it had been from the reformation; trade increased to that degree, that we were the exchange of Christendom, (the revenue thereof to the crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times,) and the bullion of all other kingdoms brought to receive a stamp from the mint of England; all foreign merchants looking upon nothing as their own, but what they had laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom; the royal navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at sea; and the reputation of the greatness and power of the king much more with foreign princes than any of his progenitors; for those rough courses, which made him haply less loved at home, made him more feared abroad; by how much the power of

kingdoms is more revered than their justice by their neighbours: and it may be, this consideration might not be the least motive, and may not be the worst excuse for those counsels. Lastly, for a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoyed by, and under the protection of, a king, of the most harmless disposition, and the most exemplary piety, the greatest example of sobriety, chastity, and mercy, that any prince hath been endowed with, (and God forgive those that have not been sensible of, and thankful for, those endowments,) and who might have said, that which Pericles was proud of, upon his deathbed, "that no Englishman had ever worn a black gown through his occasion." In a word, many wise men thought it a time, wherein those two miserable adjuncts, which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.

But all these blessings could but enable, not compel us to be happy: we wanted that sense, acknowledgment, and value of our own happiness, which all but we had; and took pains to make, when we could not find, ourselves miserable. There was in truth a strange absence of understanding in most, and a strange perverseness of understanding in the rest: the court full of excess, idleness, and luxury; and the country full of pride, mutiny, and discontent; every man more troubled and perplexed at that they called the violation of one law, than delighted or pleased with the observation of all the rest of the charter: never imputing the increase of their receipts, revenue, and plenty, to the wisdom, virtue, and merit of the crown, but objecting every small imposition to the exorbitancy and tyranny of the government; the growth of knowledge and learning being disrelished, for the infirmities of some learned men, and the increase of grace and favour upon the church more repined and murmured at, than the increase of piety and devotion in the church, which was as visible, acknowledged, or taken notice of; whilst the indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of a hundred.

It cannot be denied but there was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and very scandalous for the persons, who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own profession, and, in *ordine ad spiritualia*, gave unto Cæsar what Cæsar refused to receive, as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once said by a man fitter to be believed in that point than I, and one not suspected for flattering of the clergy) "that if the sermons of those times preached in court were collected together, and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity, profound learning, convincing reason, natural powerful eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the apostles' time." And I cannot but say, for the honour of the king, and of those who were trusted by him in his ecclesiastical collations (who have received but sad rewards for their uprightness) in those reproached, condemned times, there was not one churchman, in any degree of favour or acceptance, (and this the inquisition, that hath been since made upon them—a stricter never was in any age—must confess,) of a scandalous insufficiency in learning, or of a more scandalous condition in life; but, on the contrary, most of

them of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous or unblemished lives. And therefore wise men knew, that that, which looked like pride in some, and like petulance in others, would, by experience in affairs, and conversation amongst men, both of which most of them wanted, be in time wrought off, or, in a new succession, reformed, and so thought the vast advantage from their learning and integrity, an ample recompense for any inconvenience from their passion; and yet, by the prodigious impiety of those times, the latter was only looked on with malice and revenge, without any reverence or gratitude for the former.

When the king found himself possessed of all that tranquillity mentioned before, that he had no reason to apprehend any enemies from abroad, and less any insurrections at home, against which no kingdom in Christendom, in the constitution of its government, in the solidity and execution of the laws, and in the nature and disposition of the people, was more secure than England; that he might take a nearer view of those great blessings which God had poured upon him, he resolved to make a progress into the northern parts of his kingdom, and to be solemnly crowned in his kingdom of Scotland, which he had never seen from the time he first left it, when he was of the age of two years, and no more. In order to this journey, which was made with great splendour, and proportionable expense, he added to the train of his court many of the greatest nobility, who cared not to add to the pomp of the court at their own charge, which they were obliged to do, and did with all visible alacrity submit to the king's pleasure, as soon as they knew his desire; and so his attendance in all respects was proportionable to the glory of the greatest king.

This whole progress was made, from the first setting out to the end of it, with the greatest magnificence imaginable; and the highest excess of feasting was then introduced, or, at least, carried to a height it had never been before; and from whence it hardly declined afterwards, to the great damage and mischief of the nation in their estates and manners. All persons of quality and condition, who lived within distance of the northern road, received the great persons of the nobility with that hospitality which became them; in which all cost was employed to make their entertainments splendid, and their houses capable for those entertainments. And the king himself met with many treatments of that nature, at the charge of particular men, who desired the honour of his presence, which had been rarely practised till then by the persons of the best condition, though it hath since grown into a very inconvenient custom. But when he passed through Nottinghamshire, both king and court were received and entertained by the earl of Newcastle, and at his own proper expense, in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, as had never before been known in England; and would be still thought very prodigious, if the same noble person had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the king and queen a more stupendous entertainment; which, (God be thanked,) though possibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to excess, no man ever after imitated.

The great offices of the court, and principal places of attendance upon the king's person, were then upon the matter equally divided between the

English and the Scots; the marquis of Hamilton master of the horse, and the earl of Carlisle first gentleman of the bedchamber, and almost all the second relation in that place, being of that kingdom; so that there was as it were an emulation between the two nations, which should appear in the greatest lustre, in clothes, horses, and attendance: and as there were (as is said before) many of the principal nobility of England, who attended upon the king, and who were not of the court; so the court was never without many Scots volunteers, and their number was well increased upon this occasion in nobility and gentry, who were resolved to convince all those who had believed their country to be very poor.

The king no sooner entered Scotland, but all his English servants and officers yielded up their attendance to those of the Scots nation, who were admitted into the same offices in Scotland, or had some titles to those relations by the constitution of that kingdom; as most of the great offices are held by inheritance; as the duke of Richmond and Lenox was then high steward, and high admiral of Scotland by descent, as others had the like possession of other places; so that all the tables of the house, which had been kept by the English officers, were laid down, and taken up again by the Scots, who kept them up with the same order, and equal splendour, and treated the English with all the freedom and courtesy imaginable; as all the nobility of that nation did, at their own expense, where their offices did not entitle them to tables at the charge of the crown, keep very noble houses to entertain their new guests; who had so often and so well entertained them: and it cannot be denied, the whole behaviour of that nation towards the English was as generous and obliging as could be expected; and the king appeared with no less lustre at Edinburgh, than at Whitehall; and in this pomp his coronation passed with all the solemnity and evidence of public joy that can be imagined, or could be expected; and the parliament, then held, with no less demonstration of duty, passed and presented those acts which were prepared for them to the royal sceptre; in which were some laws which restrained the extravagant power of the nobility, which, in many cases, they had long exercised, and the diminution whereof they took very heavily, though at that time they took little notice of it; the king being absolutely advised in all the affairs of that kingdom then, and long before, and after, by the sole counsel of the marquis of Hamilton, who was, or at least then believed to be, of the greatest interest of any subject in that kingdom, of whom more will be said hereafter.

The king was very well pleased with his reception, and with all the transactions there; nor indeed was there any thing to be blamed, but the luxury and vast expense, which abounded in all respects of feasting and clothes with too much license: which being imputed to the commendable zeal of the people of all conditions, to see their king amongst them, whom they were not like to see there again, and so their expense was to be but once made, and to the natural pride and vanity of that people, who will bear any inconveniences in it or from it, than confess the poverty of their country, no man had cause to suspect any mischief from it: and yet the debts contracted at that time by the nobility and gentry, and the wants and

temptations they found themselves exposed to, from that unlimited expense, did very much contribute to the kindling that fire, which shortly after broke out in so terrible a combustion: nor were the sparks of murmur and sedition then so well covered, but that many discerning men discovered very pernicious designs to lurk in their breasts, who seemed to have the most cheerful countenance, and who acted great parts in the pomp and triumph. And it evidently appeared, that they of that nation, who shined most in the court of England, had the least influence in their own country, except only the marquis of Hamilton, whose affection to his master was even then suspected by the wisest men in both kingdoms; and that the immense bounties the king and his father had scattered amongst those of that nation, out of the wealth of England, besides that he had sacrificed the whole revenue and benefit of that kingdom to themselves, were not looked upon as any benefit to that people, but as obligations cast away upon particular men; many of whom had with it wasted their own patrimony in their country.

The king himself observed many of the nobility to endeavour to make themselves popular by speaking in parliament against those things which were most grateful to his majesty, and which still passed, notwithstanding their contradiction; and he thought a little discountenance upon those persons would either suppress that spirit within themselves, or make the poison of it less operative upon others. But as those acts of discountenance were too often believed to proceed from the displeasure of the marquis of Hamilton, and so rather advanced than depressed the object, so that people have naturally an admirable dexterity in sheltering themselves from any of those acts of discountenance, which they had no mind to own; (as they are equal promoters and promulgators of it, though not intended when they can make benefit by it;) when it hath been notoriously visible, and it was then notorious, that many of the persons then, as the earl of Rothes, and others, of whom the king had the worst opinion, and from whom he most purposely withheld any grace by never speaking to them, or taking notice of them in the court, when the king was abroad in the fields, or passing through villages, when the greatest crowds of people flocked to see him, those men would still be next him, and entertain him with some discourse, and pleasant relations, which the king's gentle disposition could not avoid, and which made those persons to be generally believed to be most acceptable to his majesty; upon which the lord Falkland was wont to say, "that keeping of state was like committing adultery, there must go two to it;" for let the proudest or most formal man resolve to keep what distance he will towards others, a bold and confident man instantly demolishes that whole machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own laws of conversation.

The king was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the church, as believing in his soul the church of England to be instituted the nearest to the practice of the apostles, and the best for the propagation and advancement of Christian religion, of any church in the world: and on the other side, though no man was more averse from the Romish church than he was, nor better understood the motives of their separation

from us, and animosity against us, he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects, who were against the government established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people; who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find, or make, to disturb and withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection; and therefore he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that temper and disposition to be watched and provided against in England; and if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy. In Scotland indeed it covered the whole nation, so that though there were bishops in name, the whole jurisdiction, and they themselves were, upon the matter, subject to an assembly, which was purely presbyterian; no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness: the clergy, for the most part, corrupted in their principles; at least, (for it cannot be denied but that their universities, especially Aberdeen, flourished under many excellent scholars and very learned men,) none countenanced by the great men, or favoured by the people, but such; yet, though all the cathedral churches were totally neglected with reference to those administrations over the whole kingdom, yet the king's own chapel at Holyrood-house had still been maintained with the decency and splendour of the cathedral service, and all other formalities incident to the royal chapel; and the whole nation seemed, in the time of king James, well inclined to receive the liturgy of the church of England, which the king exceedingly desired, and was so confident of, that they who were privy to the counsels of that king in that time did believe, that the bringing that work to pass was the principal end of his progress thither some years before his death; though he was not so well satisfied at his being there, two or three of the principal persons trusted by him in the government of that kingdom, dying in or about that very time: but [though] he returned without making any visible attempt in that affair, yet he retained still the purpose and resolution to his death to bring it to pass. However, his two or three last years were less pleasant to him, by the prince's voyage into Spain, the jealousies which, about that time, began in England, and the impetuous proceedings in parliament there, so that he thought it necessary to suspend any prosecution of that design, until a more favourable conjuncture, and he lived not to see that conjuncture.

The king his son, who, with his kingdoms and other virtues, inherited that zeal for religion, proposed nothing more to himself, than to unite his three kingdoms in one form of God's worship, and in a uniformity in public devotions; and there being now so great a serenity in all his dominions as is mentioned before, there is great reason to believe, that in this journey into Scotland to be crowned, he carried the resolution with him to finish that important business in the church at the same time. And to that end, the then bishop of London, Dr. Laud, attended on his majesty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was dean of the chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that design had not been in view; to accomplish which he was not less solicitous than the king himself, nor the king the less solicitous for his advice. He preached in

the royal chapel, (which scarce any Englishman had ever done before in the king's presence,) and principally upon the benefit of conformity, and the reverent ceremonies of the church, with all the marks of approbation and applause imaginable; the great civility of that people being so notorious and universal, that they would not appear unconformable to his majesty's wish in any particular. And many wise men were then and still are of opinion, that if the king had then proposed the liturgy of the church of England to have been received and practised by that nation, it would have been submitted to against all opposition: but, upon mature consideration, the king concluded that it was not a good season to promote that business.

He had passed two or three acts of parliament, which had much lessened the authority and dependence of the nobility and great men, and incensed and disposed them proportionably to cross and oppose any proposition, which would be most grateful; and that tharteous humour was enough discovered to rule in the breasts of many, who made the greatest professions. Yet this was not the obstruction which diverted the king: the party that was averse from the thing, and abhorred any thought of conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have stopped the progress of it; the mischief was, that they who most desired it, and were most concerned to promote it, were the men who used all their credit to divert the present attempting it; and the bishops themselves, whose interest was to be most advanced thereby, applied all their counsels secretly to have the matter more maturely considered; and the whole design was never consulted but privately, and only some few of the great men of that nation, and some of the bishops, advised with by the king, and the bishop of London; it being manifest enough, that as the finishing that great affair must be very grateful to England, so the English must not appear to have a hand in the contriving and promoting it.

The same, who did not only pretend, but really and heartily wish, that they might have a liturgy to order and regulate the worship of God in their churches, and did very well approve the ceremonies established in the church of England, and desired to submit and practise the same there, had no mind that the very liturgy of the church of England should be proposed to, or accepted by them; for which they offered two prudential reasons, as their observations upon the nature and humour of the nation, and upon the conferences they had often had with the best men upon that subject, which was often agitated in discourse, upon what had been formerly projected by king James, and upon what frequently occurred to wise men in discourses upon the thing itself, and the desirableness of it.

The first was, that the English liturgy, how piously and wisely soever framed and instituted, had found great opposition: and though the matter of the ceremonies had wrought for the most part only upon light-headed, weak men, whose satisfaction was not to be laboured; yet there were many grave and learned men, who excepted against some particulars, which would not be so easily answered; "That the reading Psalms being of the old translation were in many particulars so different from the new and better translation, that many instances might be given of importance to the sense and truth of scripture." They

said somewhat of the same nature concerning the translation of the Epistles and Gospels, and some other exceptions against reading the Apocrypha, and some other particulars of less moment; and desired, "that, in forming a liturgy for their church, they might, by reforming those several instances, give satisfaction to good men, who would thereupon be easily induced to submit to it."

The other, which no doubt but took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, "that the kingdom of Scotland generally had been long jealous, that, by the king's continued absence from them, [it] should by degrees be reduced to be but as a province to England, and subject to their laws and government, which it would never submit to; nor would any man of honour, who loved the king best, and respected England most, ever consent to bring that dishonour upon his country. If the very liturgy, in the terms it is constituted and practised in England, should be offered to them, it would kindle and inflame that jealousy, as the prologue and introduction to that design, and as the first rung of the ladder, which should serve to mount over all their customs and privileges, and be opposed and detested accordingly: whereas, if his majesty would give order for the preparing a liturgy, with those few desirable alterations, it would easily be done; and in the mean time they would so dispose the minds of the people for the reception of it, that they should even desire it." And this expedient was so passionately and vehemently urged even by the bishops, that, however they referred to the minds and humours of other men, it was manifest enough, that the exception and advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts.

The bishop of London, who was always present with the king at these debates, was exceedingly troubled at this interjection, and to find those men the instruments in it, who had seemed to him as solicitous for the expedition, as zealous for the thing itself, and who could not but suffer by the delay. He knew well how far any enemies to conformity would be from being satisfied with those small alterations, which being consented to, they would with more confidence, though less reason, frame other exceptions, and insist upon them with more obstinacy. He foresaw the difficulties which would arise in rejecting, or altering, or adding to the liturgy, which had so great authority, and had, by the practice of near fourscore years, obtained great veneration from all protestants; and how much easier it would be to make objections against any thing that should be new, than against the old; and would therefore have been very glad that the former resolution might be pursued; there having never been any thought in the time of king James, or the present king, but of the English liturgy; besides that any variation from it, in how small matters soever, would make the uniformity the less, the manifestation whereof was that which was most aimed at and desired.

The king had exceedingly set his heart upon the matter, and was as much scandalized as any man at the disorder and indecency in the exercise of religion in that church: yet he was affected with what was offered for a little delay in the execution, and knew more of the ill humour and practices amongst the greatest men of the kingdom at that

season, than the bishop did, and believed he could better compose and reduce them in a little time, and at a distance, than at the present, and whilst he was amongst them. Besides he was in his nature too much inclined to the Scots nation, having been born amongst them, and as jealous as any one of them could be that their liberties and privileges might not be invaded by the English, who, he knew, had no reverence for them: and therefore the objection, "that it would look like an imposition from England, if a form, settled in parliament at Westminster, should without any alteration be tendered (though by himself) to be submitted to, and observed in Scotland," made a deep impression in his majesty.

In a word, he committed the framing and composing such a liturgy as would most probably be acceptable to that people, to a select number of the bishops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and so his majesty returned into England, at the time proposed to himself, without having ever proposed, or made the least approach in public towards any alteration in the church.

It had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that affair, and that, since it was not ready to promote it, nothing had been transacted, which accidentally alienated the affections of the people from it; and this was imputed to the bishop of London, who was like enough to be guilty of it, since he did naturally believe, that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the church, than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust: and this opinion and the prosecution of it (though his integrity was unquestionable, and his zeal as great for the good and honour of the state, as for the advancement and security of the church) was the unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and of the prejudice towards, and malice against, and almost destruction of the church.

During the king's stay in Scotland, when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good order which he intended in the church, he resolved to leave a monument behind him of his own affection and esteem of it. Edinburgh, though the metropolis of the kingdom, and the chief seat of the king's own residence, and the place where the council of state and the courts of justice still remained, was but a borough town within the diocese of the archbishop of saint Andrew's, and governed in all church affairs by the preachers of the town; who, being chosen by the citizens from the time of Mr. Knox, (who had a principal hand in the suppression of popery, with circumstances not very commendable to this day,) had been the most turbulent and seditious ministers of confusion that could be found in the kingdom; of which king James had so sad experience, after he came to age, as well as in his minority, that he would often say, "that his access to the crown of England was the more valuable to him, as it redeemed him from the subjection to their ill manners and insolent practices, which he could never shake off before." The king, before his return from thence, with the full consent and approbation of the archbishop of saint Andrew's, erected Edinburgh into a bishopric, assigned it a good and convenient jurisdiction out of the nearest limits of the diocese of saint Andrew's, appointed the fairest church in the town to be the cathedral, settled a competent revenue

upon the bishop out of lands purchased by his majesty himself from the duke of Lenox, who sold it much the cheaper, that it might be consecrated to so pious an end; and placed a very eminent scholar of a good family in the kingdom, who had been educated in the university of Cambridge, to be the first bishop in that his new city; and made another person, of good fame and learning, his first dean of his new cathedral, upon whom likewise he settled a proper maintenance; hoping by this means the better to prepare the people of the place, who were the most numerous and richest of the kingdom, to have a due reverence to order and government, and at least to discountenance, if not suppress, the factious spirit of presbytery, which had so long ruled there. But this application little contributed thereunto: and the people generally thought, that they had too many bishops before, and so the increasing the number was not like to be very grateful to them.

The bishops had indeed very little interest in the affection of that nation, and less authority over it; they had not power to reform or regulate their own cathedrals, and very rarely shewed themselves in the habit and robes of bishops; and durst not contest with the general assembly in matters of jurisdiction: so that there was little more than the name of episcopacy preserved in that church. To redeem them from that contempt, and to shew that they should be considerable in the state, how little authority soever they were permitted to have in the church, the king made the archbishop of saint Andrew's, a learned, wise, and pious man, and of long experience, chancellor of the kingdom, (the greatest office, and which had never been in the hands of a churchman since the reformation of religion, and suppressing the pope's authority,) and four or five other bishops of the privy-council, or lords of the session; which his majesty presumed, by their power in the civil government, and in the judicatories of the kingdom, would render them so much the more revered, and the better enable them to settle the affairs of the church: which fell out otherwise too; and it had been better that envious promotion had been suspended, till by their grave and pious deportment they had wrought upon their clergy to be better disposed to obey them, and upon the people to like order and discipline; and till by these means the liturgy had been settled, and received amongst them; and then the advancing some of them to greater honour might have done well.

But this unseasonable accumulation of so many honours upon them, to which their functions did not entitle them, (no bishop having been so much as a privy-councillor in very many years,) exposed them to the universal envy of the whole nobility, many whereof wished them well, as to all their ecclesiastical qualifications, but could not endure to see them possessed of those offices and employments, which they looked upon as naturally belonging to them; and then the number of them was thought too great, so that they overbalanced many debates; and some of them, by want of temper, or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that decency in their debates, towards the greatest men of the kingdom, as in discretion they ought to have done, and as the others reasonably expected from them: so that, instead of bringing any advantage to the church, or facilitating the good intentions of the king in settling order and government, it produced a more general

prejudice to it; though for the present there appeared no sign of discontent, or ill-will to them; and the king left Scotland, as he believed, full of affection and duty to him, and well inclined to receive a liturgy, when he should think it seasonable to commend it to them.

It was about the end of August in the year 1633, when the king returned from Scotland to Greenwich, where the queen kept her court; and the first accident of moment, that happened after his coming thither, was the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; who had sat too many years in that see, and had too great a jurisdiction over the church, though he was without any credit in the court from the death of king James, and had not much in many years before. He had been head or master of one of the poorest colleges in Oxford, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which, in that time, was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the earl of Dunbar, the king's first Scotch favourite, he was preferred by king James to the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, and presently after to London, before he had been parson, vicar, or curate of any parish-church in England, or dean or prebend of any cathedral church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward.

He had scarce performed any part of the office of a bishop in the diocese of London, when he was snatched from thence, and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr. Bancroft, that metropolitan, who understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists, by and after the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study, than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England, which had been kindled at Geneva; or if he had been succeeded by bishop Andrews, bishop Overal, or any man who understood and loved the church, that infection would easily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise, than as it abhorred and reviled popery, and valued those men most, who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered wholly to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him. And though many other bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs, which daily broke in to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and

remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the king, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections, and, from the time of his being chancellor of Oxford, had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the church of England; yet that temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order, that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill inhabited by many weak, and more wilful churchmen.

It was within one week after the king's return from Scotland, that Abbot died at his house at Lambeth. And the king took very little time to consider who should be his successor, but the very next time the bishop of London (who was longer upon his way home than the king had been) came to him, his majesty entertained him very cheerfully with this compellation, *My lord's grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome*; and gave order the same day for the dispatch of all the necessary forms for the translation: so that within a month or thereabouts after the death of the other archbishop, he was completely invested in that high dignity, and settled in his palace at Lambeth. This great prelate had been before in great favour with the duke of Buckingham, whose great confidant he was, and by him recommended to the king, as fittest to be trusted in the conferring all ecclesiastical preferments, when he was but bishop of St. David's, or newly preferred to Bath and Wells; and from that time he entirely governed that province without a rival: so that his promotion to Canterbury was long foreseen and expected; nor was it attended with any increase of envy or dislike.

He was a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was, (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was born of honest parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the schools of learning, from whence they sent him to St. John's college in Oxford, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous university. From a scholar he became a fellow, and then the president of that college, after he had received all the graces and degrees (the proctorship and the doctorship) could be obtained there. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their useful maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, papist; and under this senseless appellation they created him many troubles and vexations; and so far suppressed him, that though he was the king's chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent preacher, and a scholar of the most sublime parts, he had not any

preferment to invite him to leave his poor college, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was past: and when he was promoted by king James, it was but to a poor bishopric in Wales, which was not so good a support for a bishop, as his college was for a private scholar, though a doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy; and the party under which he had suffered a continual persecution, appeared very powerful, and full of design, and they who had the courage to oppose them, began to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance: and under this style he came to be first cherished by the duke of Buckingham, after he had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren diocese of St. David's, into a warmer climate, he was left, as was said before, by that omnipotent favourite in that great trust with the king, who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons or the principles of Mr. Calvin's disciples.

When he came into great authority, it may be, he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and, I doubt, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that, as they accused him of popery, because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to popery; so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points; when they abhorred his discipline, and revered the government of the church, and prayed for the peace of it with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom; as they made manifest in their lives, and in their sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that classis of men; and, as soon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase of that faction, and to restrain those who were inclined to it, from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his power at court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult reformation, whilst he had a superior in the church, who, having the reins in his hand, could slacken them according to his own humour and indiscretion; and was thought to be the more remiss, to irritate his cholerick disposition. But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the king being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases, which he saw would grow apace.

In the end of September of the year 1633, he was invested in the title, power, and jurisdiction of archbishop of Canterbury, and entirely in possession of the revenue thereof, without a rival in church or state; that is, no man professed to oppose his greatness; and he had never interposed or appeared in matter of state to this time. His first care was, that the place he was removed from might be supplied with a man who would be vigilant to pull up those weeds, which the London soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old friend and companion Dr. Juxon as near to him

as he could. They had been fellows together in one college in Oxford, and, when he was first made bishop of saint David's, he made him president of that college: when he could no longer keep the deanery of the chapel royal, he made him his successor in that near attendance upon the king: and now he was raised to be archbishop, he easily prevailed with the king to make the other, bishop of London, before, or very soon after, he had been consecrated bishop of Hereford, if he were more than elect of that church.

It was now a time of great ease and tranquillity; the king (as hath been said before) had made himself superior to all those difficulties and straits he had to contend with the four first years he came to the crown at home; and was now revered by all his neighbours, who all needed his friendship, and desired to have it; the wealth of the kingdom notorious to all the world, and the general temper and humour of it little inclined to the papists, and less to the puritan. There were some late taxes and impositions introduced, which rather angered than grieved the people, who were more than repaired by the quiet, peace, and prosperity they enjoyed; and the murmur and discontent that was, appeared to be against the excess of power exercised by the crown, and supported by the judges in Westminster-hall. The church was not repined at, nor the least inclination to alter the government and discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine. Nor was there at that time any considerable number of persons of any valuable condition throughout the kingdom, who did wish either; and the cause of so prodigious a change in so few years after was too visible from the effects. The archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the church, in which he well knew he had the king's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition; and that he should need no other assistance.

Though the nation generally, as was said before, was without any ill talent to the church, either in the point of the doctrine, or the discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called innovation, and were easily persuaded, that any thing of that kind was but to please the papists. Some doctrinal points in controversy had been, in the late years, agitated in the pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had used to be; and thence the heat and animosity increased in books *pro* and *con* upon the same arguments: most of the popular preachers, who had not looked into the ancient learning, took Calvin's word for it, and did all they could to propagate his opinions in those points: they who had studied more, and were better versed in the antiquities of the church, the fathers, the councils, and the ecclesiastical histories, with the same heat and passion in preaching and writing defended the contrary.

But because, in the late dispute in the Dutch churches, those opinions were supported by Jacobus Arminius, the divinity professor in the university of Leyden in Holland, the latter men, we mentioned, were called Arminians; though many of them had never read a word written by Arminius. Either side defended and maintained their different opinions as the doctrine of the church of England, as the two great orders in the church of Rome, the Do-

minicans and Franciscans, did at the same time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableness, maintained the same opinions one against the other; either party professing to adhere to the doctrine of the catholic church, which had been ever wiser than to determine the controversy. And yet that party here, which could least support themselves with reason, were very solicitous, according to the ingenuity they always practise to advance any of their pretences, to have the people believe, that they who held with Arminius did intend to introduce popery; and truly the other side was no less willing to have it thought, that all, who adhered to Calvin in those controversies, did in their hearts likewise adhere to him with reference to the discipline, and desired to change the government of the church, destroy the bishops, and so set up the discipline that he had established at Geneva; and so both sides found such reception generally with the people, as they were inclined to the persons; whereas, in truth, none of the one side were at all inclined to popery, and very many of the other were most affectionate to the peace and prosperity of the church, and very pious and learned men.

The archbishop had, all his life, eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a papist, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings, than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him, for their propagating that calumny against him. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself, that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs, than what was pious and just, (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the king, the church, or his country,) he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty and roughness; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into, and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or favour from him. He intended the discipline of the church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences, and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men's, or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court, and of the country, were every day cited into the high-commission court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment: and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched

for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned, and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul's church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused; which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the star-chamber more felt, and murmured against, which sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the church.

There were three persons most notorious for their declared malice against the government of the church by bishops, in their several books and writings, which they had published to corrupt the people, with circumstances very scandalous, and in language very scurrilous, and impudent; which all men thought deserved very exemplary punishment: they were of three several professions which had the most influence upon the people, a divine, a common lawyer, and a doctor of physic; none of them of interest, or any esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, having been formerly all looked upon under characters of reproach: yet when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, (as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors used to be, when they were not able to redeem themselves by any fine for their trespasses, or to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had raised against the good name and reputation of others,) men began no more to consider their manners, but the men; and every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.

The remissness of Abbot, and of other bishops by his example, had introduced, or at least connived at, a negligence, that gave great scandal to the church, and no doubt offended very many pious men. The people took so little care of the churches, and the parsons as little of the chancels, that, instead of beautifying or adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided for their stability and against the very falling of very many of their churches; and suffered them at least to be kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses; the rain and the wind to infest them, and the sacraments themselves to be administered where the people had most mind to receive them. This profane liberty and uncleanness the archbishop resolved to reform with all expedition, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in so pious a work; and the work sure was very grateful to all men of devotion: yet, I know not how, the prosecution of it with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the ministers and the parishioners, raised an evil spirit towards the church, which the enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had opportunity to make the worst use of it.

The removing the communion table out of the body of the church, where it had used to stand, and used to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the chancel, which frequently made the buying a new table to be ne-

cessary; the inclosing it with a rail of joiner's work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of dogs, and all servile uses; the obliging all persons to come up to those rails to receive the sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent persons, who loved order and decency, (for acceptable it was to such,) yet introduced first murmurings amongst the people, upon the very charge and expense of it; and if the minister were not a man of discretion and reputation to compose and reconcile those indispositions, (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed and increased the distemper,) it begat suits and appeals at law. The opinion that there was no necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too much done, brought the power and jurisdiction to impose the doing of it, to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture, in the celebration of it, brought in new disputes, and administered new subjects of offence, according to the custom of the place, and humour of the people; and those disputes brought in new words and terms (altar, and adoration, and genuflexion, and other expressions) for the more perspicuous carrying on those disputations. New books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the life of Christianity had been at stake. There was not an equal concurrence, in the prosecution of this matter, amongst the bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it, from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient disputes, when the subordinate clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of, but expressly against the diocesan's injunctions, to make those alterations and reformati-
 ons themselves, and by their own authority.

The archbishop, guided purely by his zeal, and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of the church, with the custom observed in the king's chapel, and in most cathedral churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuance in many other places, prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the season; and had prejudice against those, who, out of fear or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were at least as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several dioceses; and some of them with more passion and less circumspection, than they had his example for, or than he approved; prosecuting those who opposed them very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance. Whilst other bishops, not so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who had not been behold-
 ing to him, nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the execution of those orders not intended; and not the less pleased to find, that the prejudice of that whole transaction reflected solely upon the archbishop.

The bishop of Lincoln (Williams) who had been heretofore lord keeper of the great seal of England, and the most generally abominated whilst he had been so, was, since his disgrace at court, and prosecution from thence, become very popular; and

having faults enough to be ashamed of, the punishment whereof threatened him every day, he was very willing to change the scene, and to be brought upon the stage for opposing these innovations (as he called them) in religion. It was an unlucky word, and cozened very many honest men into apprehensions very prejudicial to the king and to the church. He published a discourse and treatise against the matter and manner of the prosecution of that matter; a book so full of good learning, and that learning so close and solidly applied, (though it abounded with too many light expressions,) that it gained him reputation enough to be able to do hurt; and shewed that, in his retirement, he had spent his time with his books very profitably. He used all the wit and all the malice he could, to awaken the people to a jealousy of these agitations and innovations in the exercise of religion; not without insinuations that it aimed at greater alterations, for which he knew the people would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believed that the archbishop was his greatest enemy, for his having constantly opposed his rising to any government in the church, as a man whose hot and hasty spirit he had long known.

Though there were other books written with good learning, and which sufficiently answered the bishop's book, and to men of equal and dispassionate inclinations fully vindicated the proceedings which had been, and were still, very fervently carried on; yet it was done by men whose names were not much revered by many men, and who were taken notice of, with great insolence and asperity to undertake the defence of all things which the people generally were displeased with, and who did not affect to be much cared for by those of their own order. So that from this unhappy subject, not in itself of that important value to be either entered upon with that resolution, or to be carried on with that passion, proceeded upon the matter a schism amongst the bishops themselves, and a world of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate clergy, towards one another: which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the enemies of the church to do it hurt, and added to the number of them. For without doubt, many who loved the established government of the church, and the exercise of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, nor did dislike the order and decency, which they saw mended, yet they liked not any novelties, and so were liable to entertain jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto proposed; especially when those infusions proceeded from men unsuspected to have any inclinations to change, and from known assertors of the government both in church and state. They did observe the inferior clergy took more upon them than they had used to do, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that civility and condescension they had used to do; which disposed them likewise to a withdrawing their good countenance and good neighbourhood from them.

The archbishop had not been long at Canterbury, when there was another great alteration in the court by the death of the earl of Portland, high treasurer of England; a man so jealous of the archbishop's credit with the king, that he always endeavoured to lessen it by all the arts and ways

he could; which he was so far from effecting, that, as it usually falls out, when passion and malice make accusation, by suggesting many particulars which the king knew to be untrue, or believed to be no faults, he rather confirmed his majesty's judgment of him, and prejudiced his own reputation. His death caused no grief in the archbishop; who was upon it made one of the commissioners of the treasury and revenue, which he had reason to be sorry for, because it engaged him in civil business and matters of state, in which he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being obliged to it now by his trust, he entered upon it with his natural earnestness and warmth, making it his principal care to advance and improve the king's revenue by all the ways which were offered, and so hearkened to all informations and propositions of that kind; and having not had experience of that tribe of people who deal in that traffick, (a confident, senseless, and for the most part a naughty people,) he was sometimes misled by them to think better of some projects than they deserved: but when he was so entirely devoted to what would be beneficial to the king, that all propositions and designs, which were for the profit (only or principally) of particular persons how great soever, were opposed and crossed, and very often totally suppressed and stifled in their birth, by his power and authority; which created him enemies enough in the court, and many of ability to do mischief, who knew well how to recompense discourtesies, which they always called injuries.

And the revenue of too many of the court consisted principally in enclosures, and improvements of that nature, which he still opposed passionately, except they were founded upon law; and then, if it would bring profit to the king, how old and obsolete soever the law was, he thought he might justly advise the prosecution. And so he did a little too much countenance the commission for depopulation, which brought much charge and trouble upon the people, which was likewise cast upon his account.

He had observed, and knew it must be so, that the principal officers of the revenue, who governed the affairs of money, had always access to the king, and spent more time with him in private than any of his servants or counsellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do good or ill offices to many men; of which he had had experience, when the earl of Portland was treasurer, and the lord Cottington chancellor of the exchequer; neither of them being his friends; and the latter still enjoying that place, and having his former access, and so continuing a joint commissioner of the treasury with him, and understanding that province much better, he still opposed, and commonly carried every thing against him: so that he was weary of the toil and vexation of that business; as all other men were, and still are of the delays which are in all dispatches, whilst that office is executed by commission.

The treasurer's is the greatest office of benefit in the kingdom, and the chief in precedence next the archbishop's, and the great seal: so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office; and the greatest of the nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them; such offices commonly making way for more removes and preferments: when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands

of the bishop of London, a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom, who had been within two years before but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford. This inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop, (who was the known architect of this new fabric,) but most unjustly indisposed many towards the church itself; which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest.

In the mean time the archbishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger support for the church; and never abated any thing of his severity and rigour towards men of all conditions, or in the sharpness of his language and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some commotion, when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate, even in the council, where all men are equally free, with that patience and temper that was necessary; of which they who wished him not well took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be transported with some indecent passion; which, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for, and most readily and heartily would make acknowledgment. No man so willingly made unkind use of all those occasions, as the lord Cottington, who being a master of temper, and of the most profound dissimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a mistake, and then drive him into choler, and then expose him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgment of the company; and he chose to do this most when the king was present; and then he would dine with him the next day.

The king, who was excessively affected to hunting and the sports of the field, had a great desire to make a great park for red as well as fallow deer, between Richmond and Hampton court, where he had large wastes of his own, and great parcels of wood, which made it very fit for the use he designed it to: but as some parishes had common in those wastes, so many gentlemen and farmers had good houses and good farms intermingled with those wastes of their own inheritance, or for their lives, or years; and without taking in of them into the park, it would not be of the largeness or for the use proposed. His majesty desired to purchase those lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms than the people could sell them at to any body else, if they had occasion to part with them; and thought it no unreasonable thing, upon those terms, to expect from his subjects; and so he employed his own surveyor, and other of his officers, to treat with the owners, many whereof were his own tenants, whose terms would at last expire.

The major part of the people were in a short time prevailed with, but many very obstinately refused; and a gentleman, who had the best estate, with a convenient house and gardens, would by no means part with it; and the king being as earnest to compass it, it made a great noise, as if the king would take away men's estates at his own pleasure. The bishop of London, who was treasurer, and the lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, were, from the first entering upon it, very averse

from the design, not only for the murmur of the people, but because the purchase of the land, and the making a brick-wall about so large a parcel of ground, (for it is not less than ten or twelve miles about,) would cost a greater sum of money than they could easily provide, or than they thought ought to be sacrificed to such an occasion; and the lord Cottington (who was more solicited by the country people, and heard most of their murmurs) took the business most to heart, and endeavoured by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his majesty from pursuing it, and put all delays he could well do in the bargains which were to be made; till the king grew very angry with him, and told him, "he was resolved to go through with it, and had already caused brick to be burned, and much of the wall to be built upon his own land;" upon which Cottington thought fit to acquiesce.

The building the wall before people consented to part with their land, or their common, looked to them as if by degrees they should be shut out from both, and increased the murmur and noise of the people who were not concerned, as well as of them who were: and it was too near London not to be the common discourse; and the archbishop (who desired exceedingly that the king should be possessed as much of the hearts of the people as was possible, at least that they should have no just cause to complain) meeting with it, resolved to speak with the king of it; which he did, and received such an answer from him, that he thought his majesty rather not informed enough of the inconveniences and mischiefs of the thing, than positively resolved not to desist from it. Whereupon one day he took the lord Cottington aside, being informed that he disliked it, and, according to his natural custom, spake with great warmth against it, and told him, "he should do very well to give the king good counsel, and to withdraw him from a resolution, in which his honour and his justice was so much called in question." Cottington answered him very gravely, "that the thing designed was very lawful, and he thought the king resolved very well, and since the place lay so conveniently for his winter exercise, and that he should by it not be compelled to make so long journeys as he used to do, in that season of the year, for his sport, and that nobody ought to dissuade him from it."

The archbishop, instead of finding a concurrence from him, as he expected, seeing himself reproached upon the matter for his opinion, grew into much passion, telling him, "such men as he would ruin the king, and make him lose the affections of his subjects; that for his own part, as he had begun, so he would go on to dissuade the king from proceeding in so ill a counsel, and that he hoped it would appear who had been his counsellor." Cottington, glad to see him so soon hot, and resolved to inflame him more, very calmly

replied to him, "that he thought a man could not with a good conscience, hinder the king from pursuing his resolutions, and that it could not but proceed from want of affection to his person, and he was not sure that it might not be high treason." The other, upon the wildness of his discourse, in great anger asked him, "Why? from whence he had received that doctrine?" He said, with the same temper, "They, who did not wish the king's health, could not love him; and they, who went about to hinder his taking recreation, which preserved his health, might be thought, for aught he knew, guilty of the highest crimes." Upon which the archbishop in great rage, and with many reproaches, left him, and either presently, or upon the next opportunity, told the king, "that he now knew who was his great counsellor for making his park, and that he did not wonder that men durst not represent any arguments to the contrary, or let his majesty know how much he suffered in it, when such principles in divinity and law were laid down to terrify them;" and so recounted to him the conference he had with the lord Cottington, bitterly inveighing against him and his doctrine, mentioning him with all the sharp reproaches imaginable, and beseeching his majesty, "that his counsel might not prevail with him," taking some pains to make his conclusions appear very false and ridiculous.

The king said no more, but, "My lord, you are deceived; Cottington is too hard for you: upon my word, he hath not only dissuaded me more, and given more reasons against this business, than all the men in England have done, but hath really obstructed the work by not doing his duty, as I commanded him, for which I have been very much displeased with him: you see how unjustly your passion hath transported you." By which reprehension he found how much he had been abused, and resented it accordingly.

Whatsoever was the cause of it, this excellent man, who stood not upon the advantage ground before, from the time of his promotion to the archbishopric, or rather from that of his being commissioner of the treasury, exceedingly provoked, or underwent the envy, and reproach, and malice of men of all qualities and conditions; who agreed in nothing else: all which, though well enough known to him, were not enough considered by him, who believed, the government to be so firmly settled, that it could neither be shaken from within nor without, as most men did, and that less than a general confusion of law and gospel could not hurt him; which was true too: but he did not foresee how easily that confusion might be brought to pass, as it proved shortly to be. And with this general observation of the outward visible prosperity, and the inward reserved disposition of the people to murmur and unquietness, we conclude this first book.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK II.

IT was towards the end of the year 1633, when the king returned from Scotland, having left it to the care of some of the bishops there to provide such a liturgy, and such a book of canons, as might best suit the nature and humour of the better sort of that people; to which the rest would easily submit: and that, as fast as they made them ready, they should transmit them to the archbishop of Canterbury, to whose assistance the king joined the bishop of London, and doctor Wren, who, by that time, was become bishop of Norwich; a man of a severe, sour nature, but very learned, and particularly versed in the old liturgies of the Greek and Latin churches. And after his majesty should be this way certified of what was so sent, he would recommend and enjoin the practice and use of both to that his native kingdom. The bishops there had somewhat to do, before they went about the preparing the canons and the liturgy; what had passed at the king's being there in parliament had left bitter inclinations and unruly spirits in many of the most popular nobility; who watched only for an opportunity to inflame the people, and were well enough contented to see combustible matter every day gathered together to contribute to that fire.

The promoting so many bishops to be of the privy-council, and to sit in the courts of justice, seemed at first wonderfully to facilitate all that was in design, and to create an affection and reverence towards the church, at least an application to and dependence upon the greatest churchmen. So that there seemed to be not only a good preparation made with the people, but a general expectation, and even a desire that they might have a liturgy, and more decency observed in the church. And this temper was believed to be the more universal, because neither from any of the nobility, nor of the clergy, who were thought most averse from it, there appeared any sign of contradiction, nor that license of language against it, as was natural to that nation; but an entire acquiescence in all the bishops thought fit to do; which was interpreted to proceed from a conversion in their judgment, at least to a submission to the authority: whereas in truth, it appeared afterwards to be from the observation they made from the temper and indiscretion of those bishops in the greatest authority, that they were like to have more advantages administered to them by their ill managery, than they could raise by any contrivance of their own.

It was full two years, or very near so much, before the bishops in Scotland had prepared any thing to offer to the king towards their intended reformation; and then they inverted the proper method, and first presented a body of canons to precede the liturgy, which was not yet ready, they choosing to finish the shorter work first. The king referred the consideration of the canons, as he had before resolved to do, to the archbishop, and the other two bishops formerly named, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Norwich; who, after their perusal of them, and some alterations made with the consent of those bishops who brought them from Scotland, returned them to the king; and his majesty, impatient to see the good work entered upon without any other ceremony, (after having given his royal approbation,) issued out his proclamation for the due observation of them within his kingdom of Scotland.

It was a fatal inadvertency, that neither before nor after these canons were sent to the king they were never seen by the assembly, or any conyocation of the clergy, which was so strictly obliged to the observation of them; nor so much as communicated to the lords of the council of that kingdom; it being almost impossible that any new discipline could be introduced into the church, which would not much concern the government of the state, and even trench upon or refer to the municipal laws of the kingdom. And, in this consideration, the archbishop of Canterbury had always declared to the bishops of Scotland, "that it was their part to be sure, that nothing they should propose to the king in the business of the church, should be contrary to the laws of the land, which he could not be thought to understand; and that they should never put any thing in execution, without the consent and approbation of the privy-council." But it was the unhappy craft of those bishops to get it believed by the king, that the work would be grateful to the most considerable of the nobility, the clergy, and the people, (which they could hardly believe,) in order to the obtaining his majesty's approbation and authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find opposition from the nobility, clergy, or people, against his majesty's express power and will, which without doubt was then in great veneration in that kingdom; and so they did not in truth dare to submit those canons to any other examination, than what the king should direct in England.

It was, in the next place, as strange, that those canons should be published before the liturgy was prepared, (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts,) when three or four of the canons were principally for the observation and punctual compliance with the liturgy; which all the clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all obedience to what was enjoined by it, before they knew what it contained. Whereas, if the liturgy had been first published with all due circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better reception, and the canons less examined.

The Scotch nation, how capable soever it was of being led by some great men, and misled by the clergy, would have been corrupted by neither into a barefaced rebellion against their king, whose person they loved, and revered his government; nor could they have been wrought upon towards the lessening the one, or the other, by any other suggestions or infusions, than such as should make them jealous or apprehensive of a design to introduce popery; their whole religion consisting in an entire detestation of popery, in believing the pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the persons of all papists; and I doubt all others, who did not hate them.

The canons now published, besides (as hath been touched before) that they had passed no approbation of the clergy, or been communicated to the council, appeared to be so many new laws imposed upon the whole kingdom by the king's sole authority, and contrived by a few private men, of whom they had no good opinion, and who were strangers to the nation; so that it was no other than a subjection to England, by receiving laws from thence, of which they were most jealous, and which they most passionately abhorred. Then they were so far from being confined to the church, and the matters of religion, that they believed there was no part of their civil government uninvaded by them, and no persons of what quality soever unconcerned, and, as they thought, unhurt in them. And there were some things in some particular canons, how rational soever in themselves, and how distant soever in the words and expressions from inclining to popery, which yet gave too much advantage to those who maliciously watched the occasion to persuade weak men, that it was an approach and introduction to that religion, the very imagination whereof intoxicated all men, and deprived them of all faculties to examine and judge.

The first canon defined and determined such an unlimited "power and prerogative to be in the king, according to the pattern" (in express terms) "of the kings of Israel, and such a full supremacy in all causes ecclesiastical, as hath never been pretended to by their former kings, or submitted to by the clergy and laity of that nation;" and which made impression upon men of all tempers, humours, and inclinations. "That no ecclesiastical person should become surety, or bound for any man; that national or general assemblies should be called only by the king's authority; that all bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, who die without children, should be obliged to give a good part of their estates to the church, and, though they should have children, yet to leave somewhat to the church, and for advancement of learning;" which seemed rather to be matter of state, and

policy, than of religion; thwarted their laws and customs, which had been observed by them; lessened, if not took away the credit of churchmen; and prohibited them from that liberty of commerce in civil affairs, which the laws permitted to them; and reflected upon the interests of those who had, or might have, a right to inherit from clergymen. "That none should receive the sacrament but upon their knees; that the clergy should have no private meetings for expounding scripture, or for consulting upon matters ecclesiastical; that no man should cover his head in the time of divine service; and that no clergyman should conceive prayers *ex tempore*, but be bound to pray only by the form prescribed in the liturgy," (which, by the way, was not seen nor framed,) "and that no man should teach a public school, or in a private house, without a license first obtained from the archbishop of the province, or the bishop of the diocese."

All these were new, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they were all to be commended to a regular and orderly people, piously disposed, yet it was too strong meat for infants in discipline, and too much nourishment to be administered at once to weak and queasy stomachs, too much inclined to nauseate what was most wholesome. But then, to apply the old terms of the church, to mention "the *quatuor tempora*, and restrain all ordinations to those four seasons of the year; to enjoin a font to be prepared in every church for baptism, and a decent table for the communion; and to direct and appoint the places where both font and table should stand, and decent ornaments for either; to restrain any excommunication from being pronounced, or absolution from being given, without the approbation of the bishop; to mention any practice of confession," (which they looked upon as the strongest and most inseparable limb of Antichrist,) and to enjoin, "that no presbyter should reveal any thing he should receive in confession, except in such cases, where, by the law of the land, his own life should be forfeited;" were all such matters of innovation, and in their nature so suspicious, that they thought they had reason to be jealous of the worst that could follow; and the last canon of all provided, "that no person should be received in holy orders, or suffered to preach or administer the sacraments, without first subscribing to these canons."

It was now easy for them who had those inclinations, to suggest to men of all conditions, that here was an entire new model of government in church and state; the king might do what he would upon them all, and the church was nothing but what the bishops would have it be: which they every day infused into the minds of the people, with all the art and artifices which administer jealousies of all kinds to those who were liable to be disquieted with them: yet they would not suffer (which shewed wonderful power and wonderful dexterity) any disorder to break out upon all this occasion, but all was quiet, except spreading of libels against the bishops, and propagating that spirit as much as they could, by their correspondence in England; where they found too many every day transported by the same infusions, in expectation that these seeds of jealousy from the canons would grow apace, and produce a proper reception for the liturgy.

It was about the month of July, in the year 1637, that the liturgy (after it had been sent out of Scotland, and perused by the three bishops in England, and then approved and confirmed by the king) was published, and appointed to be read in all the churches. And in this particular there was the same affected and premeditated omission, as had been in the preparation and publication of the canons; the clergy not at all consulted in it, and, which was more strange, not all the bishops acquainted with it; which was less censured afterwards, when some of them renounced their function, and became ordinary presbyters, as soon as they saw the current of the time. The privy-council had no other notice of it, than all the kingdom had, the Sunday before, when it was declared, "that the next Sunday the liturgy should be read;" by which they were the less concerned to foresee or prevent any obstructions which might happen.

The proclamation had appointed it to be read the Easter before; but the earl of Traquair, high treasurer of Scotland, (who was the only counsellor or layman relied upon by the archbishop of Canterbury in that business,) persuaded the king to defer it till July, that some good preparation might be made for the more cheerful reception of it. And as this pause gave the discontented party more heart, and more time for their seditious negotiations, so the ill consequences of it, or the actions which were subsequent to it, made him suspected to be privy to all the conspiracy, and in truth to be an enemy to the church; though, in truth, there neither appeared then, nor in all the very unfortunate part of his life afterwards, any just ground for that accusation and suspicion: but as he was exceedingly obliged to the archbishop, so he was a man of great parts, and well affected to the work in hand in his own judgment; and if he had been as much depended upon, to have advised the bishops in the prosecution and for the conduct of it, as he was to assist them in the carrying on whatsoever they proposed, it is very probable, that either so much would not have been undertaken together, or that it would have succeeded better; for he was without doubt not inferior to any of that nation in wisdom and dexterity. And though he was often provoked, by the insolence and petulance of some of the bishops, to a dislike of their overmuch fervour, and too little discretion, his integrity to the king was without blemish, and his affection to the church so notorious, that he never deserted it, till both it and he were overrun, and trod under foot; and they who were the most notorious persecutors of it never left persecuting him to the death.

Nor was any thing done which he had proposed, for the better adjusting things in that time of that suspension, but every thing left in the same state of unconcernedness as it had been before; not so much as the council being better informed of it; as if they had been sure that all men would have submitted to it for conscience sake.

On the Sunday morning appointed for the work, the chancellor of Scotland and others of the council being present in the cathedral church, the dean began to read the liturgy, which he had no sooner entered upon, but a noise and clamour was raised throughout the church, that no voice could be heard distinctly, and then a shower of stones, and

sticks, and cudgels were thrown at the dean's head. The bishop went up into the pulpit, and from thence put them in mind of the sacredness of the place, of their duty to God and the king: but he found no more reverence, nor was the clamour or disorder less than before. The chancellor, from his seat, commanded the provost and magistrates of the city to descend from the gallery in which they sat, and by their authority to suppress the riot; which at last with great difficulty they did, by driving the rudest of those who made the disturbance out of the church, and shutting the doors, which gave the dean occasion to proceed in the reading of the liturgy, which was not at all attended or hearkened to by those who remained within the church; and if it had, they who were turned out continued their barbarous noise, broke the windows, and endeavoured to break down the doors; so that it was not possible for any to follow their devotions.

When all was done that at that time could be done there, and the council and magistrates went out of the church to their houses, the rabble followed the bishops with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in superstition and popery into the kingdom, and making the people slaves; and were not content to use their tongues, but employed their hands too in throwing dirt and stones at them; and treated the bishop of Edinburgh, whom they looked upon as most active that day, so rudely, that with difficulty he got into a house, after they had torn his habit, and was from thence removed to his own, with great hazard of his life. As this was the reception it had in the cathedral, so it fared not better in the other churches of the city, but was entertained with the same hollowing and outcries, and threatening the men, whose office it was to read it, with the same bitter execrations against bishops and popery.

Hitherto no person of condition or name appeared, or seemed to countenance this seditious confusion; it was the rabble, of which nobody was named, and, which is more strange, not one apprehended: and it seems the bishops thought it not of moment enough to desire or require any help or protection from the council; but without conferring with them, or applying themselves to them, they dispatched away an express to the king, with a full and particular information of all that had passed, and a desire that he would take that course he thought best for the carrying on his service.

Until this advertisement arrived from Scotland, there were very few in England who had heard of any disorders there, or of any thing done there, which might produce any. The king himself had been always so jealous of the privileges of that his native kingdom, (as hath been touched before,) and that it might not be dishonoured by a suspicion of having any dependence upon England, that he never suffered any thing relating to that to be debated, or so much as communicated to his privy-council in this, (though many of that nation were, without distinction, counsellors of England,) but handled all those affairs himself with two or three Scotsmen, who always attended in the court for the business of that kingdom, which was upon the matter still dispatched by the sole advice and direction of the marquis of Hamilton.

And the truth is, there was so little curiosity

either in the court, or the country, to know any thing of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette, so little the world heard or thought of that people; and even after the advertisement of this preamble to rebellion, no mention was made of it at the council-board, but such a dispatch made into Scotland upon it, as expressed the king's dislike and displeasure, and obliged the lords of the council there to appear more vigorously in the vindication of his authority, and suppression of those tumults. But all was too little. That people, after they had once begun, pursued the business vigorously, and with all imaginable contempt of the government; and though in the hubbub of the first day there appeared nobody of name or reckoning, but the actors were really of the dregs of the people; yet they discovered by the countenance of that day, that few men of rank were forward to engage themselves in the quarrel on the behalf of the bishops; whereupon more considerable persons every day appeared against them, and (as heretofore in the case of St. Paul, Acts xiii. 50, *the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women*) the women and ladies of the best quality declared themselves of the party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the bishops, as introducers of popery and superstition, against which they avowed themselves to be irreconcilable enemies: and their husbands did not long defer the owning the same spirit; in-somuch as within few days the bishops durst not appear in the streets, nor in any courts or houses, but were in danger of their lives; and such of the lords as durst be in their company, or seemed to desire to rescue them from violence, had their coaches torn in pieces, and their persons assaulted, in-somuch as they were glad to send for some of those great men, who did indeed govern the rabble, though they appeared not in it, who readily came and redeemed them out of their hands: so that by the time new orders came from England, there was scarce a bishop left in Edinburgh, and not a minister who durst read the liturgy in any church.

All the kingdom flocked to Edinburgh, as in a general cause that concerned their salvation, and resolved themselves into a method of government, erected several tables, in which deputies sat for the nobility, the gentlemen, the clergy, and the burgesses; out of either of which tables a council was elected to conduct their affairs, and a petition drawn up in the names of the nobility, lairds, clergy, and burgesses, to the king, complaining of the introduction of popery, and many other grievances. And if the lords of the council issued out any order against them, or if the king himself sent a proclamation for their repair to their houses, and for the preservation of the peace, presently some nobleman deputed by the tables published a protestation against those orders and proclamations, with the same confidence, and with as much formality, as if the government were regularly in their hands.

They called a general assembly, whither they summoned the bishops to appear before them, and for not appearing, excommunicated them; and

then they united themselves by subscribing a covenant, which they pretended, with their usual confidence, to be no other than had been subscribed in the reign of king James, and that his majesty himself had subscribed it; by which imposition people of all degrees, supposing it might be a means to extinguish the present fire, with all alacrity engaged themselves in it; whereas in truth, they had inserted a clause never heard of, and quite contrary to the end of that covenant, whereby they obliged themselves to pursue the extirpation of bishops, and had the impudence to demand the same in express terms of the king, in answer to a very gracious message the king had sent to them. They published bitter invectives against the bishops and the whole government of the church, which they were not contented to send only into England to kindle the same fire there, but, with their letters, sent them to all the reformed churches, by which they raised so great a prejudice to the king, that too many of them believed, that the king had a real design to change religion, and to introduce popery.

It is very true, there were very many of the nobility, and persons of principal quality of that nation, and in Edinburgh at that time, who did not appear yet, and concur in this seditious behaviour, or own their being yet of their party; but on the contrary seemed very much to dislike their proceedings: but it is as true, that very few had the courage to do any thing in opposition to them, or to concur in the prosecution of any regal act against them; and did in some respects more advance their designs, than if they had manifestly joined with them. For these men, many of whom were of the council, by all their letters into England, exceedingly undervalued the disorder, as being "very easy to be suppressed in a short time, when the people's eyes should be opened; and that the removing the courts to some other place, and a gracious condescension in the king in offering pardon for what was past, would suddenly subdue them, and every body would return to his duty:" and the city of Edinburgh itself writ an humble letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, excusing the disorders which had been raised by the ignorance and rudeness of the meanest of the people, besought him "to intercede with his majesty for the suspension of his prejudice to them, till they should manifest their duty to him, by inflicting exemplary punishment upon the chief offenders, and causing the liturgy to be received and submitted to in all their churches;" which they professed they would in a short time bring to pass. So that by this means, and the interposition of all those of that nation who attended upon his majesty in his bedchamber, and in several offices at court, who all undertook to know by their intelligences that all was quiet, or would speedily be so; his majesty (who well knew that they who appeared most active in this confederacy were much inferior to those who did not appear, and who professed great zeal for his service) hardly prevailed with himself to believe that he could receive any disturbance from thence, till he found all his condescensions had raised their insolence, all his offers rejected, and his proclamation of pardon slighted and contemned; and that they were listing men towards the raising an army, under the obligation of their

covenant, and had already chosen colonel Lesley, a soldier of that nation of long experience and eminent command under the king of Sweden in Germany, to be their general; who being lately disobliged (as they called it) by the king, that is, denied somewhat he had a mind to have, which to that people was always the highest injury, had accepted of the command. Then at last the king thought it time to resort to other counsels, and to provide force to chastise them, who had so much despised all the gentler remedies.

He could now no longer defer the acquainting his council-board, and the whole kingdom of England, with the indignities he had sustained in Scotland; which he did by proclamations and declarations at large, setting out the whole proceedings which had been; and in the end of the year 1638 declared his resolution to raise an army to suppress their rebellion, for which he gave present order.

And this was the first alarm England received towards any trouble, after it had enjoyed for so many years the most uninterrupted prosperity, in a full and plentiful peace, that any nation could be blessed with: and as there was no apprehension of trouble from within, so it was secured from without by a stronger fleet at sea than the nation had ever been acquainted with, which drew reverence from all the neighbour princes. The revenue had been so well improved, and so warily managed, that there was money in the exchequer proportionable for the undertaking any noble enterprise: nor did this first noise of war and approach towards action seem to make any impression upon the minds of men, the Scots being in no degree either loved or feared by the people; and most men hoped, that this would free the court from being henceforth troubled with those vermin; and so seemed to embrace the occasion with notable alacrity: and there is no doubt, but if that whole nation had been entirely united in the rebellion, and all who stayed in the court had marched in their army, and publicly owned the covenant, which in their hearts they adored, neither king nor kingdom could have sustained any damage by them; but the monument of their presumption and their shame would have been raised together, and no other memory preserved of their rebellion but in their memorable and infamous defeat.

God Almighty would not suffer this discerning spirit of wisdom to govern at this time: the king thought it unjust to condemn a nation for the transgression of a part of it, and still hoped to redeem it from the infamy of a general defection, by the exemplary fidelity of a superior party, and therefore withdrew not his confidence from any of those who attended his person, and who, in truth, lay leiger for the covenant, and kept up the spirits of their countrymen by their intelligence.

The king hastened the raising an army, which was not long in doing. He chose to make the earl of Arundel his general, a man who had nothing martial about him but his presence and his looks, and therefore was thought to be made choice of for his negative qualities: he did not love the Scots; he did not love the puritans; which good qualifications were allayed by another negative, he did love nobody else: but he was fit to keep the state of it; and his rank was such, that no man would decline the serving under him.

The earl of Essex was made lieutenant-general

of the army, the most popular man of the kingdom, and the darling of the sword-men; who, between a hatred and a contempt of the Scots, had nothing like an affection for any one man of the nation; and therefore was so well pleased with his promotion, that he begun to love the king the better for conferring it upon him, and entered upon the province with great fidelity and alacrity, and was capable from that hour of any impression the king would have fixed upon him.

The earl of Holland was general of the horse; who, besides the obligations he had to the queen, (who vouchsafed to own a particular trust in him,) was not liable to the least suspicion of want of affection and zeal for the king's service.

In the beginning of the spring, which was in the year 1639, an army was drawn together of near six thousand horse, and about that number in foot, all very well disciplined men, under as good and experienced officers, as were to be found in any army in Christendom. And with this army, abundantly supplied with a train of artillery, and all other provisions necessary, the king advanced in the beginning of the summer towards the borders of Scotland.

This was not all the strength that was provided for the suppressing that rebellion, but the king had likewise provided a good fleet for the sea, and had caused a body of three thousand foot to be embarked on those ships; all which were put under the command of the marquis of Hamilton, who was to infest his country by sea to hinder their trade, and to make a descent upon the land, and join with such forces as the loyal party of that nation should draw together to assist the king's, which his own interest (as was believed) would give great life to, his family being numerous in the nobility, and united in an entire dependence upon him.

Upon the first march of the army northwards, the earl of Essex was sent with a party of horse and foot, to use all possible expedition to possess himself of Berwick, which the king had been advertised the Scots would speedily be masters of. The earl lost no time, but marched day and night with great order and diligence; and every day met several Scotsmen of quality well known to him, and sent expressly to the king, all who severally made him very particular relations of the strength of the Scots army, the excellent discipline that was observed in it, the goodness of the men, and that they were by that time possessed of Berwick; and when he was within one day's march of it, a person of principal condition, of very near relation to the king's service, (who pretended to be sent upon matter of high importance to his majesty from those who most intended his service there,) met him, and advised him very earnestly "not to advance farther with his party, which was so much inferior in number to those of the enemy, that it would infallibly be cut off: that himself overtook the day before a strong party of the army, consisting of three thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, all which he left at such a place," (which he named,) "within three hours' march of Berwick, where they resolved to be the night before, so that his proceeding farther must be fruitless, and expose him to inevitable ruin." These advertisements wrought no otherwise upon the earl, than to hasten his marches, insomuch that he came to Berwick sooner than he proposed to have done, entered the place without the least opposition, and by all

the inquiry he could make by sending out parties, and other advertisements, he could not discover that any of the enemies' forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed that they had any considerable forces together nearer than Edinburgh.

The earl being thus possessed of his post, lost no time in advertising the king of it, and sent him a very particular account of the informations he had received from so many ear and eyewitnesses, who were all at that time in the court, and very fit to be suspected after the publishing of so many falsehoods; and the men had been constant in the same reports, and as confident in reporting the defeat of the earl of Essex, and cutting off his party, as they had been to himself of the Scots' march, and their being masters of Berwick. The joy was not concealed with which his majesty received the news of the earl's being in Berwick, the contrary whereof these men made him apprehend with much perplexity; but they underwent no other reproach for their intelligence, than that their fears had multiplied their sight, and that they had been frightened with other men's relations; which remissness, to call it no worse, was an ill omen of the discipline that was like to be observed.

If the war had been now vigorously pursued, it had been as soon ended as begun; for at this time they had not drawn three thousand men together in the whole kingdom of Scotland, nor had in truth arms complete for such a number, though they had the possession of all the king's forts and magazines, nor had they ammunition to supply their few firearms; horses they had, and officers they had, which made all their show. But it was the fatal misfortune of the king, which proceeded from the excellency of his nature, and his tenderness of blood, that he deferred so long his resolution of using his arms; and after he had taken that resolution, that it was not prosecuted with more vigour.

He more intended the pomp of his preparations than the strength of them, and did still believe, that the one would save the labour of the other. At the same time that he resolved to raise an army, he caused inquiry to be made, what obligations lay upon his subjects to assist him, both as he went himself in person, and as it was an expedition against the Scots; which, in the ancient enmity between the two nations, had been provided for by some laws, and in the tenure which many men held their estates by. He found that the kings had usually, when they went to make war in their own persons, called as many of the nobility to attend upon them, as they thought fit.

And thereupon he summoned most of the nobility of the kingdom, without any consideration of their affections how they stood disposed to that service, to attend upon him by a day appointed, and throughout that expedition; presuming, that the glory of such a visible appearance of the whole nobility would look like such an union in the quarrel, as would at once terrify and reduce the Scots; not considering, that such kind of unitings do naturally produce the greatest confusions, when more and greater men are called together than can be united in affections or interests; and in the necessary differences which arise from thence, they quickly come to know each other so well, as they easily unite in several divisions, though never in any one public interest; and from hence the most dangerous factions have always arose, which have threatened and ruined the peace of nations: and it fell out no better here. If there

had been none in the march but soldiers, it is most probable that a noble peace would have quickly ensued, even without fighting: but the progress was more illustrious than the march, and the soldiers were the least part of the army, and least consulted with.

In this pomp the king continued his journey to York, where he had a full court, those noblemen of the northern parts, and many others who overtook not the king till then, joining all in that city; where his majesty found it necessary to stay some days; and there the fruit, that was to be gathered from such a conflux, quickly budded out. Some rules were to be set down for the government of the army; and the court was too numerous to be wholly left to its own license; and the multitude of the Scots in it administered matter of offence and jealousy to people of all conditions, who had too much cause to fear that the king was every day betrayed; the common discourse by all the Scots being either magnifying the good intentions of their countrymen, and that they had all duty for the king, or undervaluing the power and interest of those who discovered themselves against the church.

It was therefore thought fit by the whole body of the council, that a short protestation should be drawn, in which all men should "profess their loyalty" and obedience to his majesty, and disclaim and "renounce the having any intelligence, or holding" any correspondence with the rebels." No man imagined it possible that any of the English would refuse to make that protestation; and they who thought worst of the Scots did not think they would make any scruple of doing the same, and consequently that there would be no fruit or discovery from that test; but they were deceived. The Scots indeed took it to a man, without grieving their conscience, or reforming their manners. But amongst the English nobility the lord Say, and the lord Brook, (two popular men, and most undevoted to the church, and, in truth, to the whole government,) positively refused, in the king's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said, "If the king suspected their loyalty, he might proceed against them as he thought fit; but that it was against the law to impose any oath or protestation upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and, in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it." This administered matter of new dispute in a very unseasonable time; and though there did not then appear more of the same mind, and they two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty; yet this discovered too much the humour and spirit of the court in their daily discourses upon that subject; so that the king thought it best to dismiss those two lords, and require them to return to their houses: and if all the rest who were not officers of the army, or of absolute necessity about the king's person, had been likewise dismissed and sent home, the business had been better prosecuted.

Indeed, if the king himself had stayed at London, or, which had been the next best, kept his court and resided at York, and sent the army on their proper errand, and left the matter of the war wholly to them, in all human reason, his enemies had been speedily subdued, and that kingdom reduced to their obedience, which it would not have been easy for them to have shaken off.

Before the king left York, letters and addresses were sent from the Scots, "lamenting their ill fortune, that their enemies had so great credit with the king, as to persuade him to believe, that they were or could be disobedient to him, a thing that could never enter into their loyal hearts; that they desired nothing but to be admitted into the presence of their gracious sovereign, to lay their grievances at his royal feet, and leave the determination of them entirely to his own wisdom and pleasure." And though the humility of the style gained them many friends, who thought it great pity that any blood should be spilt in a contention which his majesty might put an end to by his own word, as soon as he would hear their complaints; yet hitherto the king preserved himself from being wrought upon, and marched with convenient expedition to the very borders of Scotland, and encamped with his army in an open field, called *the Berkes*, on the further side of Berwick, and lodged in his tent with the army, though every day's march wrought very much upon the constitution if not the courage of the court, and too many wished aloud, "that the business were brought to a fair treaty."

Upon advertisement that a party of the Scots army was upon their march, the earl of Holland was sent with a body of three thousand horse, and two thousand foot, with a fit train of artillery, to meet it, and engage with it; who marched accordingly into Scotland early in a morning as far as a place called Dunc, ten or twelve miles into that kingdom. It was in the beginning of August, when the nights are very short, and, as soon as the sun rises, the days for the most part hotter than is reasonably expected from the climate, and by the testimony of all men that day was the hottest that had been known. When the earl came with his horse to Dunc, he found the Scots drawn up on the side of a hill, where the front could only be in view, and where, he was informed, the general Lesley and the whole army was; and it was very true, they were all there indeed; but it was as true, that all did not exceed the number of three thousand men, very ill armed, and most country fellows, who were on the sudden got together to make that show: and Lesley had placed them by the advantage of that hill so speciously, that they had the appearance of a good body of men, there being all the semblance of great bodies behind on the other side of the hill; the falsehood of which would have been manifest as soon as they should move from the place where they were, and from whence they were therefore not to stir.

The horse had outmarched the foot, which, by reason of the excessive heat, was not able to use great expedition: besides, there was some error in the orders, and some accidents of the night that had retarded them; so that when the enemy appeared first in view, the foot and the artillery was three or four miles behind.

Nothing can be said in the excuse of the counsel of that day, which might have made the king a glorious king indeed. The earl of Holland was a man of courage, and at that time not at all suspected to be corrupted in his affections; and though himself had not seen more of the war than two or three campaigns in Holland before his coming to the court, he had with him many as good officers as the war of that age, which was very active, had made, and men of unquestionable

courage and military knowledge. As he might very safely have made a halt at Dunc, till his foot and artillery came up to him, so he might securely enough have engaged his body of horse against their whole pitiful army, there being neither tree nor bush to interrupt his charge; but it was thought otherwise; and no question it was generally believed, by the placing and drawing out their front in so conspicuous a place, by the appearance of other troops behind them, and by the shewing great herds of cattle at a distance upon the hills on either side, that their army was very much superior in number. And therefore, as soon as the earl came in view, he dispatched messengers one after another to the king, with an account of what he heard and saw, or believed he saw, and yet thought not fit to stay for an answer; but with the joint consent of all his superior officers (for it was never after pretended that any one officer of name dissuaded it, though they were still ashamed of it) retired towards his foot, to whom he had likewise sent orders not to advance; and so wearied and tired by the length of the march, and more by the heat of the weather, which was intolerable, they returned to the camp where the king was; and the Scots drew a little back to a more convenient post for their residence.

The covenanters, who very well understood the weakness of the court, as well as their own want of strength, were very reasonably exalted with this success, and scattered their letters abroad amongst the noblemen at court, according to the humours of the men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unrestrained intercourse between the king's camp and Edinburgh.

They writ three several letters to the three generals, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Essex, and the earl of Holland. That to the earl of Essex was in a dialect more submissive than to the others; they said much to him of "his own fame and reputation, which added to their affliction that he should be in arms against them; that they had not the least imagination of entering into a war against England; their only thought and hope was to defend their own rights and liberties, which were due to them by the laws of the land, until they might have access to his majesty, to expose their complaints to him, from which they were hindered by the power and greatness of some of their own countrymen;" being desirous the earl should understand that their principal grievance was the interest of the marquis of Hamilton, who, they knew, was not in any degree acceptable to the earl; and therefore desired him "to be ready to do them good offices to the king, that they might be admitted to his presence." The earl of Essex, who was a punctual man in point of honour, received this address superciliously enough, sent it to the king without returning any answer, or holding any conference, or performing the least ceremony, with or towards the messengers.

The earls of Arundel and Holland gave another kind of reception to the letters they received. To the former, after many professions of high esteem of his person, they enlarged upon "their great affection to the English nation, and how they abhorred the thought of a war between the two nations;" they besought him "to present their supplication" (which they enclosed) "to the king, and to procure their deputies admission to his majesty." The earl used them with more respect

than was suitable to the office of a general, and made many professions of "his desire to interpose, and mediate a good peace between the nations:" and it was confidently reported and believed, that he had frequently made those professions by several messages he had sent before into Scotland; and he had given passes to many obscure persons, to go into and return out of that kingdom.

Their letter to the earl of Holland was in a more confident style, as to a man from whom they expected all good offices. They sent him likewise a copy of their supplication to the king, and desired him "to use his credit that a treaty might be entered into, and that his majesty would appoint men of religion and of public hearts to manage the treaty." And from this time that earl was found at least enough inclined to that interest; and the king's readiness to hear discourses of a pacification, and that messengers would be shortly sent to him with propositions worthy of his acceptance, abated those animosities, and appetite to war, which had made all the noise in the march.

Indeed the marquis of Hamilton's neighbourly residence with his fleet and foot soldiers before Leith, without any show of hostility, or any care taken to draw his friends and followers together for the king's service; on the other side, the visits his mother made him on board his ship, who was a lady of great authority amongst the covenanters, and most addicted to it and them, her daughters being likewise married to those noblemen who most furiously persecuted the church, and presided in those councils; the king's refusing to give leave to some officers of horse, who had offered to make inroads into the country, and destroy the stock thereof, whereby they would be presently obliged to make submission, and to ask pardon; and lastly, the reception of the earl of Holland after his shameful retreat, with so much satisfaction and joy as his majesty had manifested upon his return, (having after the first messenger's arrival from Dunce, when the enemy was in view, sent him orders not to engage,) made it then suspected, as it was afterwards believed by those who stood nearest, that his majesty had in truth never any purpose to make the war in blood, but believed that by shewing an army to them, that was able to force them to any conditions, they would have begged pardon for the contests they had made, and so he should have settled the church, and all things else, according to his pleasure: and sure he might have done so, if he had but sat still, and been constant to his own honour, and positive in denying their insolent demands. But the Scots in the court had made impression upon so many of the English lords, that though at that time there were very few of them who had entered into an unlawful combination against the king, yet there was almost a general dislike of the war, both by the lords of the court and of the country; and they took this opportunity to communicate their murmurs to each other; none of the persons who were most maligned for their power and interest with the king being upon the place; and all men believing, that nothing could be asked of the king, but what must be satisfied at their charge, whose damage they considered, though it was to be procured at the expense of the king's honour. When the covenanters understood by their intelligence, that the season was ripe, they sent their supplication (of which they had scattered so many copies)

to the king, and found themselves so welcome to all persons, that their modesty was not like to suffer any violence in offering the conditions.

The Scots had from the beginning practised a new sturdy style of address, in which, under the license of accusing the counsel and carriage of others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly and insolently reproached the most immediate actions and directions of his majesty himself; and then made the greatest professions of duty to his majesty's person that could be invented. The king had not, at that time, one person about him of his council, who had the least consideration of his honour, or friendship for those who sat at the helm of affairs; the duke of Lenox only excepted; who was a young man of small experience in affairs, though a man of great honour, and very good parts, and under the disadvantage of being looked upon as a Scotsman; which he was not in his affections at all, being born in England, of an English mother, and having had his education there; and had indeed the manners and nature and heart of an Englishman, and a duty and reverence and affection for the king and church accordingly; and would never trust himself in those intrigues, as too mysterious for him.

The rest who were about the king in any offices of attendance, were the earl of Holland, whom we have had occasion to mention before in the first entrance upon this discourse, and whom we shall have often occasion hereafter to speak of; and therefore shall say no more of him now, than that he neither loved the marquis of Hamilton, whom he believed the Scots intended to revenge themselves upon; nor Wentworth the deputy of Ireland; nor the archbishop of Canterbury; nor almost any thing that was then done in church or state. Secretary Coke, who had all the dispatches upon his hand, was near eighty years of age; a man of gravity, who never had quickness from his cradle; who loved the church well enough as it was twenty years before; and understood nothing that had been done in Scotland, and thought that nothing that was or could be done there worth such a journey as the king had put himself to. Sir Harry Vane was comptroller of the house, and a busy and a bustling man; who had credit enough to do his business in all places, and cared for no man otherwise than as he found it very convenient for himself. There was no other of his council of name but the general, the earl of Arundel; who was always true to the character under which he was heretofore delivered, and thought he had been general long enough. All the lustre of the court was in that part of the nobility which attended upon command, and at their own charge; and therefore the more weary of it. The earl of Pembroke hath been forgotten, who abhorred the war as obstinately as he loved hunting and hawking, and so was like to promote all overtures towards accommodation with great importunity: so the Scots found persons to treat with them according to their own wish. The earl of Essex still preserving his grandeur and punctuality, positively refused to meddle in the treaty, or to be communicated with, or so much as to be present, or receive any visits from the Scottish commissioners till after the pacification was concluded.

The covenanters were firm, and adhered still to their old natural principle, even in this their ad-

dress; justified all they had done to be "according to their native rights, and for the better advancement of his majesty's service, which they had always before their eyes;" and desired "to have those receive exemplary punishment, who had done them ill offices, and misrepresented their carriage to the king; and that some noble lords might be appointed to treat upon all particulars." And upon no other submission than this a treaty was presently entered upon, and concluded.

Whosoever will take upon him to relate all that passed in that treaty, must be beholding to his own invention; the most material matters having passed in discourse, and very little committed to writing. Nor did any two who were present agree in the same relation of what was said and done; and which was worse, not in the same interpretation of the meaning of what was comprehended in writing. An agreement was made, if that can be called an agreement, in which nobody meant what others believed he did: "The armies were to be disbanded; an act of oblivion passed; the king's forts and castles to be restored; and an assembly and parliament to be called for a full settlement; no persons reserved for justice, because no fault had been committed." The king's army, by the very words of the agreement, was not to be disbanded until all should be executed on their part; and the king himself, at that time, resolved to be present in the assembly at least, if not in the parliament: but the impatience of all was such for peace, that the king's army was presently disbanded; his majesty making all possible haste himself to London, and sending the earl of Traquair to Edinburgh, to prepare all things for the assembly; whilst the Scots made all the caresses to many of the English, and breathed out in mutual confidence their resentments to each other.

The marquis of Hamilton (whether upon the fame of the treaty, or sent for by the king, few knew) left his fleet before Leith in a very peaceable posture, and came to the Berkes some hours after the treaty was signed; which was very convenient to him, for thereby he was free from the reproach that attended it, and at liberty to find fault with it; which he did freely to the king, and to some others, whereby he preserved himself in credit to do more mischief. Many were then of opinion, and still are, that the marquis at that time was very odious to his countrymen; and it is certain that the chief managers at the treaty did persuade the English in whom they most confided, that their principal aim was to remove him from the court; which was a design willingly heard, and universally grateful. But whatever state of grace he stood in when he came thither, he did himself so good offices before he parted, that he was no more in their disfavour. The king's army was presently disbanded, and the Scots returned to Edinburgh with all they desired; having gotten many more friends in England than they had before; kept all their officers, and as many of their men as they thought fit, in pay; and prosecuted all those who had not shewed the same zeal in their covenant as themselves with great rigour, as men whose affections they doubted; and, instead of remitting any thing of their rage against their bishops, they entered a public protestation, "That they did not intend, by any thing contained in

"the treaty, to vacate any of the proceedings which had been in the late general assembly at Glasgow," (by which all the bishops stood excommunicated,) and renewed all their menaces against them by proclamation; and imposed grievous penalties upon all who should presume to harbour any of them in their houses: so that by the time the king came to London, it appeared plainly, that the army was disbanded without any peace made, and the Scots in more reputation, and equal inclination, to affront his majesty than ever. Upon which a paper published by them, and avowed to contain the matter of the treaty, was burned by the common hangman; everybody disavowing the contents of it, but nobody taking upon him to publish a copy that they owned to be true.

The mischief that befell the king from this wonderful atonement cannot be expressed, nor was it ever discovered what prevailed over his majesty to bring it so wofully to pass: all men were ashamed who had contributed to it; nor had he dismissed his army with so obliging circumstances as was like to incline them to come so willingly together, if there were occasion to use their service. The earl of Essex, who had merited very well throughout the whole affair, and had never made a false step in action or in council, was discharged in the crowd, without ordinary ceremony; and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the lord Aston, whereby the command of the forest of Needwood fell into the king's disposal, which lay at the very door of his estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to him, and bestowed upon another: all which wrought very much upon his rough proud nature, and made him susceptible of some impressions afterwards, which otherwise would not have found such easy admission.

The factions and animosities at court were either greater, or more visible, than they had been before. The earl of Newcastle (who was governor to the prince, and one of the most valuable men in the kingdom, in his fortune, in his dependences, and in his qualifications) had, at his own charge, drawn together a goodly troop of horse of two hundred; which for the most part consisted of the best gentlemen of the north, who were either allied to the earl, or of immediate dependence upon him, and came together purely upon his account; and called this troop the prince of Wales's troop; whereof the earl himself was captain. When the earl of Holland marched with that party into Scotland, the earl of Newcastle accompanied him with that troop, and upon occasion of some orders, desired that troop, since it belonged to the prince of Wales, might have some precedence; which the general of the horse refused to grant him, but required him to march in the rank he had prescribed; and the other obeyed it accordingly, but with resentment, imputing it to the little kindness that was between them. But as soon as the army was disbanded, he sent a challenge to the earl of Holland, by a gentleman very punctual, and well acquainted with those errands; who took a proper season to mention it to him, without a possibility of suspicion. The earl of Holland was never suspected to want courage, yet in this occasion he shewed not that alacrity, but that the delay exposed it to notice; and so, by the king's authority, the matter was composed; though discoursed of with liberty enough to give the

whole court occasion to express their affections to either party.

The king himself was very melancholic, and quickly discerned that he had lost reputation at home and abroad; and those counsellors who had been most faulty, either through want of courage, or wisdom, (for at that time few of them wanted fidelity,) never afterwards recovered spirit enough to do their duty, but gave themselves up to those who had so much overwitted them; every man shifting the fault from himself, and finding some friend to excuse him: and it being yet necessary, that so infamous a matter should not be covered with absolute oblivion, it fell to secretary Coke's turn, (for whom nobody cared,) who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the sacrifice; and, upon pretence that he had omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and inserted somewhat he ought not to have done, he was put out of his office; and within a short time after, sir Henry Vane (who was treasurer of the house) by the dark contrivance of the marquis of Hamilton, and by the open and visible power of the queen, made secretary of State; which was the only thing that could make the removal of the other old man censured and murmured at: and this was attended again with a declared and unseasonable dislike and displeasure in the queen against the lieutenant of Ireland, newly made Earl of Strafford; who out of some kindness to the old man, who had been much trusted by him and of use to him, and out of contempt and detestation of Vane, but principally out of a desire to have had that miscarriage expiated by a greater sacrifice, opposed the removal of secretary Coke with all the interest he could, got it suspended for some time, and put the queen to the exercise of her full power to perfect her work; which afterwards produced many sad disasters. So that this unhappy pacification kindled many fires of contention in court and country, though the flame broke out first again in Scotland.

On the other side, the Scots got so much benefit and advantage by it, that they brought all their other mischievous devices to pass with ease, and a prosperous gale in all they went about. They had before no credit abroad in any foreign parts, and so could procure neither arms nor ammunition; and though they could lead the people at home, out of the hatred and jealousy of popery, into unruly tumults, yet they had not authority enough over them to engage them in a firm resolution of rebellion: the opinion of their unquestionable duty and loyalty to the king was that which had given them reputation to affront him: nor durst they yet attempt to lay any tax or imposition upon the people, or to put them to any charge. But, after this pacification, they appeared much more considerable abroad and at home; abroad, where they were without a name, and considered by nobody, now that they had brought an army into the field against the king, gained all they pretended to desire, without reproach or blemish; France, their old ally, looked upon them as good instruments to disturb their neighbours; and cardinal Richelieu (who had never looked upon the defeat and overthrow at the isle of Rhé as any reparation for the attempt and dishonour of the invasion) was very glad of the opportunity of disturbing a rest and quiet,

which had not been favourable to his designs; and sent an agent privately to Edinburgh, to cherish and foment their unpeaceable inclinations; and received another from thence, who solicited supplies, and communicated counsels: he sent them arms and ammunition, and promised them encouragement and assistance proportionable to any enterprize they should frankly engage themselves in. Holland entered into a closer correspondence with them; and they found credit there for a great stock of arms and ammunition, upon security of payment within a year; which security they easily found a way to give. And thus countenanced and supplied, they quickly got credit and power over the people at home; and as soon as they had formed some troops of those who had been listed by them under good officers, (whereof store resorted to them of that nation out of Germany and Sweden,) and assigned pay to them, they made no longer scruple to impose what money they thought fit upon the people, and to levy it with all rigour upon them who refused, or expressed any unwillingness to submit to the imposition; and made the residence of any amongst them very uneasy, and very insecure, who were but suspected by them not to wish well to their proceedings: and so they renewed all those forms for the administration of the government, which they had begun in the beginning of the disorders, and which they disclaimed upon making the pacification; and refused to suffer the king's governor of the castle of Edinburgh (which was put into his hands about the same time) either to repair some works which were newly fallen down, or so much as to buy provision in the town for the food of the garrison.

But that which was the greatest benefit and advantage that accrued unto them from the agreement, and which was worth all the rest, was the conversation they had with the English with so much reputation, that they had persuaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of fidelity to the king, and had too much cause to complain of the hard proceedings against them by the power of some of their own countrymen; and the acquaintance they made with some particular lords, to that degree, that they did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obstruct any opposition or proceedings by those who were looked upon as enemies by both sides: for none in Scotland more disliked all that was done in court, and the chief actors there, than those lords of England did; though they were not so well prepared for an expedient for the cure.

The people of Scotland being now reduced to a more implicit obedience, and nobody daring to oppose the most violent proceedings of the most violent persons in authority, they lost no time, as hath been said, to make all preparations for a war they meant to pursue. Most of the king's privy council and great ministers, who (though they had not vigorously performed their duty in support of the regal power) till now had been so reserved, that they seemed not to approve the disorderly proceedings, but now as frankly wedded that interest as any of the leaders, and quickly became the chief of the leaders.

[Of these was] the earl of Argyle: who had been preserved by the king's immediate kindness and full power, and rescued from the anger and fury of his incensed father; who, being provoked

by the disobedience and insolence of his son, resolved so to have disposed of his fortune, that little should have accompanied the honour after his death. But by the king's interposition, and indeed imposition, the earl, in strictness of the law in Scotland, having need of the king's grace and protection, in regard of his being become Roman Catholic, and his majesty granting all to the son which he could exact from the father, the old man was in the end compelled to make over all his estate to his son; reserving only such a provision for himself, as supported him according to his quality during his life, which he spent in the parts beyond the seas. The king had too much occasion afterwards to remember, that in the close, after his majesty had determined what should be done on either part, the old man declared, "He would submit to the king's pleasure, though he believed he was hardly dealt with;" and then with some bitterness put his son in mind of his undutiful carriage towards him; and charged him "to carry in his mind how bountiful the king had been to him;" which yet, he told him, he was sure he would forget: and thereupon said to his majesty, "Sir, I must know this young man better than you can do: you have brought me low, that you may raise him; which I doubt you will live to repent; for he is a man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood, and can love no man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it." The king considered it only as the effect of his passion, and took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping every day new obligations upon him; making him a privy councillor, and giving him other offices and power to do hurt, thereby to restrain him from doing it; which would have wrought upon any generous nature the effect it ought to have done. This earl (for his father was now dead) came not to Edinburgh during the first troubles; and though he did not dissemble his displeasure against the bishops, because one of them had affronted him, in truth, very rudely, yet he renewed all imaginable professions of duty to the king, and a readiness to engage in his service, if those disorders should continue: but after the pacification and the disbanding of the king's army, and the covenanters declaring that they would adhere to the acts of the Assembly at Glasgow, he made haste to Edinburgh with a great train of his family and followers; and immediately signed the covenant, engaged for the provision of arms, and raising forces; and in all things behaved himself like a man that might very safely be confided in.

There wanted not persons still who persuaded the king, "that all might yet be ended without blood; that there were great divisions amongst the chief leaders, through emulation and ambition of command; and that the access of the earl of Argyle to that party would drive others as considerable from it, who never did, nor ever would, unite with him in any design;" and therefore advised, "that his majesty would require them to send some persons intrusted by their body to attend him, and give an account of the reasons of their proceedings." They demanded a safe conduct for the security of the persons they should employ; which was sent accordingly: and thereupon some persons, of the nobility, and others, were commissioned to wait on the king; amongst which the lord Lowden was principally

relied on for his parts and abilities; a man who was better known afterwards, and whom there will hereafter be so often occasion to mention, as it will not be necessary in this place further to enlarge upon him. They behaved themselves, in all respects, with the confidence of men employed by a foreign state; refused to give any account but to the king himself; and even to himself gave no other reason for what was done, but the authority of the doers, and the necessity that required it; that is, that they thought it necessary: but then they polished this sturdy behaviour with all the professions of submission and duty, which their language could comprehend.

At this time the king happened to intercept a letter, which had been signed by the chief of the covenanters, and particularly by the lord Lowden, written to the French king, in which they complained "of the hardness and injustice of the government that was exercised over them; put him in mind of the dependence this kingdom formerly had upon that crown; and desired him now to take them into his protection, and give them assistance; and that his majesty would give entire credit to one Colvil, who was the bearer of that letter, and well instructed in all particulars:" and the letter itself was sealed and directed *Au Roy*; a style only used from subjects to their natural king. This letter being seen and perused by the lords of the council, and the lord Lowden being examined, and refusing to give any other answer, than "That it was writ before the agreement, and thereupon reserved and never sent; that, if he had committed any offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland, and not in England; and insisting upon his safe conduct, demanded liberty to return." All men were of opinion, that so foul a conspiracy and treason ought not to be so slightly excused; and that both the lord Lowden and Colvil (who was likewise found in London, and apprehended) should be committed to the Tower: which was done accordingly; all men expecting that they would be brought to a speedy trial.

This discovery made a very deep impression upon the king; and persuaded him, that such a foul application could never have been thought of, if there had not been more poison in the heart, than could be expelled by easy antidotes; and that the strongest remedies must be provided to root out this mischief: thereupon he first advised with that committee of the council, which used to be consulted in secret affairs, what was to be done. That summer's action had wasted all the money that had been carefully laid up; and, to carry on that vast expense, the revenue of the crown had been anticipated; so that, though the raising an army was visibly necessary, there appeared no means how to raise that army. No expedient occurred to them so proper as a parliament, and which had been now intermitted near twelve years. And though those meetings had of late been attended by some disorders, the effects of mutinous spirits; and the last had been dissolved (as hath been said before) with some circumstances of passion and undutifulness, which so far incensed the king, that he was less inclined to those assemblies; yet this long intermission, and the general composure of men's minds in a happy peace, and universal plenty over the whole nation, (superior sure to what any other nation ever enjoyed,) made

it reasonably believed, notwithstanding the murmurs of the people against some exorbitancies of the court, that sober men, and such as loved the peace and plenty they were possessed of, would be made choice of to serve in the house of commons; and then the temper of the house of peers was not to be apprehended: but especially the opinion of the prejudice and general aversion over the whole kingdom to the Scots, and the indignation they had at their presumption in their thought of invading England, made it believed, that a parliament would express a very sharp sense of their insolence and carriage towards the king, and provide remedies proportionable.

Upon these motives and reasons, with the unanimous consent and advice of the whole committee, the king resolved to call a parliament; which he communicated the same day, or rather took the resolution that day, in his full council of state, which expressed great joy upon it; and directed the lord keeper to issue out writs for the meeting of a parliament upon the 13th day of April then next ensuing; it being now in the month of December; and all expedition was accordingly used in sending out the said writs, the notice of it being most welcome to the whole kingdom.

That it might appear that the court was not at all apprehensive of what the parliament would or could do; and that it was convened by his majesty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of necessity; it proceeded in all respects in the same unpopular ways it had done: ship-money was levied with the same severity; and the same rigour used in ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the humour of any man; which was great steadiness; and, if it were then well pursued, it degenerated too soon afterwards.

In this interval, between the sealing the writs and the convention of the parliament, the lord keeper Coventry died; to the king's great detriment, rather than to his own. So much hath been said already of this great man, that there shall be no further enlargement in this place, than to say, that he was a very wise and excellent person, and had a rare felicity, in being looked upon generally throughout the kingdom with great affection, and a singular esteem, when very few other men in any high trust were so; and it is very probable, if he had lived to the sitting of that parliament, when, whatever lurked in the hearts of any, there was not the least approach of any irreverence to the crown, that he might have had great authority in the forming those counsels, which might have preserved it from so unhappy a dissolution. His loss was the more manifest and visible in his successor; the seal being within a day or two given to sir John Finch, chief justice of the court of common pleas; a man exceedingly obnoxious to the people upon the business of ship-money; and not of reputation and authority enough to countenance and advance the king's service.

These digressions have taken up too much time, and may seem foreign to the proper subject of this discourse; yet they may have given some light to the obscure and dark passages of that time, which were understood by very few. But for the future, very short mention shall be made of any thing but what immediately relates to the person, whose life is to be herein contained, or what is necessary to explain and illustrate those actions or counsels, in which he was interested or concerned.

The parliament met according to summons upon the 13th of April in the year 1640, with the usual ceremony and formality; and after the king had shortly mentioned "his desire to be again acquainted with parliaments, after so long an intermission; and to receive the advice and assistance of his subjects there;" he referred the cause of the present convention to be enlarged upon by the lord keeper: who related the whole proceedings of Scotland; "his majesty's condescensions the year before, in disbanding his army upon their promises and professions; their insolencies since; and their address to the king of France, by the letter mentioned before;" which the king had touched upon, and having forgot to make the observation upon the superscription himself, he required the keeper to do it; who told them, after the whole relation, "That his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation, which would not be grateful to him; but that they should, as soon as might be, give his majesty such a supply, as he might provide for the vindication of his honour, by raising an army, which the season of the year, and the progress the rebels had already made, called upon without delay; and his majesty assured them, if they would gratify him with this expedition, that he would give them time enough afterwards to represent any grievances to him, and a favourable answer to them;" and so dismissed the commons to choose their speaker; to which sergeant Glanvile was designed, and chosen the same day: a man very equal to the work, very well acquainted with the proceedings in parliament; of a quick conception, and of a ready and voluble expression, dexterous in disposing the house, and very acceptable to them. The earl of Arundel, earl marshal of England, was made lord steward of the king's house; an office necessary in the beginning of a parliament; being to swear all the members of the house of commons before they could sit there. Two days after, the commons presented their speaker to the king, who, in the accustomed manner, approved their choice; upon which they returned to their house, being now formed and qualified to enter upon any debates.

The house met always at eight of the clock, and rose at twelve; which were the old parliament hours; that the committees, upon whom the greatest burden of business lay, might have the afternoons for their preparation and despatch. It was not the custom to enter upon any important business in the first fortnight; both because many members used to be absent so long; and that time was usually thought necessary for the appointment and nomination of committees, and for other ceremonies and preparations that were usual: but there was no regard now to that custom; and the appearance of the members was very great, there having been a large time between the issuing out of the writs and the meeting of the parliament, so that all elections were made and returned, and every body was willing to fall to the work.

Whilst men gazed upon each other, looking who should begin, (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament,) Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice, and in a set discourse of

above two hours, after mention of the king with the most profound reverence, and commendation of his wisdom and justice, he observed, "That by the long intermission of parliaments many unwarrantable things had been practised, notwithstanding the great virtue of his majesty:" and then enumerated all the projects which had been set on foot; all the illegal proclamations which had been published, and the proceedings which had been upon those proclamations; the judgment upon ship-money; and many grievances which related to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; summing up shortly, and sharply, all that most reflected upon the prudence and the justice of the government; concluding, "That he had only laid that scheme before them, that they might see how much work they had to do to satisfy their country; the method and manner of the doing whereof he left to their wisdoms." Mr. Grimston insisted only on the business of ship-money; the irregular and preposterous engaging the judges to deliver their opinion to the king, and their being afterwards divided in their judgment; and said, "He was persuaded, that they, who gave their opinions for the legality of it, did it against the dictamen of their own conscience." Peard, a bold lawyer, of little note, inveighed more passionately against it, calling it *an abomination*: upon which, Herbert, the king's solicitor, with all imaginable address, in which he then excelled, put them in mind "with what candour his majesty had proceeded in that, and all other things which related to the administration of justice to all his people; that, how persuaded soever he was within himself of the justice as well as necessity of levying ship-money, he would not send out a writ for the doing thereof, till he received the affirmative advice of all the judges of England; and when the payment was opposed by a gentleman," (and then he took occasion to stroke and commend Mr. Hamden, who sat under him, for his great temper and modesty in the prosecution of that suit,) "the king was very well contented that all the judges of England should determine the right; that never any cause had been debated and argued more solemnly before the judges; who, after long deliberation between themselves, and being attended with the records, which had been cited on both sides, delivered each man his opinion and judgment publicly in the court, and so largely, that but two judges argued in a day; and after all this, and a judgment with that solemnity pronounced for the king, by which the king was as legally possessed of that right, as of any thing else he had; that any particular man should presume to speak against it with that bitterness, and to call it *an abomination*, was very offensive, and unwarrantable; and desired that that gentleman, who had used that expression, might explain himself, and then withdraw." Very many called him to the bar; and the solicitor's discourse was thought to have so much weight in it, that Mr. Peard very hardly escaped a severe reprehension; which is mentioned only that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of, and their dissolution, which shortly after fell out, the more lamented.

Though the parliament had not sat above six or seven days, and had managed all their debates, and their whole behaviour, with wonderful order and

sobriety, the court was impatient that no advance was yet made towards a supply; which was foreseen would take up much time, whensoever they went about it, though never so cordially; and therefore they prevailed with the house of peers, which was more entirely at the king's disposal, that it would demand a conference with the house of commons, and then propose to them, by way of advice, "That they would begin with giving the king a supply, in regard of the urgency and even necessity of his affairs, and afterwards proceed upon their grievances, or any thing else as they thought fit:" and the house of peers accordingly did give their advice to this purpose at a conference. This conference was no sooner reported in the house of commons, than their whole temper seemed to be shaken. It was the undoubted fundamental privilege of the commons in parliament, that all supplies should have their rise and beginning from them; this had never been infringed, or violated, or so much as questioned in the worst times; and that now after so long intermission of parliaments, that all privileges might be forgotten, the house of peers should begin with an action their ancestors never attempted, administered too much cause of jealousy of somewhat else that was intended; and so with an unanimous consent they declared it to be "so high a breach of privilege, that they could not proceed upon any other matter until they first received satisfaction and reparation from the house of peers;" and which the next day they demanded at a conference. The lords were sensible of their error; which had been foreseen, and dissuaded by many of them; they acknowledged the privilege of the commons as fully as they demanded it, and hoped they had not broken it by offering their advice to them without mentioning the nature of the supply, the proportion, or manner of raising it, which they confessed belonged entirely to them:" in fine, they desired them, "that this might be no occasion of wasting their time, but that they would proceed their own way, and in their own method, upon the affairs of the kingdom." This gave no satisfaction; was no reparation; and served their turn who had no mind to give any supply without discovering any such dissatisfaction, which would have got them no credit, the house being generally exceedingly disposed to please the king, and to do him service. But this breach of privilege, which was craftily enlarged upon, as if it swallowed up all their other privileges, and made them wholly subservient to the peers, was universally resented. A committee was appointed to examine precedents of former times, in case of violation of their privileges by the lords, though not of that magnitude, and thereupon to prepare a protestation to be sent up to the house of peers, and to be entered in their own Journal; and in the mean time no proceedings to be in the house upon any public [business,] except upon some report from a committee.

After some days had been passed in this manner, and it not being in view when this debate would be at an end, the king thought of another expedient, and sent a message in writing to the commons by sir Henry Vane, who was now both secretary of state and treasurer of the household, and at that time of good credit there; wherein his majesty took notice, "that there was some difference between the two houses, which retarded the trans-

"action of the great affairs of the kingdom, at a time when a foreign army was ready to invade it; that he heard the payment of ship-money, notwithstanding that it was adjudged his right, was not willingly submitted to by the people; to manifest therefore his good affection to his subjects in general, he made this proposition: that if the parliament would grant him twelve subsidies to be paid in three years, in the manner proposed, (that was, five subsidies to be paid the first year, four the second, and three to be paid in the last year,) his majesty would then release all his title or pretence to ship-money for the future, in such a manner as his parliament should advise."

Though exceptions might have been taken again in point of privilege, because his majesty took notice of the difference between the two houses; yet that spirit had not then taken so deep root: so that they resolved to enter, the next day after the delivery of it, upon a full debate of his majesty's message; they who desired to obstruct the giving any supply, believing they should easily prevail to reject this proposition upon the greatness of the sum demanded, without appearing not to favour the cause in which it was to be employed, which they could not have done with any advantage to themselves, the number of that class of men being then not considerable in the house. It was about the first day of May that the message was delivered, and the next day it was resumed about nine of the clock in the morning, and the debate continued till four of the clock in the afternoon; which had been seldom used before, but afterwards grew into custom. Many observed, "that they were to purchase a release of an imposition very unjustly laid upon the kingdom, and by purchasing it, they should upon the matter confess it had been just;" which no man in his heart acknowledged; and therefore wished, "that the judgment might be first examined, and being once declared void, what they should present the king with would appear a gift, and not a recompense;" but this was rather modestly insinuated than insisted upon; and the greater number reflected more of the proportion demanded, which some of those who were thought very well to understand the state of the kingdom, confidently affirmed to be more than the whole stock in money of the kingdom amounted to; which appeared shortly after to be a very gross miscomputation. There were very few, except those of the court, (who were ready to give all that the king would ask, and indeed had little to give of their own,) who did not believe the sum demanded to be too great, and wished that a less might be accepted, and therefore were willing, when the day was so far spent, that the debate might be adjourned till the next morning; which was willingly consented to by all, and so the house rose. All this agitation had been in a committee of the whole house, the speaker having left the chair, to which Mr. Lenthall, a lawyer of no eminent account, was called. But there was not, in the whole day, in all the variety of contradictions, an offensive or angry word spoken: except only that one private country gentleman, little known, said, "He observed that the supply was to be employed in the supporting *bellum episcopale*, which he thought the bishops were fittest to do themselves:" but as there was no reply, or notice taken of it, so there was nobody who seconded that envious reflection, nor any other expression of that kind.

The next day as soon as the house met, and prayers were read, it resolved again into a grand committee, the same person being again called to the chair: it was expected, and hoped, that there would have been some new message from the king, that might have facilitated the debate; but nothing appearing of that kind, the proposition was again read, and men of all sides discoursed much of what had been said before, and many spoke with more reflection upon the judgment of ship-money than they had done the day past, and seemed to wish, "that whatsoever we should give the king should be a free testimony of our affection and duty, without any release of ship-money, which deserved no consideration, but in a short time would appear void and null." And this seemed to agree with the sense of so great a part of the house, that Mr. Hambden, the most popular man in the house, (and the same who had defended the suit against the king in his own name, upon the illegality of ship-money,) thought the matter ripe for the question, and desired that the question might be put, "Whether the house would consent to the proposition made by the king, as it was contained in the message?" which would have been sure to have found a negative from all who thought the sum too great, or were not pleased that it should be given in recompense of ship-money.

When many called to have this question, sergeant Glanville, the speaker, (who sat by amongst the other members whilst the house was in a committee, and hath rarely used to speak in such seasons,) rose up, and in a most pathetic speech, in which he excelled, endeavoured to persuade the house "to comply with the king's desire, for the good of the nation, and to reconcile him to parliament for ever, which this seasonable testimony of their affections would infallibly do." He made it manifest to them how very inconsiderable a sum twelve subsidies amounted to, by telling them, "that he had computed what he was to pay for those twelve subsidies;" and when he named the sum, and he being known to be possessed of a great estate, it seemed not worth any further deliberation. And in the warmth of his discourse, which he plainly discerned made a wonderful impression upon the house, he let fall some sharp expressions against the imposition of ship-money, and the judgment in the point, which he said plainly "was against the law, if he understood what law was," (who was known to be very learned,) which expression, how necessary and artificial soever to reconcile the affections of the house to the matter in question, very much irreconciled him at court, and to those upon whom he had the greatest dependence.

There was scarce ever a speech that more gathered up and united the inclinations of a popular council to the speaker: and if the question had been presently put, it was believed the number of the dissenters would not have appeared great. But after a short silence, some men, who wished well to the main, expressed a dislike of the way, so that other men recovered new courage, and called again with some earnestness, "That the question formerly proposed by Mr. Hambden should be put:" which seemed to meet with a concurrence. Mr. Hyde then stood up, and desired, "that question might not be put; said, it was a captious question, to which only one sort of men could clearly give their vote, which were they who

"were for a rejection of the king's proposition, and no more resuming the debate upon that subject: but that they who desired to give the king a supply, as he believed most did, though not in such a proportion, nor, it may be, in that manner, could receive no satisfaction by that question; and therefore he proposed, to the end that every man might frankly give his yea, or his no, that the question might be put only, upon the giving the king a supply: which being carried in the affirmative, another question might be upon the proportion, and the manner; and if the first were carried in the negative, it would produce the same effect, as the other question proposed by Mr. Hambden would do."

This method was received with great approbation, but opposed by others with more than ordinary passion, and diverted by other propositions, which being seconded took much time, without pointing to any conclusion. In the end sergeant Glanville said, "That there had been a question proposed by his countryman, that agreed very well with his sense, and moved that the gentleman might be called upon to propose it again." Whereupon Mr. Hyde stated the case again as he had done, answered somewhat that had been said against it, and moved, "that question might be put." Whereupon for a long time there was nothing said, but a confused clamour, and call, "Mr. Hambden's question," "Mr. Hyde's question;" the call appearing much stronger for the last, than the former: and it was generally believed, that the question had been put, and carried in the affirmative, though it was positively opposed by Herbert the solicitor general, for what reason no man could imagine, if sir Henry Vane the secretary had not stood up, and said, "That, as it had been always his custom to deal plainly and clearly with that house in all things, so he could not but now assure them, that the putting and carrying that question could be of no use; for that he was most sure, and had authority to tell them so, that if they should pass a vote for the giving the king a supply, if it were not in the proportion and manner proposed in his majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him; and therefore desired that question might be laid aside;" which being again urged by the solicitor general upon the authority of what the other had declared, and the other privy-counsellors saying nothing, though they were much displeased with the secretary's averment, the business was no more pressed; but it being near five of the clock in the afternoon, and every body weary, it was willingly consented to that the house should be adjourned till the next morning.

Both sir Henry Vane, and the solicitor general Herbert, (whose opinion was of more weight with the king than the others,) had made a worse representation of the humour and affection of the house than it deserved, and undertook to know, that if they came together again, they would pass such a vote against ship-money, as would blast that revenue and other branches of the receipt; which others believed they would not have had the confidence to have attempted; and very few, that they would have had the credit to have compassed. What followed in the next parliament, within less than a year, made it believed, that sir Henry Vane acted that part maliciously, and to bring all into confusion; he being known to have an implacable

hatred against the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, whose destruction was then upon the anvil. But what transported the solicitor, who had none of the ends of the other, could not be imagined, except it was his pride and peevishness, when he found that he was like to be of less authority there, than he looked to be; and yet he was heard with great attention, though his parts were most prevalent in puzzling and perplexing that discourse he meant to cross. Let their motives be what they would, they two, and they only, wrought so far with the king, that, without so much deliberation as the affair was worthy of, his majesty the next morning, which was on the fourth or fifth of May, not three weeks from their first meeting, sent for the speaker to attend him, and took care that he should go directly to the house of peers, upon some apprehension that if he had gone to the house of commons, that house would have entered upon some ingrateful discourse; which they were not inclined to do; and then sending for that house to attend him, the keeper, by his majesty's command, dissolved the parliament.

There could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused; and men had much of the misery in view, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped, that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given, which put the king to that resolution. But it was observed, that in the countenances of those who had most opposed all that was desired by his majesty, there was a marvellous serenity; nor could they conceal the joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the king would be shortly compelled to call another parliament; and they were as sure, that so many grave and unbiassed men would never be elected again.

Within an hour after the dissolving, Mr. Hyde met Mr. Saint-John, who had naturally a great cloud in his face, and very seldom was known to smile, but then had a most cheerful aspect, and seeing the other melancholic, as in truth he was from his heart, asked him, "What troubled him?" who answered, "That the same that troubled him, he believed, troubled most good men; that in such a time of confusion, so wise a parliament, which could only have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed: the other answered with a little warmth, "That all was well: and that it must be worse, before it could be better; and that this parliament would never have done what was necessary to be done;" as indeed it would not, what he and his friends thought necessary.

The king, when he had better reflected upon what was like to fall out, and was better informed of the temper and duty of the house of commons, and that they had voted a supply, if sir Henry Vane had not hindered it by so positive a declaration that his majesty would refuse it, was heartily sorry for what he had done; declared with great anger, "That he had never given him such authority; and that he knew well that the giving him any supply would have been welcome to him, because the reputation of his subjects assisting him in that conjuncture was all that he looked for and considered." He consulted the same

day, or the next, whether he might by his proclamation recall them to meet together again: but finding that impossible, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of money, in which he had so wonderful success, that, in less than three weeks, by the voluntary loan of the particular lords of the council, and of other private gentlemen about the city, some relating to the court, and others strangers to it, there was no less than three hundred thousand pounds paid into the exchequer to be issued out as his majesty should direct: a sum that sufficiently manifests the plenty of that time, and greater than any prince in Europe could have commanded in so short a time; and was an unanswerable evidence, that the hearts of his subjects were not then aliened from their duty to the king, or a just jealousy for his honour.

All diligence was used in making levies, in which few of the general officers which had been employed the year before were made use of; though it was great pity that the earl of Essex was not again taken in; which had infallibly preserved him from swerving from his duty, and he would have discharged his trust with courage and fidelity, and therefore probably with success: but he was of a rough, proud nature, and did not think his last summer's service so well requited that he was earnestly to solicit for another office; though there was no doubt but he would have accepted it, if it had been offered.

A general was appointed, the earl of Northumberland; and the lord Conway general of the horse: which made the great officers of the former year, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Essex, and the earl of Holland, (who thought themselves free from any oversights that had been committed,) more capable of infusions by those who were ready to work according to the occurrences upon their several constitutions, and I am persuaded if this war had been left to the managery of the same officers, or rather if the earl of Essex had been made general, (who, notwithstanding the trivial disobligation he had received in being denied the command of Beedon-forest, might easily have been caressed,) it would have been more prosperously carried on. But the reputation of the earl of Northumberland, who had indeed arrived at a wonderful general estimation, was believed to be most instrumental: and the lord Conway by as gentle and as general a concurrence was thought an able soldier, and of great parts. Besides, the earls of Essex and Holland (for, for the earl of Arundel, there was neither reason why he was general in the first expedition, and why he was not in this;) were thought less governable by those councils to which the main was then to be intrusted, the earl of Strafford bearing a part in them; to whom the first was very averse, and the latter irreconcilable.

Despatches were sent into Ireland to quicken the preparations there, which the earl had left in a great forwardness, under the care of the earl of Ormond, his lieutenant-general: monies issued out for the levies of horse and foot there, and for the making a train: all which were as well advanced as, considering the general discomposure, could be reasonably expected.

And the king, the earl of Northumberland, and the earl of Strafford, thought they had well provided for the worst in making choice of the lord Conway to be general of the horse: a man very

dear to the two earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary fate, [he had] got a very particular interest and esteem in many worthy men of very different qualifications. He had been born a soldier in his father's garrison of the Brill, when he was governor there; and bred up, in several commands, under the particular care of the lord Vere, whose nephew he was; and though he was married young, when his father was secretary of state, there was no action of the English either at sea or land, in which he had not a considerable command; and always preserved a more than ordinary reputation, in spite of some great infirmities, which use to be a great allay to the credit of active men; for he was a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great license in all other excesses, and yet was very acceptable to the strictest and the gravest men of all conditions. And which was stranger than all this, he had always (from his pleasure, to which his nature excessively inclined him, and from his profession, in which he was diligent enough) reserved so much time for his books and study, that he was well versed in all parts of learning, at least appeared like such a one in all occasions, and in the best companies. He was of a very pleasant and inoffensive conversation, which made him generally very acceptable: so that the court being at that time full of faction, very few loving one another, or those who resorted to any who were not loved by them, he alone was even domestic with all, and not suspected by either of the lords' or the ladies' factions.

The war was generally thought to be as well provided for, as, after the last year's miscarriage, it could be, by his being made general of the horse; and no man was more pleased with it than the archbishop of Canterbury, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to speak in the affairs of the church, and taking care to be thought by him a very zealous defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of sense of religion, and thought all was alike. He was sent down with the first troops of horse and foot which were levied, to the borders of Scotland, to attend the motion of the enemy, and had a strength sufficient to stop them, if they should attempt to pass the river, which was not fordable in above one or two places, there being good garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle. And in this posture he lay near Newburn in the outskirts of Northumberland.

Whilst these things were thus publicly acted, private agitations were not less vigorously intended. The treaty and pacification of the former year had given an opportunity of forming correspondences, and contriving designs, which before had been more clandestine; and the late meeting in parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwise have met, and discovered humours and affections, which could not else have been so easily communicated. The court was full of faction and animosity, each man more intending the ruin of his adversary, and satisfying his private malice, than advancing his master's service, or complying with his public duty, and to that purpose directing all their endeavours, and forming all their intercourse; whilst every man sottishly thought him whom he found an enemy to his enemies, a friend to all his other affections; or

rather by the narrowness of his understanding, and extent of his passion, having contracted all his other affections to that one of revenge.

And by this means those emissaries and agents for the confusion which was to follow were furnished with opportunity and art to entangle all those (and God knows they were a great people) who were transported with those vulgar and vile considerations: cheap, senseless libels were scattered about the city, and fixed upon gates and public remarkable places, traducing some, and proscribing others of those who were in highest trust and employment: tumults were raised, and all license both in actions and words taken; inso-much as a rabble of mean, unknown, dissolute persons, to the number of some thousands, attempted the house of the lord archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, with open profession and protestation, "that they would tear him in pieces;" which (though one of that rabble, a sailor, was apprehended and executed in Southwark, upon an indictment of high treason) was so just a cause of terror, that the archbishop, by the king's command, lodged for some days and nights in Whitehall; which place likewise was not unthreatened in their seditious meetings and discourses. This infamous, scandalous, headless insurrection, quashed by the deserved death of that one varlet, was not then thought to be contrived or fomented by any persons of quality: yet it was discoursed after in the house of commons by Mr. Strode (one of those ephori who most avowed the curbing and suppressing of majesty) with much pleasure and content; and it was mentioned in the first draught of the first remonstrance (when the same was brought in by Mr. Pym) not without a touch of approbation, which was for that reason somewhat altered, though it still carried nothing of judgment upon it in that piece.

Things standing thus both in the court and city, and the Scots preparing amain for an invasion, and we, at least, for a defence, on a sudden the lord Lowden, (who before was said to be committed for desiring protection and aid from the French king, by a letter under his hand) was discharged from his imprisonment; without imparting that resolution to the council; and after a few days admittance and kind reception at Whitehall, was dismissed into Scotland; his authority and power with that people being as considerable as any man's, and his conduct as necessary for the enterprises they had in hand. This stratagem was never understood, and was then variously spoken of; many believing he had undertaken great matters for the king in Scotland, and to quiet that distemper: others, that it was an act entirely compassed by the marquis of Hamilton, who was like to stand in need of great supporters, by that extraordinary obligation to endear himself with that nation; or to communicate somewhat to that nation, if his condition before were so good that it needed no endearment. They who published their thoughts least, made no scruple of saying, "that if the policy were good and necessary of his first commitment, it seemed as just and prudent to have continued him in that restraint."

The progress in the king's advance for Scotland was exceedingly hindered by the great and dangerous sickness of the earl of Northumberland the general, whose recovery was either totally despaired

of by the physician, or pronounced to be expected very slowly; so that there would be no possibility for him to perform the service of the north: whereupon he sent to the king, that he would make choice of another general. And though the lord Conway in all his letters sent advertisement, "that the Scots had not advanced their preparations to that degree, that they would be able to march that year," yet the king had much better intelligence that they were in readiness to move; and so concluded, that it was necessary to send another general; and designed the earl of Strafford for that command, and to leave the forces in Ireland, which were raised to make a diversion in Scotland, to be governed by the earl of Ormond. The earl of Strafford was scarce recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward to serve the king with that vigour of mind they ought to do, and knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, but he would rather serve as lieutenant-general under the earl of Northumberland, than that he should resign his commission: and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the north, before he had strength enough for the journey.

And before he could arrive with the army, that infamous irreparable rout at Newburn was fallen out; where the enemy marched at a time and place, when and where they were expected, through a river deep though fordable, and up a hill, where our army was ranged to receive them: through those difficulties and disadvantages, without giving or taking any blows, (for the five or six men of ours who were killed, fell by their cannon, before the passing of the river,) they put our whole army to the most shameful and confounding flight that was ever heard of; our foot making no less haste from Newcastle, than our horse from Newburn; both leaving the honour, and the coal, to those who had not confidence enough (notwithstanding the evidence they had seen of our fear) to possess that town in two days after; not believing it possible that such a place, which was able to have waged war with their nation, could be so kindly quit to them: the lord Conway never after turning his face towards the enemy, or doing any thing like a commander, though his troops were quickly brought together again, without the loss of a dozen men, and were so ashamed of their flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken what revenge they would upon the enemy, who were possessed with all the fears imaginable, and could hardly believe their own success, till they were [assured that the lord Conway with all his army rested quietly in Durham, and then they presumed to enter into Newcastle.]

But it seemed afterwards to be a full vindication to the honour of the nation, that, from this infamous defeat at Newburn, to the last entire conquest of Scotland by Cromwell, the Scots' army never performed one signal action against the English, but were always beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they approached to any encounter, if they were not supported by English troops.

In this posture the earl of Strafford found the army about Durham, bringing with him a body much broken with his late sickness, which was not clearly shaken off, and a mind and temper confess-

ing the dregs of it, which being marvellously provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late dishonour, rendered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make himself so, to the officers, upon his first entrance into his first charge; it may be, in that mass of disorder and unsoldierliness, not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him; and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience, and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. And in this disposition in all parts, the earl found it necessary to retire with the army to the skirts of Yorkshire, and himself to York, (whither the king was come,) leaving Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham to be possessed by the victors; who being abundantly satisfied with what they never hoped to possess, made no haste to advance their new conquests.

It was then and is now very much wondered at, that the earl of Strafford, upon his first arrival at the army, called no persons to a council of war for that shameful business of Newburn, or the more shameful quitting of Newcastle, (where were not ten barrels of musquet bullets, nor moulds to make any; the enemy having been long expected there, and our army not less than a month in that town; time enough, if nothing had been done before, to have made that place tenable for a longer time than it could have been distressed.) Whether the earl saw that it would not have been in his power to have proceeded finally and exemplarily upon that inquisition, and therefore chose rather not to enter upon it; or whether he found the guilt to be so involved, that though some were more obnoxious, few were unfaulty; or whether he plainly discerned whither the whole tended, and so would not trouble himself further in discovering of that, which, instead of a reproach, might prove a benefit to the persons concerned; I know not: but any public examination it never had.

The Scots needed not now advance their progress; their game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better gamesters. Besides, they were not to make the least inroad, or do the least trespass to their neighbours of Yorkshire; who were as solicitous, that, by any access or concurrence of the strength of that large county, they should not be driven further back; and therefore, instead of drawing their trained bands together (which of themselves would have been a greater or a better army than was to contend with them) to defend their county, or the person of the king then with them, they prepared petitions of advice and good counsel to him to call a parliament, and to remove all other grievances but the Scots. At the same time some lords from London (of known and since published affections to that invasion) attended his majesty at York with a petition, signed by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily persuaded by the liegers there, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, to concur in it, being full of duty and modesty enough; without considering, that nothing else at that time could have done mischief; and so suffered themselves to be made instruments towards those ends, which in truth they abhorred.

In these distractions and discomposures, between an enemy proud and insolent in success, an army corrupted, or at best disheartened, a country mutinous and inclined to the rebels, at least not inclined to reduce them, and a court infected with all three, the king could not but find himself in great straits; besides that his treasure, which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent. The raising and disbanding the first army so unfortunately and wretchedly, had cost full three hundred thousand pounds, which the good husbandry of the ministers of the revenue had treasured up for an emergent occasion; and the borrowing so much money for the raising and supplying this latter army had drawn assignments and anticipations upon the revenue to that degree, that there was not left wherewithal to defray the constant necessary expense of the king's household. A parliament would not be easily thought of for many other considerations than that it could not come together speedily enough to prevent that mischief, to which it should be chiefly applied: for if we were not then in a condition to defend ourselves, in forty days (the soonest a parliament could meet) an army elate with victory, when no town was fortified, or pass secured, would run over the kingdom; especially the people being every where so like to bid them welcome.

A new convention (not before heard of, that is, so old, that it had not been practised in some hundreds of years) was thought of, to call a great council of all the peers of England to meet and attend his majesty at York, that by their advice that great affair might be the more prosperously managed. Whether it was then conceived, that the honour of the king and kingdom being so visibly upon the stage, those branches of honour, which could not outlive the root, would undoubtedly rescue and preserve it; or whether it was believed, that upon so extraordinary an occasion the peers would suffice to raise money; as it was in that meeting proposed by one of them, "that they might give subsidies:" whether the advice was given by those who had not the confidence in plain terms to propose a parliament, but were confident that would produce one; or whether a parliament was then resolved on, and they called to be obliged by it, and so to be obliged to some sober undertaking in it; or what other ground or intention there was of that council, was never known: or whether indeed it was resolved out of the trouble and agony of afflicted thoughts, because no other way occurred: but such a resolution was taken, and writs immediately issued under the great seal of England to all the peers to attend his majesty at York within twenty days; and preparations were made in all places accordingly.

Whilst the lords are on their way thither, it will not be amiss to consider the general state of affairs in that time, and the persons to whom the managing the public business was principally then, and for some time had been, intrusted; that so, upon view of the materials, we may be the better enabled to guess how those dexterous workmen were like to employ themselves. It is told you before, that, upon the dissolution of the parliament but four months before, the lords of the council bestirred themselves in levying the ship-money, and in lending great sums of money for the war.

The convocation house (the regular and legal

assembling of the clergy) customarily beginning and ending with parliaments, was, after the determination of the last, by a new writ continued, and sat for the space of above a month under the proper title of a synod; made canons, which was thought that it might do; and gave subsidies, and enjoined oaths, that it might not do: in a word, did many things, which in the best times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst; (what fuel it was to the fire that ensued, shall be mentioned in its place;) and drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy, to which before only some few clergymen were exposed.

The papists had for many years enjoyed a great calm, being upon the matter absolved from the severest parts of the law, and dispensed with for the gentlest; and were grown only a part of the revenue, without any probable danger of being made a sacrifice to the law. They were looked upon as good subjects at court, and as good neighbours in the country; all the restraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this prosperity, being too elate and transported with the protection and connivance they received: though I am persuaded their numbers increased not, their pomp and boldness did to that degree, that, as if they had affected to be thought dangerous to the state, they appeared more publicly, entertained and urged conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they resorted at common hours to mass to Somerset house, and returned thence in great multitudes, with the same barefacedness as others came from the Savoy or the neighbour churches: they attempted and sometimes obtained proselytes of weak uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression: they grew not only secret contrivers, but public professed promoters of, and ministers in, the most odious and the most grievous projects: as in that of soap, formed, framed, and executed, by almost a corporation of that religion; which, under that license and notion, might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations. The priests, and such as were in orders, (orders that in themselves were punishable by death,) were departed from their former modesty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearkened to; insomuch as a Jesuit at Paris, who was coming for England, had the boldness to visit the ambassador there, who knew him to be such, and, offering his service, acquainted him with his journey, as if there had been no laws here for his reception. And for the most envious protection and countenance of that whole party, a public agent from Rome (first Mr. Con, a Scottishman; and after him the count of Rozetti, an Italian) resided at London in a great port; publicly visited the court; and was avowedly resorted to by the catholics of all conditions, over whom they assumed a particular jurisdiction; and was caressed and presented magnificently by the ladies of honour, who inclined to that profession. They had likewise, with more noise and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made public collections of money to a considerable sum, upon some recommendations from the queen, and to be by her majesty presented as a free-will offering from his catholic subjects to the king, for the

carrying on the war against the Scots; which drew upon them the rage of that nation, with little devotion and reverence to the queen herself; as if she desired to suppress the protestant religion in one kingdom as well as the other, by the arms of the Roman catholics. To conclude, they carried themselves so, as if they had been suborned by the Scots to root out their own religion.

The bulk and burden of the state affairs, whereby the envy attended them likewise, lay principally upon the shoulders of the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Strafford, and the lord Cottington; some others being joined to them, as the earl of Northumberland for ornament, the lord bishop of London for his place, being lord high treasurer of England, the two secretaries, sir Henry Vane and sir Francis Windebank, for service, and communication of intelligence; only the marquis of Hamilton indeed, by his skill and interest, bore as great a part as he had a mind to do, and had the skill to meddle no further than he had a mind. These persons made up the committee of state, (which was reproachfully after called *the juncto*, and enviously then in the court *the cabinet council*,) who were upon all occasions, when the secretaries received any extraordinary intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary despatch, or as often otherwise as was thought fit, to meet: whereas the body of the council observed set days and hours for their meeting, and came not else together except specially summoned.

But, as I said before, the weight and the envy of all great matters rested upon the three first. The archbishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the church, which was an envious province, having been from the death of the earl of Portland (at which time he was made commissioner of the treasury) more engaged in the civil business, than I am persuaded he desired to be; and throughout the whole business passionately concerned for the church of Scotland, and so, conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him; a more than ordinary prejudice and uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

The earl of Strafford had for the space of almost six years entirely governed Ireland, where he had been compelled, upon reason of state, to exercise many acts of power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the lord chancellor, and the lord Mount-Norris; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*; but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty, that in a time of peace had been ever executed by any subject. When and why he was called out of Ireland to assist in council here, I have touched before. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony, to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough: he had two that professed it, the earl of Holland, and sir Henry Vane: the first could never forget or forgive a sharp sudden saying of his, (for I cannot call it counsel or advice,) when there had been some difference a few years before between his lordship and the lord

Weston, in the managing whereof the earl of Holland was confined to his house, "that the king should do well to cut off his head:" which had been aggravated, (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of discourtenances mutually performed between them to that time. Sir Henry Vane had not far to look back to the time that the earl had with great earnestness opposed his being made secretary, and prevailed for above a month's delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the earl, on the behalf of an old fellow-servant, and his very [good] friend sir John Coke, (who was to be, and afterwards was, removed to let him in,) yet the justice to the one lessened not the sense of unkindness to the other: after which, or about the same time, (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembered,) being to be made earl of Strafford, he would needs in that patent have a new creation of a barony, and was made baron of Raby, a house belonging to sir Henry Vane, and an honour he made account should belong to him too; which was an act of the most unnecessary provocation (though he contemned the man with marvellous scorn) that I have known, and I believe was the loss of his head. To these a third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other two) was added, the earl of Essex, naturally enough disinclined to his person, his power, and his parts, upon some rough carriage of the earl of Strafford's towards the late earl of saint Alban's, to whom he had some piety, [and therefore] openly professed to be revenged. Lastly, he had an enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom. So that he had reason to expect as hard measure from such popular councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all those disadvantages could create towards him. And yet no doubt his confidence was so great in himself, and in the form of justice, (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded,) that he never apprehended a greater censure than a sequestration from all public employments, in which it is probable he had abundant satiety: and this confidence could not have proceeded (considering the full knowledge he had of his judges) but from a proportionable stock [of], and satisfaction in, his own innocence.

The lord Cottington, though he was a very wise man, yet having spent the greatest part of his life in Spain, and so having been always subject to the unpopular imputation of being of the Spanish faction, indeed was better skilled to make his master great abroad, than gracious at home; and being chancellor of the exchequer from the time of the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year, had his hand in many hard shifts for money; and had the disadvantage of being suspected at least a favourer of the papists, (though that religion thought itself nothing beholding to him,) by which he was in great umbrage with the people: and then though he were much less hated than either of the other two, and the less, because there was nothing of kindness between the archbishop and him; and indeed very few particulars of moment could be proved against him: yet there were two objections against him, which rendered him as odious as any to the great reformers; the one,

that he was not to be reconciled to, or made use of in, any of their designs; the other, that he had two good offices, without the having of which their reformation could not be perfect: for besides being chancellor of the exchequer, he was likewise master of the wards, and had raised the revenue of that court to the king to be much greater than it had ever been before his administration; and by which husbandry, all the rich families of England, of noblemen and gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the crown, looking upon what the law had intended for their protection and preservation, to be now applied to their destruction; and therefore resolved to take the first opportunity to ravish that jewel out of the royal diadem, though it were fastened there by the known law, upon as unquestionable a right, as the subject enjoyed any thing that was most his own.

The marquis of Hamilton, if he had been then weighed in the scales of the people's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more enemies, and fewer friends, in court or country, than either of the other. His interest in the king's affections was equal, and thought to be superior to any man's; and he had received as envious instances, and marks of those affections. He had more outfaced the law in bold projects and pressures upon the people, than any other man durst have presumed to do, as especially in the projects of wine and iron; about the last of which, and the most gross, he had a sharp contest with the lord Coventry, (who was a good wrestler too,) and at last compelled him to let it pass the seal: the entire profit of which always reverted to himself, and to such as were his pensioners. He had been the sole manager of the business of Scotland till the pacification; the readiest man, though then absent, to advise that pacification, and the most visible author of the breach of it. Lastly, the discoveries between the lord Mackey and David Ramsey, wherein the marquis was accused of designing to make himself king of Scotland, were fresh in many men's memories, and the late passages in that kingdom had revived it in others; so that he might reasonably have expected as ill a presage for himself from those fortunetellers, as the most melancholic of the other: but as he had been always most careful and solicitous for himself, so he was most likely to be apprehensive on his own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

And here I cannot omit a story, which I received from a very good hand, by which his great subtilty and industry for himself may appear, and was indeed as great a piece of art (if it were art) as I believe will be found amongst the modern politicians. After the calling the council of the peers at York was resolved upon, and a little before the time of their appearance, the marquis came to the king, and with some cloudiness (which was not unnatural) and trouble in his countenance, he desired his majesty to give him leave to travel: the king, surprised, was equally troubled at it, and demanded his reason: he told him, "he well foresaw a storm, in which his shipwreck was most probable amongst others; and that he, never having any thing before his eyes but his majesty's service, or in his vows, but an entire simple obedience to his commands, might haply, by his own unskilfulness in what was fit by any other rule, be more obnoxious than other men;

“and therefore, that, with his majesty’s leave, he would withdraw himself from the hazard at least of that tempest.” The king, most graciously inclined to him, bad him “be most confident, that though he might (which he was resolved to do) gratify his people with any reasonable indulgence, he would never fail his good servants in that protection which they had equal reason to expect from him.” The marquis with some quickness replied, “that the knowledge of that gracious disposition in his majesty was the principal cause that he besought leave to be absent; and that otherwise he would not so far desert his own innocence, which he was sure could be only sullied and discredited with infirmities and indiscretions, not tainted or defaced with design and malice. But (said he) I know your majesty’s goodness will interpose for me to your own prejudice: and I will rather run any fortune, from whence I may again return to serve you, than be (as I foresee I should be) so immediate a cause of damage and mischief to so royal a master.” He told him, “that he knew there were no less fatal arrows aimed at the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Strafford than at himself; and that he had advertised the first, and advised the last, to take the same course he meant to secure himself by withdrawing: but (he said) the earl was too great-hearted to fear, and he doubted the other was too bold to fly.”

The king was much disturbed with the probability and reason of what was said; which the other as soon observing, “There is (said he) one way by which I might secure myself without leaving the kingdom, and by which your majesty, as these times are like to go, might receive some advantage: but it is so contrary to my nature, and will be so scandalous to my honour in the opinion of men, that, for my own part, I had rather run my fortune.” His majesty, glad that such an expedient might be found, (as being unwilling to hazard his safety against so much reason as had been spoken, by compelling him to stay; and as unwilling, by suffering him to go, to confess an apprehension that he might be imposed upon,) impatiently asked, “What that way was?” The marquis replied, “That he might endear himself to the other party by promising his service to them, and seeming to concur with them in opinions and designs; the which he had reason to believe the principal persons would not be averse to, in hope that his supposed interest in his majesty’s opinion might be looked upon as of moment to them for their particular recommendations. But (he said) this he knew would be immediately looked upon with so much jealousy by other men, and shortly with that reproach, that he might by degrees be lessened even in his majesty’s own trust; and therefore it was a province he had no mind to undertake:” and so renewed his suit again very earnestly for leave to travel.

The king, for the reasons aforesaid, much delighted with this expedient, and believing likewise, that in truth he might by this means frequently receive animadversions of great use, and having a singular esteem of the fidelity and affection of the marquis, told him positively, “That he should not leave him; that he was not only contented, but commanded him to ingratiate himself by any means with the other people;” and assured him, “that it should not be in any body’s power to

“infuse the least jealousy of him into his royal breast.” The which resolution his majesty observed so constantly, that the other enjoyed the liberty of doing whatsoever he found necessary for his own behoof; and with wonderful craft and low condescensions to the ends and the appetites of very inferior people, and by seasonable insinuations to several leading persons (of how different inclinations soever) of such particulars as were grateful to them, and seemed to advance their distinct and even contrary interests and pretences, he grew to have no less credit in the parliament, than in the Scottish commissioners; and was with great vigilance, industry, and dexterity, preserved from any public reproach in those charges which served to ruin other men, and which with more reason and justice might have been applied to him than against any other; and yet for a long time he did not incur the jealousy of the king; to whom he likewise gave many advertisements, which, if there had been persons enough who would have concurred in prevention, might have proved of great use.

In this state and condition were things and persons when the lords came to York to the great council in September; and the first day of their meeting (that the counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolved to give it, and that the queen might receive the honour of it; who, the king said, had by a letter advised him to it; as his majesty exceedingly desired to endear her to the people) the king declared to them, “that he was resolved to call a parliament to assemble at Westminster the third day of November following;” which was as soon as was possible. So the first work was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to dispose matters in order against that time, which could not well be done without a more overt conversation with the Scots. For though there was an intercourse made, yet it passed for the most part through hands whom the chief had no mind to trust: as the lord Savile; whom his bitter hatred to the earl of Strafford, and as passionate hope of the presidentship of the north, which the earl had, made applicable to any end; but otherwise a person of so ill a fame, that many desired not to mingle with him. For, besides his no reputation, they begun now to know that he had long held correspondence with the Scots before their coming in, and invited them to enter the kingdom with an army; in order to which, and to raise his own credit, he had counterfeited the hands of some other lords, and put their names to some undertakings of joining with the Scots; and therefore they were resolved to take that negotiation out of his hands, (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his presumption,) which they had quickly an opportunity to do. For the first day of the lords’ meeting, a petition is presented to his majesty full of dutiful and humble expressions from the Scots, who well knew their time, and had always (how rough and undutiful soever their actions were) given the king as good and as submissive words as can be imagined. This petition, full of as much submission as a victory itself could produce, (as was urged by some lords,) could not but beget a treaty, and a treaty was resolved on speedily to be at Rippon, a place in the king’s quarters: but then, special care was taken, by cautions given to his majesty, that no such ungracious person might be intrusted by him in this treaty as might beget jealousies in the

Scots, and so render it fruitless : and therefore the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Pembroke, Salisbury, Essex, Holland, Bristol, and Berkshire, the lords Mandevile, Wharton, Dunsmore, Brook, Savile, Paulet, Howard of Escrick (the lord Say being sick, and so not present at York) were chosen by the king ; all popular men, and not one of them of much interest in the court, but only the earl of Holland, who was known to be fit for any counsel that should be taken against the earl of Strafford, who had not amongst them one friend or person civilly inclined towards him.

When these commissioners from the king arrived at Rippon, there came others from the Scots' army of a quality much inferior, there being not above two noblemen, whereof the lord Lowden was the chief, two or three gentlemen and citizens, and Alexander Henderson their metropolitan, and two or three other clergymen. The Scots applied themselves most particularly to the earls of Bedford, Essex, Holland, and the lord Mandevile, though in public they seemed equally to caress them all; and besides the duty they professed to the king in the most submissive expressions of reverence that could be used, they made great and voluminous expressions "of their affection to the kingdom and people of England; and remembered the infinite obligations they had from time to time received from this nation; especially the assistance they had from it in their reformation of religion, and their attaining the light of the gospel; and therefore as it could never fall into their hearts to be ungrateful to it, so they hoped that the good people of England would not entertain any ill opinion of the manner of their coming into this kingdom at this time in a hostile manner, as if they had the least purpose of doing wrong to any particular persons, much less to alter any thing in the government of the kingdom; protesting, that they had the same tenderness of their laws and liberties, and privileges, as of their own; and that they did hope, as the oppressions upon their native country, both in their civil and spiritual rights, had obliged them to this manner of address to the king, to whom all access had been denied them by the power of their enemies; so, that this very manner of their coming in might be for the good of this kingdom, and the benefit of the subjects thereof, in the giving them opportunity to vindicate their own liberties and laws; which, though not yet so much invaded as those of Scotland had been, were enough infringed by those very men who had brought so great misery and confusion upon that kingdom; and who intended, when they had finished their work there, and in Ireland, to establish the same slavery in England as they had brought upon the other two kingdoms. All which would be prevented by the remove of three or four persons from about the king; whose own gracious disposition and inclinations would bountifully provide for the happiness of all his dominions, if those ill men had no influence upon his counsels."

There was not a man of all the English commissioners to whom this kind of discourse was not grateful enough, and who did not promise to himself some convenience that the alterations which were like to happen might produce. And with those lords with whom they desired to enter into greater confidence, they conferred more openly and

particularly, of the three persons towards whom their greatest prejudice was, the archbishop, the earl of Strafford, and the marquis of Hamilton, (for in their whole discourses they seemed equally at least incensed against him, as against either of the other two,) whom they resolved should be removed from the king. They spake in confidence "of the excess of the queen's power, which in respect of her religion, and of the persons who had most interest in her, ought not to prevail so much upon the king as it did in all affairs. That the king could never be happy, nor his kingdoms flourish, till he had such persons about him in all places of trust, as were of honour and experience in affairs, and of good fortunes and interests in the affections of the people; who would always inform his majesty that his own greatness and happiness consisted in the execution of justice, and the happiness of his subjects; and who are known to be zealous for the preservation and advancement of the protestant religion, which every honest man thought at present to be in great danger, by the exorbitant power of the archbishop of Canterbury, and some other bishops who were governed by him." It was no hard matter to insinuate into the persons with whom they held this discourse, that they were the persons to whom they wished all trust should be communicated, and that they were the very men who they wished should be in most credit about the king; and they concluded that their affections were so great to this kingdom, and that all grievances might be reduced here, that if they might receive present satisfaction in all that concerned themselves, they would not yet return, till provision might likewise be made for the just interest of England, and the reformation of what was amiss there with reference to church and state.

This appeared so hopeful a model to most of the king's commissioners, that having no method prescribed to them to treat in, (and were indeed sent only to hear what the Scots would propose, the king himself then intending to determine what should be granted to them,) they never considered the truth of any of their allegations, nor desired to be informed of the ground of their proceedings; but patiently hearkened to all they said in public, of which they intended to give an account to the king; and willingly heard all they said in private, and made such use of it as they thought most conduced to their own ends. The Scottish commissioners proposed, "that, for the avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, there might be some way found to prevent all acts of hostility on either side; which could not possibly be done, except some order was given for the payment of their army, which was yet restrained to close and narrow quarters." And the truth is, they were in daily fear that those quarters would have been beaten up, and so the ill courage of their men too easily discovered, who were more taught to sing psalms, and to pray, than to use their arms; their hopes of prevailing being, from the beginning, founded upon an assurance that they should not be put to fight.

There had been in that infamous rout at Newburn two or three officers of quality taken prisoners, who endeavouring to charge the enemy with the courage they ought to do, being deserted by their troops could not avoid falling into the Scots' hands; two of which were Wilmot, who was commissary-

general of the horse, and O'Neile, who was major of a regiment; both who were officers of name and reputation, and of good esteem in the court with all those who were incensed against the earl of Strafford, towards whom they were both very in-devoted. Those gentlemen were well known to several of the principal commanders in the Scots' army, (who had served together with them in Holland under the prince of Orange,) and were treated with great civility in their camp; and when the commissioners came to Rippon, they brought them with them, and presented them to the king by his commissioners, to whom they were very acceptable; and did those who delivered them more service by the reports they made of them in the army when they returned to their charges, and in the court, than they could have done by remaining prisoners with them; and contributed very much to the irreconciling the army to the earl of Strafford, who was to command it.

After few days the commissioners returned to the king at York, and gave him an account of what had passed, and of the extraordinary affection of the Scots to his majesty's service; and Wilmot and O'Neile magnified the good discipline and order observed in the army, and made their numbers to be believed much superior to what in truth they were.

Three of the commissioners, and no more, were of the king's council, the earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, who were all inspired by the Scots, and liked well all that they pretended to desire. Besides those, the king had nobody to consult with but the lord keeper Finch, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Strafford, and sir Harry Vane, principal secretary of state. The first of which, the lord keeper, was obnoxious to so many reproaches, that, though his affection and fidelity was very entire to the king, all his care was to provoke no more enemies, and to ingratiate himself to as many of those who he perceived were like to be able to protect him, which he knew the king would not be able to do; and towards this he laboured with all industry and dexterity. The duke of Richmond was young, and used to discourse with his majesty in his bed-chamber rather than at the council-board, and a man of honour and fidelity in all places; and in no degree of confidence with his countrymen, because he would not admit himself into any of their intrigues. The marquis had leave to be wary, and would give his enemies no new advantages.

Nor indeed was there any man's advice of much credit with the king, but that of the earl of Strafford; who had no reason to declare his opinion upon so nice a subject in the presence of the earl of Holland and sir Harry Vane; and thought there was only one way to be pursued, (which was not to be communicated at the council,) and that was to drive the Scots out of the kingdom by the army: and without considering what was done at the treaty, (which had not yet agreed upon any cessation,) he sent a good party of horse, commanded by major Smith, to fall upon a Scottish quarter in the bishopric of Durham, who defeated two or three of their troops, and took all the officers prisoners, and made it manifest enough that the kingdom might be rid of the rest, if it were vigorously pursued; which the earl of Strafford heartily intended. But Lesley, the Scottish general, complained "that he himself had forborne to make

"any such attempt out of respect to the treaty;" and the English commissioners thought themselves neglected and affronted by it. And when it was found that the officer who conducted that enterprise was a Roman catholic, it made more noise; and they prevailed with the king to restrain his general from giving out any more such orders.

And the king began so far to dislike the temper of his commissioners, that he thought the parliament itself would be more jealous of his honour, and more sensible of the indignities he suffered by the Scots, than the commissioners appeared to be; and therefore he sent them back to Rippon again to renew the treaty, and to conclude a cessation of arms upon as good terms as they could; so that the Scots' army might not advance into Yorkshire, nor enlarge their quarters any way beyond what they were already possessed of: and this concession being agreed to, they should not enter upon any other particulars, but adjourn the treaty to London; which was the only thing the Scots desired, and without this they could never have brought their designs to pass. When the other lords returned to Rippon, the earl of Pembroke (as a man of a great fortune, and at that time very popular) was sent with two or three other lords to London, with a letter from the king, and a subscription from the lords commissioners of the treaty (which was then more powerful) to borrow two hundred thousand pounds from the city, for the payment of both armies whilst the cessation and treaty should continue; "which they hoped" would quickly be at an end, and the Scots return "into their own country." The city was easily persuaded to furnish the money, to be repaid out of the first that should be raised by the parliament; which was very shortly to meet.

And the commissioners at Rippon quickly agreed upon the cessation; and undertook to pay fifty thousand pound the month for the support of the Scots' army, when they did assign but thirty thousand pound the month for the king's; taking the Scots' commissioners' word for their musters, which made their numbers so much superior to the other; which two sums amounting to four-score thousand pound, a sum too great for the kingdom to pay long, as was then generally believed. It was pretended that two months would put an end to the treaty; so that the two hundred thousand pounds, which the city had supplied, would discharge all to the disbanding: and in this hope the king confirmed the cessation, and sent a safe conduct for such commissioners as the Scots should think fit to send to London for the carrying on the treaty.

All which being done, the king and the lords left York, that they might be at London before the beginning of the parliament; the earl of Strafford staying still in the north to put the army into as good a posture as he could, and to suppress the mutinous spirit it was inclined to; and, if it were possible, to dispose that great county (of which he had the entire command) to a better temper towards the king's service, and to a greater indignation towards the Scots; of whom they did not use to have too charitable an opinion. But in both these applications he underwent great mortification; the officers of the army every day asking his leave to repair to London, being chosen to serve in parliament; and when he denied to give them passes, they went away without them: and the

gentlemen of the country who had most depended upon him, and been obliged by him, withdrawing their application and attendance, and entering into combination with his greatest enemies against him.

It is not to be denied, the king was in very great straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to choose which way he would go; and well foresaw, that a parliament in that conjuncture of affairs would not apply natural and proper remedies to the disease; for though it was not imaginable it would have run the courses it afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite, (which were not like to be contained within any modest bounds,) and therefore no question his majesty did not think of calling a parliament at first, but was wrought to it by degrees: yet the great council could not but produce the other; where the unskilfulness and passion of some for want of discerning consequences, and a general sharpness and animosity against persons, did more mischief than the power or malice of those who had a formed design of confusion; for without doubt that fire at that time (which did shortly after burn the whole kingdom) might have been covered under a bushel. So as in truth there was no counsel so necessary then, as for the king to have continued in his army, and to have drawn none thither, but such as were more afraid of dishonour than danger; and to have trusted the justice and power of the law with suppressing of tumults, and quieting disorders in his rear.

It is strange, and had somewhat of a judgment from Heaven in it, that all the industry and learning of the late years had been bestowed in finding out and evincing, that in case of necessity any extraordinary way for supply was lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was no necessity; and now, when the necessity was apparent, money must be levied in the ordinary course of parliament, which was then more unnatural and extraordinary than the other had been; as York must be defended from an enemy within twenty-five miles of it, by money to be given at London six weeks after, and to be gathered in six months. It had been only the season and evidence of necessity that had been questioned; and the view of it in a perspective of state at a distance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an imposition: as no man could pull down his neighbour's house because it stood next furze, or thatch, or some combustible matter which might take fire; though he might do it when that combustible matter was really a-fire. But it was never denied that *flagrante bello*, when an enemy had actually invaded the kingdom, and so the necessity both seen and felt, that all men's goods are the goods of the public, to be applied to the public safety, and as carefully to be repaired by the public stock. And it is very probable, (since the factions within, and the correspondence abroad was so apparent, that a parliament then called would do the business of the Scots, and of those who invited them hither,) that if the king had positively declared, that he would have no parliament as long as that army stayed in England, but as soon as they were retired into their own country he would summon one, and refer all matters to their advice, and even be advised by them in the composing the distractions of Scotland: I say, it is probable, that they would either willingly have left the kingdom,

or speedily have been compelled; there being at that time an army in Ireland (as was said before) ready to have visited their own country.

Neither would the indisposition of the king's army (which was begot only by those infusions, that there must of necessity be a parliament, which would prevent farther fighting) have lasted, when they had found those authors confuted; for the army was constituted of good officers, which were more capable of being deceived by their friends, than imposed upon by their enemies; and they had their soldiers in good devotion, and the business of Newburn would rather have been a spur than a bit to all. And it had been much the best course that could have been taken, if, after the fright at Newburn, the king, as well as the earl of Strafford, had made haste to Durham, and kept that post, without staying at York; and after some exemplary justice and disgrace upon the chief officers who were faulty, till the army had recovered their spirits, (which in a very short time it did with shame and indignation enough,) had marched directly against the Scots; by which they would have speedily dispossessed them of their new conquest, and forced them to have run distracted into their own country; as may be reasonably concluded from their behaviour whenever they were assaulted afterwards by the English.

And it is as strange, that the experience of the last summer, when the attendance of so great a number of the nobility (who had no mind to the war, and as little devotion to the court) was the true ground and cause of that ridiculous pacification, did not prevail with the king never to convene the same company to him; which could do him very little good, if they had desired it; and could not but do him more harm than even the worst of them at that time intended to do: for it might very easily have been foreseen, that the calling so many discontented, or disobliged, or disaffected men together, with a liberty to consult and advise, very few whereof had that affection and reverence for the person of the king as they ought to have had, though scarce any of them had at that time that mischief in their hearts which they afterwards discovered against him, or indeed had the least purpose to rebel: I say, the calling such men together could not but make every man much worse than they came, and put worse thoughts into their heads than they brought with them, when the miscarriage as well as the misfortune of the court would be the common argument and discourse; and when they would quickly discern, that it was like to be in every one of their powers to contribute to the destruction, at least to the disgrace, of men they had no kindness for, and most of them great animosity against.

But the king was without the presence and attendance of any man in whose judgment and wisdom he had a full confidence; for the earl of Strafford was at the army; and they who first proposed the calling the peers knew well enough that the king knew parliaments too well to be inclined to call one, if they should propose it; and therefore they proposed another expedient, which he knew not; and so was surprised with the advice, (which he thought could do no harm,) and so gave direction for the issuing out of the writs, before he enough considered whether it might not in truth produce some mischief he had not well thought of; as he quickly found it. Nor did the

Scots themselves resolve to give him more disquiet in the ensuing parliament, than the major part of his great council, that he brought together, resolved to concur with them therein: and with that disposition, which they could never have contracted if they had remained by themselves, they all hastened to the place where they might do the mischief they intended.

The next error to this was, that at the meeting of the great council at York, and before any consent to the treaty at Rippon, there was not a state made, and information given of the whole proceedings in Scotland, and thereupon some debate and judgment by the whole council before the sixteen departed, for their information and instruction: and this had been strangely omitted before at the pacification, insomuch as many who had been employed in that first at the Berkes, and in the last at Rippon, confessed that neither of them (and they were of the prime quality) then did, or ever after, know any thing of the laws and customs of that kingdom (by which they might have judged whether the king had exceeded his just power, or any thing of the matter of fact in the several transactions) but what they had received at those meetings from the persons who were naturally to make their own defence, and so by accusing others to make their own case the more plausible; in which it could not be expected they would mention any thing for their own disadvantage.

By them they were told "of a liturgy imposed upon them by their bishops, contrary [to] or without act of parliament, with strange circumstances of severity and rigour: of some clauses in that liturgy, different from that of the church of England;" with pretty smart comments of advice, and animadversion upon those alterations: "of a book of canons, in which an extraordinary and extravagant power was asserted to the bishops: of a high commission court, which exceeded all limits, and censured all degrees of men: of the insolent speeches of this bishop to that nobleman, and of the ill life of another: of their great humility and duty to their sacred sovereign, without whose favour and protection they would not live:" and, lastly, "of their several most submissive addresses, by petition and all other ways, to his majesty; being desirous, when their grievances were but heard, to lay themselves and their complaints at his royal feet, and to be most entirely disposed by him in such manner, as to his wisdom alone should be thought fit: but that, by the power and interposition of their adversaries, all their supplications had been rejected, and they never yet admitted to be heard."

With these and the like artifices our good lords were so wrought upon and transported, that they easily consented to whatsoever was proposed; nor was there any proposition made and insisted on by them at the first or second treaty, which was not for the matter fully consented to: whereas, if their lordships had been fully advertised of the whole truth, (though there had been some inadvertencies and incogitancy in the circumstances of the transaction,) his majesty had full power, by the laws of Scotland then in force, to make that reformation he intended; and all their petitions and addresses had found most gracious acceptance, and received most gracious answers; and that, on the contrary, they had invaded all the rights of the crown, altered

the government, affronted the magistrates and ministers of justice, and his majesty's own regal authority, with unheard of insolences and contempts; rejected all his offers of grace and pardon, and, without cause or provocation, denounced war against him; besieged and taken the castle of Edinburgh, and other places which held for his majesty; I say, if this had been made as evident to them as surely it might have been made, it is not possible but those noble persons would have preserved themselves from being deluded by them; at least many of the inconveniences which after ensued would have been prevented, if the form and method of their proceedings had been prescribed, or better looked into.

But it must be confessed, that in that conjuncture such necessary evidence and information could very hardly be given: for though it must not be doubted that there were many particular persons of honour of that nation who abhorred the outrages which were committed, and retained within their own breasts very loyal wishes for his majesty's prosperity; yet it cannot be denied that those persons, who by the places they held (of king's advocate, and other offices) ought to have made that information of matter of law, and matter of fact, were themselves the most active promoters of the rebellion; and the defection, as to any declaration on his majesty's behalf, was so general, that they who were not corrupted in their inward fidelity were so terrified, that they durst not appear in any office that might provoke those who solely had the power and the will to destroy them.

The last and most confounding error was the removing the treaty to London, and upon any terms consenting that the Scottish commissioners should reside there before a peace concluded. By which means, they had not only opportunity to publish all their counsels and directions in their sermons to the people, (who resorted thither in incredible numbers,) and to give their advice, from time to time, to those of the English who knew not so well yet to compass their own ends, but were ready (when any business was too big and unwieldy to be managed by the few who were yet thoroughly engaged) to interpose in the name of their nation, and, with reference to things or persons, to make such demands from and on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland, as under no other style would have received any countenance: and this brought that universal terror with it (as will appear to the life in the process of this relation) upon those of nearest relation to the king's service, as well as those at a greater distance, who clearly discerned and detested the villainy and wickedness of those transactions, that their wariness and wisdom could not be great enough to preserve them, if they did not stupidly look on without seeming to understand what they could in no degree control or prevent.

In all conspiracies there must be great secrecy, consent, and union; yet it can hardly be conceived, with what entire confidence in each other the numerous proud and indigent nobility of Scotland (for of the common people, who are naturally slaves to the other, there can be no wonder) concurred in the carrying on this rebellion: their strange condescension and submission to their ignorant and insolent clergy, who were to have great authority, because they were to inflame all sorts of men upon the obligations of conscience; and in order there-

unto, and to revenge a little indiscretion and ill manners of some of the bishops, had liberty to erect a tribunal the most tyrannical over all sorts of men, and in all the families of the kingdom: so that the preacher reprehended the husband, governed the wife, chastised the children, and insulted over the servants, in the houses of the greatest men. They referred the managery and conduct of the whole affair to a committee of a few, who had never before exercised any office or authority in the public, with that perfect resignation and obedience, that nobody presumed to inquire what was to be done, or to murmur at or censure any thing that was done; and the general himself, and the martial affairs, were subject to this regimen and discipline as well as the civil: yet they who were intrusted with this superiority, paid all the outward respect and reverence to the person of the general, as if the sole power and disposal had been in him alone.

The few English (for there were yet but very few who were intrusted from the beginning of the enterprise, and with all that was then projected) were men of reserved and dark natures, of great industry and address, and of much reputation for probity and integrity of life, and who trusted none but those who were contented to be trusted to that degree as they were willing to trust them, without being inquisitive into more than they were ready to communicate, and for the rest depended upon their discretion and judgment; and so prepared and disposed, by second and third hands, many to concur and contribute to many preparatory actions, who would never have consented to those conclusions which naturally resulted from those premises.

This united strength, and humble and active temper, was not encountered by an equal providence and circumspection in the king's councils, or an equal temper and dutiful disposition in the court; nor did they, who resolved honestly and stoutly to discharge the offices of good servants and good subjects to the utmost opposition of all unlawful attempts, communicate their purposes to

men of the same integrity, that so they might unite their counsels as well in the manner and way, as their resolutions in the end. But every one thought it enough to preserve his own innocence, and to leave the rest to those who should have authority to direct. The king was perplexed and irresolute, and, according to his natural constitution, (which never disposed him to jealousy of any man of whom he had once thought well,) was full of hope, that his condition was not so bad as it seemed to be. The queen, how much troubled soever, wished much better to the earl of Holland, than to the archbishop, or the earl of Strafford, neither of them being in any degree acceptable to her; so that she was little concerned for the danger that threatened them: but when she saw the king's honour and dignity invaded in the prosecution, she withdrew her favour from the earl of Holland: but then she was persuaded, by those who had most credit with her, to believe, that, by the removal of the great ministers, her power and authority would be increased, and that the prevailing party would be willing to depend upon her; and that, by gratifying the principal persons of them with such preferments as they affected, she would quickly reconcile all ill humours; and so she hearkened to any overtures of that kind; which were always carried on without the consent or privity of those who were concerned, who in truth more disliked her absolute power with the king, than any other excess of the court, and looked upon it as the greatest grievance. Every man there considered only what application would be most like to raise his own fortune, or to do him harm with whom he was angry, and gave himself wholly up to those artifices which might promote either. To preserve themselves from the displeasure and censure of the parliament, and to render themselves gracious to those who were like to be powerful in it, was all men's business and solicitude. And in this very unequal and disproportioned condition and temper, was the king's and the Scottish army, the court and the country, when the parliament met.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK III.

THE parliament met upon the third of November, 1640, with a fuller appearance than could be reasonably expected, from the short time for elections after the issuing out of the writs; inso-much as at the first [not] many members were absent. It had a sad and a melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events. The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage nor in his usual majesty to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the parliament stairs, and so to the church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjourned parliament. And there was likewise an untoward, and in truth an unheard of accident, which brake many of the king's measures, and infinitely disordered his service, beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a parliament was resolved upon, the king designed sir Thomas Gardiner, who was recorder of London, to be speaker in the house of commons; a man of gravity and quickness, that had somewhat of authority and gracefulness in his person and presence, and in all respects equal to the service. There was little doubt but that he would be chosen to serve in one of the four places for the city of London, which had very rarely rejected their recorder upon that occasion; and lest that should fail, diligence was used in one or two other places that he might be elected. The opposition was so great, and the faction so strong, to hinder his being elected in the city, that four others were chosen for that service, without hardly mentioning his name: nor was there less industry used to prevent his being chosen in other places; clerks were corrupted not to make out the writs for one place, and ways were found to hinder the writ from being executed in another, time enough for the return before the meeting: so great a fear there was, that a man of entire affections to the king, and of prudence enough to manage those affections, and to regulate the contrary, should be put into that chair. So that the very morning the parliament was to meet, and when the king intended to go thither, he was informed, that sir Thomas Gardiner was not returned to serve as a member in the house of commons, and so was not capable of being chosen to be speaker; so that his majesty deferred his going to the house till the afternoon, by which time he was to think of another speaker.

Upon the perusal of all the returns into the crown office, there were not found many lawyers of eminent name, (though many of them proved very eminent men afterwards,) or who had served long in former parliaments, the experience whereof was to be wished; and men of that profession had been always thought the most proper for that service, and the putting it out of that channel at that time was thought too hazardous; so that, after all the deliberation that time would admit, Mr. Lenthall, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, (a lawyer of competent practice, and no ill reputation for his affection to the government both of church and state,) was pitched upon by the king, and with very great difficulty rather prevailed with than persuaded to accept the charge. And no doubt a worse could not have been deputed of all that profession who were then returned; for he was a man of a very narrow, timorous nature, and of no experience or conversation in the affairs of the kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his profession (in which all his design was to make himself rich) engaged him in. In a word, he was in all respects very unequal to the work; and not knowing how to preserve his own dignity, or to restrain the license and exorbitance of others, his weakness contributed as much to the growing mischiefs, as the malice of the principal contrivers. However, after the king had that afternoon commended the distracted condition of the kingdom (with too little majesty) to the wisdom of the two houses of parliament, to have such reformation and remedies applied as they should think fit, proposing to them, as the best rule for their counsels, "that all things should be reduced to the practice of the time of queen Elizabeth:" the house of commons no sooner returned to their house, than they chose Mr. Lenthall to be their speaker; and two days after, with the usual ceremonies and circumstances, presented him to the king, who declared his acceptance; and so both houses were ready for their work.

There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in most of the members of parliament before they met together in the house; the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady,

talked now in another dialect both of things and persons. Mr. Hyde, who was returned to serve for a borough in Cornwall, met Mr. Pym in Westminster-hall some days before the parliament, and conferring together upon the state of affairs, the other told him, Mr. Hyde, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties;" and used much other sharp discourse to him to the same purpose: by which it was discerned, that the warmest and boldest counsels and overtures would find a much better reception than those of a more temperate allay; which fell out accordingly: and the very first day they met together, in which they could enter upon business, Mr. Pym, in a long, formed discourse, lamented the miserable state and condition of the kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiss in the government, as "done and contrived maliciously, and upon deliberation, to change the whole frame, and to deprive the nation of all the liberty and property which was their birthright by the laws of the land, which were now no more considered, but subjected to the arbitrary power of the privy-council, which governed the kingdom according to their will and pleasure; these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice." And thereupon enlarging in some specious commendation of the nature and goodness of the king, that he might wound him with less suspicion, he said, "We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed; what persons they were who had so far insinuated themselves into his royal affections, as to be able to pervert his excellent judgment, to abuse his name, and wickedly apply his authority to countenance and support their own corrupt designs. Though he doubted there would be many found of this classis, who had contributed their joint endeavours to bring this misery upon the nation; yet he believed there was one more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man, who in the memory of many present had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people; but that it was long since he turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced;" and then named "the earl of Strafford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and lord president of the council established in York, for the northern parts of the kingdom: who, he said, had in both places, and in all other provinces wherein his service had been used by the king, raised ample monuments of his tyrannical nature; and that he believed, if they took a short survey of his actions and behaviour, they would find him the principal

"author and promoter of all those counsels which had exposed the kingdom to so much ruin:" and so instanced some high and imperious actions done by him in England and in Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret councils and debates of the affairs of state; adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion: and so concluded, "That they would well consider how to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs which they were to expect from the continuance of this great man's power and credit with the king, and his influence upon his counsels."

From the time that the earl of Strafford was named, most men believed that there would be some committee named to receive information of all his miscarriages, and that, upon report thereof, they would farther consider what course to take in the examination and prosecution thereof: but they had already prepared and digested their business to a riper period.

Mr. Pym had no sooner finished his discourse, than sir John Clotworthy (a gentleman of Ireland, and utterly unknown in England, who was, by the contrivance and recommendation of some powerful persons, returned to serve for a borough in Devonshire, that so he might be enabled to act this part against the lord lieutenant) made a long and confused relation "of his tyrannical carriage in that kingdom; of the army he had raised there to invade Scotland; how he had threatened the parliament, if they granted not such supplies as he required; of an oath he had framed to be administered to all the Scottish nation which inhabited that kingdom, and his severe proceedings against some persons of quality who refused to take that oath; and that he had with great pride and passion publicly declared at his leaving that kingdom, If ever he should return to that sword, he would not leave a Scottish-man to inhabit in Ireland:" with a multitude of very exalted expressions, and some very high actions in his administration of that government, in which the lives as well as the fortunes of men had been disposed of out of the common road of justice: all which made him to be looked upon as a man very terrible, and under whose authority men would not choose to put themselves.

Several other persons appearing ready to continue the discourse, and the morning being spent, so that, according to the observation of parliament hours, the time of rising being come, an order was suddenly made, "that the door should be shut, and nobody suffered to go out of the house;" which had been rarely practised: care having been first taken to give such advertisement to some of the lords, that that house might likewise be kept from rising; which would very much have broken their measures.

Then sir John Hotham, and some other Yorkshire men, who had received some disobligation from the earl in the country, continued the invective, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage, and that he had, in the face of the country, upon the execution of some illegal commission,

declared, "that they should find the little finger of the king's prerogative heavier upon them than the loins of the law;" which expression, though upon after-examination it was found to have a quite contrary sense, marvellously increased the passion and prejudice towards him.

In conclusion, after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the course of his life before his coming to court, and his actions after, it was moved, according to the secret resolution taken before, "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason;" which was no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole [house]: nor was there, in the whole debate, one person who offered to stop the torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the earl's carriage, save only that the lord Falkland, (who was very well known to be far from having any kindness for him,) when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the house to consider, "Whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars, which had been mentioned, by a committee? declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him before they sent up to accuse him:" which was very ingenuously and frankly answered by Mr. Pym, "That such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed farther than they had done already; that the earl's power and credit with the king, and with all those who had most credit with king or queen, was so great, that when he should come to know that so much of his wickedness was discovered, his own conscience would tell him what he was to expect; and therefore he would undoubtedly procure the parliament to be dissolved, rather than undergo the justice of it, or take some other desperate course to preserve himself, though with the hazard of the kingdom's ruin: whereas, if they presently sent up to impeach him of high treason before the house of peers, in the name and on the behalf of all the commons of England, who were represented by them, the lords would be obliged in justice to commit him into safe custody, and so sequester him from resorting to council, or having access to his majesty: and then they should proceed against him in the usual form with all necessary expedition."

To those who were known to have no kindness for him, and seemed to doubt whether all the particulars alleged, being proved, would amount to high treason, it was alleged, "That the house of commons were not judges, but only accusers, and that the lords were the proper judges whether such a complication of enormous crimes in one person did not amount to the highest offence the law took notice of, and therefore that it was fit to present it to them." These reasons of the haste they made, so clearly delivered, gave that universal satisfaction, that, without farther considering the injustice and unreasonableness of it, they voted unanimously, (for aught appeared to the contrary by any avowed contradiction,) "That they would forthwith send up to the lords, and accuse the earl of Strafford of high treason, and several other crimes and misdemeanours, and desire that he might be presently sequestered from [the] council, and committed to safe custody;" and

Mr. Pym was made choice of for the messenger to perform that office. And this being determined, the doors were opened, and most of the house accompanied him on the errand.

It was about three of the clock in the afternoon, when the earl of Strafford, (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning,) hearing that both houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste then to accuse the lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom: but he was scarce entered into the house of peers, when the message from the house of commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym at the bar, and in the name of all the commons of England, impeached Thomas earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles) of high treason, and several other heinous crimes and misdemeanours, of which he said the commons would in due time make proof in form; and in the mean time desired in their name, that he might be sequestered from all councils, and be put into safe custody; and so withdrawing, the earl was, with more clamour than was suitable to the gravity of that supreme court, called upon to withdraw, hardly obtaining leave to be first heard in his place, which could not be denied him.

And he then lamented "his great misfortune to lie under so heavy a charge; professed his innocence and integrity, which he made no doubt he should make appear to them; desired that he might have his liberty, until some guilt should be made appear; and desired them to consider, what mischief they should bring upon themselves, if upon such a general charge, without the mention of any one crime, a peer of the realm should be committed to prison, and so deprived of his place in that house, where he was summoned by the king's writ to assist in their counsel; and of what consequence such a precedent might be to their own privilege and birthright:" and then withdrew. And with very little debate the peers resolved "that he should be committed to the custody of the gentleman usher of the black-rod, there to remain until the house of commons should bring in a particular charge against him:" which determination of the house was pronounced to him at the bar upon his knees, by the lord keeper of the great seal, upon the woollack: and so being taken away by Maxwell, gentleman usher, Mr. Pym was called in, and informed what the house had done; after which (it being then about four of the clock) both houses adjourned till the next day.

When this work was so prosperously over, they began to consider, that notwithstanding all the industry that had been used to procure such members to be chosen, or returned though not chosen, who had been most refractory to the government of the church and state; yet that the house was so constituted, that when the first heat (which almost all men brought with them) should be a little allayed, violent counsels would not be long hearkened to: and therefore, as they took great care by their committee of elections to remove as many of those members as they suspected not to be inclinable to their passions upon pretence "that they were not regularly chosen," that so they might

bring in others more compliable in their places; in which no rules of justice was so much as pretended to be observed by them; insomuch as it was often said by leading men amongst them, "That they ought in those cases of elections to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the person, whatever the desire of those was, in whom the right of election remained;" and therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rule by which another hath been rejected: so they declared, "That no person, how lawfully and regularly soever chosen and returned, should be and sit as a member with them, who had been a party or a favourer of any project, or who had been employed in any illegal commission."

And by this means (contrary to the custom and rights of parliament) many gentlemen of good quality were removed, in whose places commonly others were chosen of more agreeable dispositions: but in this likewise there was no rule observed; for no person was hereby removed, of whom there was any hope that he might be applied to the violent courses which were intended. Upon which occasion the king charged them in one of his declarations, "that when, under that notion of projectors, they expelled many, they yet never questioned sir Henry Mildmay, or Mr. Laurence Whitaker;" who had been most scandalously engaged in those pressures, though since more scandalously in all enterprises against his majesty; to which never any answer or reply was made.

The next art was to make the severity and rigour of the house as formidable as was possible, and to make as many men apprehend themselves obnoxious to the house, as had been in any trust or employment in the kingdom. Thus they passed many general votes concerning ship-money, in which all who had been high-sheriffs, and so collected it, were highly concerned. The like sharp conclusions [were made] upon all lords lieutenants and their deputies, which were the prime gentlemen of quality in all the counties of England. Then upon some disquisition of the proceedings in the star-chamber, and at the council-table, all who concurred in such a sentence, and consented to such an order, were declared criminous, and to be proceeded against. So that, in a moment, all the lords of the council, all who had been deputy lieutenants, or high sheriffs, during the late years, found themselves within the mercy of these grand inquisitors: and hearing new terms of art, that a complication of several misdemeanours might grow up to treason, and the like, it was no wonder if men desired by all means to get their favour and protection.

When they had sufficiently startled men by these proceedings, and upon half an hour's debate sent up an accusation against the lord archbishop of Canterbury of high treason, and so removed him likewise from the king's council, they rested satisfied with their general rules, votes, and orders, without making haste to proceed either against things or persons; being willing rather to keep men in suspense, and to have the advantage of their fears, than, by letting them see the worst that could befall them, lose the benefit of their application. For this reason they used their utmost skill to keep off any debate of ship-money, that that whole business might hang like a meteor over the heads of those that were in any degree

faulty in it; and it was observable, when, notwithstanding all their diversions, that business was brought into debate, and upon that (which could not be avoided) the lord Finch named as an avowed factor and procurer of that odious judgment; who, if their rule were true, "that an endeavour to alter the government by law, and to introduce an arbitrary power, were treason," was the most notoriously and inexcusably guilty of that crime of any man that could be named; before they would endure the mention of an accusation of high treason, they appointed a committee, with great deliberation and solemnity, to bring in a charge formally prepared, (which had not been done in the case of the lord archbishop, or the earl of Strafford,) and then gave him a day to be heard for himself at the house of commons' bar, and so, against all order, to take notice of what was handled in the house concerning him; and then finding that, by their own rules, he would be likewise accused of high treason, they continued the debate so long, that the lords' house was risen, so that the accusation was not carried up till the next morning; and before that time, the lord keeper (being well informed of all that had passed) had withdrawn himself; and shortly after went into Holland: the lord Littleton, then chief justice of the court of common pleas, being made keeper of the great seal of England in his place.

About the same time, sir Francis Windebank, one of the principal secretaries of state, and then a member of the house of commons, was accused of many transactions on the behalf of the papists, of several natures, (whose extraordinary patron indeed he was,) and he being then present in the house, several warrants under his own hand were produced for the discharge of prosecutions against priests, and for the release of priests out of prison: whereupon, whilst the matter should be debated, according to custom he was ordered to withdraw, and so went into the usual place, the committee-chamber; immediately whereupon, the house of commons went to a conference with the lords upon some other occasion, and returning from that conference, no more resumed the debate of the secretary; but having considered some other business, rose at their usual hour; and so the secretary had liberty to go to his own house; from whence, observing the disposition of the house, and well knowing what they were able to say against him, he had no more mind to trust himself in that company, but the same night withdrew himself from any place where inquiry might be made for him, and was no more heard of till the news came of his being landed in France.

So that within less than six weeks, for no more time was yet elapsed, these terrible reformers had caused the two greatest counsellors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the king, and imprisoned, under an accusation of high treason; and frightened away the lord keeper of the great seal of England, and one of the principal secretaries of state, into foreign kingdoms, for fear of the like; besides the preparing all the lords of the council, and very many of the principal gentlemen throughout England, who (as was said before) had been high sheriffs, and deputy lieutenants, to expect such measure of punishment from their general

votes and resolutions, as their future demeanour should draw upon them, for their past offences; by which means, they were like to find no very vigorous resistance or opposition in their farther designs.

I could never yet learn the reason, why they suffered secretary Windebank to escape their justice, (for the lord Finch, it was visible he was in their favour, and they would gladly have preserved him in the place,) against whom they had more pregnant testimony of offences within the verge of the law, than against any person they have accused since this parliament, and of some that, it may be, might have proved capital, and so their appetite of blood might have been satisfied:

for, besides his frequent letters of intercession in his own name, and signification of his majesty's pleasure, on the behalf of papists and priests, to the judges, and to other ministers of justice; and protections granted by himself to priests, that nobody should molest them; he harboured some priests in his own house, knowing them to be such; which, by the statute made in the twenty-ninth year of queen Elizabeth, is made felony: and there were some warrants under his own hand for the release of priests out of Newgate, who were actually attainted of treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; which, by the strict letter of the statute, the lawyers said, would have been very penal to him.

I remember one story brought into the house concerning him, that administered some mirth: A messenger, (I think his name was Newton,) who principally intended the service of apprehending priests, came one day to him in his garden, and told him, "that he had brought with him a priest, a stirring and active person, whom he had apprehended that morning; and desired to know to what prison he should carry him." The secretary sharply asked him, "Whether he would never give over this blood-thirsty humour?" and in great anger calling him knave, and taking the warrant from him by which he had apprehended him, departed without giving any other direction. The messenger, appalled, thought the priest was some person in favour, and therefore took no more care of him, but suffered him to depart. The priest, freed from this fright, went securely to his lodgings, and within two or three days was arrested for debt, and carried in execution to prison. Shortly after, secretary Windebank sent for the messenger, and asked him, "What was become of the priest he had at such a time brought before him?" He told him, "that he conceived his honour had been offended with the apprehension of him, and therefore he had looked no farther after him." The secretary in much passion told him, "the discharging a priest was no light matter; and that if he speedily found him not, he should answer the default with his life; that the priest was a dangerous fellow, and must not escape in that fashion." The messenger, besides his natural inclination to that exercise, terrified with those threats, left no means untried for the discovery, and at last heard where the man was in execution in prison: thither he went, and demanded the priest (who was not there known to be such) as his prisoner formerly, and escaped from him; and by virtue of his first warrant took him again into his cus-

tody, and immediately carried him to the secretary; and within few days after, the priest was discharged, and at liberty. The jailor, in whose custody he had been put for debt, was arrested by the parties grieved, and he again sued the messenger, who appealed for justice to the house of commons against the secretary.

And this case had been presented to the committee, and was ready to be reported, with all those warrants under his own hand before mentioned, at the time when secretary Windebank was in the house. Besides that, he was charged by the lords, by message or at a conference, for the breach of privilege at the dissolution of the last parliament, and signing warrants for the searching the studies and papers of some members; for which, according to the doctrine then received, he might have been put into the custody of the sergeant of the house. But as the last occasion was not laid hold of, because it would have inevitably involved his brother secretary, sir Harry Vane, who was under the same charge, and against whom indeed that charge was aimed: so, it seems, they were contented he should make an escape from any trial for the rest; either, because they thought his place would be sooner void by his flight than by his trial, which would have taken up some time, and required some formality, they [having] designed that place to Mr. Hollis; or, that they thought he would, upon any examination, draw in somewhat to the prejudice of sir Henry Vane, whom they were to protect: and so they were well content with his escape; so the house deferred the farther debate till the next morning, before which time he chose to retire, and transported himself into France.

Having made their first entrance upon business with this vigour, they proceeded every day with the same fervour; and he who expressed most warmth against the court and the government, was heard with the more favour; every day producing many formed elaborate orations against all the acts of state which had been done for many years preceding. That they might hasten the prosecution of the earl of Strafford, which was their first great design, they made a close committee of such members as they knew to be most for their purpose, who should, under an obligation of secrecy, prepare the heads of a charge against him; which had been never heard of before in parliament: and that they might be sure to do their business effectually, they sent a message to the house of peers, to desire them "to nominate a select committee likewise of a few, to examine upon oath such witnesses, as the committee of the house of commons for preparing the charge against the earl of Strafford should produce before them, and in their presence, and upon such interrogatories as they should offer;" which, though it was without precedent or example, the lords presently consented to, and named such men as knew well what they had to do. Then they caused petitions to be every day presented, by some who had been grieved by any severe sentences, in the star-chamber, or committed by the lords of the council, against lords lieutenants of counties, and their deputy lieutenants, for having levied money upon the country, for conducting and clothing of soldiers, and other actions of a martial nature, (which had been always done by those officers so qualified,

from the time of queen Elizabeth, and was practised throughout her reign,) and against sheriffs, for having levied ship-money. Upon all which petitions (the matter being pressed and aggravated still upon every particular by some member of note and authority, upon which) all the acts how formal and judicial soever, and without so much as hearing the sentences or judgments read, were voted "to be illegal, and against the liberty and property of the subject; and that all who were guilty of such proceedings should be proceeded against for their presumption, and should likewise pay damages to the persons injured."

By which general votes (all passed within three or four days after the sitting of the parliament) they had made themselves so terrible, that all privy-counsellors, as well for what they had done at the board, as in the star-chamber; (where indeed many notable sentences had passed, with some excess in the punishment;) all lords lieutenants, who for the most part were likewise counsellors, whereof all were of the house of peers; and then all who were deputy lieutenants, or had been sheriffs since the first issuing out of writs for the collection of ship-money, whereof very many were then of the house of commons; found themselves involved under some of those votes, and liable to be proceeded against upon the first provocation; whereby they were kept in such awe, both in the one house and the other, as if they were upon their good behaviour, that they durst not appear to dislike, much less to oppose, whatsoever they proposed.

All persons imprisoned for sedition by the star-chamber upon the most solemn examination and the most grave deliberation, were set at liberty, that they might prosecute their appeals in parliament. In the mean time, though there were two armies in the bowels of the kingdom, at the monthly expense of no less than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, care was taken only to provide money to pay them, without the least mention that the one should return into Scotland, and the other be disbanded, that so that vast expense might be determined: but, on the contrary, frequent insinuations were given, "that many great things were first to be done before the armies disbanded;" only they desired the king, "that all papists might be forthwith cashiered out of his army," which his majesty could not deny; and so some officers of good account were immediately dismissed.

It will not be impertinent nor unnatural to this present discourse, to set down in this place the present temper and constitution of both houses of parliament, and of the court itself, that it may be the less wondered at, that so prodigious an alteration should be made in so short a time, and the crown fallen so low, that it could neither support itself and its own majesty, nor them who would appear faithful to it.

Of the house of peers, the great contrivers and designers were—The earl of Bedford, a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the government; and it quickly appeared, that he only intended to make himself and his friends great at court, not at all to lessen the court itself.

The lord viscount Say, a man of a close and reserved nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest ambition, but whose

ambition would not be satisfied with offices and preferment, without some condescensions and alterations in ecclesiastical matters. He had for many years been the oracle of those who were called puritans in the worst sense, and steered all their counsels and designs. He was a notorious enemy to the church, and to most of the eminent churchmen, with some of whom he had particular contests. He had always opposed and contradicted all acts of state, and all taxes and impositions, which were not exactly legal, and so had as eminently and as obstinately refused the payment of ship-money as Mr. Hambden had done; though the latter, by the choice of the king's council, had brought his cause to be first heard and argued, with which judgment that was intended to conclude the whole right in that matter, and to overrule all other cases. The lord Say would not acquiesce, but pressed to have his own case argued, and was so solicitous in person with all the judges, both privately at their chambers, and publicly in the court at Westminster, that he was very grievous to them. His commitment at York the year before, because he refused to take an oath, or rather subscribe a protestation, against holding intelligence with the Scots, when the king first marched against them, had given him much credit. In a word, he had very great authority with all the discontented party throughout the kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not [discontented,] who believed him to be a wise man and of a very useful temper, in an age of license, and one who would still adhere to the law.

The lord Mandevile, eldest son to the lord privy-seal, was a person of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the court under the favour of the duke of Buckingham, a lady of whose family he had married: he had attended upon the prince when he was in Spain, and had been called to the house of peers in the lifetime of his father, [by the name of the lord Kimbolton,] which was a very extraordinary favour. Upon the death of the duke of Buckingham, his wife being likewise dead, he married the daughter of the earl of Warwick; a man in no grace at court, and looked upon as the greatest patron of the puritans, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration: though he was of a life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed rigour, which they rather dispensed with, than to withdraw from a house where they received so eminent a protection, and such notable bounty. From this latter marriage the lord Mandevile totally estranged himself from the court, and upon all occasions appeared enough to dislike what was done there, and engaged himself wholly in the conversation of those who were most notoriously of that party, whereof there was a kind of fraternity of many persons of good condition, who chose to live together in one family, at a gentleman's house of a fair fortune, near the place where the lord Mandevile lived; whither others of that class likewise resorted, and maintained a joint and mutual correspondence and conversation together with much familiarity and friendship: that lord, to support and the better to improve that popularity, living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allowed to him by his wary father could justify, making up the rest by contracting a great debt, which long lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and

by his natural civility, good manners, and good nature, which flowed towards all men, he was universally acceptable and beloved; and no man more in the confidence of the discontented and factious party than he, and [none] to whom the whole mass of their designs, as well what remained in chaos as what was formed, was more entirely communicated, and more consulted with. And therefore these three lords are nominated as the principal agents in the house of peers, (though there were many there of quality and interest much superior to either of them,) because they were principally and absolutely trusted by those who were to manage all in the house of commons, and to raise that spirit which was upon all occasions to inflame the lords. Yet [it] being enough known and understood, that, how indisposed and angry soever many of them at present appeared to be, there would be still a major part there, who would, if they were not overreached, adhere to the king and the established government, and therefore these three persons were trusted without reserve, and relied upon so to steer, as might increase their party by all the arts imaginable; and they had dexterity enough to appear to depend upon those lords, who were looked upon as greater, and as popular men; and to be subservient to their purposes, whom in truth they governed and disposed of.

And by these artifices, and applications to his vanity, and magnifying the general reputation and credit he had with the people, and sharpening the sense he had of his late ill treatment at court, they fully prevailed [upon], and possessed themselves of, the earl of Essex; who, though he was no good speaker in public, yet, having sat long in parliament, and so well acquainted with the order of it in very active times, he was a better speaker there than any where else, and being always heard with attention and respect, had much authority in the debates. Nor did he need any incitement (which made all approaches to him the more easy) to do any thing against the persons of the lord archbishop of Canterbury and the lord lieutenant of Ireland, towards whom he professed a full dislike; who were the only persons against whom there was any declared design, and the Scots having in their manifesto demanded justice against those two great men, as the cause of the war between the nations. And in this prosecution there was too great a concurrence: Warwick, Brook, Wharton, Paget, Howard, and some others, implicitly followed and observed the dictates of the lords mentioned before, and started or seconded what they were directed.

In the house of commons were many persons of wisdom and gravity, who being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the court, had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection to the government established by law or ancient custom; and without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state: and therefore all inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, by suggestions "of the dangers which threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property, by overthrowing or overmastering the law, and subjecting it to an arbitrary power, and by countenancing popery to the subversion of the pro-

"testant religion;" and then, by infusing terrible apprehensions into some, and so working upon their fears "of being called in question for some what they had done," by which they would stand in need of their protection; and raising the hopes of others, "that, by concurring with them, they should be sure to obtain offices, and honours, and any kind of preferment." Though there were too many corrupted and misled by these several temptations, and others who needed no other temptations than from the fierceness and barbarity of their own natures, and the malice they had contracted against the church and against the court; yet the number was not great of those in whom the government of the rest was vested, nor were there many who had the absolute authority to lead, though there were a multitude that was disposed to follow.

Mr. Pym was looked upon as the man of greatest experience in parliament, where he had served very long, and was always a man of business, being an officer in the exchequer, and of a good reputation generally, though known to be inclined to the puritan party; yet not of those furious resolutions against the church as the other leading men were, and wholly devoted to the earl of Bedford, who had nothing of that spirit.

Mr. Hambden was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune, who, from a life of great pleasure and license, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had shewed in opposing the ship-money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the house was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he never was without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great a show of civility, and modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgment, and of esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, whilst they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the mask.

Mr. Saint-John, who was in a firm and entire conjunction with the other two, was a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, known to be of parts and industry, but not taken notice of for practice in Westminster-

hall, till he argued at the exchequer-chamber the case of ship-money on the behalf of Mr. Hambden; which gave him much reputation, and called him into all courts, and to all causes, where the king's prerogative was most contested. He was a man reserved, and of a dark and clouded countenance, very proud, and conversing with very few, and those, men of his own humour and inclinations. He had been questioned, committed, and brought into the star-chamber, many years before, with other persons of great name and reputation, (which first brought his name upon the stage,) for communicating some paper among themselves, which some men had a mind at that time to have extended to a design of sedition: but it being quickly evident that the prosecution would not be attended with success, they were all shortly after discharged; but he never forgave the court the first assault, and contracted an implacable displeasure against the church purely from the company he kept. He was of an intimate trust with the earl of Bedford, to whom he was allied, (being a natural son of the house of Bullingbrook,) and by him brought into all matters where himself was to be concerned. It was generally believed, that these three persons, with the other three lords mentioned before, were of the most intimate and entire trust with each other, and made the engine which moved all the rest; yet it was visible, that Nathaniel Fiennes, the second son of the lord Say, and sir Harry Vane, eldest son to the secretary, and treasurer of the house, were received by them with full confidence and without reserve.

The former, being a man of good parts of learning, and after some years spent in New college in Oxford, of which his father had been formerly fellow, (that family pretending and enjoying many privileges there, as of kin to the founder,) had spent his time abroad, in Geneva and amongst the cantons of Switzerland, where he improved his disinclination to the church, with which milk he had been nursed. From his travels he returned through Scotland (which few travellers took in their way home) at the time when that rebellion was in the bud; and was very little known, except amongst that people, which conversed wholly amongst themselves, until he was now found in parliament, when it was quickly discovered, that as he was the darling of his father, so that he was like to make good whatsoever he had for many years promised.

The other, sir Harry Vane, was a man of great natural parts, and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was somewhat in him of extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very short time after he returned from his studies in Magdalen college in Oxford, where, though he was under the care of a very worthy tutor, he lived not with great exactness, he spent some little time in France, and more in Geneva; and, after his return into England, contracted a full prejudice and bitterness against the church, both against the form of the government, and the liturgy, which was generally in great reverence, even with many of those who were not friends to the other. In this giddiness, which then much displeased, or seemed to displease, his father, who still appeared highly conformable, and exceedingly sharp against those who were not, he trans-

ported himself into New England, a colony within few years before planted by a mixture of all religions, which disposed the professors to dislike the government of the church; who were qualified by the king's charter to choose their own government and governors, under the obligation, "that every man should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy;" which all the first planters did, when they received their charter, before they transported themselves from hence, nor was there in many years after the least scruple amongst them of complying with those obligations; so far men were, in the infancy of their schism, from refusing to take lawful oaths. He was no sooner landed there, but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a privy-counsellor, might give him some advantage; insomuch that, when the next season came for the election of their magistrates, he was chosen their governor: in which place he had so ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before) that he unsatisfied with them, and they with him, he transported himself into England; having sowed such seed of dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the poor colony into several factions, and divisions, and persecutions of each other, which still continue to the great prejudice of that plantation: insomuch as some of them, upon the ground of their first expedition, liberty of conscience, have withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, and obtained other charters from the king, by which, in other forms of government, they have enlarged their plantation, within new limits adjacent to the other. He was no sooner returned into England, than he seemed to be much reformed in those extravagancies, and, with his father's approbation and direction, married a lady of a good family, and by his father's credit with the earl of Northumberland, who was high admiral of England, was joined presently and jointly with sir William Russel in the office of treasurer of the navy, (a place of great trust and profit,) which he equally shared with the other, and seemed a man well satisfied and composed to the government. When his father received the disobligation from the lord Strafford, by his being created baron of Raby, the house and land of Vane, (and which title he had promised himself, which was unluckily cast upon him, purely out of contempt,) they sucked in all the thoughts of revenge imaginable; and from thence he betook himself to the friendship of Mr. Pym, and all other discontented or seditious persons, and contributed all that intelligence (which will be hereafter mentioned, as he himself will often be) that designed the ruin of the earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of those who promoted the same; so that nothing was concealed from him, though it is believed that he communicated his own thoughts to very few.

Denzil Hollis, the younger son and younger brother of the earls of Clare, was as much valued and esteemed by the whole party, as any man; as he deserved to be, being a man of more accomplished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the court and the duke of Buckingham, in the parliament of the fourth year of the king, (the last parliament that had been before the short one in April,) and his

long imprisonment, and sharp prosecution afterwards, upon that account; of which he retained the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the counsel or prosecution of the earl of Strafford, (which he could not prevent,) who had married his sister, by whom all his children were, which made him a stranger to all those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the friendship he had with the most violent of those prosecutors. In all other contrivances he was in the most secret counsels with those who most governed, and respected by them with very submissive applications as a man of authority. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, the lord Digby, Strode, Haslerig; and the northern gentlemen, who were most angry with the earl, or apprehensive of their own being in the mercy of the house, as Hotham, Cholmely, and Stapleton; with some popular lawyers of the house, who did not suspect any wickedness in design, and so became involved by degrees in the worst, observed and pursued the dictates and directions of the other, according to the parts which were assigned to them upon emergent occasions: whilst the whole house looked on with wonder and amazement, without one man's interposing to allay the passion and the fury with which so many were transported.

This was the present temper and constitution of both houses of parliament upon their first coming together, when (as Tacitus says of the Jews, "that they exercised the highest offices of kindness and friendship towards each other, *et adversus omnes alios hostile odium*") they watched all those who they knew were not of their opinions, nor like to be, with all possible jealousy; and if any of their elections could be brought into question, they were sure to be voted out of the house, and then all the artifices were used to bring in more sanctified members; so that every week increased the number of their party, both by new elections, and the proselytes they gained upon the old. Nor was it to be wondered at, for they pretended all public thoughts, and only the reformation of disapproved and odious enormities, and dissembled all purposes of removing foundations, which, though it was in the hearts of some, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it.

The English and the Scottish armies remained quiet in their several quarters in the north, without any acts of hostility, under the obligation of the cessation, which was still prorogued from month to month, that the people might believe that a full peace would be quickly concluded. And the treaty, which during the king's being at York had been held at Rippon, being now adjourned to London, the Scottish commissioners (whereof the earl of Rothes, and the lord Lowden, who hath been mentioned before, were the chief) came thither in great state, and were received by the king with that countenance, which he could not choose but shew to them; and were then lodged in the heart of the city, near London-Stone, in a house which used to be inhabited by the lord mayor or one of the sheriffs, and was situate so near to the church of St. Antholins, (a place in all times made famous by some seditious lecturer,) that there was a way out of it into a gallery of that church. This benefit was well foreseen on all sides in the accommodation, and this church assigned to them for their own devotions, where one of their own chaplains still preached, amongst which Alexander Hender-

son was the chief, who was likewise joined with them in the treaty in all matters which had reference to religion: and to hear those sermons there was so great a conflux and resort, by the citizens out of humour and faction; by others of all quality out of curiosity; and by some that they might the better justify the contempt they had of them, that from the first appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty. They (especially the women) who had the happiness to get into the church in the morning (they who could not, hung upon or about the windows without, to be auditors or spectators) keeping their places till the afternoon's exercise was finished, which both morning and afternoon, except to palates and appetites ridiculously corrupted, was the most insipid and flat that could be delivered upon any deliberation.

The earl of Rothes had been the chief architect of that whole machine from the beginning, and was a man very well bred, of very good parts, and great address; in his person very acceptable, pleasant in conversation, very free and amorous, and unrestrained in his discourse by any scruples of religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act required it, and then no man could appear more conscientiously transported. There will be sometimes occasion to mention him hereafter, as already as much hath been said of the other, the lord Lowden, as is yet necessary.

They were no sooner come to the town, but a new committee of the members of both houses, such as were very acceptable to them, was appointed to renew and continue the treaty with them that had been begun at Rippon: and then they published and printed their declaration against the archbishop of Canterbury and the lieutenant of Ireland, in which they said, "That as they did reserve those of their own country who had been incendiaries between the two kingdoms to be proceeded against in their own parliament; so they desired no other justice to be done against these two criminal persons but what should seem good to the wisdom of the parliament."

It was easily discerned (by those who saw at any distance, and who had been long jealous of that trick) from that expression concerning *their own countrymen*, that they meant no harm to the marquis of Hamilton, against whom, in the beginning of the rebellion, all their bitterness seemed to be directed, and who indeed of all men had the least portion of kindness or good-will from the three nations, of any man who related to the king's service. But he had, by the friendship he had shewed to the lord Lowden, and procuring his liberty when he was in the Tower for so notorious a treason, and [was] to be in the head of another as soon as he should be at liberty; and by his application and dexterity at York in the meeting of the great council, and with the Scottish commissioners employed thither before the treaty; and by his promise of future offices and services, which he made good abundantly; procured as well from the English as the Scots all assurance of indemnity: which they so diligently made good, that they were not more solicitous to contrive and find out evidence or information against the other two great men, than they were to prevent all information or complaint, and to stifle all evidence which was offered or could be produced against the marquis.

And they were exceedingly vigilant to prevent

the Scottish commissioners entering into any familiarity or conversation with any who were not fast to their party: insomuch as one day the earl of Rothes walking in Westminster-hall with Mr. Hyde, towards whom he had [a] kindness by reason of their mutual friendship with some persons of honour, and they two walking towards the gate to take coach to make a visit together, the earl on a sudden desired the other "to walk towards the coach, and he would overtake him by the time he came thither:" but staying very long, he imagined he might be diverted from his purpose, and so walked back into the hall, where presently meeting him, they both pursued their former intention; and being in the coach, the earl told him, "that he must excuse his having made him stay so long, because he had been detained only concerning him; that when he was walking with him, a gentleman passing by touched his cloak, which made him desire the other to go before; and turning to the other person, he said, that seeing him walk in some familiarity with Mr. Hyde, he thought himself obliged to tell him, that he walked with the greatest enemy the Scottish nation had in the parliament, and that he ought to take heed how he communicated any thing of importance to him; and that after he was parted with that gentleman, before he could pass through the hall, four or five other eminent men, severally, gave him the same advertisement and caution;" and then spake as unconcernedly and as merrily of the persons and their jealousy as the other could do. Men who were so sagacious in pursuing their point were not like to miscarry.

The Scotch commissioners were in this time come to London, where they were magnificently entertained; and one of the best houses in the heart of the city assigned for their reception, the neighbour church for their devotion, whither so great a herd flocked on Sundays to hear Mr. Henderson and his fellow-chaplains, that very many came to and sat in the church from the time that it was light, that they might receive the comfort of those lectures, which were not till the afternoon; for in the morning their devotions were private. They were caressed by both houses with all possible expressions of kindness at least, if not of submission; and an order was carefully entered, "that upon all occasions the appellation should be used of *Our brethren of Scotland*;" and upon that, wonderful kind compliments passed, of a sincere resolution of amity and union between the two nations.

Things being thus constituted, it became them to satisfy the public expectation in the discovery of their new treasons, and in speedy proceedings against those two great persons. For the better preparing whereof, and facilitating whatever else should be necessary for that enterprise, the Scottish commissioners in the name of that nation presented (as is said before) two distinct declarations, against the persons of the archbishop and the earl of Strafford, stuffed with as much bitterness and virulency as can be imagined, making them "the odious incendiaries of the differences between the two nations, and the original causes of all those calamities in that kingdom which begat those differences, and most pathetically pressing for justice against them both." These discourses (for either of them consisted of many

sheets of paper) were publicly read in both houses; that against the archbishop of Canterbury was for the present laid aside, and I am persuaded, at that time, without any thought of resuming it, hoping that his age and imprisonment would have quickly freed them from farther trouble. But a speedy proceeding against the other was vehemently pressed, as of no less importance than the peace between the two kingdoms, not without some intimation, "that there could be no expectation that the Scottish army would ever retire into their country, and consequently that the king's could be disbanded, before exemplary justice were done upon that earl to their satisfaction." When they had inflamed men with this consideration sufficiently, they, without any great difficulty, (in order to the necessary expedition for that trial,) prevailed in two propositions of most fatal consequence to the king's service, and to the safety and integrity of all honest men.

The first, "for a committee to be settled of both houses for the taking preparatory examinations." Thus the allegation was, "That the charge against the earl of Strafford was of an extraordinary nature, being to make a treason evident out of a complication of several ill acts; that he must be traced through many dark paths, and this precedent seditious discourse compared with that subsequent outrageous action, the circumstances of both which might be equally considerable with the matter itself; and therefore that, before this charge could be so directly made and prepared as was necessary," (for he was hitherto only accused generally of treason,) "it was requisite, that a committee should be made of both houses to examine some witnesses upon oath, upon whose depositions his impeachment would easily be framed." This was no sooner proposed in the house of commons, than consented to; and upon as little debate yielded to by the lords; and the committee settled accordingly: without considering that such an inquisition (besides that the same was most contrary to the rules of law or the practice of any former times) would easily prepare a charge against the most innocent man alive; where that liberty should be taken to examine a man's whole life; and all the light, and all the private discourses had passed from him, might be tortured, perverted, and applied, according to the conscience and the craft of a diligent and malicious prosecution.

The second was, "for the examining upon oath privy-counsellors, upon such matters as had passed at the council-table." The allegation for this was, "That the principal ingredient into the treason of which the earl was to be charged, was, a purpose to change the form of government; and, instead of that settled by law, to introduce a power merely arbitrary. Now this design must be made evident, as well by the advices which he gave, and the expressions he uttered upon emergent occasions, as by his public actions; and those could not be discovered, at least not proved, but by those who were present at such consultations, and they were only privy-counsellors." As it was alleged, "That at his coming from Ireland the earl had said in council there, That if he ever returned to that sword again, he would not leave a Scotchman in that kingdom: and at his arrival in this kingdom, the lord mayor and some aldermen of

“ London attending the board about the loan of monies, and not giving that satisfaction was expected, that he should pull out a letter out of his pocket, and shew what course the king of France then took for the raising of money; and that he should tell the king, That it would never be well till he hanged up a lord mayor of London in the city to terrify the rest.”

There was no greater difficulty to satisfy the house of commons with the reasonableness of this, than of the former; but the compassing it was not like to be so easy; for it was visible, that, though the lords should join with them, (which was not to be despaired,) the privy-counsellors would insist upon the oath they had taken, and pretend, “ that without the king’s consent they might not discover any thing that had passed at that board; so that the greatest difficulty would be, the procuring the king’s consent for the betraying himself: but this must be insisted on, for God forbid that it might be safe for any desperate wicked counsellor to propose and advise at that board” (which in the intervals of parliaments wholly disposed the affairs of state) “ courses destructive to the health and being of the kingdom; and that the sovereign physician, the parliament, (which had the only skill to cure those contagious and epidemical diseases,) should be hindered from preserving the public, because no evidence must be given of such corrupt and wicked counsels.” And so provided with this specious oratory, they desire the lords “ to concur with them for this necessary examination of privy-counsellors;” who, without much debate, (for the persons concerned knew well their acts were visible and public enough, and therefore considered not much what words had passed,) consented, and appointed some to attend the king for his consent: who, not well weighing the consequence, and being in public council unanimously advised “ to consent to it; and that the not doing it would lay some taint upon his council, and be a tacit confession, that there had been agitations at that place which would not endure the light;” yielded that they should be examined: which was speedily done accordingly, by the committee of both houses appointed for that purpose.

The damage was not to be expressed, and the ruin that last act brought to the king was irreparable; for, besides that it served their turn (which no question they had discovered before) to prove those words against the earl of Strafford, which sir Harry Vane so punctually remembered, (as you shall find at the earl’s trial,) and besides that it was matter of horror to the counsellors, to find that they might be arraigned for every rash, every inconsiderate, every imperious expression or word they had used there; and so made them more engaged to servile applications; it banished for ever all future freedom from that board, and those persons, whence his majesty was to expect advice in his greatest straits; all men satisfying themselves, “ that they were no more obliged to deliver their opinions there freely, when they might be impeached in another place for so doing;” and the evincing this so useful doctrine was without doubt more the design of those grand managers, than any hope they had, of receiving further information thereby, than they had before.

And for my part, I must ask leave of those noble lords, who after the king’s consent gave themselves

leave to be examined, to say, that if they had well considered the oath they had taken when they were admitted to that society, which was, *To keep secret all matters committed and revealed to them, or [that] should be treated of secretly in council,* they would not have believed, that the king himself could have dispensed with that part of their oath. It is true, there is another clause in their oath, that allows them with the king’s consent to reveal a matter of council: but that is, only what shall touch another counsellor; which they are not to do without the leave of the king or the council.

It was now time to intend themselves, as well as the public, and to repair, as well as to pull down; and therefore, as the principal reason (as was said before) for the accusing those two great persons of high treason (that is, of the general consent to it before any evidence was required) was, that they might be removed from the king’s presence and his counsels, without which they conceived theirs would have no power with him; so that being compassed, care was taken to infuse into the king by marquis Hamilton, (who you heard before was licensed to take care of himself; and was now of great intimacy with the governing and undertaking party,) “ that his majesty having declared to his people, that he really intended a reformation of all those extravagancies which former necessities, or occasions, or mistakes, had brought into the government of church or state: he could not give a more lively and demonstrable evidence, and a more gracious instance of such his intention, than by calling such persons to his council, whom the people generally thought most inclined to, and intent upon, such reformation: besides, that this would be a good means to preserve the dignity and just power of that board, which might otherwise for the late excess be more subject to violation, at least to some inconvenient attempts.”

Hereupon in one day were sworn privy-counsellors, much to the public joy, the earl of Hertford, (whom the king shortly after made marquis,) the earl of Bedford, the earl of Essex, the earl of Bristol, the lord Say, the lord Savile, and the lord Kimbolton; and within two or three days after, the earl of Warwick: being all persons at that time very gracious to the people, or to the Scots, by whose election and discretion the people chose; and had been all in some umbrage at court, and most of them in visible disfavour there. This act the king did very cheerfully; heartily inclined to some of them, as he had reason; and not apprehending any inconvenience by that act from the other, whom he thought this light of his grace would reform, or at least restrain.

But the calling and admitting men to that board is not a work that can be indifferent; the reputation, if not the government, of the state so much depending on it. And though, it may be, there hath been too much curiosity heretofore used to discover men’s particular opinions in particular points, before they have received that honour; whereas possibly such differences were rather to have been desired than avoided; yet there are certain opinions, certain propositions, and general principles, that whosoever does not hold, does not believe, is not, without great danger, to be accepted for a privy-counsellor. As, whosoever is not fixed to monarchical grounds, the preservation and up-

holding whereof is the chief end of such a council: whosoever does not believe that, in order to that great end, there is a dignity, a freedom, a jurisdiction most essential to be preserved in and to that place; and takes not the preservation thereof to heart; ought never to be received there. What in prudence is to be done towards that end, admits a latitude that honest and wise men may safely and profitably differ [in]; and those differences (which I said before there was too much unskilful care to prevent) usually produce great advantages in knowledge and wisdom: but the end itself, that which the logicians call the *terminus ad quem*, ought always to be a *postulatum*, which whosoever doubts, destroys: and princes cannot be too strict, too tender, in this consideration, in the constituting the body of their privy-council; upon the prudent doing whereof much of their safety, more of their honour and reputation (which is the life itself of princes) both at home and abroad, necessarily depends; and the inadvertencies in this point have been, mediately or immediately, the root and the spring of all the calamities that have ensued.

Two reasons have been frequently given by princes for oversights, or for wilful breaches, in this important dispensation of their favours. The first, "that such a man can do no harm;" when, God knows, few men have done more harm than those who have been thought to be able to do least; and there cannot be a greater error, than to believe, a man whom we see qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt: there is a supply of malice, of pride, of industry, and even of folly, in the weakest, when he sets his heart upon it, that makes a strange progress in mischief. The second, "when persons of ordinary faculties, either upon importunity, or other collateral respects, have been introduced thither, that it is but a place of honour, and a general testimony of the king's affection;" and so it hath been as it were reserved as a preferment for those, who were fit for no other preferment. As amongst the Jesuits they have a rule, that they who are unapt for greater studies, shall study cases of conscience. By this means the number hath been increased, which in itself breeds great inconveniences; since a less number are fitter both for counsel and despatch, in matters of the greatest moment, that depend upon a quick execution, than a greater number of men equally honest and wise: and for that, and other reasons of unaptness and incompetency, committees of dexterous men have been appointed out of the table to do the business of the table; and so men have been no sooner exalted with the reverent title, and pleased with the obligation of being made privy-counsellors, than they have checked that delight with discerning that they were not fully trusted; and so been more incensed with the reproachful distinction at, than obliged with the honourable admission to, that board, where they do not find all persons equally members. And by this kind of resentment, many sad inconveniences have befallen to the king, and to those men who have had the honour and misfortune of those secret trusts.

The truth is, the sinking and near desperate condition of monarchy in this kingdom can never be buoyed up, but by a prudent and steady council attending upon the virtue and vivacity of the

king; nor be preserved and improved when it is up, but by cherishing and preserving the wisdom, integrity, dignity, and reputation of that council: the lustre whereof always reflects upon the king himself; who is not thought a great monarch when he follows the reins of his own reason and appetite; but when, for the informing his reason, and guiding his actions, he uses the service, industry, and faculties of the wisest men. And though it hath been, and will be, always necessary to admit to those counsels some men of great power, who will not take the pains to have great parts; yet the number of the whole should not be too great; and the capacities and qualities of the most [should be] fit for business; that is, either for judgment and despatch; or for one of them at least; and integrity above all.

This digression (much longer than was intended) will not appear very impertinent, when the great disservice shall appear, which befell unto the king by the swearing those lords formerly mentioned (I speak but of some of them) privy-counsellors. For, instead of exercising themselves in their new province, and endeavouring to preserve and vindicate that jurisdiction, they looked upon themselves as preferred thither, by their reputation in parliament, not [by the] kindness and estimation of the king; and so resolved to keep up principally the greatness of that place, to which they thought they owed their greatness. And therefore, when the king required the advice of his privy-council, in those matters of the highest importance which were then every day incumbent on him, the new privy-counsellors positively declared, "that they might not" (that was, that nobody might) give his majesty "any advice in matters depending in the two houses, and not agreeable to the sense of the two houses; which (forsooth) was his great council, by whose wisdom he was entirely to guide himself." And as this doctrine was most insipidly and perniciously urged by them; so it was most supinely and stupidly submitted to by the rest: insomuch as the king in a moment found himself bereaved of any public assistance or advice, in a time when he needed it most; and his greatest, and, upon the matter, his only business, being prudently to weigh and consider what to consent to, and what to deny, of such things as should be proposed to him by the two houses, he was now told, "that he was only to be advised by them;" which was as much as to ask, whether they had a mind he should do whatever they desired of him.

Whereas in truth, it is not only lawful for, but the duty of the privy-council, to give faithfully and freely their advice to the king upon all matters concluded in parliament, to which his royal consent is necessary, as well as upon any other subject whatsoever. Nay, as a counsellor, he is bound to dissuade the king to consent [from consenting] to that which is prejudicial to the crown; at least to make that prejudice manifest to him; though as a private person he could wish the matter consented to. And therefore, by the constitution of the kingdom, and the constant practice of all times, all bills, after they are passed both houses, and engrossed, are delivered by the clerk of the parliament to the clerk of the crown; and by him brought to the attorney-general; who presented the same to his majesty sitting in council, and having read them, declares what alterations are made by those bills in

former laws, and what benefit or detriment, in profit or jurisdiction, will accrue thereby to the crown: and then, upon a full and free debate by his counsellors, the king resolves, and accordingly doth mark the bills that are to be enacted into laws, and respites the other that he thinks not fit to consent to. And methinks as this hath been the known practice, so the reason is very visible; that the royal assent being a distinct and essential part towards the making a law, there should be as much care taken to inform the understanding and conscience of the king upon those occasions, as theirs, who prepare the same for his royal stamp.

That it might appear that what was done within the houses was agreeable to those who were without, and that the same spirit reigned in parliament and people, all possible license was exercised in preaching, and printing any old scandalous pamphlets, and adding new to them against the church: petitions presented by many parishioners against their pastors, with articles of their misdemeanours and behaviours; most whereof consisted, "in their bowing at the name of Jesus, and obliging the communicants to come up to the altar," (as they enviously called it,) that is, to the rails which enclosed the communion-table, "to receive the sacrament." All which petitions were read with great delight, and presently referred to the committee for religion; where Mr. White, a grave lawyer, but notoriously disaffected to the church, sat in the chair; and then both petition and articles were suffered to be printed and published, (a license never practised before,) that the people might be inflamed against the clergy; who were quickly taught to call all those against whom such petitions and articles were exhibited (which were frequently done by a few of the rabble, and meanest of the people, against the sense and judgment of the parish) *the scandalous clergy*; which appellation was frequently applied to men of great gravity and learning, and the most unblemished lives.

There cannot be a better instance of the unruly and mutinous spirit of the city of London, which was the sink of all the ill humour of the kingdom, than the triumphant entry which some persons at that time made into London, who had been before seen upon pillories, and stigmatized as libellous and infamous offenders: of which classis of men scarce any age can afford the like.

There had been three persons of several professions some years before censured in [the] star-chamber; William Pryn, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn; John Bastwick, a doctor of physic; and Henry Burton, a minister and lecturer in London.

The first, not unlearned in the profession of the law, as far as learning is acquired by the mere reading of books; but being a person of great industry, had spent more time in reading divinity; and, which marred that divinity, in the conversation of factious and hotheaded divines: and so, by a mixture of all three, with the rudeness and arrogance of his own nature, had contracted a proud and venomous dislike against the discipline of the church of England; and so by degrees (as the progress is very natural) an equal irreverence to the government of the state too; both which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious discourses in print.

The second, a half-witted, crack-brained fellow, unknown to either university, or the college of physicians; but one that had spent his time abroad, be-

tween the schools and the camp, (for he had been in, or passed through armies,) and had gotten a doctorship, and Latin; with which, in a very flowing style, with some wit and much malice, he inveighed against the prelates of the church in a book which he printed in Holland, and industriously dispersed in London, and throughout the kingdom; having presumed (as their modesty is always equal to their obedience) to dedicate it to *the sacred majesty of the king*.

The third had formerly a kind of relation by service to the king; having, before he took orders, waited as closet-keeper, and so attended at canonical hours, with the books of devotion, upon his majesty when he was prince of Wales; and, a little before the death of king James, took orders: and so his highness coming shortly to be king, the vapours of ambition fuming into his head that he was still to keep his place, he would not think of less than being clerk of the closet to the new king, which place his majesty conferred upon, or rather continued in, the bishop of Durham, doctor Neyl, who had long served king James there. Mr. Burton thus disappointed, and, as he called it, despoiled of his rights, would not, in the greatness of his heart, sit down by the affront; but committed two or three such weak, saucy indiscretions, as caused an inhibition to be sent him, "that he should not presume to come any more to court:" and from that time [he] resolved to revenge himself of the bishop of Durham, upon the whole order; and so turned lecturer, and preached against them; being endued with malice and boldness, instead of learning and any tolerable parts.

These three persons having been, for several follies and libelling humours, first gently reprehended, and after, for their incorrigibleness, more severely censured and imprisoned, found some means in prison of correspondence, which was not before known to be between them; and to combine themselves in a more pestilent and seditious libel than they had ever before vented: in which the honour of the king, queen, counsellors, and bishops, was with equal license blasted and traduced; which was faithfully dispersed by their proselytes in the city. The authors were quickly and easily known, and had indeed too much ingenuity to deny it; and were thereupon brought together to the star-chamber-bar *ore tenus*; where they behaved themselves with marvellous insolence; with full confidence demanding, "that the bishops who sat in the court" (being only the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London) "might not be present, because they were their enemies, and so parties:" which, how scandalous and ridiculous soever it seemed then there, was good logic and good law two years after in Scotland, and served to banish the bishops of that kingdom both from the council-table and the assembly. Upon a very patient and solemn hearing, in as full a court as I ever saw, without any difference in opinion or dissenting voice, they were all three censured as scandalous, seditious, and infamous persons, "to lose their ears in the pillory, and to be imprisoned in several gaols during the king's pleasure:" all which was executed with rigour and severity enough. But yet their itch of libelling still brake out; and their friends of the city found a line of communication. Hereupon the wisdom of the state thought fit, that those infectious sores should breathe out their corruption in some air more remote from that catching

city, and less liable to the contagion : and so, by an order of the lords of the council, Mr. Pryn was sent to a castle in the island of Jersey ; Dr. Bastwick to Scilly ; and Mr. Burton to Guernsey ; where they remained unconsidered, and truly I think unpitied, (for they were men of no virtue or merit,) for the space of two years, till the beginning of this present parliament.

Shortly upon that, petitions were presented by their wives or friends, to the house of commons, expressing "their heavy censures and long sufferings ;" and desiring, by way of appeal, "that the justice and rigour of that sentence might be reviewed and considered ; and that their persons might be brought from those remote and desolate places to London, that so they might be able to solicit or attend their own business." The sending for them out of prison (which was the main) took up much consideration : for though very many who had no kindness, had yet compassion towards them ; as thinking they had suffered enough ; and that, though they were scurvy fellows, they had been scurvily used : and others had not only affection to their persons, as having suffered for a common cause ; but were concerned to revive and improve their useful faculties of libelling and reviling authority ; and to make those ebullitions not thought noisome to the state : yet a sentence of a supreme court, the star-chamber, (of which they had not yet spoke with irreverence,) was not lightly to be blown off : but, when they were informed, and had considered, that by that sentence the petitioners were condemned to some prisons in London ; and were afterward removed thence by an order of the lords of the council ; they looked upon that order as a violation of the sentence ; and so made no scruple to order "that the prisoners should be removed from those foreign prisons, to the places to which they were regularly first committed." And to that purpose warrants were signed by the speaker, to the governors and captains of the several castles, "to bring them in safe custody to London : " which were sent with all possible expedition.

Pryn and Burton being neighbours (though in distinct islands) landed at the same time at Southampton ; where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and esteem ; attended by a marvellous conflux of company ; and their charges not only borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given to them. And this method and ceremony kept them company all their journey, great herds of people meeting them at their entrance into all towns, and waiting upon them out with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near London, multitudes of people of several conditions, some on horseback, others on foot, met them some miles from the town ; very many having been a day's journey ; so they were brought, about two of the clock in the afternoon, in at Charing-cross, and carried into the city by above ten thousand persons, with boughs and flowers in their hands ; the common people strewing flowers and herbs in the ways as they passed, making great noise, and expressions of joy for their deliverance and return ; and in those acclamations mingling loud and virulent exclamations against the bishops, "who had so cruelly prosecuted such godly men." In the same manner, within five or six days after, and in like triumph, Dr. Bastwick returned from Scilly, landing at

Dover ; and from thence bringing the same testimonies of the affections and zeal of Kent, as the others had done from Hampshire and Surrey, was met before he came to Southwark by the good people of London, and so conducted to his lodging likewise in the city.

I should not have wasted this much time and paper in a discourse of this nature, but that it is and was then evident, that this insurrection (for it was no better) and phrensy of the people was an effect of great industry and policy, to try and publish the temper of the people ; and to satisfy themselves in the activity and interest of their tribunes, to whom that province of shewing the people was committed. And from this time, the license of preaching and printing increased to that degree, that all pulpits were freely delivered to the schismatical and silenced preachers, who till then had lurked in corners, or lived in New England ; and the presses at liberty for the publishing the most invective, seditious, and scurrilous pamphlets, that their wit and malice could invent. Whilst the ministers of the state, and judges of the law, like men in an ecstasy, surprised and amazed with several apparitions, had no speech or motion ; as if, having committed such an excess of jurisdiction, (as men upon great surfeits are enjoined for a time to eat nothing,) they had been prescribed to exercise no jurisdiction at all. Whereas, without doubt, if either the privy-council, or the judges and the king's learned council, had assumed the courage to have questioned the preaching, or the printing, or the seditious riots upon the triumph of these three scandalous men, before the uninterrupted and security had confirmed the people in all three, it had been no hard matter to have destroyed those seeds, and pulled up those plants, which, [being] neglected, grew up and prospered to a full harvest of rebellion and treason. But this was yet but a rudeness and rankness abroad, without any visible countenance or approbation from the parliament : all was chaste within those walls.

The first malignity that was apparent there (for the accusation of the archbishop and the earl of Strafford were looked upon as acts of passion, directed against particular persons, who were thought to have deserved some extraordinary measure and proceeding) was against the church : not only in their committee for religion ; which had been assumed ever since the latter times of king James, but no such thing had been before heard of in parliament ; where, under pretence of receiving petitions against clergymen, they often debated points beyond the verge of their understanding : but, by their cheerful reception of a declaration of many sheets of paper against the whole government of the church ; presented by ten or a dozen ministers, at the bar ; and pretended to be signed by seven hundred ministers of London and the counties adjacent : and a petition, presented by alderman Pennington, and alleged to be subscribed by twenty thousand men, inhabitants within the city of London ; who required, in plain terms, "the total extirpation of episcopacy." But the house was then so far from being possessed with that spirit, that the utmost that could be obtained, upon a long debate upon that petition, was, "that it should not be rejected ;" against which the number of the petitioners was urged as a powerful argument ; only it was suffered to remain in the hands of the clerk of the house, with direction, "that no copy

"of it should be given." And for the ministers' declaration, one part only of it was insisted on by them, and read in the house; which concerned the exercise of their jurisdiction, and the excess of their ecclesiastical courts: the other parts were declined by many of them, and especially ordered "to be sealed up by the clerk, that it might be perused by no man." So that all that envy and animosity against the church seemed to be resolved into a desire, "that a bill might be framed to remove the bishops from their votes in the lords' house, and from any office in secular affairs;" which was the utmost men pretended to wish: and to such a purpose a bill was shortly after prepared, and brought into the house; of which more shall be said in its proper place.

It was a strange uningenuity and mountebankry, that was practised in the procuring those petitions; which continued ever after in the like addresses. The course was, first, to prepare a petition very modest and dutiful, for the form; and for the matter, not very unreasonable; and to communicate it at some public meeting, where care was taken it should be received with approbation: the subscription of very few hands filled the paper itself, where the petition was written, and therefore many more sheets were annexed, for the reception of the number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance, to the undertaking. When a multitude of hands was procured, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one framed, suitable to the design in hand, and annexed to the long list of names which were subscribed to the former. And by this means, many men found their hands subscribed to petitions, of which they before had never heard. As several ministers, whose hands were to the petition and declaration of the London ministers before mentioned, have professed to many persons, "that they never saw that petition or declaration before it was presented to the house; but had signed another, the substance of which was, not to be compelled to take the oath enjoined by the new canons: and when they found, instead of that, their names set to a desire of an alteration of the government of the church, they with much trouble went to Mr. Marshall, with whom they had intrusted their petition and their hands; who gave them no other answer, but that it was thought fit by those who understood business better than they, that the latter petition should rather be preferred than the former." And when he found, they intended by some public act to vindicate themselves from that calumny; such persons, upon whom they had their greatest dependence, were engaged, by threats and promises, to prevail with them to sit still, and to pass by that indirect proceeding.

For the better facilitating and making way for these virulent attempts upon the church, petitions and complaints are [were] exhibited against the exorbitant acts of some bishops; especially against the bishops of Bath and Wells, and Ely; who "had with great pride and insolence provoked all the gentry, and in truth most of the inhabitants within their dioceses." And the new canons were insisted on, "as a most palpable invasion by the whole body of the clergy, upon the laws and liberty of the people."

I told you before, that after the dissolution of the former short parliament, the convocation-

house was continued by special warrant from the king; and by his majesty, in a solemn message sent to them by sir Harry Vane, then principal secretary, "required to proceed in the making of canons, for the better peace and quiet of the church." Notwithstanding this command, the chief of the clergy, well knowing the spirit of bitterness that was contracted against them; and many obsolete pamphlets against their jurisdiction and power being, since the commotions in Scotland, revived and published with more freedom; desired his majesty, "that the opinions of the judges might be known and declared, whether they might then lawfully sit, the parliament being dissolved, and proceed in the making of canons; as likewise, upon other particulars in their jurisdiction, which had been most inveighed against?"

All the judges of England, upon a mature debate, in the presence of the king's council, under their hands asserted, "their power of making canons, and those other parts of jurisdiction, which had been so enviously questioned." Hereupon they proceeded; and having composed a body of canons, presented the same to his majesty, for his royal approbation. They were then again debated at the council-board, not without notable opposition; for upon some lessening the power and authority of the chancellors, and their commissaries, by those canons, the professors of that law took themselves to be disobliged; and sir Henry Martin, (who could not oversee any advantages,) upon several days of hearing at the council-table, with his utmost skill objected against them: but in the end, by the entire and unanimous advice of the privy-council, the canons were confirmed by the king, under the great seal of England, and thereby legally enjoined to be observed. So that whatever they were, the judges were at least as guilty of the first presumption in framing them, and the lords of the council in publishing and executing them, as the bishops, or the rest of the clergy, in either.

Yet the storm fell wholly on the church: and the matter of those canons, and the manner of making them, was insisted on, as a pregnant testimony of a malignant spirit in the very function of the bishops. The truth is, the season in which that synod continued to sit (as was observed before) was in so ill a conjuncture of time, (upon the dissolution of a parliament, and almost in an invasion from Scotland,) that nothing could have been transacted there, of a popular and prevailing influence. Then, some sharp canons against sectaries, and some additional in point of ceremonies, countenancing, though not enjoining, what had not been long practised, infinitely inflamed some, and troubled others; who jointly took advantage of what strictly was amiss; as the making an oath, the matter of which was conceived incongruous; and enjoining it to many of the laity, as well as the clergy; and the granting of subsidies.

So that the house of commons (that is, the major part) made no scruple, in that fury, to declare, "that the convocation-house had no power at all of making canons:" notwithstanding that it was apparent by the law, and the uncontradicted practice of the church, that canons had never been otherwise made: "and that those canons contained in them matter of sedition and reproach to the regal power; prejudicial to the liberty and property of the subject, and to the privileges of

"parliament." By the extent of which notable vote and declaration, they had involved almost the whole clergy under an arbitrary guilt; as much as they had done the nobility and gentry before, under their votes of lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, privy-counsellors, and sheriffs; and of which they made the same use; as shall be remembered in its proper place.

The two armies were necessarily to be provided for, lest the countries where their quarters were should come to be oppressed by free quarter; which would not only raise a very inconvenient noise, but introduce a necessity of disbanding the armies, which they were in no degree ready for: and money not being to be raised soon enough in the formal way, by act of parliament, which would require some time in the passage; besides, that the manner and way of raising it had not been enough considered; and the collecting it would require much time, even after an act of parliament should be passed; therefore for the present supply they thought fit to make use of their credit with the city; to whom a formal embassy of lords and commons was sent; which were carefully chosen of such persons as carried the business of the house before them, that the performing the service might be as well imputed to their particular reputation and interest, as to the affection of the city: and these men in their orations to the citizens undertook "that their money should be repaid with interest by the care of the parliament." And this was the first introduction of the public faith; which grew afterwards to be applied to all monstrous purposes.

And this expedient succeeded twice or thrice for such sums as they thought fit to require; which were only enough to carry on their affairs, and keep them in motion; not proportionable to discharge the debt due to the armies, but to enable them to pay their quarters: it being fit to keep a considerable debt still owing, lest they should appear too ready to be disbanded.

And they had likewise another design in this commerce with the city; for always upon the loan of money they recommended some such thing to the parliament, as might advance the designs of the party; as "the proceeding against delinquents;" or "some reformation in the church:" which the managers knew well what use to make of upon any emergency. When they had set this traffick on foot in the city, and so brought their friends there into more reputation and activity; at their election of common-council men, (which is every year before Christmas; and in which new men had rarely used to be chosen, except in case of death, but the old still continued,) all the grave and substantial citizens were left out; and such chosen as were most eminent for opposing the government, and most disaffected to the church, though of never so mean estates: which made a present visible alteration in the temper of the city, (the common-council having so great a share in the management of affairs there,) and even in the government itself.

Other ways were to be thought of for getting of money, which was, once at least every month, called for very importunately by the Scottish commissioners; which caused the same provision to be made for the English forces. The next expedient was, "That in so great an exigence, and for the public peace; that the armies might not enter

"into blood, by the determination of the cessation, which want of pay would inevitably produce; the several members of the house would lend money, according to their several abilities; or that such as had no money would become bound for it; and upon these terms enough could be borrowed." And this was no sooner proposed, but consented to by all the eminent leaders; and by many others, in order to make themselves the more acceptable to those; and some did it for their own convenience, there being little hazard of their money, and full interest to be received, and believing it would facilitate the disbanding of the armies; upon which all sober men's hearts were directed.

And now, to support their stock of credit, it was time to raise money upon the people by act of parliament; which they had an excuse for not doing in the usual way, "and giving it immediately to the king, to be paid into the exchequer; because the public faith was so deeply engaged to the city for a great debt; and so many particular members in the loan of monies, and in being bound for the payment of great sums, for which their estates were liable: and therefore it was but reason, that for their indemnity the money that was to be raised should be paid into the hands of particular members of the house, named by them; who should take care to discharge all public engagements." And the first bill they passed being but for two subsidies, which was not sufficient to discharge any considerable part of the money borrowed, they inserted in the bill the commissioners' names, who were to receive and dispose the money. And the king made no pause in the passing it; himself not considering the consequence of it, and none about him having the courage to present it to him.

But from that time, there was no bill passed for the raising of money, but it was disposed of in the same, or the like manner; that none of it could be applied to the king's use, or by his direction. Nor were they contented with this invasion of his prerogative, but took notice, "that, from the time of his majesty's coming to the crown, he had taken the customs and impositions upon merchandise as his own right, without any act of parliament; which no king had ever before done;" insinuating withal, "that they meant to make a further inquisition into those, who had been the chief ministers in that presumption." They said, "Nobody could imagine, but that they intended to grant the same to his majesty, in the same manner, for his life, as had been done to his progenitors by former parliaments: but that they found such an act could not be presently made ready; because the book of rates now in practice (besides that it had not been made by lawful authority) contained many excesses, and must be reformed in several particulars; in preparing which, they would use all possible diligence, and hoped to effect it in a short time: however, that the continuance of the collection in the manner it was in, without any lawful title, and during the very sitting of the parliament, would be a precedent of a very evil consequence, and make the right of giving it the more questioned; at least the less valued. And therefore it would be fit, that either all the present collection be discontinued, and cease absolutely; which was in the power of the merchants themselves to do, by

"refusing to pay any duties which there was no law to compel them to: or, that a short act should be presently passed, for the continuance of the payments for a short time; against the expiration whereof, the act [for granting them] for life, with the book of rates, would be prepared, and ready." There were many inconveniences discovered in the first, in discontinuing the collection and payment of duties, "which would not be so easily revived again, and reduced into order: and that the last would, without prejudice to either, both vindicate the right of the subject, and secure the king's profit:" and so they prepared (with all the expressions of duty and affection to the king that can be imagined) and presented a grant of those duties for some few months. In which there was a preamble, disapproving and condemning "all that had been done in that particular, from his majesty's first coming to the crown, to that time; and asserting his whole right to depend upon the gift of his subjects:" and concluded with "most severe penalties to be inflicted upon those, who should presume hereafter to collect or receive those duties otherwise than as they were, or should be, granted by act of parliament:" which was never before provided for, and the king likewise passed it; and so, besides other unseasonable concessions and determinations, put all the revenue he had to live upon, and to provide him meat, into their hands, and to take from him whenever they should think it convenient to their other designs: of which he shortly after found the mischief.

Though, as hath been observed, there was not yet one penny of money given to the king, or received by his ministers; yet, because subsidies were raised upon the people, according to the formality of parliaments; and as if all that great supply had been to the king's own coffers; it was thought necessary, that the people should be refreshed with some behoveful law, at the same time that they found themselves charged with the payment of so many subsidies. And under that consideration, together with that bill for subsidies, another was sent up to the lords, for a triennial parliament: both which quickly passed that house, and were transmitted to the king.

In that for the triennial parliament (though the same was grounded upon two former statutes in the time of king Edward the Third, "That there should be once every year a parliament") there were some clauses very derogatory to monarchical principles; as "giving the people authority to assemble together, if the king failed to call them," and the like: yet his majesty, really intending to make those conventions frequent, without any great hesitation, enacted those two bills together; so much to the seeming joy and satisfaction of both houses, that they pretended "to have sufficiently provided for the indemnity of the commonwealth; and that there remained nothing to be done, but such a return of duty and gratitude to the king, as might testify their devotions; and that their only end was to make him glorious:" but those fits of zeal and loyalty never lasted long.

The lord Finch's flight made not only that place vacant, but begat several other vacancies. The seal was given to Littleton, who was then chief justice of the common pleas; for which place he was excellently fitted: but being a man of a grave

and comely presence, his other parts were overvalued; his learning in the law being his masterpiece. And so he was chosen to be keeper, upon the opinion and recommendation of the two great ministers under the cloud; who had before brought him to be a privy-counsellor, whilst chief justice, to the no little jealousy of the lord Finch.

Banks, the attorney general, was weary enough of the inquisition that was made into the king's grants, and glad to be promoted to the common pleas. And Herbert, the solicitor general, who had sat all this time in the house of commons, awed and terrified with their temper; applying himself to Mr. Hambden, and two or three of the other, without interposing or crossing them in any thing; longed infinitely to be out of that fire: and so the office of attorney general, which at any other time had been to be wished, was now most grateful, as it removed him from the other attendance, there being an incapacity put upon that place of sitting as a member in parliament: and so he was called by writ to attend the house of peers, where he sits upon the woolsack at the back of the judges.

From the time that there was no more fear of the archbishop of Canterbury, nor the lord lieutenant of Ireland, nor of any particular men who were like to succeed them in favour; all who had been active in the court, or in any service for the king, being totally dispirited, and most of them to be disposed to any vile offices against him; the great patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service, if they got the places and preferments in the court, and so prevented the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence. And they had then a fast friend there, the marquis of Hamilton; who could most dexterously put such an affair into agitation, with the least noise, and prepare both king and queen to hearken to it very willingly: and in a short time all particulars were well adjusted for every man's accommodation.

The earl of Bedford was to be treasurer: in order to which, the bishop of London had already desired the king "to receive the staff into his hand, and give him leave to retire to the sole care of his bishopric;" by which he wisely withdrew from the storm, and enjoyed the greatest tranquillity of any man of the three kingdoms, throughout the whole boisterous and destroying time that followed; and lived to see a happy and blessed end of them, and died in great honour and glory. And so the treasury was for the present put into commission. Mr. Pym was to be chancellor of the exchequer: which office the lord Cottington was likewise ready to surrender, upon assurance of indemnity for the future. These two were engaged to procure the king's revenue to be liberally provided for, and honourably increased and settled.

And, that this might be the better done, the earl of Bedford prevailed with the king, upon the removes mentioned before, to make Oliver Saint-John (who hath been often, and will be oftener mentioned in this discourse) his solicitor general; which his majesty readily consented to; hoping that, being a gentleman of an honourable extraction, (if he had been legitimate,) he would have been very useful in the present exigence to support his service in the house of commons, where his authority was then great; at least, that he would

he ashamed ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the crown. And he became immediately possessed of that office of great trust; and was so well qualified for it, by his fast and rooted malignity against the government, that he lost no credit with his party, out of any apprehension or jealousy that he would change his side: and he made good their confidence; not in the least degree abating his malignant spirit, or dissembling it; but with the same obstinacy opposed every thing which might advance the king's service, when he was his solicitor, as ever he had done before.

The lord Say was to be master of the wards; which place the lord Cottington was likewise to surrender for his quiet and security. And Denzil Hollis was to be secretary of state, in the place of secretary Windebank.

Thus far the intrigue for preferments was entirely complied with; and it is great pity that it was not fully executed, that the king might have had some able men to have advised or assisted him; which probably these very men would have done, after they had been so thoroughly engaged: whereas the king had none left about him in any immediate trust in business, (for I speak not of the duke of Richmond, and some very few men more about his person, who always behaved themselves honourably,) who either did not betray, or sink under the weight or reproach of it.

But the earl of Bedford was resolved, that he would not enter into the treasury, till the revenue was in some degree settled; and at least the bill for tonnage and poundage passed, with all decent circumstances, and for life; which both he and Mr. Pym did very heartily labour to effect; and had in their thoughts many good expedients, by which they intended to raise the revenue of the crown. And none of them were very solicitous to take their promotions, before some other accommodations were provided for some of the rest of their chief companions; who would be neither well pleased with their so hasty advancement before them, nor so submissive in the future to follow their dictates.

Hambden was a man they could not leave unprovided for; and therefore there were several designs, and very far driven, for the satisfaction and promotion of him, and Essex, and Kimbolton, and others; though not so fully concluded, as those before mentioned. For the king's great end was, by these compliances, to save the life of the earl of Strafford, and to preserve the church from ruin; for nobody thought the archbishop in danger of his life. And there were few of the persons mentioned before, who thought their preferments would do them much good, if the earl were suffered to live; but in that of the church, the major part even of those persons would have been willing to have satisfied the king; the rather, because they had no reason to think the two houses, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to have pursued the contrary. And so the continued and renewed violence in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford made the king well contented (as the other reasons prevailed with the other persons) that the execution of those promotions should be for a time suspended.

When there was a new occasion, upon the importunity of the Scottish commissioners, to procure more money; and the leading men, who used to

be forward in finding out expedients for supply, seemed to despair of being able to borrow more; because the city was much troubled and disheartened, to see the work of reformation proceed so slowly, and no delinquents yet brought to justice; and that till some advance was made towards those longed-for ends, there must be no expectation of borrowing more money from or in the city: upon which Mr. Hyde said, "That he did not believe the thing to be so difficult as was pretended; that no man lent his money, who did not gain by it; and that it was evident enough, that there was plenty of money; and therefore he was confident, if a small committee of the house were nominated, who, upon consultation between themselves, might use the name of the house to such men as were reputed to have money, they might prevail with them to lend as much as might serve for the present exigence." Whereupon the house willingly approved the motion; and named himself, Mr. Capel, sir John Strange-ways, and five or six more, whom they desired might be joined with them; who, the same or the next day, repaired into the city; resolving to apply themselves to no men but such who were of clear reputation in point of wisdom, and sobriety of understanding, as well as of wealth and ability to lend. And after they had spoken together with four or five eminent men, they agreed to pair, and to confer severally with their particular acquaintance, upon the same subject: many men choosing rather to lend their money, than to be known to have it; and being very wary in their expressions, except in private.

When they had again communicated together, they found that the borrowing the money would be very easy; every man with whom they had conferred being ready and forward to lend the money upon their security who proposed, or to find a friend who should. Most of them in their private discourse said, "that there was money enough to be lent, if men saw there would be like to be any end of borrowing; but that it was an universal discomfort and discouragement, to all men of estates and discretion, to see two great armies still kept on foot in the kingdom, at so vast a charge, when there remained no fear of a war; and that if a time were once appointed for the disbanding them, there should not want money for the doing all that should be necessary in order to it." This answer satisfied them in all respects: and the next day Mr. Hyde reported to the house the success of their employment; "that they had conferred with the most substantial and best reputed men of the city; who, by themselves and their friends, had promised to supply the money which was desired." And then he enlarged upon "the temper they understood the city to be in, by the reports of those who might be reasonably supposed to know it best; that it was indeed very much troubled and melancholic, to see two armies kept on foot at so vast a charge within the bowels of the kingdom, when, God be thanked, all the danger of a war was removed; and that they who were very able to make good what they promised, had frankly undertaken, that if a peremptory day was appointed for being rid of those armies, there should not be want of money to discharge them."

The report was received with great applause by the major part of the house, as was reasonably col-

lected by their countenance: but it was as apparent, that the governing party was exceedingly perplexed with it, and knew not on a sudden what to say to it: if they embraced the opportunity, to procure a supply of money which was really wanted, it would be too great a countenance to the persons who had procured it; and whose reputation they were willing to depress: besides, it would imply their approbation of what had been said of the disbanding: at least, would be a ground of often mentioning and pressing it; and which, how grateful soever to most other men, was the thing they most abhorred. After a long silence, Mr. Hambden said, "that the worthy gentlemen were to be much commended for the pains they had taken; of which, he doubted not, good use would be made:" and so proposed, "That it might be well thought of, and the debate resumed the next day;" which could not be denied. The next day, alderman Pennington (a man in highest confidence with the party; and one, who insinuated all things to the common-council which he was directed should be started there) began the discourse; and said, "that the gentlemen, who had been last in the city to borrow money, had made a fair report; but that in the end of it there was *colloquintida*; that he could not find with what persons they had conferred about the temper of the city; nor that any considerable people troubled themselves with designing or wishing what the parliament should do, which they knew to be wise enough, to know what and when they were to do that which was best for the kingdom: and they acquiesced in their grave judgment:" and concluded, "that the money that the house stood in need of, or a greater sum, was ready to be paid to whomsoever they would appoint to receive it." The house made itself very merry with the alderman's *colloquintida*, and called upon him "to explain it;" and so the debate ended: all men being well pleased to see the disorder they were in, and the pains they had taken to free themselves from it; which every day was renewed upon them, as the subject-matter afforded occasion; and they visibly lost much of the reverence, which had been formerly paid to them.

About the beginning of March, they began to make preparations for the trial of the earl of Strafford; who had then been about three months in prison, under their accusation of high treason: and by this time, for their better supply in that work, a committee was come from the parliament in Ireland, to solicit matters concerning that kingdom. This committee (most of them being papists, and the principal actors since in the rebellion) was received with great kindness, and, upon the matter, added to the committee for the prosecution of the earl of Strafford. So that now, Ireland seemed no less intent upon the ruin of that unfortunate lord, than England and Scotland; there being such a correspondence settled between Westminster and Dublin, that whatsoever was practised in the house of commons here was very soon after done likewise there: and as sir George Ratcliff was accused here of high treason, upon pretence of being a confederate with the earl in his treasons; but in truth that he might not be capable of giving any evidence on the behalf of him, and thereupon sent for into this kingdom: so all, or most of the other persons, who were in any trust with the earl, and so privy to the grounds and reasons of the coun-

sels there, and only able to make those apparent, were accused by the house of commons in that kingdom of high treason; under the general impeachment, of "endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of that kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary power:" which served [the] turn there, to secure their persons, and to remove them from councils, as it had done here.

What seeds were then sown for the rebellion, which within a year after brake out in Ireland, by the great liberty and favour that committee found; who, for the good service against that lord, were hearkened to in all things that concerned that kingdom, shall be observed, and spoken of at large, hereafter.

Much time was spent in consideration of the manner of the trial; for they could find no precedent would fit their case: "Whether it should be in the house of peers? which room was thought too little, for the accusers, witnesses, judges, and spectators: Who should prosecute? Whether members chosen of the commons, or the king's council? Whether the bishops" (which were twenty-four in number, and like to be too tender-hearted in matter of blood, and so either to convert many, or to increase a dissenting party too much) should have voices in the trial? Whether those who had been created peers since the accusation [was] carried up, should be admitted to be judges?" And lastly, "Whether the commoners, who were to be present at the trial, should sit uncovered? and, Whether any members of the house of commons should be examined at the trial on the behalf of the earl?" who had sent a list of names, and desired an order to that purpose.

After much debate it was resolved, "that the trial should be in Westminster-hall, where seats should be built for the reception of the whole house of commons, which together with the speaker should be present:" for they then foresaw, that they might be put to another kind of proceeding than that they pretended; and (though with much ado) they consented to sit uncovered, lest such a little circumstance might disturb the whole design.

For the prosecution, they had no mind to trust the king's council; who neither knew their secret evidence, nor, being informed, were like to apply and press it so vigorously as the business would require: and therefore they appointed "that committee which had prepared the charge, to give in the evidence, and in the name of all the commons of England to prosecute the impeachment."

For the bishops: after many bitter invectives, and remembering the faults of particular persons, and the canons which seemed to involve the whole body, with sharpness and threats; they took the case to be so clear upon an old canon, (the only one they acknowledged for orthodox,) that *clericus non debet interesse sanguini*, that they were content "to refer that to the house of peers, as proper only for their determination." And this they did, not upon any confidence they had in the matter itself, whatever law, or reason, or canon they pretended; or in the lords, the major part of whom, when any difference of opinion was, always dissented from their designs: but that they had a trick of doing their business by intimation; and they had a sure friend amongst the bishops, who had promised them seasonably to free them of that trouble.

And therefore they would not trust their lordships' own inclinations with the other point, of the new barons, which they knew would be controverted; but in plain terms demanded, "that no peer, created since the day upon which the earl of Strafford was impeached for high treason, because they were involved as commoners in the making that accusation, should sit as judges at his trial."

For the earl's demand, "of an order to examine some members on his behalf, upon matters of fact, at his trial;" after a long debate, they left it only in the power of the persons themselves who were nominated, "to be examined if they would," (not without some smart animadversions, "that they should take heed what they did,") and refused to enjoin them; though the same had been done at their desire, for the lords of the council; but that was against the earl, and so the less to be considered.

The lords, in the absence of the lord keeper, who was very sick, made choice of the earl of Arundel to preside and govern the court; being a person notoriously disaffected to the earl of Strafford.

And for the great business of the bishops, they were saved the labour of giving any rule (which, it may be, would have troubled them) by the bishop of Lincoln's standing up, and moving, on the behalf of himself and his brethren, "that they might be excused from being present at the trial, being ecclesiastical persons, and so not to have their hands in blood;" and such other reasons, as, when they are examined, will be found very trivial.

This bishop had been, by several censures in the star-chamber, imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained till after the beginning of this parliament, and was then set at liberty upon the desire of the lords; who knew him to be a mortal and irreconcilable enemy to the archbishop of Canterbury, and indeed had always been a puritan so far, as to love none of the bishops, and to have used all learned churchmen with great contempt and insolence; and yet he left no way unpractised to assure the king, "that he would do great matters in parliament for his service, if he might be at liberty." The next day after he came to the house of peers, the lord Say made that schismatical speech, which he since printed; taking notice "of some imputations laid on him by the archbishop of Canterbury, that he should be a sectary;" which nobody can doubt, that reads that speech: yet he had no sooner done, than that bishop rose, and made a large panegyric in his praise, and professed, "that he always believed his lordship to be as far from a sectary, as himself." And when he found the great desire of the house of commons to be freed from the bishops' votes in that trial, he never left terrifying them with the censure that hung over their heads for making the canons, till he persuaded them to ingratiate themselves, by desiring to be excused in that matter, before an order should be made for their absence.

This example of the bishops prevailed with some lords, who had been created since the accusation, to quit their right of judging; and amongst them, the lord Littleton (who had been made a baron upon the desire of the earl of Strafford, for that only reason, that he professed, "If he were a peer, he would (and indeed he could) do him notable service") was the first who quitted his right to

judge, because he had been a commoner when the accusation was first brought up: but they who insisted upon their right, (as the lord Seymour and others,) and demanded the judgment of the house, were no more disturbed, but exercised the same power to the end, as any of the other lords did; and so, no doubt, might the bishops too, if they would: for, though there might be some reason for their absence, when the trial was according to law, before and by his peers only; yet, when that judgment was waved, and a bill of attainder brought up against him, their votes in that bill were as necessary and essential, as of any other of the lords. And it may be, their unseasonable, voluntary, unjust quitting it then, made many men less solicitous for the utter taking away that right afterwards. But of that in its place.

All things being thus prepared, and settled; on Monday, the twenty-second of March, the earl of Strafford was brought to the bar in Westminster-hall; the lords sitting in the middle of the hall in their robes; and the commoners, and some strangers of quality, with the Scottish commissioners, and the committee of Ireland, on either side: there being a close box made at one end, at a very convenient distance for hearing, in which the king and queen sat untaken notice of; his majesty, out of kindness and curiosity, desiring to hear all that could be alleged: of which, I believe, he afterwards repented himself; when "his having been present at the trial" was alleged and urged to him, as an argument for the passing the bill of attainder.

After his charge was read, and an introduction made by Mr. Pym, in which he called him *the wicked earl*; some member of the house of commons, according to their parts assigned, being a lawyer, applied and pressed the evidence, with great license and sharpness of language; and, when the earl had made his defence, replied with the same liberty upon whatsoever he said; taking all occasions of bitterly inveighing against his person: which reproachful way of carriage was looked upon with so much approbation, that one of the managers (Mr. Palmer) lost all his credit and interest with them, and never recovered it, for using a decency and modesty in his carriage and language towards him; though the weight of his arguments pressed more upon the earl, than all the noise of the rest.

The trial lasted eighteen days; in which, "all the hasty or proud expressions, or words, he had uttered at any time since he was first made a privy-counsellor; all the acts of passion or power that he had exercised in Yorkshire, from the time that he was first president there; his engaging himself in projects in Ireland, as the sole making of flax, and selling tobacco in that kingdom; his billeting of soldiers, and exercising of martial law in that kingdom; his extraordinary proceeding against the lord Mountnorris, and the lord chancellor [Loftus]; his assuming a power of judicature at the council-table to determine private interest, and matter of inheritance; some rigorous and extrajudicial determinations in cases of plantations; some high discourses at the council-table in Ireland; and some casual and light discourses at his own table, and at public meetings; and lastly, some words spoken in secret council in this kingdom after the dissolution of the last parliament,"

were urged and pressed against him, to make good the general charge, of "an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental government of the kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary power."

The earl behaved himself with great show of humility and submission; but yet, with such a kind of courage, as would lose no advantage; and, in truth, made his defence with all imaginable dexterity; answering this, and evading that, with all possible skill and eloquence; and though he knew not, till he came to the bar, upon what parts of his charge they would proceed against him, or what evidence they would produce, he took very little time to recollect himself, and left nothing unsaid that might make for his own justification.

For the business of Ireland; he complained much, "that, by an order from the committee which prepared his charge against him, all his papers in that kingdom, by which he should make his defence, were seized and taken from him; and, by virtue of the same order, all his goods, household stuff, plate, and tobacco (amounting, as he said, to eighty thousand pounds) were likewise seized; so that he had not money to subsist in prison: that all those ministers of state in Ireland, who were most privy to the acts for which he was questioned, and so could give the best evidence and testimony on his behalf, were imprisoned under the charge of treason. Yet he averred, that he had behaved himself in that kingdom, according to the power and authority granted by his commission and instructions, and according to the rules and customs observed by former deputies and lieutenants. That the monopolies of flax and tobacco had been undertaken by him for the good of that kingdom, and benefit of his majesty: the former establishing a most beneficial trade and good husbandry, not before practised there; and the latter bringing a revenue of above forty thousand pounds to the crown, and advancing trade, and bringing no damage to the subject. That billeting of soldiers," (which was alleged to be treason, by a statute made in Ireland in the time of king Henry the Sixth,) "and the exercising of martial law, had been always practised by the lieutenants and deputies of that kingdom;" (which he proved by the testimony and confession of the earl of Cork and the lord Wilmot; neither of which desired to say more for his behoof, than inevitably they must. He said, "the act of parliament mentioned, of Henry the Sixth, concerned not him; it comprehending only the inferior subjects, and making it penal to them to billet soldiers, not the deputy, or supreme commander; if it did, that it was repealed by Poyning's act, in the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh: however, if it were not, and that it were treason still, it was treason only in Ireland, and not in England; and therefore, that he could not be tried here for it, but must be transmitted thither." He said, "the council-table in Ireland had a large, natural, legal jurisdiction, by the institution and fundamental customs of that kingdom; and had, in all times, determined matters of the same nature, which it had done in his time: and that the proceedings there upon plantations had been with the advice of the judges, upon a clear title of the crown, and upon great reason of state: and that the nature and disposition of that people required a

"severe hand and strict reins to be held upon them, which being loosed, the crown would quickly feel the mischief."

For the several discourses, and words, wherewith he was charged; he denied many, and explained and put a gloss upon others, by the reasons and circumstances of the debate. One particular, which they much insisted on, though it was spoken twelve years before, "that he should say in the public hall in York, that the little finger of the prerogative should lie heavier upon them than the loins of the law," he directly inverted; and proved, by two or three persons of credit, "that he said" (and the occasion made it probable, being upon the business of knighthood, which was understood to be a legal tax) "the little finger of the law was heavier than the loins of the prerogative;" that imposition for knighthood amounting to a much higher rate, than any act of the prerogative which had been exercised. "However," he said, "he hoped no indiscretion, or unskilfulness, or passion, or pride of words, would amount to treason; and for misdemeanours, he was ready to submit to their justice."

He made the least, that is, the worst excuse, for those two acts against the lord Mountnorris, and the lord chancellor; which indeed were powerful acts, and manifested a nature excessively imperious if not inclined to tyranny; and, no doubt, drew a greater dislike and terror, from sober and dispassioned persons, than all that was alleged against him. A servant of the earl's, one Annesley, (kinsman to Mountnorris,) attending on his lord during some fit of the gout, (of which he often laboured,) had by accident, or negligence, suffered a stool to fall upon the earl's foot; enraged with the pain whereof, his lordship with a small cane struck Annesley: this being merrily spoken of at dinner, at a table where the lord Mountnorris was, (I think, the lord chancellor's,) he said, "the gentleman had a brother that would not have taken such a blow." This coming some months after to the deputy's hearing, he caused a council of war to be called; the lord Mountnorris being an officer of the army; where, upon an article "of moving sedition, and stirring up the soldiers against the general," he was charged with those words formerly spoken at the lord chancellor's table. What defence he made, I know not; for he was so surprised, that he knew not what the matter was, when he was summoned to that council: but the words being proved, he was deprived of his office (being then vice-treasurer) and his foot-company; committed to prison; and sentenced "to lose his head." The office and company were immediately disposed of, and he imprisoned, till the king sent him over a pardon, by which he was discharged with his life; all other parts of the sentence being fully executed.

This seemed to all men a most prodigious course of proceeding; that, in a time of full peace, a peer of the kingdom and a privy-counsellor, for an unadvised, passionate, mysterious word, (for the expression was capable of many interpretations,) should be called before a council of war, which could not reasonably be understood to have then a jurisdiction over such persons, and in such cases; and, without any process, or formality of defence, in two hours should be deprived of his life and fortune: the injustice whereof seemed the more formidable, for that the lord Mountnorris was

known, for some time before, to stand in great jealousy and disfavour with the earl: which made it looked on as a pure act of revenge; and gave all men warning, how they trusted themselves in the territories where he commanded.

The earl discharged himself of the rigour and severity of the sentence, and laid it upon "the council of war; where himself not only forbore to be present, but would not suffer his brother, who was an officer of the army, to stay there:" he said, "that he had conjured the court to proceed without any respect of favour or kindness to himself; and that, as soon as he understood the judgment of the council, which was unanimous, he declared publicly, (which he had likewise done before,) that a hair of his head should not perish; and immediately wrote an earnest letter to his majesty, for the procuring his pardon; which was by his majesty, upon his lordship's recommendation and mediation, granted accordingly; and thereupon the lord Mountnorris was set at liberty: though, it is true, he was, after his enlargement, not suffered to come to England." He concluded, "that the lord Mountnorris was an insolent person; and that he took this course to humble him; and that he would be very well content, that the same course might be taken to reform him; if the same care might likewise be, that it might prove no more to his prejudice, than the other had been to that lord."

But the standers by made another excuse for him: "The lord Mountnorris was a man of great industry, activity, and experience in the affairs of Ireland; having raised himself from a very private, mean condition" (having been an inferior servant to the lord Chichester) "to the degree of a viscount, and a privy-counsellor, and to a very ample revenue in lands and offices; and had always, by servile flattery and sordid application, wrought himself into trust and nearness with all deputies, at their first entering upon their charge, informing them of the defects and oversights of their predecessors; and, after the determination of their commands, and return into England, informing the state here, and those enemies they usually contracted in that time, of whatsoever they had done, or suffered to be done, amiss; whereby they either suffered disgrace, or damage, as soon as they were recalled from those honours. And in this manner he began with his own master, the lord Chichester; and continued the same arts upon the lord Grandison, and the lord Falkland, who succeeded; and, upon that score, procured admission and trust with the earl of Strafford, upon his first admission to that government: so that this dilemma seemed unquestionable, that either the deputy of Ireland must destroy my lord Mountnorris, whilst he continued in his office, or my lord Mountnorris must destroy the deputy, as soon as his commission was determined, which usually lasted not above six years." And upon this consideration, besides that his no virtue made him unpitied, many looked with less concernedness upon that act, than the matter itself in the logic of it deserved.

The case of the lord chancellor seemed, to common understandings, an act of less violence, because it concerned not life; and had some show of formality at least, if not regularity in the proceeding; and that which was amiss in it took its

growth from a nobler root than the other, by how much love is a more honourable passion than revenge. The endeavour was, to compel the lord chancellor to settle more of his land, and in another manner, upon his eldest son, than he had a mind to, and than he could legally be compelled to do: this the earl, upon a paper petition preferred to him by the wife of that son, (a lady, of whom the earl had so great a value and esteem, that made his justice the more suspected,) pressed, and in the end ordered him to do. The chancellor refused; was committed to prison; and shortly after, the great seal taken from him, which he had kept with great reputation of ability for the space of above twenty years. In the pressing this charge, many things of levity, as certain letters of great affection and familiarity from the earl to that lady, which were found in her cabinet after her death, for she was lately dead; others of passion, were exposed to the public view; to procure prejudice rather to his gravity and discretion, than that they were in any degree material to the business.

The earl said little more to it, than "that he hoped, what passion soever, or what injustice soever, might be found in that proceeding, and sentence, there would be no treason: and that, for his part, he had yet reason to believe, what he had done was very just; since it had been reviewed by his majesty, and his privy-council here, upon an appeal from the lord viscount Ely, (the degraded lord chancellor,) and upon a solemn hearing there, which took up many days, it had received a confirmation."

But the truth is, that rather accused the earl of an excess of power, than absolved him of injustice; for most men, that weighed the whole matter, believed it to be a high act of oppression, and not to be without a mixture of that policy, which was spoken of before in the case of the lord Mountnorris: for the chancellor, being a person of great experience, subtilty, and prudence, had been always very severe to departed deputies; and not over agreeable, nor in any degree submissive, to their full power; and taking himself to be the second person of the kingdom, during his life, thought himself little less than equal to the first, who could naturally hope but for a term of six years in that superiority: neither had he ever before met with the least check, that might make him suspect a diminution of his authority, dexterity, or interest.

That which was with most solemnity and expectation alleged against the earl, as the hinge upon which the treason was principally to hang, was a discourse of the earl's in the committee of state (which they called *the cabinet council*) upon the dissolution of the former parliament. Sir Harry Vane, the secretary of state, gave in evidence, "That the king at that time calling that committee to him, asked them, since he failed of the assistance and supply he expected by subsidies, what course he should now take? that the earl of Strafford answered, Sir, you have now done your duty, and your subjects have failed in theirs; and therefore you are absolved from the rules of government, and may supply yourself by extraordinary ways; you must prosecute the war vigorously; you have an army in Ireland, with which you may reduce this kingdom."

The earl of Northumberland being examined, for the confirmation of this proof, remembered only, "that the earl had said, You have done your duty,

"and are now absolved from the rules of government;" but not a word of the army in Ireland, or reducing this kingdom. The lord marquis Hamilton, the lord bishop of London, and the lord Cottington, being likewise examined, answered upon their oaths, "that they heard none of those words spoken by the earl." And these were the only persons present at that debate, save only the archbishop of Canterbury, and Secretary Windbank, neither of which could be examined, or would be believed.

The earl positively denied the words; alleged "much animosity to be in sir Harry Vane towards him;" and observed, "that not one of the other witnesses, who were likewise present, and as like to remember what was spoken as the secretary, heard one word of the Irish army, or reducing this kingdom: that, if he had spoken those words, it could not be understood to be spoken of England, but of Scotland, of which the discourse was, and for which that army was known to be raised." He concluded, "that if the words were spoken by him, which he expressly denied, they were not treason; and if they were treason, that, by a statute made in Edward the Sixth's time, one witness was not sufficient to prove it, and that here was but one."

Seventeen days being spent in these skirmishes; the earl having defended himself with wonderful dexterity and ability, concluded, "that if the whole charge (in which he hoped he had given their lordships satisfaction of his loyalty and integrity, how great soever his infirmities were) was proved, that the whole made him not guilty of high treason; and to that purpose desired, that his learned counsel might be heard;" and most pathetically conjured their lordships, "that, for their own sakes, they would not, out of displeasure or disfavour towards his person, create a precedent to the prejudice of the peerage of England, and wound themselves through his sides:" which was good counsel; and hath been since (though too late) acknowledged to be so.

The next day, his counsel was heard in the same place to the matter of law. And here I cannot pass by an instance of as great animosity, and indirect prosecution, in that circumstance of assigning him counsel, as can be given. After the house of peers had assigned him such counsel as he desired, to assist him in matter of law, (which never was, or can justly be denied to the most scandalous felon, the most inhuman murderer, or the most infamous traitor,) the house of commons, upon some occasion, took notice of it with passion and dislike, somewhat unskilfully, "that such a thing should be done without their consent;" which was no more, than that the judge should be directed by the prosecutor, in what manner to proceed and determine: others, with much bitterness, inveighing against "the presumption of those lawyers, that durst be of counsel with a person accused by them of high treason;" and moving, "that they might be sent for, and proceeded against for that contempt:" whereas, they were not only obliged to it, by the honour and duty of their profession; but had been punishable for refusing to submit to the lords' orders. The matter was too gross to receive any public order, and so the debate ended; but served (and no doubt that was the intention) to let those gentlemen know, how warily they were to demean themselves, lest the anger of

that terrible congregation should be kindled against them.

But truly I have not heard that it made any impression upon those persons; it did not, I am sure, upon Mr. Lane, who argued the matter of law for the earl. The matters which were by him principally insisted on, and averred with such confidence as a man uses who believes himself, were these:

Verdict given for the Earl.
"1. That by the wisdom and tenderness of parliament, which knew that there could not be a greater snare for the subject, than to leave the nature of treason undefined and unlimited, all treasons were particularly mentioned and set down in the statute of the 25 Edw. III. *de Proditionibus*. That nothing is treason, but what is comprehended within that statute; all treasons before that statute, as killing the king's uncle, his nurse, piracy, and divers others, being restrained and taken away by the declaration of that act. And that no words or actions, in any of the articles of the earl of Strafford's charge, did amount to treason within that statute.

"2. That by reason of the clause in that statute, of declaring treason in parliament, divers actions were declared to be treasons in parliament, in the time of king Richard the Second, to the great prejudice of the subject: it was therefore specially provided, and enacted, by a statute in the first year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth, chapter the tenth, which is still in force, that nothing should be declared and adjudged treason, but what was ordained in that statute of the 25 Edw. III. by which statute, all power of declaring new treasons in parliament was taken away; and that no precedent of any such declaration in parliament can be shewed since that time: all new treasons, made by any act of parliament in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, being by the statute of the first year of queen Mary, chapter the first, taken away, and restrained by the 25th Edw. III. and likewise that, by another statute of the first year of queen Mary, chapter the tenth, all trials of treasons ought to be according to the rules of the common law, and not otherwise.

"3. That the foundation, upon which the impeachment was framed, was erroneous; for that (besides that it was confessed on all hands, that the laws of the kingdom were not subverted) an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws and statutes of the realm, by force attempted, is not treason, being only made felony by the statute of the first year of queen Mary, chapter the twelfth; which is likewise expired. That cardinal Wolsey, in the thirty-third year of king Henry the Eighth, was indicted only of a premunire, for an endeavour to bring in the imperial laws into this kingdom. And that an endeavour, or intention, to levy war, was made treason, only by a statute of the 13th Elizabeth, (a time very inquisitive for treason,) which expired with her life.

"4. Lastly, that if any thing was alleged against the earl which might be penal to him, that it was not sufficiently and legally proved; for that by the statute of the first year of king Edward the Sixth, chapter the twelfth, no man ought to be arraigned, indicted, or condemned, of any treason, unless it be upon the testimony of two lawful and sufficient witnesses, produced in the presence of the party accused; unless the party confess the

"same: and if it be for words, within three months after the same spoken, if the party be within the kingdom: whereas there was in this case only one witness, sir Henry Vane, and the words spoken six months before."

The case being thus stated on the earl's behalf, the judgment of the lords, in whom the sole power of judicature was conceived to be, was by all men expected; the house of commons having declared, "that they intended not to make any reply to the argument of law made by Mr. Lane, it being below their dignity to contend with a private lawyer." Indeed they had a more convincing way to proceed by; for the next day after that argument, sir Arthur Haslerig, brother-in-law to the lord Brooke, and an absurd, bold man, brought up by Mr. Pym, and so employed by that party to make any attempt, preferred a bill in the house of commons, "for the attainder of the earl of Strafford of high treason:" it being observed, that by what the earl had said for himself in the matter of fact and in matter of prudence, of the consequence of such an extraordinary proceeding; and by what had been said for him in the point of law; most sober men, who had been, and still were, full enough of dislike and passion against the earl, were not at all satisfied in the justice of the impeachment, or in the manner of the prosecution; and therefore, that the house of peers, which consisted of near one hundred and twenty, besides the bishops, and of whom fourscore had been constantly attending the trial, were not like to take upon them the burden of such a judgment as was expected.

The bill was received with wonderful alacrity, and immediately read the first and the second time, and so committed; which was not usual in parliaments, except in matters of great concernment and conveniency in the particular; or of little importance or moment to the general. Those who at first consented, upon slight information, to his impeachment, upon no other reason, but (as hath been said before) because they were only to accuse, and the lords to judge, and so thought to be troubled no more with it, being now as ready to judge, as they had been to accuse, finding some new reasons to satisfy themselves, of which one was, "They had gone too far to sit still, or retire."

A day or two before the bill of attainder was brought into the house of commons, there was a very remarkable passage, of which the pretence was, "to make one witness, with divers circumstances, as good as two;" though I believe it was directed in truth to an end very foreign to that which was proposed. The words of the earl of Strafford, by which "his endeavour to alter the frame of government, and his intention to levy war," should principally appear, were proved singly by sir Henry Vane; which had been often averred, and promised, should be proved by several witnesses; and the law was clear, "that less than two witnesses ought not to be received in case of treason."

To make this single testimony appear as sufficient as if it had been confirmed by more, Mr. Pym informed the house of commons, "of the grounds upon which he first advised that charge, and was satisfied that he should sufficiently prove it. That some months before the beginning of this parliament, he had visited young sir Henry Vane, eldest son to the secretary, who was then newly recovered from an ague; that being together,

"and condoling the sad condition of the kingdom, by reason of the many illegal taxes and pressures, sir Harry told him, if he would call upon him the next day, he would shew him somewhat that would give him much trouble, and inform him what counsels were like to be followed to the ruin of the kingdom; for that he had, in perusal of some of his father's papers, accidentally met with the result of the cabinet council upon the dissolution of the last parliament, which comprehended the resolutions then taken.

"The next day he shewed him a little paper of the secretary's own writing; in which was contained the day of the month, and the results of several discourses made by several counsellors; with several hieroglyphics, which sufficiently expressed the persons by whom those discourses were made. The matter was of so transcendent a nature, and the counsel so prodigious, with reference to the commonwealth, that he desired he might take a copy of it; which the young gentleman would by no means consent to, fearing it might prove prejudicial to his father. But when Mr. Pym informed him, that it was of extreme consequence to the kingdom, and that a time might probably come, when the discovery of this might be a sovereign means to preserve both church and state, he was contented that Mr. Pym should take a copy of it; which he did, in the presence of sir Henry Vane; and having examined it together, delivered the original again to sir Henry. He said that he had carefully kept this copy by him, without communicating the same to any body, till the beginning of this parliament, which was the time he conceived fit to make use of it; and that then, meeting with many other instances of the earl's disposition to the kingdom, it satisfied him to move whatsoever he had moved, against that great person."

And having said thus much, he read the paper in his hand; in which the day of the month was set down, and his majesty to be present, and stating the question to be, "What was now to be done? since the parliament had refused to give subsidies for the supply of the war against Scotland." There were then written two *LL*'s and a *t* over, and an *I* and an *r*, which was urged, "could signify nothing but lord lieutenant of Ireland;" and the words written and applied to that name were, "Absolved from rules of government;—Prosecute the war vigorously;—An army in Ireland to subdue this kingdom—;" which was urged, "to comprehend the matter of the earl's speech and advice:" that paper by fractions of words (without mentioning any formed speech) containing only the results of the several counsellors' advice. Before those letters which were ordered to signify the lieutenant of Ireland, were an *A.B.C.G.* which might be understood to signify, the archbishop of Canterbury his grace; and at those letters, some short, sharp expressions against parliaments, and thereupon fierce advice to the king. Next in the paper, was an *M* with an *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be understood for marquis Hamilton, who was master of the horse; and the words annexed thereunto seemed to be rough, but without a supplement signified nothing. Then there was an *L*, an *H*, and an *A*, which must be interpreted lord high admiral, which was the earl of Northumberland; and from that hieroglyphic proceeded only a few words, which implied

advice to the king, "to be advised by his parliament." Then there was *L^d Cott.* (which would easily be believed to signify the lord Cottington) with some expressions as sharp as those applied to the lieutenant of Ireland.

When he had read this paper, he added ; "That though there was but one witness directly in the point, sir Henry Vane the secretary, whose handwriting that paper was, whereof this was a copy ; yet he conceived, those circumstances of his and young sir Henry Vane's having seen those original results, and being ready to swear, that the paper read by him was a true copy of the other, might reasonably amount to the validity of another witness : and that it was no wonder, that the other persons mentioned in that writing, who had given as bad counsel, would not remember, for their own sakes, what had passed in that conference ; and that the earl of Northumberland (who was the only good counsellor in the pack) had remembered some of the words, of a high nature, though he had forgotten the other."

When Mr. Pym had ended, young sir Harry Vane rose, in some seeming disorder ; confessed all that the other had said ; and added, "That his father being in the north with the king the summer before, had sent up his keys to his secretary, then at Whitehall ; and had written to him (his son) that he should take from him those keys, which opened his boxes where his writings and evidences of his land were, to the end that he might cause an assurance to be perfected which concerned his wife ; and that he having perused those evidences, and despatched what depended thereupon, had the curiosity to desire to see what was in a red velvet cabinet which stood with the other boxes ; and thereupon required the key of that cabinet from the secretary, as if he still wanted somewhat towards the business his father had directed ; and so having gotten that key, he found, amongst other papers, that mentioned by Mr. Pym, which made that impression in him, that he thought himself bound in conscience to communicate it to some person of better judgment than himself, who might be more able to prevent the mischiefs that were threatened therein ; and so shewed it to Mr. Pym ; and being confirmed by him, that the seasonable discovery thereof might do no less than preserve the kingdom, had consented that he should take a copy thereof ; which to his knowledge he had faithfully done : and thereupon had laid the original in its proper place again, in the red velvet cabinet. He said, he knew this discovery would prove little less than his ruin in the good opinion of his father ; but having been provoked by the tenderness of his conscience towards his common parent, his country, to trespass against his natural father, he hoped he should find compassion from that house, though he had little hopes of pardon elsewhere."

The son no sooner sat down, than the father (who, without any counterfeiting, had a natural appearance of sternness) rose, with a pretty confusion, and said, "That the ground of his misfortune was now discovered to him ; that he had been much amazed, when he found himself pressed by such interrogatories, as made him suspect some discovery to be made, by some person as conversant in the counsels as himself : but he

"was now satisfied to whom he owed his misfortunes ; in which, he was sure, the guilty person should bear his share. That it was true, being in the north with the king ; and that unfortunate son of his having married a virtuous gentlewoman, (daughter to a worthy member then present,) to whom there was somewhat in justice and honour due, which was not sufficiently settled ; he had sent his keys to his secretary ; not well knowing in what box the material writings lay ; and directed him to suffer his son to look after those evidences which were necessary : that by this occasion, it seemed, those papers had been examined and perused, which had begot much of this trouble. That for his part, after the summons of this parliament, and the king's return to London, he had acquainted his majesty, that he had many papers remaining in his hands, of such transactions as were not like to be of further use ; and therefore, if his majesty pleased, he would burn them, lest by any accident they might come into hands that might make an ill use of them : to which his majesty consenting, he had burned many ; and amongst them, the original results of those debates, of which that which was read was pretended to be a copy : that to the particulars he could say nothing more, than what he had upon his examination expressed, which was exactly true, and he would not deny ; though by what he had heard that afternoon (with which he was surprised and amazed) he found himself in an ill condition upon that testimony."

This scene was so well acted, with such passion and gestures, between the father and the son, that many speeches were made in commendation of the conscience, integrity, and merit of the young man, and a motion made, "that the father might be engaged by the house to be friends with his son ;" but for some time there was, in public, a great distance observed between them.

Many men wondered very much at the unnecessary relation of this story ; which would visibly appear very ridiculous to the world, and could not but inevitably produce much scandal and inconvenience to the father, and the son ; who were too wise to believe, that those circumstances would add any thing to the credit of the former single testimony : neither was there ever after any mention of it in public, to move the judgment of those, who were concerned to be satisfied in what they were to do : and therefore some, who observed the stratagems used by that party to compass their own private ends, believed that this occasion was taken to publish those results, only to give the lord Cottington notice in what danger he was, that so he might wisely quit his mastership of the wards to the lord Say ; who expected it, and might be able, by that obligation, to protect him from farther prosecution : and so that they meant to sacrifice the reputation of the secretary to the ambition of the lord Say. But without doubt (though this last consideration was very powerful with them) the true reason of the communication of this passage was, that they found it would be impossible to conceal their having received the principal information from the secretary, for their whole prosecution ; by reason some of the committee, who were intrusted to prepare the charge against the earl of Strafford, and consequently were privy to that secret, were fallen from them ; at least from

their ends; and therefore they thought fit to publish this history of their intelligence, that it might be rather imputed to the conscience and curiosity of the son, than to the malice and perjury of the father.

The bill of attainder in few days passed the house of commons; though some lawyers, of great and known learning, declared, "that there was no ground or colour in law, to judge him guilty of high treason:" and the lord Digby (who had been, from the beginning, of that committee for the prosecution, and had much more prejudice than kindness to the earl) in a very pathetic speech declared, "that he could not give his consent to the bill; not only, for that he was unsatisfied in the matter of law, but, for that he was more unsatisfied in the matter of fact; those words, upon which the impeachment was principally grounded, being so far from being proved by two witnesses, that he could not acknowledge it to be by one; since he could not admit sir Harry Vane to be a competent witness, who being first examined, denied that the earl spake those words; and upon his second examination, remembered some; and at his third the rest of the words:" and thereupon related many circumstances, and made many sharp observations upon what had passed; which none but one of the committee could have done: for which he was presently after questioned in the house; but made his defence so well, and so much to the disadvantage of those who were concerned, that from that time they prosecuted him with an implacable rage and uncharitableness upon all occasions. The bill passed with only fifty-nine dissenting voices, there being near two hundred in the house; and was immediately sent up to the lords, with this addition, "that the commons would be ready the next day in Westminster-hall, to give their lordships satisfaction in the matter of law, upon what had passed at the trial."

The earl was then again brought to the bar; the lords sitting as before, in their robes; and the commons as they had done; amongst them, Mr. Saint-John, (whom his majesty had made his solicitor general since the beginning of parliament,) from his place, argued for the space of near an hour the matter of law. Of the argument itself I shall say little, it being in print, and in many hands; I shall only remember two notable propositions, which are sufficient characters of the person and the time. Lest what had been said on the earl's behalf, in point of law, and upon the want of proof, should have made any impression in their lordships, he averred, "That, in that way of bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, although no evidence had been given in at all:" and as to the pressing the law, he said, "It was true, we give law to hares and deer, because they be beasts of chase; but it was never accounted either cruelty, or foul play, to knock foxes and wolves on the head as they can be found, because they be beasts of prey." In a word, the law and the humanity were alike; the one being more fallacious, and the other more barbarous, than in any age had been vented in such an auditory.

The same day, as a better argument to the lords speedily to pass the bill, the nine and fifty members of the house of commons, who (as is said before) had dissented from that act, had their

names written in pieces of parchment or paper, under this superscription, STRAFFORDIANS, or enemies to their country; and those papers fixed upon posts, and other the most visible places about the city; which was as great and destructive a violation of the privileges and freedom of parliament, as can be imagined: yet, being complained of in the house, not the least countenance was given to the complaint, or the least care taken for the discovery.

The persons, who had still the conduct of the designs, began to find, that their friends abroad (of whose help they had still great need, for the getting petitions to be brought to the house; and for all tumultuous appearances in the city; and negociations with the common council) were not at all satisfied with them, for their want of zeal in the matter of religion; and, though they had branded as many of the bishops, and others of the prelatical party, as had come in their way; and received all petitions against the church with encouragement: yet, that there was nothing done, or visibly in projection to be done, towards lessening their jurisdiction; or indulging any of that liberty to their weak brethren, which they had from the beginning expected from them. And then, the discourse of their ambition, and hopes of preferment at court, was grown public, and raised much jealousy of them.

But the truth is, they who had made in their hearts the most destructive vows against the church, never durst communicate their bloody wishes to their best friends, whose authority gave them their greatest credit. For besides that their own clergy, whose hands they produced in great numbers to complaints against the innovations, which had (as they said) been introduced; and against the ceremonies, which had been in constant practice since the reformation, as well as before; were far from being of one mind in the matter or manner of what they wished should be altered; as appeared whenever they appeared before the house, or a committee, when any of them were asked questions they did not expect; there was less consent amongst their lay-friends, in ecclesiastical affairs, than amongst the other.

The earl of Bedford had no desire that there should be any alteration in the government of the church; and had always lived towards my lord of Canterbury himself with all respect and reverence, and frequently visited and dined with him; subscribed liberally to the repair of St. Paul's church, and seconded all pious undertakings: though, it is true, he did not discountenance notoriously those of the clergy who were unconformable.

The earl of Essex was rather displeased with the person of the archbishop, and some other bishops, than ind devoted to the function; and towards some of them he had great reverence and kindness, as bishop Moreton, bishop Hall, and some other of the less formal and more popular prelates: and he was as much devoted as any man to the Book of Common Prayer, and obliged all his servants to be constantly present with him at it; his household chaplain being always a most conformable man, and a good scholar.

In truth, in the house of peers there were only at that time taken notice of, the lords Say and Brooke, and they believed to be positive enemies to the whole fabric of the church, and to desire a dissolution of that government; the earl of War-

wick himself having never discovered any aversion to episcopacy, and much professed the contrary.

In the house of commons, though of the chief leaders, Nathaniel Fiennes, and young sir Harry Vane, and shortly after Mr. Hambden (who had not before owned it) were believed to be for root and branch; which grew shortly after a common expression, and discovery of the several tempers: yet Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the northern men, or those lawyers who drove on most furiously with them: all who were pleased with the government itself of the church.

The first design that was entertained against the church; and which was received in the house of commons with a visible countenance and approbation of many, who were neither of the same principles or purpose; was a short bill that was brought in, "to take away the bishops' votes in parliament; and to leave them out in all commissions of the peace, and with relation to any temporal affairs." This was contrived, with great deliberation and preparation, to dispose men to consent to it: and to this many of the house of peers were much disposed; and amongst them, none more than the earl of Essex, and all the popular lords; who observed, "that they seldom carried any thing which directly opposed the king's interest, by [reason of] the number of the bishops, who, for the most part, unanimously concurred against it, and opposed many of their other designs: and they believed that it could do the church no harm, by the bishops having fewer diversions from their spiritual charges."

In the house of commons, they used that, and other arguments, to remove the prejudice from it; and, as there were many who were persuaded, that the passing that bill would be no prejudice; and were as unwilling, that the bishops should be justices of peace, and in any other secular commissions, as the lords were that they should not sit with them: so they prevailed with others, who heartily desired that there might be no such diminution of their honour and authority, by persuading them, "That there was so great a concurrence towards the passing this bill; and so great a combination throughout the nation against the whole government of the church, and a resolution to destroy it absolutely: in which the Scots were so resolutely engaged, that they discoursed in all companies, that it was impossible for a firm peace to be preserved between the nations, if bishops were not taken away; and that the army would never march out of the kingdom, till that were brought to pass: but that if this bill were once passed, a greater number in both houses would be so well satisfied, that the violenter party would be never able to prosecute their desires." And this reason did prevail over many men of excellent judgments, and unquestionable affections; who did in truth at that time believe, "that the passing this act was the only expedient to preserve the church:" insomuch, as when it was brought into the house, it found a better reception than was expected; and some men, who, others thought, would have opposed it, spake on its behalf, expressing their desire "that it might pass."

There was a difference in opinion in this debate, between two persons, who had been never known to differ in the house, and the entire friendship they had for each other was very remarkable; which

administered much pleasure to very many who loved neither of them. When the bill was put to the question, Mr. Hyde (who was from the beginning known to be an enemy to it) spake very earnestly "for the throwing it out;" said, "It was changing the whole frame and constitution of the kingdom, and of the parliament itself: that, from the time that parliaments began, there had never been one parliament, when the bishops were not part of it: that if they were taken out of the house, there would be but two estates left; for that they as the clergy were the third estate, and being taken away, there was nobody left to represent the clergy: which would introduce another piece of injustice, which no other part of the kingdom could complain of, who were all represented in parliament, and were therefore bound to submit to all that was enacted, because it was upon the matter with their own consent: whereas, if the bishops were taken from sitting in the house of peers, there was nobody who could pretend to represent the clergy; and yet they must be bound by their determinations."

When he had done, the lord Falkland, who always sat next to him, (which was so much taken notice of, that, if they came not into the house together, as usually they did, every body left the place for him that was absent,) suddenly stood up, and declared himself "to be of another opinion; and that, as he thought the thing itself to be absolutely necessary for the benefit of the church, which was in so great danger; so he had never heard, that the constitution of the kingdom would be violated by the passing that act; and that he had heard many of the clergy protest, that they could not acknowledge that they were represented by the bishops. However we might presume, that if they could make that appear, that they were a third estate, that the house of peers (amongst whom they sat, and had yet their votes) would reject it." And so, with some facetiousness, answering some other particulars, concluded, "for the passing the act."

The house was so marvellously delighted, to see the two inseparable friends divided in so important a point, that they could not contain from a kind of rejoicing; and the more, because they saw Mr. Hyde was much surprised with the contradiction; as in truth he was; having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such a compliance: and therefore they entertained an imagination and hope that they might work the lord Falkland to a farther concurrence with them. But they quickly found themselves disappointed; and that, as there was not the least interruption of close friendship between the other two; so, when the same argument came again into debate, about six months after, the lord Falkland changed his opinion, and gave them all the opposition he could: nor was he reserved in acknowledging, "that he had been deceived, and by whom;" and confessed to his friends, with whom he would deal freely, "that Mr. Hambden had assured him, that if that bill might pass, there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the church:" which he thought, as the world then went, would be no ill composition.

This bill, for taking away the bishops' votes out of the house of peers, produced another discovery, which cast the conductors farther behind, than they were advanced by their conquest amongst the

commons; and disquieted them much more, than the other had exalted them. How currently soever it had passed in the lower house; when it was brought to the upper, the lords gave it not so gracious a reception as was expected: many of the greatest men of that house grew weary of the empire which the others had exercised over them; and some, who had gone with them, upon their observation that they had worse designs than they owned, fell from them, and took the opportunity to discover themselves, upon the debate of this bill; against which they inveighed with great sharpness; and blamed the house of commons, "for presuming to meddle with an affair, that so immediately concerned them: that if they might send up a bill this day, at once to take out one whole bench from the house, as this would do the bishops, they might to-morrow send another, to take away the barons, or some other degree of the nobility:" with many more arguments, as the nature of the thing would easily administer; with such warmth and vigour as they had not before expressed: insomuch as, though the other party, which had not hitherto been withstood, set up their rest upon the carrying it; supplying their other arguments with that, "How much the house of commons, which best knew the temper and expectation of the nation, would resent their not concurring with them in a remedy they judged so necessary; and what the consequence might be, of such a breach between the two houses, they trembled to think; since the kingdom had no hope of being preserved but by their union, and the effects of their wisdom, in removing all things, and all persons, out of the way, which were like to obstruct such a thorough reformation, as the kingdom needs and expects;" all which prevailed so little, that the house could not be prevailed with, so much as to commit the bill, (a countenance they frequently give to bills they never intend to pass,) but at the second reading it, they utterly cast it out.

This unexpected and unimagined act cast such a damp upon the spirits of the governing party in both houses, that they knew not what to do: the mischiefs which were in view, by this discovery of the temper of the house of peers, had no bottom; they were not now sure, that they should be able to carry any thing; for the major part, which threw out this bill, might cross them in any thing they went about: besides the influence it would have in the house of commons, and every where else; for they very well knew, how many of their followers therefore followed them, because they believed they would carry all before them. (*tremor*) !!!

However, that their spirits might not be thought to fail, they made haste to proceed in all the angry and choleric things before them: to the trial of the earl of Strafford; impeaching several bishops for innovations, and the like; the house of commons being very diligent to kindle those fires which might warm the peers: and that the bishops might see how little they had gotten, by obstructing the other bill, they prepared a very short bill, "for the utter eradication of bishops, deans, and chapters; with all chancellors, officials, and all officers, and other persons belonging to either of them:" which they prevailed with sir Edward Deering, a man very opposite to all their designs, (but a man of levity and vanity; easily flattered, by being commended,) who presented

it to the house from the gallery, with the two verses in Ovid, the application whereof was his greatest motive;

*Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus
Ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

He took notice "of the great moderation and candour of the house, in applying so gentle a remedy, by the late bill, to retrench the exorbitances of the clergy: hoping that the pruning and taking off a few unnecessary branches from the trunk, the tree might prosper the better; that this mortification might have mended their constitution, and that they would the more carefully have intended their health: but that this soft remedy had proved so ineffectual, that they were grown more obstinate and incorrigible; so that it was now necessary to put the axe to the root of the tree;" and thereupon desired, "that the bill might be read."

As soon as the title of it was read, (which was almost as long as the bill itself,) Mr. Hyde moved with great warmth, "that the bill might not be read: that it was against the custom and rule of parliament, that any private person should take upon him (without having first obtained the leave and direction of the house) to bring in a new act, so much as to abrogate and abolish any old single law; and therefore, that it was a wonderful presumption in that gentleman, without any communication of his purpose, or so much as a motion that he might do it, to bring in a bill, that overthrew and repealed so many acts of parliament, and changed and confounded the whole frame of the government of the kingdom:" and therefore desired, "that it might be rejected." The gentleman who brought it in made many excuses "of his ignorance in the customs of parliament, having never before served in any;" and acknowledged, "that he had never read more than the title of the bill; and was prevailed with by his neighbour who sat next to him (who was sir Arthur Haslerig) to deliver it;" which he saw would have been done by somebody else. Though the rejecting it was earnestly urged by very many; and ought, by the rules of parliament, to have been done; yet, all the other people as violently pressed the reading it; and none so importunately as Saint-John, who was now the king's solicitor (who in truth had drawn it:) he said, "nobody could judge of a bill by the title, which might be false; and this bill, for aught any man knew to the contrary, at least, for aught he and many others knew, might contain the establishing the bishops, and granting other immunities to the church; instead of pursuing the matter of the title:" and others, as uningeniously declaring, "that our orders are in our own power, and to be altered, or dispensed with, as we see cause:" many out of curiosity desiring to hear it read; and more to shew the lords that they would not abate their mettle; upon their declaring their pleasure, the bill was at last read; and no question being to be put, upon the first reading, it was laid by, and not called upon in a long time after; many men being really persuaded, that there was no intention to pursue it; and that it was only brought in, to manifest a neglect towards the lords.

When the house grew entangled in multiplicity of business and despatches now, the northern

gentlemen, at least they who were most active, and had most credit, (as Hotham, and Cholmely, and Stapleton,) were marvellously solicitous to despatch the commitment of [the bill "for taking away] the court of York;" and having after great debate, and hearing what all parties interested could offer, gotten the committee to vote, "That it was an illegal commission, and very pre-judicial to the liberty and the property of his majesty's subjects of those four northern counties, where that jurisdiction was exercised;" they called upon Mr. Hyde (the chairman) to make the report: and the house having concurred in, and confirmed, the same vote; they appointed him "to prepare himself to deliver the opinion of the house (they having confirmed the vote of the committee) at a conference with the house of peers, and to desire their concurrence in it; and that they would thereupon be suitors to the king, that there might be no more commissions of that kind granted:" for they had a great apprehension, that either upon the earl of Strafford's resignation, or his death, (which they resolved should be very shortly,) they should have a new president put over them.

Mr. Hyde, at the conference in the painted chamber, (being appointed by the house to manage it,) told the lords, "that the four northern counties were suitors to their lordships, that they might not be distinguished from the rest of his majesty's subjects, in the administration of his justice, and receiving the fruits thereof; that they only were left to the arbitrary power of a president and council, which every day procured new authority and power to oppress them:" he told them, that till "[the thirty-first] year of king Harry the Eighth, the administration of justice was the same in the north, as in the west, or other parts of the realm; that about that time there was some insurrection in that country, which produced great disorders and bloodshed, which spread itself to the very borders of Scotland: whereupon that king issued out a commission to the archbishop of York, and the principal gentlemen of those counties, and some learned lawyers, to examine the grounds of all those disorders, and to proceed against the malefactors with all severity, according to the laws of the land." He read that first commission to them; which appeared to be no other, than a bare commission of oyer and terminer. "It was found that this commission did much good, and therefore it was kept on foot for some time longer than such commissions use to be; and it was often renewed after, but still in the same form, or very little alteration, till queen Elizabeth's time; and then there was some alteration in the commission itself; besides that, it had reference to instructions, which contained matters of state upon some emergent occasions: there were more and greater alterations, both in the commission and instructions, in the time of king James, when the lord Scroop was president; and that, when the lord Strafford was first made president, they were more enlarged; and yet he had procured new additions to be made twice after." The instructions of the several times were read; and the alterations observed; and some precedents very pertinently and smartly urged; in which it appeared, that great men had been very severely sentenced, in no less penalty than of a premonition, for procuring and executing such commissions:

and concluded with "desiring the lords to concur in the same sense, the house of commons had expressed themselves to be of, with reference to the commission and instructions."

The speech, and argument, had a wonderful approbation in both houses; where he got great credit by it: and the earl of Bath, who was to report it, and had no excellent or graceful pronunciation, came himself to Mr. Hyde, and "desired a copy of it, that he might not do him wrong in the house, by the report;" and having received it, it was read in the house, and by order entered, and the paper itself affixed to their Journal; where it still remains; and the house of peers fully concurred with the commons in their vote: so that there was not, in many years after, any attempt, or so much as mention of another commission.

And the northern men were so well pleased, that they resolved to move the house, "to give Mr. Hyde public thanks for the service he had done the house;" but the principal leaders diverted them from it, by saying, "that he had too much credit already, and needed not such an addition, as he behaved himself." However, those northern men themselves continued marvellously kind; and on his behalf, on all occasions, opposed any combination of the most powerful of them against him; of which somewhat will be said hereafter.

In the afternoon of the same day (when the conference had been in the painted chamber upon the court of York) Mr. Hyde going to a place called Piccadilly, (which was a fair house for entertainment and gaming, and handsome gravel walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling-green, whither very many of the nobility, and gentry of the best quality, resorted, both for exercise and conversation,) as soon as ever he came into the ground, the earl of Bedford came to him; and after some short compliments upon what had passed in the morning, he told him, "He was glad he was come thither, for there was a friend of his in the lower ground, who needed his counsel." He then lamented "the misery the kingdom was like to fall into, by their own violence, and want of temper, in the prosecution of their own happiness." He said, "This business concerning the earl of Strafford was a rock, upon which we should all split, and that the passion of the parliament would destroy the kingdom: that the king was ready to do all they could desire, if the life of the earl of Strafford might be spared: that he was satisfied, that he had proceeded with more passion in many things, than he ought to have done, by which he had rendered himself useless to his service for the future; and therefore he was well contented, that he might be made incapable of any employment for the time to come; and that he should be banished, or imprisoned for his life, as they should choose: that if they would take his death upon them, by their own judicatory, he would not interpose any act of his own conscience: but since they had declined that way, and meant to proceed by an act of parliament, to which he himself must be a party, that it could not consist with his conscience, ever to give his royal assent to that act; because, having been present at the whole trial," (as he had been, in a box provided on purpose, *incognito*, though conspicuous enough,) "and heard all the testimony they had given against him, and he had heard nothing proved, by which he could

"believe that he was a traitor, either in fact or in intention: and therefore his majesty did most earnestly desire, that the two houses would not bring him a bill to pass, which in conscience he could not, and therefore would not consent."

The earl said; "Though he yet was satisfied so well in his own conscience, that he believed he should have no scruple in giving his own vote for the passing it," (for it yet depended in the lords' house,) "he knew not how the king could be pressed to do an act so contrary to his own conscience; and that, for his part, he took all the pains he could to persuade his friends to decline their violent prosecution, and to be contented with the remedy proposed by the king; which he thought might be rendered so secure, that there need remain no fears of that man's ever appearing again in business: and that how difficult a work soever he found it to be, he should not despair of it, if he could persuade the earl of Essex to comply; but that he found him so obstinate, that he could not in the least degree prevail with him; that he had left his brother, the earl of Hertford, (who was that day made a marquis,) in the lower ground, walking with him, who he knew would do all he could; and he desired Mr. Hyde to walk down into that place, and take his turn, to persuade him to what was reasonable;" which he was very willing to do.

He found the marquis and the earl walking there together, and no other persons there; and as soon as they saw him, they both came to him; and the marquis, after a short salutation, departed, and left the other two together; which he did purposely. The earl began merrily, in telling him, "That he had that morning performed a service, which he knew he did not intend to do; that by what he had said against the court of York, he had revived their indignation against the earl of Strafford; so that he now hoped, they should proceed in their bill against him with vigour, (whereas they had slept so long upon it,) which he said was the effect, of which he was sure he had no mind to be the cause." Mr. Hyde confessed, "he had indeed no such purpose; and hoped, that some-what he had said might put other thoughts into them, to proceed in another manner upon his crimes: that he knew well, that the cause of their having slept so long upon the bill, was their disagreement upon the point of treason, which the longer they thought of, would administer the more difficulties: but that, if they declined that, they should all agree, that there were crimes and misdemeanours evidently enough proved, to deserve so severe a censure, as would determine all the activity hereafter of the earl of Strafford, that might prove dangerous to the kingdom; or mischievous to any particular person, to whom he was not a friend."

He shook his head, and answered, "Stone-dead hath no fellow: that if he were judged guilty in a premunire, according to the precedents cited by him; or fined in any other way; and sentenced to be imprisoned during his life; the king would presently grant him his pardon and his estate, release all fines, and would likewise give him his liberty, as soon as he had a mind to receive his service; which would be as soon as the parliament should be ended." And when he was ready to reply to him, the earl told him familiarly, "that he had been tired that afternoon upon

"that argument, and therefore desired him to continue the discourse no longer then; assuring him, he would be ready to confer with him upon it at any other time."

And shortly after, Mr. Hyde took another opportunity to speak freely with him again concerning it, but found him upon his guard; and though he heard all the other would say, with great patience, yet he did not at all enlarge in his answers, but seemed fixed in his resolution; and when he was pressed, "how unjustifiable a thing it was, for any man to do any thing which his conscience informed him was sinful; that he knew him so well, that if he were not satisfied in his own conscience, of the guilt of the earl of Strafford, the king could never be able to oblige him to give his vote for that bill; and therefore he wondered, how he could urge the king to do an act which he declared to be so much against his conscience, that he neither could, nor would, ever give his royal assent to that bill;" to which he answered more at large, and with some commotion, (as if he were in truth possessed with that opinion himself,) "That the king was obliged in conscience to conform himself, and his own understanding, to the advice and conscience of his parliament:" which was a doctrine newly resolved by their divines, and of great use to them for the pursuing their future counsels.

Notwithstanding all this, the bill had not that warm reception in the house of peers, that was expected; but, after the first reading, rested many days; and being then read the second time, depended long at the committee; few men believing, upon consideration of the affections and parts of the several lords, that of the fourscore, who were present at the trial, above twenty would ever have consented to that act: besides, it was not believed, now the formal trial and way of judicature was waved, the bishops would so stupidly (to say no worse) exclude themselves from voting in a law which was to be an act of parliament.

But there happened about that time two accidents, which (though not then, or it may be since, taken notice of, as of any moment or relation to that business) contributed strangely to the passing that bill; and so to the fate of that great person. The first, a discovery of some meetings and discourses, between some persons of near relation to his majesty's service, and some officers of the army, about the high proceedings of the parliament; and of some expedients, that might reduce them to a better temper; which were no sooner intimated to some of the great managers, than the whole was formed and shaped into "a formidable and bloody design against the parliament." The second, the sudden death of the earl of Bedford. Of both which it will be necessary to say somewhat; that it may be observed, from how little accidents, and small circumstances, by the art and industry of those men, the greatest matters have flowed, towards the confusion we now labour under.

Some principal officers of the army, who were members of the house of commons, and had been caressed, both before and after the beginning of the parliament, by the most popular agents of both houses; and had in truth contributed more to their designs, than was agreeable to their duty, and the trust reposed in them by the king; found themselves now not so particularly considered as they expected, by that party; and their credit in other

places, and particularly in the army, to be lessened : for that there was visibly much more care taken for the supply of the Scottish army, than of the king's ; insomuch, that sometimes money that was assigned and paid for the use of the king's army, was again taken away, and disposed to the other ; and yet, that the parliament much presumed, and depended, upon their interest in, and power to dispose, the affections of that army.

Therefore, to redeem what had been done amiss, and to ingratiate themselves to his majesty's favour, they bethought themselves how to dispose, or at least to pretend that they would dispose, the army to some such expressions of duty and loyalty towards the king, as might take away all hope from other men, that it might be applied to his disservice : and to that purpose, they had conference, and communication, with some servants of a more immediate trust and relation to both their majesties ; through whom they might convey their intentions and devotions to the king, and again receive his royal pleasure, and direction, how they should demean themselves. For aught I could ever observe, by what was afterwards reported in the house of commons ; or could learn from those who were conversant with all the secrets of that design ; there was never the least intention of working farther upon the affections of the army, than to preserve them from being corrupted, or made use of, for the imposing unjust or unreasonable things upon the king : and all that ever the king so much as consented should be done by them, was, that as most counties in England, or rather, the factious and seditious persons in most counties, had been induced to frame and subscribe petitions to the parliament, against the established government of the church, with other clauses, scandalous to the government of the state too ; [so] the officers of the army should subscribe this following petition ; which was brought ingrossed to his majesty for his approbation, before they would presume to recommend it to any for their subscription.

To the king's most excellent majesty ; the lords spiritual and temporal ; the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the high court of parliament.

" The humble petition of the officers and soldiers of the army,

" Humbly sheweth, That although our wants
" have been very pressing, and the burden we are
" become unto these parts (by reason of those
" wants) very grievous unto us : yet so have we
" demeaned ourselves, that your majesty's great
" and weighty affairs, in this present parliament,
" have hitherto received no interruption, by any
" complaint, either from us, or against us ; a temper
" not usual in armies ; especially in one destitute
" not only of pay, but also of martial discipline,
" and many of its principal officers ; that we cannot but attribute it to a particular blessing of
" Almighty God, on our most hearty affections
" and zeal to the common good, in the happy success of this parliament ; to which, as we should
" have been ready hourly to contribute our dearest
" blood, so now that it hath pleased God to manifest his blessing so evidently therein, we cannot
" but acknowledge it with thankfulness ; as likewise his great mercy, in that he hath inclined
" your majesty's royal heart so to cooperate with
" the wisdom of the parliament, as to effect so

" great and happy a reformation upon the former
" distempers of this church and commonwealth :
" as first, in your majesty's gracious condescending to the many important demands of our neighbours of the Scottish nation ; secondly, in granting so free a course of justice against all delinquents of what quality soever ; thirdly, in the removal of all those grievances, wherewith the subjects did conceive either their liberty of persons, property, or estate, or freedom of conscience, prejudiced ; and lastly, in the greatest pledge of security that ever the subjects of England received from their sovereign, the bill of triennial parliament.

" These things so graciously accorded unto by your majesty, without bargain or compensation, as they are more than expectation or hope could extend unto, so now certainly they are such, as all loyal hearts ought to acquiesce in with thankfulness ; which we do with all humility, and do at this time, with as much earnestness as any, pray, and wish, that the kingdom may be settled in peace and quietness, and that all men may, at their own homes, enjoy the blessed fruits of your wisdom and justice.

" But it may please your excellent majesty, and this high court of parliament, to give us leave, with grief and anguish of heart, to represent unto you, that we hear that there are certain persons stirring and pragmatical, who, instead of rendering glory to God, thanks to your majesty, and acknowledgment to the parliament, remain yet as unsatisfied and mutinous as ever ; who, whilst all the rest of the kingdom are arrived even beyond their wishes, are daily forging new and unseasonable demands ; who, whilst all men of reason, loyalty, and moderation, are thinking how they may provide for your majesty's honour and plenty, in return of so many graces to the subject, are still attempting new diminutions of your majesty's just regalities, which must ever be no less dear to all honest men than our own freedoms ; in fine, men of such turbulent spirits, as are ready to sacrifice the honour and welfare of the whole kingdom to their private fancies, whom nothing else than a subversion of the whole frame of government will satisfy : far be it from our thoughts to believe, that the violence and unreasonableness of such kind of persons can have any influence upon the prudence and justice of the parliament. But that which begets the trouble and disquiet of our loyal hearts, at this present, is, that we hear those ill-affected persons are backed in their violence by the multitude and the power of raising tumults ; that thousands flock at their call, and beset the parliament, and Whitehall itself ; not only to the prejudice of that freedom which is necessary to great councils and judicatories, but possibly to some personal danger of your sacred majesty, and the peers.

" The vast consequence of these persons' malignity, and of the licentiousness of those multitudes that follow them, considered, in most deep care and zealous affection for the safety of your sacred majesty, and the parliament ; our humble petition is, that in your wisdom you would be pleased to remove such dangers, by punishing the ringleaders of these tumults, that your majesty and the parliament may be secured from such insolences hereafter. For the suppressing

"of which, in all humility we offer ourselves to wait upon you, (if you please,) hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of defence, to our gracious sovereign, the parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them: so shall we, by the wisdom of your majesty and the parliament, not only be vindicated from precedent innovations, but be secured from the future, that are threatened, and likely to produce more dangerous effects than the former.

"And we shall pray," &c.

His majesty having read this petition, and conceiving that the authority of the army might seem of as great importance for the good reception of so much reason and justice, as the subscription of a rabble had been alleged often to be, for the countenance of what in truth was mutinous and seditious, said, "that he approved well enough of it, and was content that it might be subscribed by the officers of the army, if they desired it." The officer, who presented the draught to his majesty, told him, "that very few of the army had yet seen it: and that it would be a great countenance to it, if, when it was carried to the principal officers who were first to sign it, any evidence might be given to them, that it had passed his majesty's approbation; otherwise possibly they might make scruple for fear of offending him." Thereupon his majesty took a pen, and writ at the bottom of the petition C. R. as a token that he had perused and allowed it: and so the petition was carried down into the country where the army lay, and was signed by some officers; but was suddenly quashed, and no more heard of, till in the discovery of the plot: of which more in its place.

The meetings continuing, between those officers of the army and some servants of his majesty's, to the ends aforesaid; others of the army, who had expressed very brisk resolutions towards the service, and were of eminent command and authority with the soldier, were by special direction introduced into those councils (all persons obliging themselves by an oath of secrecy, not to communicate anything that should pass amongst them) for the better executing what should be agreed.

At the first meeting, the person that was so introduced, after he had heard the calm propositions of the rest, and that "their design was, only to observe and defend the laws, that neither the arguments of the Scots, nor the reputation of their army, might compel the king to consent to the alteration of the government of the church, nor to remove the bishops out of the house of peers, which would, in a great degree, produce an alteration; or the power of any discontented persons, by their tumultuary petitions, impose upon, or diminish, the just legal power of the king," told them, "Those resolutions would produce very little effects for his majesty's service; that there was but one way to do his majesty notable service, which was by bringing up the army presently to London, which would so awe the parliament, that they would do any thing the king commanded." There was not (as I have been credibly informed) a man in the company, that did not perfectly abhor (or seemed so to do) that odious proposition; but contented themselves with making such objections against it, as rendered

it ridiculous and unpracticable; and so the meeting, for that time, dissolved.

Whether the person that proposed this desperate device, did it only as a bait, to draw an opinion from other men, (for he was of a perfect dislike and malice to some of the company,) or whether the disdain to see his counsel rejected, and the fear that it might be discovered to his disadvantage, wrought upon him, I know not; but the same, or the next day, he discovered all, and more than had passed, to some of those who seemed to take most care for the public; intimated to them, "how he was startled with the horror of the design, and how faithfully he resolved to serve the commonwealth, or to lose his life in the attempt:" yet at the same time acted his part at court, with all possible demonstration of abhorring the proceedings of the parliament, to that degree, that he offered "to undertake, with a crew of officers and good fellows, (who, he said, were at his disposal,) to rescue the earl of Strafford from the lieutenant of the Tower, as he should bring him to his trial, and so to enable him to make an escape into foreign parts."

The discovery being thus made, to the earl of Bedford, the lord Say, and the lord Kimbolton, and, no doubt, by them communicated to their chief associates; as dangerous as the design was afterwards alleged to be, it was not published in three months after to the houses, against whom the treason was intended; nor till long after the death of the earl of Bedford: who, no doubt, rather desired to bind up those wounds which were made, than to make them wider, by entertaining new jealousies between king and people; and would not consent to the extending and extorting conclusions, which did not naturally flow from the premises; without which, this so useful a treason to them could not have been made up.

But as they thought not fit (as I said before) to publish this whole discovery till near three months after, so they made extraordinary use of it by parts, from the instant that they received the secret; it being always their custom, when they found the heat and distemper of the house (which they endeavoured to keep up, by the sharp mention and remembrance of former grievances and pressures) in any degree allayed, by some gracious act, or gracious profession of the king, to warm and inflame them again with a discovery, or promise of a discovery, of some notable plot and conspiracy against themselves, "to dissolve the parliament by the papists;" or some other way, in which they would be sure that somewhat always should reflect upon the court. Thus they were sometimes informing "of great multitudes of papists gathering together in Lancashire;" then "of secret meetings in caves, and under ground in Surrey;" "letters from beyond sea, of great provisions of arms making there for the catholics of England;" and the like; which upon examination always vanished: but for the time (and they were always applied in useful articles of time) served to transport common minds with fears and apprehensions, and so induced them to comply in sense with those, who were like soonest to find remedies for those diseases which none but themselves could discover. And in this progress there sometimes happened strange accidents for the confirmation of their credit.

Whilst they were full of clamour against the

papists, upon the instances of some insolences and indiscretions committed by them, during the late intervals of parliament, (and mentioned before,) especially upon a great alacrity expressed, and contribution raising, the year before, for advancing the war with Scotland; an order was made, "that the justices of peace of Westminster should carefully examine, what strangers were lodged within their jurisdiction; and that they should administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all suspected for recusancy, and proceed according to those statutes." An afternoon being appointed for that service, in Westminster-hall, and many persons warned to appear there, amongst the rest one — James, a papist, appeared, and being pressed by Mr. Hayward, a justice of peace, to take the oaths, suddenly drew out his knife, and stabbed him; with some reproachful words "for his persecuting poor catholics." This strange, unheard of outrage, upon the person of a minister of justice executing his office by an order of parliament, startled all men; the old man sinking with the hurt, though he died not of it. And though, for aught I could ever hear, it proceeded only from the rage of a sullen varlet (formerly suspected to be crazed in his understanding) without the least confederacy or combination with any other; yet it was a great countenance to those, who were before thought over apprehensive and inquisitive into dangers; and made many believe it rather a design of all the papists of England, than a desperate act of one man, who could never have been induced to it, if he had not been promised assistance from the rest. — But to the point.

This discovery of the plot concerning the army being made about the middle of April, which was the end of the earl of Strafford's trial, they for the present made no farther use of it than might contribute to their ends in that business; reserving the rest (as was said before) to be applied in more necessary seasons: therefore, about the time that the bill of attainder was preferred, that no interposition from the court might discountenance or hinder that great work, Mr. Pym one day informed the house of commons, "that he had great cause to fear, there was at that time as desperate a design and conspiracy against the parliament, as had been in any age; and he was in doubt, persons of great quality and credit at court had their hands in it: that several officers had been treated with in London to raise men, under pretence that they should go for Portugal; but that the Portugal ambassador being conferred with about it, professed that he knew nothing of it: and that no person had any authority or promise from him to that purpose:" (and it is true, there had been some idle discourses in a tavern between some officers, about raising men for Portugal, which was immediately carried to Mr. Pym; as all tavern and ordinary discourses were:) "that, for the present, he might not acquaint them with other particulars, which might hinder their further discovery; only desired, that a message might be sent to the lords, to desire them to appoint a committee to examine such witnesses as should be produced, for the discovery of a plot against the parliament; and that in the mean time they would join in a message to the king to desire his majesty that he would not, for some few days, grant any pass to any of his servants

"to pass beyond the seas; saying, that he believed some men's consciences would tempt them to make an escape, when they heard of this examination."

Such a committee was appointed to examine, and such a message sent to his majesty, as was desired. But in the mean time, some persons who had been at the tavern, and talked of raising men for Portugal; and others who had been at the conference before mentioned, where the proposition was for bringing up the army; finding that what had passed so privately, and amongst them, had been discovered, and was like to pass a very severe inquisition, by them who made glosses and comments as they pleased, upon what other men spake or did; and not knowing how much more than the truth had been informed, or what interpretation should be made of that which was the truth; resolved not to trust themselves with such judges, (whose formality was first to imprison, and after, at their leisure, to examine,) and so fled into France.

This was no sooner known and published, than it gave great credit and reputation to Mr. Pym's vigilancy and activity; for it now appeared, there was some notable mischief intended, upon the discovery whereof, such eminent persons were fled. And in this disorder and trouble of mind, men fearing according as they were directed, the bill of attainder found the easier passage in the house of commons.

Having gotten this much ground; and the bill then depending (and like long to depend) with the lords; Mr. Pym told them in the house of commons, "that it appeared by the flight of such considerable persons, that what he had before imparted to them was of moment, and that his fears were not groundless; that it concerned their service, that he should not yet impart the whole matter to them, since the danger was prevented, which they should shortly understand at large: in the mean time, he did assure them, that God had miraculously preserved them from a most prodigious conspiracy, in which all their privileges and liberties should have been swallowed up: that though this attempt was disappointed, yet he feared there might be some new device; and therefore he proposed, for the better evidence of their union and unanimity, (which would be the greatest discouragement to all who wished ill to them,) that some protestation might be entered into by the members of both houses, for the defence of their privileges, and the performance of those duties to God and the king, which they were obliged to, as good Christians and good subjects; and that a committee might be appointed speedily to withdraw, and prepare such a protestation."

The motion was entertained with a general approbation; insomuch as they who were apprehensive enough of the ill designs of those who advanced this, and of the ill consequence of such voluntary protestations, thought fit rather to watch the matter and words, than to oppose the thing itself; which, it was evident, it was to no purpose to do: and therefore they were well contented with the naming such persons for the committee, as were not like to submit to any unlawful or inconvenient obligation. This was urged as of such consequence, that the doors were locked, and no persons suffered to go out of the house, till this

should be concluded. After a long debate, these words were agreed upon, and offered to the house for the protestation.

"I A. B. do, in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true reformed protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all popery and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine: and, according to the duty of my allegiance, his majesty's royal person, honour, and estate; as also, the power and privileges of parliament; the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; and every person that maketh this protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same: and to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and, by all good ways and means, endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such, as shall, either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do any thing to the contrary of any thing in this present protestation contained: and further, that I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and neither for hope, fear, nor other respect, shall relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation."

This was immediately taken by the speaker of the house of commons, and by all the members then present; and sent up to the lords, who all likewise took the same, except the earl of Southampton, and the lord Roberts, who positively refused it, alleging, "There was no law that enjoined it, and the consequence of such voluntary engagements might produce effects that were not then intended:" which without doubt was very wisely considered; and had not been pressed in the house of commons, for two reasons; it being visibly impossible to dissuade the thing, the house being awakened by the discourse, mentioned before, of a plot against the parliament, the poison of which, this sovereign antidote would expel and discover; but especially for that well-affected persons, who were jealous of no other design than the alteration of the government of the church, thought they had obliged those rigid reformers from any such attempt, when they had once bound themselves "to maintain and defend the protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the church of England;" there being no other scheme of the doctrine of the church of England, than the thirty-nine Articles, of which one is, "to preserve the government of the church by bishops."

Whereas the other party was abundantly gratified with having an oath of their own making, to entangle the people, (so like a covenant, by which such admirable things had been compassed by their neighbours,) and upon which they could make what gloss they pleased, when they had occasion; as they did within two days after: for the protestation being taken on Monday the third of May, the Wednesday following some of their own party took occasion to inform the house, "that it was apprehended by many well-affected persons abroad, who were of notable and exemplary devotion to the parliament, that if they should take that protestation, they should thereby engage themselves for the defence of bishops, which in their

"conscience they could not do: and which they hoped the house did not intend to oblige them to:" whereupon, without any great opposition, (the house being thin; and they who were of another opinion, believing this artifice would, to all sober men, appear very ridiculous,) this ensuing order was made:

"Whereas some doubts have been raised, by several persons out of this house, concerning the meaning of these words contained in the protestation lately made by the members of this house, [viz. the true reformed protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the church of England, against all popery and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine,] this house doth declare, that by those words was and is meant, only the public doctrine professed in the said church, so far as it is opposite to popery and popish innovations; and that the said words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline, or government, nor of any rites, or ceremonies, of the said church of England."

This explanation being thus procured in the house of commons, without ever advising with the house of peers, (who had likewise taken the same protestation,) and, in truth, so contrary to the intentions of most that took it; they ordered, "that the protestation, together with this explanation, should be printed and published; and that the knights and burgesses should send copies thereof to the counties and boroughs for which they served; and that they should intimate unto the people, with what willingness all the members of that house made that protestation; and that they should further signify, that as they did justify the taking it themselves, so they could not but approve it in all such as should take it." Upon which declaration, the emissaries of the clergy caused the same to be taken in London, and the parts adjacent, within very few days after the publishing thereof. And for their better encouragement (though their zeal would not attend such formalities) a bill was prepared, passed the house of commons, and was sent up to the lords, "to compel all the subjects to take that protestation." What the success of that bill was, and what use was afterwards made of this protestation, (which was then thought so harmless a thing,) and particularly, what influence it had upon the business of the earl of Strafford, shall be remembered in its proper place.

The other accident that fell out during the time that the business of the earl of Strafford was agitated, and by which he received much prejudice, was the death of the earl of Bedford. This lord was the greatest person of interest in all the popular party, being of the best estate, and best understanding, of the whole party; and therefore most like to govern the rest. He was besides of great civility, and of much more good-nature than any of the other. And therefore the king, resolving to do his business with that party by him, resolved to make him lord high treasurer of England, in the place of the bishop of London; who was as willing to lay down the office, as any body was to take it up. And to gratify him the more, at his desire, intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer, as he had done Mr. Saint-John his solicitor general; Mr. Hollis was to be secretary of state, the lord Say master of the wards, and the lord Kimbolton

to be lord privy-seal after the death of his father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the prince, and to have offices when they fell.

The earl of Bedford secretly undertook to his majesty, that the earl of Strafford's life should be preserved; and to procure his revenue to be settled, as amply as any of his progenitors; the which he intended so really, that, to my knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour the setting up the excise in England, as the only natural means to advance the king's profit. He fell sick within a week after the bill of attainder was sent up to the lords' house; and died shortly after, much afflicted with the passion and fury which he perceived his party inclined to: insomuch as he declared, to some of near trust with him, "that he feared the rage and madness of this parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief to the kingdom, than it had ever sustained by the long intermission of parliaments." He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, for want of resolution, of being carried into violent ones, if his advice would not have been submitted to: and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his death not unseasonable, as well to his fame, as his fortune; and that it rescued him as well from some possible guilt, as from those visible misfortunes, which men of all conditions have since undergone.

As soon as the earl of Bedford was dead, the lord Say (hoping to receive the reward of the treasurer-ship) succeeded him in his undertaking, and faithfully promised the king, "that he should not be pressed in the matter of the earl of Strafford's life:" and under that promise got credit enough to persuade his majesty to whatsoever he told was necessary to that business. And thereupon, when the bill was depending with the lords, and when there was little suspicion that it would pass, though the house of commons every day by messages endeavoured to quicken them, he persuaded the king "to go to the house of peers, and, according to custom, to send for the house of commons, and then to declare himself, that he could not, with the safety of a good conscience, ever give his consent to the bill that was there depending before them concerning the earl of Strafford, if it should be brought to him, because he was not satisfied in the point of treason: but he was so fully satisfied that the earl was unfit ever to serve him more, in any condition of employment, that he would join with them in any act, to make him utterly incapable of ever bearing office, or having any other employment in any of his majesty's dominions; which he hoped would satisfy them."

This advice, upon the confidence of the giver, the king resolved to follow: but when his resolution was imparted to the earl, he immediately sent his brother to him, beseeching his majesty "by no means to take that way, for that he was most assured it would prove very pernicious to him; and therefore desired, he might depend upon the honour and conscience of the peers, without his majesty's interposition." The king told his brother, "that he had taken that resolution by the advice of his best friends; but since he liked [it] not, he would decline it." The next morning the lord Say came again to him, and finding his majesty altered in his intention, told him, "if he took that course he had advised him, he was

"sure it would prevail; but if he declined it, he could not promise his majesty what would be the issue, and should hold himself absolutely disengaged from any undertaking." The king observing his positiveness, and conceiving his intentions to be very sincere, suffered himself to be guided by him; and immediately went to the house, and said as the other had advised. Whether that lord did in truth believe the discovery of his majesty's conscience in that manner would produce the effect he foretold; or whether he advised it treacherously, to bring on those inconveniences which afterwards happened; I know not: but many, who believed his will to be much worse than his understanding, had the uncharitableness to believe, that he intended to betray his master, and to put the ruin of the earl out of question.

The event proved very fatal; for the king no sooner returned from the house, than the house of commons, in great passion and fury, declared this last act of his majesty's to be "the most unparalleled breach of privilege, that had ever happened; that if his majesty might take notice what bills were passing in either house, and declare his own opinion, it was to forejudge their counsels, and they should not be able to supply the commonwealth with wholesome laws, suitable to the diseases it laboured under; that this was the greatest obstruction of justice, that could be imagined; that they, and whosoever had taken the late protestation, were bound to maintain the privileges of parliament, which were now so grossly invaded and violated:" with many other sharp discourses to that purpose.

The next day great multitudes of people came down to Westminster, and crowded about the house of peers, exclaiming with great outcries, "that they would have justice;" and publicly reading the names of those who had dissented from that bill in the house of commons, as enemies to their country; and as any lord passed by, called, *Justice, justice!* and with great rudeness and insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those lords whom they suspected not to favour that bill; professing aloud, "that they would be governed and disposed by the honourable house of commons, and would defend their privileges according to their late protestation." This unheard of act of insolence and sedition continued so many days, till many lords grew so really apprehensive of having their brains beaten out, that they absented themselves from the house; and others, finding what seconds the house of commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds; and so in an afternoon, when of the fourscore who had been present at the trial, there were only six and forty lords in the house, (the good people still crying at the doors for justice,) they put the bill to the question, and eleven lords only dissenting, it passed that house, and was ready for the king's assent.

The king continued as resolved never to give his consent. The same oratory then attended him at Whitehall, which had prevailed at Westminster; and a rabble of many thousand people besieged that place, crying out, *Justice, justice; that they would have justice; not without great and insolent threats and expressions*, what they would do, if it were not speedily granted. The privy-council was called together, to advise what course was to be taken to suppress these traitorous riots. Instead of considering how to rescue their master's honour

and his conscience from this infamous violence and constraint, they press the king to pass the bill of attainder, saying, "there was no other way to preserve himself and his posterity, than by so doing; and therefore that he ought to be more tender of the safety of the kingdom, than of any one person how innocent soever:" not one counsellor interposing his opinion, to support his master's magnanimity and innocence: they who were of that mind, either suppressing their thoughts through fear, upon the new doctrine established then by the new counsellors, "that no man ought to presume to advise any thing in that place contrary to the sense of both houses;" others sadly believing, the force and violence offered to the king would be, before God and man, a just excuse for whatsoever he should do.

His majesty told them, "that what was proposed to him to do, was in a diameter contrary to his conscience, and that being so, he was sure they would not persuade him to it, though themselves were never so well satisfied." To that point, they desired him "to confer with his bishops, who, they made no question, would better inform his conscience." The archbishop of York was at hand; who, to his argument of conscience, told him, "that there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man: and that the question was not, whether he should save the earl of Strafford, but, whether he should perish with him: that the conscience of a king to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of a father to preserve his children, (all which were now in danger,) weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a master or a friend could suggest to him, for the preservation of a friend, or servant." And by such unprelatical, ignominious arguments, in plain terms advised him, "even for conscience sake, to pass that act."

Though this bishop acted his part with more prodigious boldness and impiety, the other of the same function (of whose learning and sincerity the king and the world had greater reverence) did not what might have been expected from their calling or their trust; but at least forbore to fortify and confirm a conscience, upon the courage and piety of which, themselves and their order did absolutely depend.

During these perplexities, the earl of Strafford, taking notice of the straits the king was in, the rage of the people still increasing, (from whence he might expect a certain outrage and ruin, how constant soever the king continued to him; and, it may be, knowing of an undertaking (for such an undertaking there was) by a great person, who had then a command in the Tower, "that if the king refused to pass the bill, to free the kingdom from the hazard it seemed to be in, he would cause his head to be stricken off in the Tower,") writ a most pathetic letter to the king, full of acknowledgment of his favours; but lively presenting "the dangers, which threatened himself and his posterity, by his obstinacy in those favours;" and therefore by many arguments conjuring him "no longer to defer his assent to the bill, that so his death might free the kingdom from the many troubles it apprehended."

The delivery of this letter being quickly known, new arguments were applied; "that this free consent of his own clearly absolved the king from any scruple that could remain with him;" and so in the end they extorted from him, to sign a commission to some lords to pass the bill: which was as valid as if he had signed it himself; though they comforted him even with that circumstance, "that his own hand was not in it."

It may easily be said, that the freedom of the parliament, and his own negative voice, being thus barbarously invaded, if his majesty had, instead of passing that act, come to the house and dissolved the parliament; or if he had withdrawn himself from that seditious city, and put himself in the head of his own army; much of the mischief, which hath since happened, would have been prevented. But whoever truly considers the state of affairs at that time; the prevalency of that faction in both houses; the rage and fury of the people; the use that was made by the schismatical preachers (by whom all the orthodox were silenced) of the late protestation in their pulpits; the fears and jealousies they had infused into the minds of many sober men, upon the discourse of the late plot; the constitution of the council-table, that there was not an honest man durst speak his conscience to the king, for fear of his ruin; and that those, whom he thought most true to him, betrayed him every hour, insomuch as his whispers in his bedchamber were instantly conveyed to those against whom those whispers were; so that he had very few men to whom he could breathe his conscience and complaint, that were not suborned against him, or averse to his opinions: that on the other side, if some expedient were not speedily found out, to allay that frantic rage and combination in the people, there was reason enough to believe, their impious hands would be lifted up against his own person, and (which he much more apprehended) against the person of his royal consort: and lastly, that (besides the difficulty of getting thither except he would have gone alone) he had no ground to be very confident of his own army: I say, whoever sadly contemplates this, will find cause to confess, the part which the king had to act was not only harder than any prince, but than any private gentleman, had been incumbent to; and that it is much easier, upon the accidents and occurrences which have since happened, to determine what was not to have been done, than at that time to have foreseen, by what means to have freed himself from the labyrinth in which he was involved.

All things being thus transacted, to conclude the fate of this great person, he was on the twelfth day of May brought from the Tower of London (where he had been a prisoner near six months) to the scaffold on Tower-hill; where, with a composed, undaunted courage, he told the people, "he was come thither to satisfy them with his head; but that he much feared, the reformation which was begun in blood would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom, as they expected, and he wished:" and after great expressions "of his devotion to the church of England, and the protestant religion established by law, and professed in that church; of his loyalty to the king, and affection to the peace and welfare of the kingdom;" with marvellous tranquillity of mind, he delivered his head to the block, where it was

severed from his body at a blow: many of the standers by, who had not been over charitable to him in his life, being much affected with the courage and Christianity of his death.

Thus fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time, when he led those people, who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature; not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country; where he apprehended some acts of power from the old lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a privy-counsellor, and officer at court: but his first attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from his power in the country, but rested not, till he had bereaved him of all power and place in court; and so sent him down, a most abject, disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at that time made lord president of the north. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and arrogant of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman.

He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both into things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things: for it was his misfortune to be of a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him; and scarce any (but the lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined) whose faculties and abilities were equal to his: so that upon the matter he wholly relied upon himself; and discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions, his pride was most predominant: which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed; and which was by the hand of Heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and sir Harry Vane. In a word, the epitaph, which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him; "that no man did ever pass him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies;" for his acts of both kinds were most exemplary and notorious.

Together with that of attainder of the earl of Strafford, another bill was passed by the king, of almost as fatal a consequence to the king and kingdom, as that was to the earl, "the act for the perpetual parliament;" as it is since called.

The vast burden of the two armies was no other way supplied, (for I have told you before the reason why they were so slow in granting of subsidies,) than by borrowing great sums of money from the

city or citizens of London, upon the credit of particular persons. The emissaries in that negotiation, about the time the act for attainder passed the commons, returned, "that there was no more hope of borrowing in the city; that men had before cheerfully lent their estates, upon their confidence in the honour and justice of the two houses: but they had now considered, how desperate that security must prove, if the two houses should be dissolved." Which consideration begun to have an universal influence upon all those who were personally bound for monies already borrowed; "for that their persons and fortunes must answer those sums which had been paid for the public benefit, if the parliament should be dissolved before any act passed for their indemnity. That their fears and apprehensions that this might happen were much advanced by the late discovery of the plot against the parliament; for though the particulars thereof were not yet published, they discerned there was not that good meaning to the parliament, as it deserved." This was no sooner offered, than the reasonableness of the objection was enforced; and the necessity of finding some expedient "to satisfy the people of the gracious intentions and resolutions of the king;" which were most unquestionable; (for in all those articles of time, when they were to demand some unreasonable thing from him, they spared no dutiful mention of the piety and goodness of his own princely nature; or large promises what demonstrations of duty they would shortly make to him.) No way could be thought of so undeniable, as an act of parliament, "that this parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by act of parliament; which, upon this occasion, his majesty would never deny to pass."

It is not credible, what an universal reception and concurrence this motion met with, (which was to remove the landmarks, and to destroy the foundation of the kingdom,) insomuch, as a committee was immediately appointed to withdraw, and to prepare a short bill to that purpose; which was within a short time (less than an hour) brought into the house, and immediately twice read, and committed; an expedition never before heard of in parliament; and the next day, with as little agitation, and the contradiction of very few voices, engrossed, and carried up to the lords. With them it had some debate, and amendments, which were delivered at a conference, the principal whereof was, "that the time should be limited, and not left indefinite, and that it should not be dissolved within two years, except by consent of both houses;" that time being sufficient to provide against any accidents that were then apprehended.

These alterations were highly resented in the house of commons, as argument of jealousy between the king and the parliament, "that it should be imaginable the members of both houses, who resided from their houses and conveniences at great charge for the service of the public, would desire to continue longer together than the necessity of that service should require;" without considering, that it was more unlikely that the king (who had condescended so far to them, and had yet in truth received no fruit from their meeting) would dissolve them, as long as they intended that for which they were summoned together, and contained themselves within the bounds of duty and moderation.

But the commons stoutly insisted on their own bill; and the lords, in that hurry of noise and confusion, when the people were abroad, kindly consented likewise to it: and so, by the importunity, and upon the undertaking of persons he then most trusted, in the agony of the other despatch, the king was induced to include that bill in the commission with the act of attainder, and so they were both passed together.

After the passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed; there being likewise about that time passed by the king, the two bills, for the taking away the star-chamber court, and the high commission: so that there was not a grievance or inconvenience, real or imaginary, to which there was not a through remedy applied; and therefore all men expected, that both armies would be speedily disbanded; and such returns of duty and acknowledgment be made to the king, as might be agreeable to their professions, and to the royal favours he had vouchsafed to his people.

But what provisions soever were made for the public, particular persons had received no satisfaction. The death of the earl of Bedford, and the high proceedings in all those cases in which the king was most concerned, left all those who expected offices and preferments, desperate in their hopes: and yet an accident happened, that might have been looked upon as an earnest or instance of some encouragement that way.

Besides the lord Say's being invested in the mastership of the wards, in the place of the lord Cottington, (who was every day threatened, upon the secretary's paper of results, to be accused of high treason, till, like a wise man, he retired from the offices which begat his trouble; and for a long time after, till he again embarked himself in public employments, enjoyed himself without the least disturbance,) at a committee in the lords' house, in the afternoon, in some debate, passion arose between the earl of Pembroke, who was then lord chamberlain of the household, and the lord Mowbray, eldest son to the earl of Arundel; and from angry and disdainful words, an offer or attempt of blows was made; for which misdemeanour, they were the next day both sent to the Tower by the house of lords. The king, taking advantage of this miscarriage; and having been long incensed by the passionate, indiscreet, and insolent carriage of the earl, sent to him, by a gentleman usher, for his staff; and within two or three days after bestowed it upon the earl of Essex; who, without any hesitation, took it.

It was thought this extraordinary grace to the most popular person of the kingdom would have had a notable influence upon the whole party, which made him believe it depended very much on him: but it was so far from having that effect, as they looked upon that favour, rather as a mark of punishment and revenge upon the earl of Pembroke, for his affection to them, and for giving his suffrage against the earl of Strafford, (which he had often professed to the king he could never in conscience do,) than of estimation and kindness to the earl of Essex; and so were in truth more offended and incensed with the disgrace and disobligation to the one, than they were pleased with the preferment of the other: therefore whatever concerned the king in right; or what he might

naturally expect from the compliance and affection of the house; or what was any way recommended by his majesty to them, found little or no respect.

His revenue was so far from being advanced, (as had been gloriously promised,) that it was, both in dignity and value, much lessened from what it was: for shortly after the beginning of the parliament, great complaint had been made, "that tonnage and poundage" (which is the duty and subsidy paid by the merchant upon trade) "had been taken by the king without consent of parliament;" the case whereof in truth is this: this duty had been constantly given to the succeeding king, ever since the reign of king Edward the Fourth, for his life, in the first parliament they held after their coming to the crown: before that time, it had been granted for years; and was originally intended for the support of the navy, whereby the merchant might be freed from danger of pirates; and upon the death of every king since that time, his successor always received it, without the least interruption, till the next parliament; in the beginning whereof it was always without scruple granted: so that, though it was, and must always be acknowledged as the free gift of the people, (as all other subsidies are,) yet it was looked upon as so essential a part of the revenue of the crown, that it could not be without it: and as the king is not less king before his coronation than he is after, so this duty had been still enjoyed as freely before, as it was after an act of parliament to that purpose; neither had there been ever any exception taken in parliament, (which sometimes was not in a year after the death of the former king,) that the crown had continued the receipt of it; which it always did, till the time of a new grant.

Thus, after the death of king James, his majesty received it, till the first parliament was summoned; and, that and two more being unfortunately dissolved, (as was said before,) in which his ministers were not solicitous enough for the passing that act for tonnage and poundage, continued the receipt of it till this present parliament: then (that is, many weeks after the beginning of it) it was directed, "that a bill should be speedily prepared for the granting it, as had been usual, lest the crown might, by so long enjoying, in a manner pre-scribe to it of right, without the donation of the people;" which the king always disclaimed to do. Shortly after (no man presuming to intimate, that it should be granted in any other manner than of course it had been) it was alleged, "that the bill could not be so speedily prepared as were to be wished, by reason that there were many just exceptions made by the merchants to the book of rates, which had been lately made by the farmers of the customs, in the time and by the direction of the earl of Portland;" (circumstances that carried prejudice enough to whatsoever they were applied;) and therefore it was proposed, for the present, as the best expedient to continue his majesty's supply, and to preserve the right of giving in the people, "that a temporary bill should pass, for the granting the same to his majesty for two months only, in which time a new book of rates should be made, more advantageous to his majesty in point of profit," (which was always solemnly professed,) "and then a complete act might pass."

To this purpose a bill was accordingly brought in, the preamble whereof "renounced and declared

“against not only any power in the crown of levying the duty of tonnage and poundage, without the express consent of parliament, but also any power of imposition upon any merchandises whatsoever, and in any case whatsoever;” which had been constantly practised in the best times by the crown; had the countenance of a solemn judgment in the exchequer chamber; and, though often agitated in parliament, had never been yet declared against: yet this quietly passed both houses, as a thing not worth considering; those who in duty ought to have opposed it in both houses, in relation to their service and trust, persuading his majesty, since he was sure to have whatsoever he or his progenitors had enjoyed, fully and frankly given and granted to him within two months, not to enter into disputes, (upon how just claims soever,) which would only delay what he so much desired. And so, in expectation and confidence, that they would make glorious additions to his state and revenue of the crown, his majesty suffered himself to be stripped of all that he had left; and of the sole stock of credit he had to borrow monies upon: for though, in truth, men knew that revenue was not legally vested in the king till an act of parliament, yet all men looked upon it as unquestionably to pass; and so it was not only a competent proportion for the present support of his house, but was understood a good security for any ordinary sum of money upon advance, as forty or fifty thousand pound, upon any emergent occasion.

All men discerned this gross usage, and the disadvantage imposed upon his majesty by this mutation; and therefore expected a full reparation, by such an act for life as had been usual; and such an improvement of the book of rates as had been promised, as soon as the business of the earl of Strafford was over: which had been always objected, as necessary to precede all other consultations. But this was no sooner moved, “as seasonable in order to their own professions, and in a degree due to the king, after so many reiterated expressions of favour and affection to his people, by so many excellent laws, and other concessions,” than they objected, “the odiousness of the late plot against the parliament, which was not yet fully discovered: that notwithstanding those gracious demonstrations of favour from the king, in the laws and other acts mentioned, they had great cause to apprehend, some ill affected persons had still an influence upon his majesty, to the disservice of the parliament, and to beget jealousies in him towards them; for that they had plainly discovered (which they should in a short time be able to present fully to the house) that there had been a design, not only to poison the affections of the army towards the parliament, by making them believe that they were neglected, and the Scots preferred much before them; but to bring up that army to London, with a purpose to awe the parliament: that there was a resolution to seize the Tower, and to make it a curb upon the city: that there had been an attempt to prevail with the officers of the Scottish army, at least to sit still as neuters, whilst the other acted this tragedy: that the confederates in this design had taken an oath, to oppose any course that should be advised for the removing the bishops out of the house of peers; to preserve and defend the king’s prerogative, to the utmost extent that any

of his progenitors had enjoyed; and to settle his majesty’s revenue: that they had reason to fear his majesty’s own concurrence, at least his approbation, in this design, (which, if not prevented, must have proved so pernicious and fatal to the kingdom,) for that, besides that the persons principally engaged in it were of the nearest trust about the king and queen, they had clear proof, that a paper had passed his majesty’s perusal, in which were contained many sharp invectives against the parliament; a desire that they might have the exercise of martial law, (the mention whereof was the most unpopular and odious thing that could be imagined,) and an offer of service to defend his majesty’s person, which was an implication as if it had been in danger: and that this paper should have been signed by all the officers of the army; for their better encouragement wherein, the king himself had written a C. and an R. as a testimony that he approved of it.”

This discourse, so methodically and confidently averred, made a strange impression (without reserving themselves till the evidence should be produced) in the minds of most men; who believed, that such particulars could never have been with that solemnity informed, if the proofs were not very clear; and served, not only to blast whatsoever was moved on his majesty’s behalf, but to discountenance what, till then, had been the most popular motion that could be made, which was, the disbanding both armies, and the Scots’ return into their own country. For the better accomplishment whereof, and as a testimony of their brotherly affection, the two houses had frankly and bountifully undertaken “to give them a gratuity of three hundred thousand pounds, over and above the twenty-five thousand pounds the month, during the time that their stay here should be necessary.”

After that act, the king might have been reasonably awaked from any extraordinary confidence in the loyalty, honour, or justice, of both houses. And without doubt, when posterity shall recover the courage, and conscience, and the old honour of the English nation, it will not with more indignation and blushes contemplate any action of this seditious and rebellious age, than that the nobility and gentry of England, who were not guilty of the treason, should recompense an invasion from a foreign contemned nation, with whatever establishments they proposed in their own kingdom, and with a donative of three hundred thousand pounds, over and above all charges, out of the bowels of England; which will yet appear the more prodigious, when it shall be considered, that a fifth part of those who were accessaries to that infamous prodigality were neither favourers of their ends, or well-wishers of their nation.

Very many giving themselves leave, unfaithfully, to be absent from those debates, when the wealth and honour of their country was to be transplanted into a strange land; others looked upon it as a good purchase, to be freed of the payment of fourscore thousand pounds the month, (which was the charge of both armies,) by an entire sum of three hundred thousand pounds; and some pleased themselves with an assurance, that the scandal and unreasonableness of the sum would provoke the people to a hatred and revenge, and so that the brotherhood would not be supported,

but destroyed, by that extravagant bounty: but these were only short ejaculations to please themselves for the time; for many of those, who had no other reason to consent to that vast sum, but that they might be rid of them, were so inflamed and transported with the tale of the plot, that they had then no mind to let them go; and had so far swallowed and digested an assurance that it was true, that they reserved no distinguishing or judging faculties, for the time when the evidence and proof should be presented to them.

After they had played with this plot, and given the house heats and colds, by applying parts of it to them upon emergent occasions, for the space of near three months; and finding, that though it did them many notable services, in advancing their own reputations, and calumniating the king's honour, yet, that it had not a through effect at court for their preferment; they resolved to shew all their ware, and to produce the whole evidence: for the perfecting whereof, they had "a late great mark of God's great favour towards them, in his furnishing them with evidence for the complete discovery of all the mischief, from one that was a principal contriver of it."

We said before, that upon the first motion in the house of commons, by Mr. Pym, "for a committee to examine, and for an address to the king, that he would grant no passes to any of his servants to go beyond seas," two persons, of near relation to his trust, immediately absented themselves; which were Mr. Peirce, and Mr. Jermyn. The latter of these, without interruption, transported himself into France; but Mr. Peirce, delaying his journey upon some occasions of his own, and concealing himself in some obscure places in Sussex, near to his brother's house, was at last discovered; and when he endeavoured to have escaped, was set upon by the country people, and with great difficulty, and not without some hurt, got from them, and was not in some months again heard of.

It was generally believed afterwards, that finding the seaports shut, and watches set for his apprehension in all those places, whereby the transporting himself into foreign parts was very difficult, he found means to return to London, and to put himself into his brother's protection; where it is thought he was harboured, till his hurt was cured; the strictness of the inquiry over; and till he had prepared that letter to his brother, the earl of Northumberland, which served, as far as in him lay, to destroy all his companions, and furnished the committee with that which they called "a double evidence:" for they had no sooner received that letter from the earl of Northumberland, than they told the house, "they were now ready for a complete discovery;" and thereupon produced the evidence of colonel Goring, and the letter from Mr. Peirce; both which agreed upon the relation, "of a meeting at Mr. Peirce's chamber; and of a discourse of the parliament's neglect of the king's, and favouring the Scottish army; the taking an oath of secrecy; and some other particulars:" all which had been positively denied, by those members of the house of commons, Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Pollard, upon their examinations upon oath.

It will hardly be believed hereafter, (but that the effects of such impostures have left such deep marks,) that the evidence then given could, in so

grave and judging an assembly, as a high court of parliament, till then, had always been, have brought the least prejudice upon the king; or, indeed, damage to any person accused: there being, in all the testimonies produced, so far from any proof, of a real design, or plot, to bring up the army (which was the grand matter alleged) to awe the parliament, that in truth it was very evident, there was no plot at all; only a free communication between persons (the major part whereof were of the house) "of the ill arts that were generally used to corrupt the affections of the people; and of some expedient, whereby, in that so public infection, the army" (in which they had all considerable commands, two of them being general officers) "might be preserved from being wrought upon and corrupted:" in which discourse, colonel Goring himself, as appeared by his own examination, only proposed wild and extravagant overtures, "of bringing up the army, and surprising the Tower; which was, by all the rest, with manifest dislike, rejected: that all this had passed at one meeting, in which, they who met were so ill satisfied in one another, that they never would come together again: that, when the bringing up the army to London was mentioned to the king, his majesty would not hear of it, but only desired, that their affections might be kept entire for his service, as far as was consistent with the laws of the land, which were in danger to be invaded."

Yet, notwithstanding that all this appeared; and that this was all which did appear, (besides a discourse of the petition; for the petition itself they would not produce, signed with C. R. which is before set down in terms,) the specious, positive narration of the whole by Mr. Pym, before the evidence was read; the denying of what was now proved, and confessed by themselves, by Mr. Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, upon the former examination; the flight of Mr. Jermyn, and Mr. Peirce, and some others; the mention of some clauses in the petition signed with C. R.; and some envious, dark glances, both in Mr. Goring's examination, and Mr. Peirce's letter, at the king and queen, as if they knew more than was expressed, so transported the hearers, (who made themselves judges too,) that, taking all that was said, to be proved, they quickly voted, "that there was a design to bring up the army to force the parliament;" resolved to accuse Mr. Jermyn and Mr. Peirce of high treason; committed the three members of the house of commons to several prisons, and put them from being members of parliament, that in their rooms they might bring in three more fit for their service, as they shortly did; gave colonel Goring public thanks, "for preserving the kingdom, and the liberties of parliament;" and filled the people with jealousy for their security, and with universal acclamations of their great wisdom and vigilancy. So that this plot served to produce their first protestation; to inflame the people against the earl of Strafford, and in a degree to compass their ends upon that great person, as hath been before observed; to procure the bill for the continuance of this parliament, the foundation, or the fountain, of all the public calamities, to hinder and cross all overtures made for the revenue of the king, and to lessen the general reverence and duty to both their majesties; to continue the Scottish army within the kingdom,

and consequently to hinder the king's from being disbanded; to incense both houses against the bishops, as if the design had been principally for their protection, (and there being one witness who said, "he had been told, that the clergy would "raise and pay one thousand horse, to be employed against the parliament,") to blast the reputation of the earl of Newcastle, whose zeal to his majesty's service was most remarkable, as if he had been to have commanded the army; and lastly, to advance their own credit and estimation with the people, as if they were the only patriots, that intended the preservation of religion, law, and liberty.

And having made this use of it, (which is a sufficient argument what opinion they had of their own evidence,) they never proceeded against any of the persons who were in their power, though they patiently attended and importuned a trial above a year after their accusation: for they well knew, there must be then a more exact and strict weighing of the proofs; and that the persons accused could not only vindicate themselves from the aspersions which were laid upon them, but could recriminate upon their grand prosecutors with such charges, as they would not so easily be freed from; and this was the reason, that, even during the heat and noise of the accusation, they received very civil offices, visits, and addresses, from the chief of those who were trusted with the prosecution.

The sending that letter of Mr. Peirce's to the house of commons; or rather, the procuring that letter to be writ, (in which such insinuations were made, to the prejudice of the king and queen,) was the first visible instance of the defection of the earl of Northumberland towards his majesty's service; which wrought several ill effects in the minds of many: for, as the earl then had the most esteemed and unblemished reputation, in court and country, of any person of his rank throughout the kingdom; so they who knew him well, discerned, that the greatness of that reputation was but an effect of the singular grace and favour shewed to him by his majesty; who, immediately upon the death of his father, had taken this earl (being then less than thirty years of age) into his immediate and eminent care; first made him a privy-counsellor; then knight of the order of the garter; then (that he might apt him by degrees for the greatest trust and employments) sent him admiral into the narrow seas, of a royal navy; and, after a summer spent in that exercise, made him lord high admiral of England; and, to the very minute of which we speak, prosecuted him with all manner and demonstration of respect and kindness; and (as I heard his majesty himself say) "courted him "as his mistress, and conversed with him as his "friend, without the least interruption or inter- "mission of all possible favour and kindness." And therefore many, who observed this great earl purchase this opportunity of disserving the king, at the price of his brother's honour, and of his own gratitude, concluded, that he had some notable temptation in conscience, and that the court was much worse than it was believed to be.

The truth is, that after his brother's being accused of high treason; and then, upon his hurt in Sussex, coming directly to Northumberland-house to shelter himself; the earl being in great trouble how to send him away beyond the seas

after his wound was recovered, advised with a confident friend then in power, whose affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr. Pym into the council, who overwitted them both, by frankly consenting, "that Mr. "Peirce should escape into France," which was all the care the earl had; but then obliged him, "first to draw such a letter from him, as might "be applied as an evidence of the reality of the "plot, after he was escaped;" and in this manner the letter was procured: which made a lasting quarrel between the two brothers; and made the earl more at the disposal of those persons whom he had trusted so far, than he had been before.

After the act for the continuance of the parliament, the house of commons took much more upon them, in point of their privileges, than they had done; and more undervalued the concurrence of the peers; and though that act added nothing to, nor extended their jurisdiction: which jurisdiction the wisdom of former times kept from being limited or defined, there being no danger of excess; and it being more agreeable to the nature of the supreme court to have an unlimited jurisdiction. But now that it could not be dissolved without their consent, (the apprehension and fear whereof had always before kept them within the bounds of modesty,) they called any power they pleased to assume to themselves, "a branch of "their privilege;" and any opposing or questioning that power, "a breach of their privileges: "which all men were bound to defend by their "late protestation; and they were the only proper "judges of their own privileges."

Hereupon, they called whom they pleased delinquents; received complaints of all kinds, and committed to prison whom they pleased: which had been never done, nor attempted, before this parliament; except in some such apparent breach, as the arresting a privileged person, or the like: and, as if theirs had swallowed up all other privileges, of peers, and [the] king himself, upon the lords rejecting a bill sent up to them, "to compel all "persons" (without distinction of quality, and without distinction of punishment or proceeding, upon their refusal) "to take the late protestation;" and two lords of great estimation (the earl of Southampton, and the lord Roberts) having refused to take the same; the house of commons, in great fury, and with many expressions of contempt, by a vote declared, "that the protestation "made by them was fit to be taken by every "person, that was well affected in religion, and to "the good of the commonwealth; and therefore, "that what person soever should not take the protestation, was unfit to bear office in the church "or commonwealth;" and directed farther, "that "that vote should be printed, and that the knights "and burgesses should send down copies of it to "the several places for which they served:" which was the most unparalleled breach of privilege, and the highest and most insolent affront to the lords, to the king, and to the justice of the kingdom, and the most destructive to parliaments, that any age had been guilty of. And yet, when some of the peers nobly resented it, on the behalf of the peerage, and the liberty of the subject, and pressed resolutely for reparation, means was found out to engage the king to interpose his royal mediation with those lords, to the end they might quietly

pass by that public violation and indignity, without further insisting on it.

All this time the two armies were continued at that vast charge, many men whispering (but so that it might be spoken of) "that the Scots would not retire till the bill against episcopacy were passed:" whereupon the king sent them word, about the beginning of July, "that he desired all speed might be used for the disbanding both armies; for the better and more orderly doing whereof, he had constituted the earl of Holland general of his army," (the earl of Northumberland, by reason of his indisposition in health, or some other reason, having laid down his commission,) "and intended forthwith to send him down thither: that his majesty himself, according to [a] former resolution, and promise made to his subjects of Scotland, meant to visit that his native kingdom, for the better perfecting the peace there; and appointed the day (about fourteen days after) he resolved to begin his progress; and therefore wished them, against that time, to prepare and finish any such acts, as they desired might receive his majesty's approbation, for the good of the kingdom, if there yet remained any thing to be asked of him." Notwithstanding which message, they spent most of their time upon the bill for extirpation of bishops, deans, and chapters; without finishing either the act of pacification between the two nations, or giving order for the disbanding the army.

It was wondered at by many, and sure was a great misfortune to the king, that he chose not rather at that time (though the business was only to disband) to constitute the earl of Essex general of his army, than the earl of Holland; for (besides that it would have been an act of much more grace and satisfaction to the people, and to the soldier) his majesty having lately given him so great an earnest of his trust, as the making him chamberlain of his house, ought in policy to have pursued that work, by any seasonable accumulation of favour, till he had made him his perfect creature; which had been very easy, if skilfully attempted: for his pride and ambition, which were not accompanied with any habit of ill nature, were very capable of obligations; and he had a faithfulness and constancy in his nature, which had kept him always religious in matter of trust: then, he was almost a declared enemy to the Scottish nation, and would have been very punctual in all formalities and decencies, which had any relation to his master's honour, or the honour of the nation. In a word, he might have been imposed upon in his understanding, but could not have been corrupted by hopes or fears what the two houses could have done to him: and was then more the idol of the people, than in truth the idolater of them.

Whereas, by making the earl of Holland general, he much disobliged the other, who expected it, and to whom it had been in a manner offered; and made him apprehend some distrust in the king towards him; and that his former favour in his office had been conferred on him, rather because no man else had been able to bear the envy of displacing the earl of Pembroke, than that his own merit and service was valued. Then the person, upon whom he conferred that honour, had formerly disappointed him, and often incurred his displeasure, and wore some marks of it; and was of no other interest or reputation with the party

which could do mischief, than as a person so obnoxious to them, in the misexecuting his great and terrible office of chief justice in eyre, by which he had vexed and oppressed most counties in England, and the most considerable persons in those counties; and in other particulars; that they knew he durst not offend them, and would purchase their protection and good opinion at any price: as it fell out; for within few days after the king was gone through that army, in his way to Scotland, he wrote a letter, which was communicated to both houses, in which he mystically expressed "some new design to have been set on foot for corrupting the army;" for which there was never after the least colour given; but served then to heighten the old jealousies, and to bespeak a misunderstanding for whatsoever should be proposed on his majesty's behalf during his absence.

After their great end was obtained in the execution and death of the earl of Strafford, all men believed, that they would be very forward in dismissing the Scottish army, and disbanding the other, which cost the kingdom so vast a sum of money every month; and they had already voted a brotherly assistance to the Scots of three hundred thousand pounds, for the service they had performed; and an act was already prepared for the raising the sum: but they had yet no mind to part with their beloved brethren.

The commissioners who treated with the Scots had agreed, "that the king should be present in his parliament at Edinburgh, by such a day in July, to pass the act for pacification between the two kingdoms, and such other acts as his parliament there should propose to him;" and his majesty prepared to begin his progress, soon enough to be in Scotland by the time; and they resolved on all sides, "that the one army should be drawn out of the kingdom, and the other totally disbanded, before the king should arrive in the northern parts, for many reasons." As they had lost all confidence in the affections of the English army, so there were many jealousies arisen among the Scots, both in their army, and amongst their greatest counsellors: notwithstanding all which, instead of making haste to the disbanding, they published much jealousy and dissatisfaction to remain with them of the court; "there were some evil counsellors still about the king, who obstructed many gracious acts, which would otherwise flow from his goodness and bounty towards his people; and made ill impressions in him of the parliament itself, and its proceedings."

Their design was to remove the duke of Richmond from the king, both because they had a mind to have his office of warden of the cinque-ports from him, that it might be conferred on the earl of Warwick; and as he was almost the only man of great quality and consideration about the king, who did not in the least degree stoop, or make love to them, but crossed them boldly in the house; and all other ways pursued his master's service with his utmost vigour and intentness of mind: they could not charge him with any thing like a crime, and therefore only intended by some vote to brand him, and make him odious; by which they presumed, they should at last make him willing to ransom himself by quitting that office: for which there was some underhand treaty, by persons who were solicitous to prevent farther inconveniences; and,

as they found any thing like to succeed in that, they slackened or advanced that discourse of evil counsellors.

One day they were very warm upon the argument, and had a purpose to have named him directly, which they had hitherto forborne to do, when Mr. Hyde stood up, and said, "He did really believe that there yet remained some evil counsellors, who did much harm, about the king; and that it would be much better to name them, than to amuse the house so often with the general mention of them, as if we were afraid to name them:" he proposed, "that there might be a day appointed, on which, upon due reflections upon those who had been most notorious in doing mischief to the public, we might most probably find, who they were who trod still in the same paths, and might name them accordingly; and that for his part, if a day were appointed for that discovery, he would be ready to name one, who, by all the marks we could judge by, and by his former course of life, might very reasonably be believed to be an evil counsellor."

They were exceedingly apprehensive (as they had cause) that he meant the marquis of Hamilton, (who, for the reasons aforesaid, was very dear to them, (and thenceforward, though they desisted not from prosecuting the duke, till at last they had compelled him to quit the cinque-ports to the earl of Warwick, they no more urged the discovery of evil counsellors. And all the familiar friends of Mr. Hyde were importuned to move him, "not to endeavour to do any prejudice to the marquis of Hamilton;" and even the king himself was prevailed with to send to him to that purpose: so industrious was that people to preserve those whom for private ends they desired to preserve, as well as to destroy those who they desired should be destroyed.

When every body expected that nothing should be mentioned in the house but the despatch of the treaty of the pacification, by the commissioners on both sides; which was the only obstruction to the discharge of the armies, and which could be done in two days, if they pursued it; they called in a morning "for the bill" (that had so long before been brought in by sir Edward Deering) "for the extirpation of episcopacy," and gave it a second reading; and resolved, "that it should be committed to a committee of the [whole] house, and that it should be proceeded upon the next morning." It was a very long debate the next morning, after the speaker had left the chair, who should be in the chair for the committee; they who wished well to the bill having resolved "to put Mr. Hyde into the chair, that he might not give them trouble by frequent speaking, and so too much obstruct the expediting the bill;" they who were against the bill pressed and called loud for Mr. Crew to be in the chair: but in conclusion, Mr. Hyde was commanded to the chair; they who were enemies to the bill being divided in opinion, many believing, that he would obstruct the bill more in that place, than if he remained at liberty; and they found it to be true.

The first day the committee sat full seven hours, and determined, "that every day, as soon as the house was resumed, the chairman should report the several votes of that day to the house, which should determine them before it rose;" which was without any precedent, and very prejudicial to

the grave transaction of the business: for, besides that it was a preengaging the house in its judgment, when the bill engrossed should be put to the question; it was so late every day before the house was resumed, (the speaker commonly leaving the chair about nine of the clock, and never resuming it till four in the afternoon,) that it was very thin; they only, who prosecuted the bill with impatience, remaining in the house, and the others, who abhorred it, growing weary of so tiresome an attendance, left the house at dinner-time, and afterwards followed their pleasures: so that the lord Falkland was wont to say, "that they who hated bishops, hated them worse than the devil; and that they who loved them, did not love them so well as their dinner."

However, the chairman perplexed them very much; for, besides that at the end of his report every day to the house, before the house put the question for the concurrence in the votes, he always enlarged himself against every one of them, and so spent them much time; when they were in the heat and passion of the debate, he often ensnared them in a question: so that when he reported to the house the work of the day, he did frequently report two or three votes directly contrary to each other, which, in the heat of their debate, they had unawares run into. And after near twenty days spent in that manner, they found themselves very little advanced towards a conclusion, and that they must review all that they had done; and the king being resolved to begin his journey for Scotland, they were forced to discontinue their beloved bill, and let it rest; sir Arthur Haslerig declaring in the house, "that he would never hereafter put an enemy into the chair:" nor had they ever after the courage to resume the consideration of the bill, till after the war was entered into.

The time being come, within two or three days, (according to his former declaration,) for the king's journey into Scotland, the house of commons thought it time to lay aside their disputes upon the church, which every day grew more involved, and to intend the perfecting the act of pacification, and the order for disbanding; both which were thought necessary to be despatched, before his majesty should begin his progress; and might have been long since done. On a sudden, the house of commons grew into a perplexed debate, concerning the king's journey into Scotland (which had been long before known, and solemnly promised by his majesty to the commissioners of Scotland; where preparation was made for his reception, and the parliament summoned there accordingly); expressed many dark and doubtful apprehensions of his safety, not without some glances, "that if his majesty were once with his army, he might possibly enter upon new counsels, before he consented to disband [it];" and in the end concluded, "to desire the lords to join with them in a request to the king, to defer his journey into Scotland, till the act of pacification was passed, the armies disbanded, and till such other acts were prepared, as should be thought necessary for the good of the kingdom;" without mentioning any time, against which those things should be ready: which, though it was an unreasonable request, yet most men having no mind he should go into Scotland, it was consented to by both houses; and thereupon an address was made to his majesty to that purpose: who returned his answer, "that he was sorry, the

"houses, having had so long notice of his intention for that journey, (which could not but appear very necessary to them,) had neglected to prepare all such things, as were necessary to be despatched by him before he went; that, though his presence in Scotland was depended upon by such a day, and the disappointment might beget some prejudice to him, yet, he was content to satisfy their desires so far, as to defer his journey for fourteen days; within which time they might make all things ready that were of importance, and beyond which time it would not be possible for him to make any stay."

This time being gotten, they proceeded but slowly in the direction for disbanding, (though the earl of Holland was gone down to the army,) or in the act of the pacification; but continued their mention "of fears and jealousies of the peace of the kingdom; of an invasion from foreign parts; and an insurrection of the papists in England: for all which, they said, there was not yet sufficient provision, by the laws and constitution of the kingdom." And therefore one day, sir Arthur Haslerig (who, as was said before, was used by that party, like the dove out of the ark, to try what footing there was) preferred a bill "for the settling the militia of the kingdom, both by sea and land, in such persons as they should nominate;" with all those powers and jurisdictions, which have been since granted to the earl of Essex, or sir Thomas Fairfax, by land, or to the earl of Warwick, by sea. There were in the bill no names, but blanks to receive them, when the matter should be passed; though men were assured, that the earl of Essex was their confident by land, and the earl of Northumberland by sea: and yet the inclination to the earl of Warwick would have begot some disturbance, if the matter had come then to be pressed.

When the title of this bill was read, it gave so general an offence to the house, that it seemed inclined to throw it out, without suffering it to be read; not without some reproach to the person that brought it in, "as a matter of sedition;" till Mr. Saint-John, the king's solicitor, rose up, and spake to it, and (having, in truth, himself drawn the bill) said, "he thought that passion and dislike very unseasonable, before the bill was read; that it was the highest privilege of every member, that he might propose any law, or make any motion, which, in his conscience, he thought advantageous for the kingdom, or the place for which he served. For the matter, which by the title that bill seemed to comprehend, he was of opinion, that something was necessary to be done in it; for he was sure, that such power, as might be necessary for the security of the kingdom, over the militia, was not yet by law vested in any person; or in the crown itself: that they had lately by their votes blasted and condemned the power of lords lieutenants, and their deputies, which had been long exercised, and submitted to by the people; that, since that was determined, it was necessary to substitute such in their room, as might be able to suppress any insurrection, or resist an invasion: and therefore, that it was fit to hear the bill read; and if any fitting expedient were proposed in it to that purpose, to embrace it; otherwise, to think of a better. For the nomination of persons, it would not be seasonable to speak of it, till the power and jurisdiction were first settled and constituted:

"and then, if it seemed too great for any subject, it might be devolved upon the crown; which yet was not sufficiently possessed of a legal power to the purposes aforesaid."

Upon this discourse, by a person of the king's sworn council, the bill was read; but with so universal a dislike, that it was never called upon the second time, but slept, till long after the matter of it was digested in ordinances.

The peremptory day again drawing very near, for the king's journey into Scotland, and very little done towards the public, since the time they had prevailed with his majesty to suspend it, on a Saturday in the afternoon (the progress being to begin on Monday) they fell into unusual passion again against the king's going into Scotland: the which they thought of so great importance to be hindered, that they resolved (and prevailed with the lords to do the like) to sit the next day, being Sunday; which had never before been known, since the first institution of parliaments; and which they thought fit to excuse by a short declaration, that the people might not be thereby encouraged to profane the sabbath.

When they found the king constant to his former resolution, and that all they could allege could prevail no farther with him than, whereas he intended to go Monday after dinner, to stay till Tuesday morning, they very earnestly proposed, "that he would leave a commission with some persons, to pass such acts as should be prepared and pass both houses in his absence; and to make a *custos regni*, to supply the place of government till his return:" with many other extravagancies, which themselves understood not. But when they found that no such commission could be legally granted, to consent to any acts that were not consented to by both houses at the date of the commission; and that both the person and the power of a *custos regni* would be duly weighed, and would take up much consideration, if the king were willing to satisfy them; they were contented with a commission to the earl of Essex, of lieutenant-general of that side Trent: which his majesty having granted; and confirmed the act of pacification between the two kingdoms, (which in great haste was transacted in both houses, as if it had been only matter of form,) he took his journey from London towards Scotland toward the middle of August, leaving both houses sitting at Westminster.

The unexpected passion and importunity to hinder his majesty's journey into Scotland was not well understood; and the less, for that the governing party was divided upon it: some of them, with trouble equal to what they had at any time expressed, insisting upon his not going; others alleging, "that his majesty was so far engaged in it, that he could not in honour recede from it:" whilst the Scottish commissioners, who were often appealed and referred to in the debate, answered so mysteriously, as argued rather a conveniency, and expectation of the journey itself, than any necessity in point of time. Neither was the ground of his majesty's so positive and unalterable resolution of going thither, sufficiently clear to standers by; who thought he might have transacted the business of that kingdom (where he could not reasonably expect any great reverence to his person) better at a distance; and that his presence might be more necessary in this.

But, as his majesty's impatience to see both armies disbanded, and this kingdom freed from the invasion, (both which he heartily desired,) and his desire to refresh himself, from the vexation which the two houses, or one of them, or some in one of them, daily gave him; hurried him to that expedition, without well weighing and preparing how to comport himself through it: so, no doubt, that opposition, and instance against it (besides the natural desire they had to remove the king from any fixed resolution) proceeded partly, to procure an excuse for the hasty passing the bill of pacification; which they had purposely retarded (foreseeing there were many particulars in it, that, if weighed, would never have been consented to) till they might be so straitened in time, that whoever objected against what was offered, might seem to hinder the disbanding, and to necessitate the king's longer stay: but principally hoping, that his majesty, rather than defer his journey, on which he was resolved, would consent to any unreasonable qualifying such person whom they should name, with power in his absence; except there were some real jealousy of the Scots at that time, and between the Scottish commissioners themselves, (as was conceived by some,) by reason of great addresses made to the king by the earl of Rothes, the principal and governing person of that nation, and some insinuation of favour from his majesty to him; so that they did in earnest desire to put off that journey, for fear of disturbance there.

The truth is, the king was well satisfied with the promises made to him by that earl; who desired to live in this court, and should have been shortly made gentleman of the bedchamber, and had himself a hope to marry a great and wealthy lady: and it is certain, the king expected, by his help and interest, to have found such a party in Scotland, as would have been more tender of his honour than they after expressed themselves; and did always impute the failing thereof to the absence of that earl, who being sick at the king's going from London, within six weeks after died. But others believed, he had been so far guilty of what had been done amiss, that he would neither have been able nor willing to preserve the foundation of that power, which could hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppressed.

I must not omit here, the disbanding another army, about the same time; the circumstances whereof were very remarkable, and the cause of much trouble that ensued. The king perceiving that he was not now like to have any use of the new army in Ireland; at least not that use for which it was raised, (which was, to have visited Scotland,) and finding often mention, enviously and maliciously, made of that army in the house of commons; and having from thence (by the advice of the committee for Ireland) received some addresses for that purpose; resolved to disband them; and, to that end, signified his pleasure to the lords justices of Ireland, and to the earl of Ormond, his lieutenant-general of that army; directing withal (according to the last advice he had received from the earl of Strafford) "that any officers of the army should have free leave to transport what men he could get of that army, for the service of any prince in amity with this crown:" and shortly after, upon the earnest desire of don Alonzo de Cardinas, ambassador from the king of Spain, his majesty consented, that four thousand soldiers

of that army should be transported for the service of that king into Flanders; at the same time permitting as many as desired the same, to be transported for the service of the French king. This was no sooner known, but the house of commons interposed, with their accustomed confidence and distemper, "to beseech his majesty to revoke that license:" and, by impertinent and slight reasons, boldly urged and insisted on, as they did in every thing else, prevailed with the king "to inhibit the transporting any of those soldiers out of that kingdom, for the service of any prince whatsoever."

Many were of opinion that this activity in a business of which they had not the least connivance, proceeded from the instigation of the ambassador of the French king; who was very conversant with the principal persons of that faction, and no doubt fomented those humours out of which the public calamities were bred; and some said boldly, and an obscure person or two have since affirmed it, as upon their knowledge, "that Mr. Pym received five thousand pound from that French minister, to hinder that supply to Spain." Others believed, that it proceeded only from that proud and petulant spirit which possessed them, to lessen the reputation of the king; and to let the king of Spain and all other princes see the power they had, to oppose and cross his resolutions in the most pure acts of sovereignty. But I believe, though there might be a mixture of both the other reasons, the principal motive that induced them to that interposition, was the advice and desire of the committee from the parliament of Ireland, whose counsel was entirely followed in whatsoever concerned that kingdom; and who, no doubt, had then designed the rebellion that shortly after broke out, which could hardly have taken effect, if that body of men had been removed out of the kingdom, according to the king's direction. But of that more in its place.

As soon as the king began his journey for Scotland, all orders, and what else was necessary, were despatched for the disbanding; and a resolution taken, "to send a committee of lords and commons to attend his majesty (that is, to be a spy upon him) in Scotland, and to be present when the act of pacification should be transacted in that parliament, and to preserve the good intercourse and correspondence which was begun between the two nations:" but in truth, to lay the scene how the next year should be spent; and to bespeak new laws for this kingdom, by the copies of what should be consented to for that.

In this errand two lords, and four of the commons, were appointed to go; but for the two lords, the lord Howard of Escrick served [the] turn; who was naturally to be governed by Mr. Fiennes, and Mr. Hambden, who, together with sir William Armin, made up the committee. Which being despatched, they thought it time to breathe a little, and to visit their counties, for whom they had done such notable service: and so, towards the latter end of August, (having first constituted a committee to sit during the recess for the despatch of any important occurrences, and qualifying them with power they could not depute; such a committee, and such a qualification, having never been before heard of in parliaments,) both houses adjourned themselves till the middle of October following, by which time they presumed the king

would be returned from Scotland; having, from the time that they were first convened, which was about nine months, (longer time than ever parliament had before continued together in one session,) besides all their extraordinary acts of blood and power, procured the king's assent to these following important laws; by which, the kingdom might have received ample benefit and advantage.

"A bill for the triennial parliament:" which took up a long debate; there being many clauses, in case the crown [should] omit the sending out of writs, derogatory to majesty, and letting the reins too loose to the people: yet, since it was evident, that unspeakable inconveniences had befallen the kingdom by the long intermission of those conventions; and that that intermission could not have happened, if there had not been some neglect of what had been settled by former laws; and therefore there was some reason for those clauses, by which the crown could in no case suffer, but by its own default. It found an easy passage through both houses; and by his majesty (who was satisfied that such a frequency of meeting with his people, as once in three years, might be more convenient than prejudicial to his service; and believed, that, by his consenting to this act, the proceedings in this parliament would be more moderate) it had an equal reception, and was enacted by him the next day after it passed both houses.

"An act for the taking away the high commission court:" which comprehended much more than was generally intended. That jurisdiction was erected by a statute in the first year of queen Elizabeth, instead of a larger power which had been exercised under the pope's authority, then abolished; and, whilst it was exercised with moderation, was an excellent means to vindicate and preserve the dignity and peace of the church: though, from the beginning, it was not unmurmured against by the non-conformable party of the kingdom.

But of late, it cannot be denied, that, by the great power of some bishops at court, it had much overflowed the banks which should have contained it; not only in meddling with things that in truth were not properly within their connusance; but extending their sentences and judgments, in matters triable before them, beyond that degree that was justifiable; and grew to have so great a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it, (which was a fatal unskilfulness in the bishops, who could never have suffered whilst the common law had been preserved,) that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have, and must have, the superintendency over all inferior courts, were not only neglected, but the judges reprehended for granting them, (which without perjury they could not deny,) and the lawyers discountenanced for moving them, (which they were obliged in duty to do;) so that thereby the clergy made a whole nation, that is, almost a whole profession, if not their enemy, yet very undevoted to them.

Then, it was grown from an ecclesiastical court, for the reformation of manners, to a court of revenue, and imposed great fines upon those who were culpable before them; sometimes above the degree of the offence, had the jurisdiction of fining been unquestionable: which it was not. Which

course of fining was much more frequent, and the fines heavier, after the king had granted all that revenue (whatsoever it should prove to be) to be employed for the reparation of St. Paul's church; which, though it were a glorious work, and worthy the piety of those who advanced it, and the greatness of his mind who principally intended it, made the grievance less popular.

By these means (besides the conflux and reputation of that part of the clergy which had formerly been obnoxious, and suppressed by the bishops: which I do not mention as any piece of their exorbitancy; for I do not know that ever any innocent clergyman suffered by any ecclesiastical censure; though, it may be, the guilty were more severely proceeded against, and with less politic circumstances, than the nature of that time required) that court had very few friends; and having many enemies, the proposition for abolishing it was easily hearkened to; of which the violent party easily taking notice, they who prepared the bill inserted clauses, that not only took away the high commission court, which was intended, but, upon the matter, the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, under pretence of reforming the great abuses by the oath *ex officio*, and excommunication, destroyed and cancelled all coercive power whatsoever in those courts, which was never intended: yet, in that hurry, it made a progress through both houses, and attended the royal assent. But, when his majesty understood the extent thereof, and how far the body of the bill exceeded the title; and that, instead of reformation, it was opening a door to the most scandalous offences, and leaving adultery and incest as unpunishable, as any other acts of good fellowship; he made a pause in the consenting to it, till both houses might review whether their remedy were proportionable to the disease.

Immediately the fire was kindled against the bishops, as the only obstacles to any reformation; with some passionate insinuations, "that, since they opposed a due regulation of their power, there would be no way but to cut them off root and branch." And thereupon some bishops themselves were again made instruments; and others, who pretended to take care of the church, persuaded the king, "for the bishops' sake, to confirm that bill:" whilst the designers were much pleased to find that logic prevail; little doubting, that when they had taken away their jurisdiction in the church, by that bill, and their dignity in the state, by removing them out of the house of peers, they should find it no hard matter to abolish their names and titles out of the kingdom; and to enjoy their goodly lands and revenues, which could only make the reformation perfect and complete. And in this manner that law was enacted.

"A bill for taking away the star-chamber court." The progress of which bill was this. The exorbitances of this court had been such (as hath been before touched) that there were very few persons of quality who had not suffered, or been perplexed, by the weight or fear of those censures and judgments. For, having extended their jurisdiction from riots, perjury, and the most notorious misdemeanours, to an asserting all proclamations, and orders of state; to the vindicating illegal commissions, and grants of monopolies, (all which were the chief groundworks of their late proceedings,)

no man could hope to be longer free from the inquisition of that court, than he resolved to submit to those, and the like extraordinary courses. And therefore there was an entire inclination to limit and regulate the proceedings of that court: to which purpose, a bill was brought in, and twice read, and, according to custom, committed. It being returned after by the committee, and the amendments read; it was suddenly suggested, (by a person not at all inclined to confusion, or to the violent party that intended that confusion,) "that the remedies provided by that bill were not proportionable to the diseases; that the usurpations of that court were not less in the forms of their proceeding, than in the matter upon which they proceeded; insomuch that the course of the court (which is the rule of their judging) was so much corrupted, that the grievance was as much, in those cases of which they had a proper nuisance, as by their excess in holding pleas of that, in which, in truth, they had no jurisdiction: and therefore he conceived, the proper and most natural cure for that mischief would be, utterly to abolish that court, which [it] was very difficult, if not impossible, to regulate; and, in place thereof, to erect and establish such a jurisdiction as might be thought necessary." Hereupon, the same bill was re-committed, with direction, "so far to alter the frame of it, as might serve utterly to take away and abolish that court:" which was accordingly done; and again brought to the house, and engrossed, and sent up to the lords. So that important bill was never read but once in the house of commons, and was never committed; which, I believe, was never before heard of in parliament.

It could not meet with any opposition in the house of peers: all who had been judges there having their several judgments hanging like meteors over their heads; and the rest, being either grieved or frightened by it: and so, being brought to his majesty, received his royal assent.

Thus fell that high court, a great branch of the prerogative; having been rather extended and confirmed, than founded, by the statute of the tenth year of king Henry the Seventh: for, no doubt, it had both a being and a jurisdiction before that time, though vulgarly it received date from thence; and, whilst it was gravely and moderately governed, was an excellent expedient to preserve the dignity of the king, the honour of his council, and the peace and security of the kingdom. But the taking it away was an act very popular; which, it may be, was not then more politic, than the reviving it may be thought hereafter, when the present distempers shall be expired.

"An act for the certainty of the meets, bounds, and limits of all the forests in England:" which was a great benefit and ease to the people; who had been so immoderately vexed by the justice in eyre's seat, (exercised with great rigour by the earl of Holland, and revived by Mr. Noy, when he was attorney general,) that few men could assure themselves their estates and houses might not be brought within the [jurisdiction of] some forest; the which if they were, it cost them great fines: and therefore, to ease them of their future fears, the king departed with his own unquestionable right (which would, a year before, have been purchased at the price of two hundred thousand pounds) without any murmur for severity.

"An act, that no clerk of the market of his majesty's house should execute his office in any part of the kingdom, but only within the verge of the court: and the execution of that office granted to mayors and bailiffs of towns corporate; and to the lords of liberties and franchises, and to their deputies." By which, the people through England were freed from many petty vexations and extortions, which the deputies and agents for that office (who commonly farmed the perquisites of that office, within several limits) exercised over them. And let no man say, that this was but an act of justice, for the redress of visible misdemeanours which his own officers were guilty of; and that his majesty parted with nothing of profit to himself, by that act: for the misdemeanours of any office may be prevented, and punished, and redressed, without the taking away, or suppressing, the office itself; which is an instance of power, and prerogative. And the other was used as an argument heretofore (which few have since approved) for the passing away most of the old rents of the crown, "that they yielded little profit to the crown, being always swallowed by the many officers incumbent to that service;" without considering, that even those many officers are of the essential honour and greatness of princes. But, as that computation was very erroneous in point of thrift, so it is much more scandalous in point of power; and he, that thinks the king gives away nothing that is worth the keeping, when he suffers an office, which keeps and maintains many officers, to be abolished and taken away, does not consider, that so much of his train is abated, and that he is less spoken of, and consequently less esteemed, in those places where that power formerly extended; nor observes, how much private men value themselves upon those lesser franchises and royalties, which especially keep up the power, distinction, and degrees of men.

"An act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood:" by which, to expiate the trespasses which had been lately committed by the rigorous circumstances of proceeding upon that claim, the king parted with, and released to his people, a right and duty, as unquestionably due to him by the law, as any service he can lay claim to; and such, as the subject received the discharge of it, as a singular benefit and advantage to him.

"An act for the free making saltpetre and gunpowder within the kingdom:" which was a part of the prerogative; and not only considerable, as it restrained that precious and dangerous commodity from vulgar hands; but, as in truth it brought a considerable revenue to the crown; and more to those, whom the crown gratified and obliged by that license. The pretence for this exemption was, "the unjustifiable proceeding of those (or of inferior persons qualified by them) who had been trusted in that employment;" by whom, it cannot be denied, many men suffered: but the true reason was, that thereby they might be sure to have in readiness a good stock in that commodity, against the time their occasions should call upon them.

"An act against divers encroachments and oppressions in the stannary courts:" the logic of which act extended itself to all inferior courts, and manner of proceedings throughout the kingdom; though the full measure of that benefit seemed to

be poured out upon the two counties of Cornwall and Devonshire; the people whereof had been so much oppressed by the jurisdiction of that court, (supported and extended with great passion and fury by the earl of Pembroke, the lord warden of those stannaries,) that both prohibitions, and habeas corpus's from the king's bench, had been disobeyed and neglected; not without some personal affront, and reproach to all the judges of that court: and therefore, it could not but be great ease of heart to those parts, to be freed from the exorbitancy of that oppression.

"An act, whereby all the proceedings in the business of ship-money were adjudged void, and disannulled; and the judgments, enrolments, and entries thereupon, vacated and cancelled:" which (how just and necessary soever) was a frank departure from a right, vindicated by a judgment in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges

in England; and therefore deserved a just acknowledgment; besides that, some clauses in that statute assert the subject's liberty and property, beyond what was done by the petition of right; which needed an additional establishment.

These acts of parliament, finished and enacted in the time we speak of; besides the quitting the long used right of imposing upon foreign trade, in the preamble of the bill for tonnage and poundage; and besides that fatal bill for the continuance of this parliament; will be hereafter acknowledged by an incorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of a princely and fatherly affection to his people; and such an obligation of repose and trust from the king in the hearts of his subjects, that no expressions of piety, duty, and confidence, from them, could have been more than a sufficient return on their parts: which how they performed, is to follow in the next place.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK IV.

WHEN the king came to York, which was about the middle of August, he found no part of either army disbanded; for, though orders had been issued to that purpose, yet the money, without which it could not be done, was not yet come to their hands; and because so great a sum could not be presently procured, as would satisfy both, an act of parliament had been passed, for the satisfaction of the principal officers of the king's army, by which they were promised payment, upon the public faith, in November following; till which time they were to respite it, and be contented that the common soldiers, and inferior officers, should be fully satisfied upon their disbanding.

During the time of the king's abode at York, which was not many days, the earl of Holland, lord general, made a suit to him for the making a baron; which, at that time, might have been worth to him ten thousand pounds. Whether the king apprehended the making an unfit man, who might disserve him in the house of peers; or whether he resolved to contain himself from enlarging that number, except upon an extraordinary relation to his own service, I know not: but he thought not fit, at that time, to gratify the earl: by which he took himself to be highly disobliged, (as the courtiers of that time took whatsoever was denied to them, as to be taken from them,) and having received some information, from sir Jacob Ashley and sir John Coniers, of some idle passages in the late tampering with the army to petition, which had

not been before heard of; as soon as the king was gone towards Scotland (though his majesty hath since told me, "that he thought he had left the earl at parting in very good humour, and devotion to his service") he wrote a letter to the earl of Essex, to be communicated in parliament, "that he found there had been strange attempts made to pervert and corrupt the army, but, he doubted not, he should be able to prevent any mischief:" the whole sense being so mysterious, that it was no hard matter, after it was read in both houses, to persuade men, that it related to somewhat they had yet never heard; and being dated on the sixteenth day of August, which must be the time that the king was there, or newly gone, (for he took his journey from London on the tenth,) seemed to reflect on somewhat his majesty should have attempted. Hereupon their old fears are awakened, and new ones infused into the people; every man taking the liberty of making what interpretation they pleased of that which no man understood.

The papists were the most popular commonplace, and the butt against whom all the arrows were directed; and so, upon this new fright, an order was made by both houses "for disarming all the papists in England:" upon which, and the like orders, though seldom any thing was after done, or no matter of moment, yet it served to keep up the fears and apprehensions in the people, of dangers and designs, and to disincline them from any reverence or affection to the queen, whom they

began every day more implacably to hate, and consequently to disoblige. And, as upon those, and the like light occasions, they grew to a license of language, without the least respect of persons, of how venerable estimation soever; so they departed from any order or regularity in debate; or rules and measure in judging; the chief rulers amongst them first designing what they thought fit to be done, and the rest concluding any thing lawful, that they thought, in order to the doing or compassing the same: in which neither laws nor customs could be admitted to signify any thing against their sense.

I remember, about that time, in the providing money for the disbanding the armies, upon which they were marvellously solicitous, from the time that the king went towards the north, there arose a question, "Whether Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard, should receive their pay due to them upon their several commands, lying under the charge of the plot, for bringing up, and corrupting the army;" very many passionately alleging, "that such men ought not to receive their pay, who had forfeited their trust:" yet there wanted not many who alleged, "that they had the security of an act of parliament for their payment, and that in justice it could not be detained from them; that, though they lay under the displeasure of the house, yet there was so far from a judgment, that there was not so much as a charge against them, but that they were at liberty under bail; and therefore they could not be said to have forfeited any thing that was their own." In this debate the house seemed equally divided, till one, who well knew what he said, told them, "that there could not be any reasonable pretence for detaining their due, as well for the reasons that had been given, as, that they were absolutely pardoned by the late act of oblivion, and pacification, between the two kingdoms:" the which was no sooner said, than many of those who were before inclined to the gentlemen, changed their opinions, and, without so much as calling to have the statute read, declared, "that they could have no benefit by that act of parliament, because then, the same might be as well applied to the archbishop of Canterbury." And so, without further weighing the law, or the reason, it was thought sufficient, not only to exclude them from that benefit, but to bar them from their money; lest they might be thought to be admitted to it for that reason, which might prove an advantage to another, to whom they had no inclination to be just. And no question, they had been overseen in the penning that statute; the words, in their true and genuine signification and extent, comprehending as well the archbishop of Canterbury, as those who at that time had no contempt of the security they reaped thereby.

Soon after the king went into Scotland, there being some motion "to adjourn the houses till after Michaelmas," which seemed to be generally inclined to, very many of both houses being willing to refresh themselves in the country, after so long absence from their homes, (the summer being far spent, and the plague increasing; of which some members had died: and others were in danger, having been in infected houses,) and conceiving, that there was no more to be done till the return of the king, save only the procuring money to finish the disbanding; went into the country: and others, who stayed in the town, were less so-

licitous to attend the public service; but betook themselves to those exercises and refreshments which were pleasanter to them: insomuch, as within twenty days after the king's remove, there were not above twenty lords, nor much above a hundred commoners, in both houses. But this was the advantage they looked for; those persons continuing (especially in the house of commons) to whose care and managery the whole reformation was committed. They now entered upon the consultation of the highest matters, both in church and state; and made attempts and entries upon those regalities and foundations, which have been since more evident in wider and more notorious breaches.

So when they assumed the power to control and reverse the license and power granted by the king to the Spanish ambassador, for transporting four thousand Irish soldiers upon the disbanding that army into Flanders, (as was before touched,) and to the French ambassador, for three thousand of the army disbanded here, for the service of that king; in debate whereof they used all license to look into the mysteries of state, and to weigh the interest of kingdoms, of which very few of them could be competent considerers, though they had been qualified by authority. In these irregular and undutiful contests, the French ambassador, whose business was to foment the jealousies between the king and people, had insinuated himself into that liberty of transporting men for his master's service, with no other design, than to be thereby enabled to contribute towards the affronting the king, by departing from it, to ingratiate the houses; and, therefore, having very particular intercourse and correspondence with the prime managers, as soon as upon their first addresses his majesty had signified his engagement to the two kings, and that he could not in honour recede from what he had promised, he voluntarily offered to acquit the king of that supply which concerned his master, if his majesty would likewise retract what was expected by the Spaniard; which gave them opportunity so importunately to press his majesty, who had no other counsel to consult with upon any despatches, but such as durst not contradict their overtures, (secretary Vane then waiting on him,) that he departed from his former resolutions and concessions; and so to common understanding disoblige both crowns, with that disadvantage to himself, that both thereby found his want of power; and the Spaniard from thence (besides the inflammation of the correspondence with Portugal) took occasion to comply with those, who they found could do them hurt; whilst the French delighted themselves both with disappointing their enemy, and cozening their friends; to whom, in truth, they were more irreconciled than to the other. Whether in that conjuncture of the affairs of Christendom, the resolution was well taken of supplying those two kings, or either of them, with soldiers at that time, or whether either kingdom could then well spare auxiliaries to another, I will not now consider; but the counsel being once taken, it was in view that the retracting of it by their advice, who naturally were not counsellors in those mysteries, and yet were very apt to extend and usurp the jurisdiction and right of advising, upon the least precedent of admission, would open a door to let in many bold desires, to the king's disadvantage.

From this liberty and success of advising what was fit to be done without the walls of the kingdom, with reference to the levies for France and Spain, they assumed the same freedom, of consulting and determining what was not fit, within the walls of the church; and finding their numbers to be so thin, that they might, by art or accident, prevail with the major part to be of their mind; and to gratify the more violent party of the reformers, (who, with great impatience, suffered themselves to be contained within any bounds or limits, by those who knew better how to conduct their business,) they entered upon debate of the Book of Common-Prayer, (which sure, at that time, was much revered throughout the kingdom,) and proposed, "in regard (they said) many things in it gave offence, at least umbrage, to tender consciences, that there might be liberty to disuse it:" which proposition was so ungracious, that, though it was made in a thin house, and pressed by those who were of the greatest power and authority, it was so far from being consented to, that by the major part (the house consisting then of about six score) it was voted, "that it should be justly and duly observed."

However, the next day, contrary to all rules and orders of parliament, very many being absent who had been active in that debate, they suspended that order; and resolved, "that the standing of the communion-table in all churches should be altered;" the rails (which in most places had been set up for the more decency) "should be pulled down; that the chancels should be levelled, and made even with all other parts of the church; and that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus," (which was enjoined by a canon, and of long usage in the church;) and having digested these godly resolutions into an order, they carried it up to the lords for their concurrence; promising themselves, that, from the small number which remained there, they should find no dissent. But the major part of the lords being much scandalized, that the house of commons should not only unseasonably, and irregularly, interpose in a matter of which they had not the least jurisdiction; but should presume to disturb the peace of the church, and interrupt the settled and legal government thereof, by such schismatical presumption, not only refused to join with them, but, instead thereof, directed an order, formerly made by the house of peers, (on the sixteenth of January before,) to be printed, to this effect: "that the divine service should be performed, as it is appointed by the acts of parliament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order, shall be severely punished, according to the law;" and acquainted the commons therewith: who, nothing satisfied, pursued their former order; and, "commanding all the commons of England to submit to their direction, declared, that the order of the lords was made by the consent but of eleven lords, and that nine other lords did dissent from it; and, therefore, that no obedience should be given thereunto." Whereas the order had been made in full parliament, seven months before; and was seasonably ordered to be published, by the major part present, upon that important occasion. And such an arraignment the house of peers, for publishing an order in maintenance of the laws established, by those who had no authority to de-

clare what the law was, nor a jurisdiction over those who should infringe the law, was so transcendent a presumption, and breach of privilege, that there was great expectation what the lords would do in their own vindication.

There was one clause in the act of pacification, "that there should be a public and solemn day of thanksgiving, for the peace between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland:" but no day being appointed for that act of indevotion, the lords and commons assumed the power to themselves of directing it; and, to that purpose, made an ordinance, as they called it, "that it should be observed on the seventh of September following, throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales." Which was done accordingly; the factious ministers in all pulpits taking occasion then to magnify the parliament, and the Scots; and to infuse as much malignity into the people, against those who were not of that faction, as their wit and malice could suggest; the house of commons celebrating that day in the chapel at Lincoln's Inn; because the bishop of Lincoln, as dean of Westminster, had formed a prayer for that occasion, and enjoined it to be read on that day, in those churches [where he had jurisdiction]; which they liked not: both as it was formed, and formed by him; and so avoided [coming there].

After the solemnization of that day, and the making their declaration against the lords, about the order above mentioned, and the recommending some seditious, unconformable ministers, to be lecturers in churches about London, which the ministers were compelled to receive: when they had great apprehension, by their members leaving them, that they should not have forty remaining, (less than which number could not constitute a house of commons,) they consented to a recess; and on the ninth day of September, 1641, they adjourned themselves till the twentieth day of October following: either house irregularly (for the like had never before been practised) making a committee, to meet twice a week, and oftener, if they saw cause, during the recess, and to transact such business as they were authorized to do by their instructions.

The house of lords limited their committee (which consisted of the earls of Essex, Warwick, the lords Wharton, Kimbolton, and twelve more; but every three were as able to transact as the whole number) by their instructions, "only to open the letters which should come from the committee in Scotland, and to return answers to them; with power to recall that committee, when they thought fit; to send down monies to the armies; and to assist about their disbanding; and in removing the magazines from Berwick and Carlisle."

But the house of commons thought this power too narrow for their committee; and therefore against order too (for the power of the committees of both houses ought to have been equal) they qualified theirs (which consisted of Mr. Pym, Mr. Saint-John, Mr. Strode, sir Gilbert Gerrard, sir Henry Mildmay, sir Henry Vane, alderman Pennington, captain Venn, and others; every six having the authority of the whole) as well with [the] powers granted to the lords, as likewise, to go on in preparation of proceedings against such delinquents, as were voted or complained against in the house; and to receive any offers [of dis-

“covery] that they should make; to send to all sheriffs, and justices of peace, upon information of any riots, or tumults; to stir them up to their duty in repressing them; and to report to their house any failing in obedience to their sending; to take the accounts of any accountants to his majesty, in order to the preparations of his majesty’s revenue; to consider of framing and constituting a West India company; and to consider the fishing, upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland;” and many other extravagant particulars: which neither of both houses had to do with, but served to magnify the authority of that committee; and to draw resort and reverence to them from almost all sorts of men.

The houses being thus adjourned, the committee of the commons appointed Mr. Pym to sit in their chair; who, forthwith, with his own hand, signed the printed declarations before mentioned, of the ninth of September; and caused them to be so read in all churches in London, and throughout the counties. Whereupon the seditious and factious persons caused the windows to be broken down in churches; broke down the rails, and removed the table, (which, in many churches, had stood in that manner ever since the reformation,) and committed many insolent and scandalous disorders. And when the minister, and the graver and more substantial sort of inhabitants, used any opposition, and resisted such their license, they were immediately required to attend the committee; and, if they could be neither persuaded nor threatened to submit, their attendance was continued from day to day, to their great charge and vexation. If any grave and learned minister refused to admit into his church a lecturer recommended by them, (and I am confident, there was not, from the beginning of this parliament, one orthodox or learned man recommended by them to any church in England,) he was presently required to attend upon the committee; and not discharged till the houses met again; and then likewise, if he escaped commitment, continued, to his intolerable loss and trouble: few men having the patience to endure that oppression, against which they knew not whither to appeal; and therefore in the end submitted to what they could not resist; and so all pulpits were supplied with their seditious and schismatical preachers.

The armies were at last disbanded: and, about the end of September, the earl of Holland, in great pomp, returned to his house at Kensington; where he was visited and caressed, with great application, by all the factious party: for he had now, whether upon the disobligation remembered before, of being denied the making a baron; or upon some information, of some sharp expressions used by the queen upon his letter; and the conscience of that letter: or the apprehensions of being questioned and prosecuted upon the enormities of his office of chief justice in eyre, and other transgressions, fully declared himself of their party. And that they might be the better prepared to keep up the prejudice to the king, and the keenness against the court, till the coming together of both houses; when they had reason to believe the observation of their crooked and indirect courses, and their visible, unwarrantable breaches, upon the church, and the religion established by law, would render men less devoted to them; his lordship furnished

them with many informations of what had passed in the late army, which might be wrested to the king’s disadvantage; told them whatsoever the king himself had said to him, when he looked upon him as a person true to him; and when, it is very probable, he was not much delighted with the proceedings at Westminster; and of all the particulars, which sir Jacob Ashley, and sir John Coniers, had informed him, when they took him to be of entire trust with his majesty, and wholly under that consideration, (whereupon they were afterwards examined, and compelled to testify that in public, which they had before imparted to him in the greatest secrecy;) and added to all this, whatever information he had received by the lady Carlisle, of words or actions, spoken or done by the queen, which might increase their jealousy and malice to her majesty. And himself (who had been always believed a creature of the queen’s, and exceedingly obliged and protected by her immediate and single grace and favour, against the earl of Portland, the earl of Strafford, and the archbishop of Canterbury, in those high times when they had otherwise destroyed him) visited her majesty but once, from the time of his return out of the north, to the time of the king’s return from Scotland, which was full six weeks. And yet, there were some men still at those private meetings at Kensington, who thought the queen’s favour a likelier means for their preferment, than the interest of the others; and therefore always gave advertisement to her of what passed in that company: which information, for want of due care in the managery, and by reason of the unfaithfulness of her nearest servants, commonly produced somewhat, of which the other side made greater advantage, than she could do by the knowledge of their counsels and resolutions.

The short recess of the parliament, though it was not much above the space of a month, was yet a great refreshment to those who had sat near a full year, mornings and afternoons, with little or no intermission; and in that warm region, where thunder and lightning was made. Some very unwarrantable proceedings, by the committee that sat during the recess, or Mr. Pym, who sat in the chair of that committee, and issued out those orders concerning the church, gave so much offence and scandal, that the members were like to meet together with more courage, and less inclinations to novelties, than they had parted with. But there were several accidents fell out, some from very little, and some from very great causes, which, though they may not seem precisely pertinent to this present discourse, had that influence upon the nature and spirits of men, and upon the actions of that time, that, for the better understanding some particular passages, which will appear pertinent, it will be even necessary, briefly, and it shall be but very briefly, to mention some of those, how foreign soever.

When the king went into Scotland; for the better preserving the correspondence between the two kingdoms, as was pretended; and to see all things performed, which were to be done in the parliament of Scotland, by the act of pacification; a small committee [as hath been before said] was appointed by the two houses, consisting of one lord and two commoners, to attend (as the phrase was) upon his majesty: but, in truth, to be a spy upon him; and to give the same assistance

to the parliament there, upon any emergent occasion, as the Scottish commissioners had done here.

The person appointed by the lords, was the lord Howard of Escrick, a younger son of the house of Suffolk; who, in the time of the duke of Buckingham, married a niece of his; and having his whole dependence upon him, and being absolutely governed by him, was by him made a baron: but that dependence being at an end, his wife dead, and he without any virtue to promote himself, he withdrew himself from following the court, and, shortly after, from wishing it well; and had now delivered himself up, body and soul, to be disposed of by that party, which appeared most averse, and obnoxious, to the court and the government: and only in that confidence was designed to that employment; and to be entirely disposed and governed by the two members, who were joined with him by the house of commons, and they were, sir Philip Stapleton and Mr. Hambden.

The latter hath been mentioned before, as a man of great parts of understanding, and of great dexterity in nature and manners; and he must upon all occasions still be mentioned as a person of great utility, and equal to any employment or trust, good or bad, which he was inclined to undertake.

The other, sir Philip Stapleton, was a proper man, of a fair extraction; but, being a branch of a younger family, inherited but a moderate estate, about five hundred pounds the year, in Yorkshire; and, according to the custom of that country, [had] spent his time in those delights which horses and dogs administer. Being returned to serve in parliament, he concurred with his neighbours, Hotham and Cholmondley; being much younger than they, and governed by them in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford; and so was easily received into the company and familiarity of that whole party which took that work to heart; and in a short time appeared a man of vigour in body and mind; and to be rather without good breeding, than not capable of it; and so he quickly outgrew his friends and countrymen in the confidence of those who governed: and they looked upon him, as worth the getting entirely to them; and not averse from being gotten; and so joined him with Mr. Hambden in this their first employment (and the first, that ever a parliament had of that kind) to be initiated under so great a master; whose instruction he was very capable of.

There had been, even from the time the Scottish army entered into England, many factions and jealousies amongst the principal persons of that nation; but none so much taken notice of, as that between the two earls, of Montrose, and Argyle. The former took himself to have deserved as much as any man, in contributing more, and appearing sooner, in their first approach towards rebellion; as indeed he was a man of the best quality, who did so soon discover himself; and, it may be, he did it the sooner, in opposition to Argyle; who being then of the king's council, he doubted not, would be of his party. The people looked upon them both, as young men of unlimited ambition; and used to say, "that they were like Cæsar and Pompey, the one would endure no superior, and the other would have no equal." True it is, that from the time that Argyle declared himself against the king (which was immediately after the first pacification) Montrose appeared with less vigour

for the covenant; and had, by underhand and secret insinuations, made proffer of his service to the king. But now, after his majesty's arrival in Scotland, by the introduction of Mr. William Murray of the bedchamber, he came privately to the king; and informed him of many particulars, from the beginning of the rebellion; and, "that the marquis of Hamilton was no less faulty, and false towards his majesty, than Argyle;" and offered "to make proof of all in the parliament;" but rather desired, "to kill them both;" which he frankly undertook to do; but the king, abhorring that expedient, for his own security, advised, "that the proofs might be prepared for the parliament." When suddenly, on a Sunday morning, the city of Edinburgh was in arms; and Hamilton and Argyle both gone out of the town to their own houses; where they stood upon their guards; declaring publicly, "that they had withdrawn themselves, because they knew that there was a design to assassinate them; and chose rather to absent themselves, than by standing upon their defence in Edinburgh (which they could well have done) to hazard the public peace and the security of the parliament; which thundered on their behalf."

The committee at Edinburgh despatched away an express to London, with a dark and perplexed account, in the morning that the two lords had left the city; with many doubtful expressions, "what the end of it would be;" not without some dark insinuations, as if the design might look farther than Scotland. And these letters were brought to London, the day before the houses were to come together, after the recess; all that party taking pains to persuade others, "that it could not but be a design to assassinate more men than those lords at Edinburgh."

And the morning the houses were to meet, Mr. Hyde being walking in Westminster-hall, with the earl of Holland and the earl of Essex, both the earls seemed wonderfully concerned at it; and to believe, "that other men were in danger of the like assaults:" the other not thinking the apprehension worthy of them, told them merrily, "that he knew well what opinions they both had of those two lords, a year or two before, and he wondered how they became so altered:" to which they answered smiling, "that the times and the court was much altered since." And the houses were no sooner sat, but the report being made in the house of commons, and the committee's letter from Scotland being read, a motion was made, "to send to the house of peers, that the earl of Essex, who was left by the king, general on this side Trent, might be desired to appoint such a guard, as he thought competent for the security of the parliament, constantly to attend while the houses sat;" which was done accordingly; and continued, till they thought fit to have other guards. All which was done to amuse the people, as if the parliament was in danger: when in Scotland all things were quickly pacified; and ended in creating the marquis Hamilton a duke, and Argyle a marquis.

There was another accident happened a little before, of which the indisposition in Scotland was the effect, the death of the earl of Rothes, a man mentioned before, of the highest authority in the contriving and carrying on the rebellion in Scotland, and now the principal commissioner in Eng-

land, and exceedingly courted by all the party which governed. Whether he found that he had raised a spirit that would not be so easily conjured down again, and yet would not be as entirely governed by him as it had been; or whether he desired from the beginning only to mend his own fortune, or was converted in his judgment that the action he was engaged in was not warrantable, certain it is, that he had not been long in England, before he liked both the kingdom and the court so well, that he was not willing to part with either. He was of a pleasant and jovial humour, without any of those constraints which the formality of that time made that party subject themselves to; and he played his game so dexterously, that he was well assured upon a fair composition that the Scots' army should return home well paid, and that they should be contented with the mischief they had already done, without fomenting the distempers in England. He was to marry a noble lady of a great and ample fortune and wealth, and should likewise be made a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and a privy-counsellor; and upon these advantages made his condition in this kingdom as pleasant as he could; and in order thereunto, he resolved to preserve the king's power as high as he could in all his dominions. When any extraordinary accidents attend those private contracts, men naturally are very free in their censures, and so his sudden falling into a sickness, and from a great vigour of body, in the flower of his age, (for he was little more than thirty,) into a weakness, which was not usual, nor could the physicians discover the ground of it, administered much occasions of discourse; and that his countrymen too soon discovered his conversion. He was not able to attend upon his majesty to Scotland; where he was to have acted a great part; but he hoped to have been able to have followed him thither. His weakness increased so fast, that by the time the king was entered that kingdom, the earl died at Richmond, whither he retired for the benefit of the air; and his death put an end to all hopes of good quarter with that nation; and made him submit to all the uneasy and intolerable conditions there, they could impose upon him. Yet he returned from thence with some confidence that he should receive no more trouble from thence, the principal persons there having made him great acknowledgment, and greater professions; (for which he had given them all they could desire, and indeed all and more than he had to give :) and Lesley the general, whom he made earl of Leven, with precedence of all earls for his life, had told him voluntarily, and with an oath, that he would not only never serve against him, but would do him any service he should command, right or wrong.

There was a worse accident than all these, which fell out in the time of the king's stay in Scotland, and about the time of the two houses reconvening; which made a wonderful impression upon the minds of men; and proved of infinite disadvantage to the king's affairs, which were then recovering new life; and that was the rebellion in Ireland: which broke out about the middle of October, in all parts of the kingdom. Their design upon Dublin was miraculously discovered, the night before it was to be executed; and so the surprisal of that castle prevented; and the principal conspirators, who had the charge of it, apprehended.

In the other parts of the kingdom they observed the time appointed, not hearing of the misfortunes of their friends at Dublin. A general insurrection of the Irish spread itself over the whole country, in such an inhuman and barbarous manner, that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English protestants murdered, before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence, by drawing together into towns, or strong houses.

From Dublin, the lords justices, and council, despatched their letters by an express (the same man who had made the discovery, one O'Conelly, who had formerly been a servant to sir John Clotworthy) to London, to the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant of Ireland. From the parts of the north, and Ulster, an express was sent to the king himself, at Edinburgh; and the king's letters from thence, to the two houses, arrived within less than two days after the messenger from Dublin.

It was upon a Sunday night, that the letters from Dublin came to the earl of Leicester; who immediately caused the council to be summoned, and, as soon as it was met, informed them of the condition of Ireland; that is, so much as those letters contained: which were written, when little more was known than the discovery at Dublin; and what the conspirators had confessed upon their examinations. The house of peers had then adjourned itself to the Wednesday following; but the house of commons were to meet on the next day, Monday morning; and the council resolved, "that they would in a body go to the house of commons, as soon as it sat, and inform them of it;" which they did; notice being first given to the house, "that the lords of the council had some matters of importance to impart to them, and were above in the painted chamber ready to come to them:" whereupon chairs were set in the house for them to repose themselves, and the sergeant sent to conduct them. As soon as they entered the house, the speaker desired them to sit down; and then being covered, Littleton, lord keeper, told the speaker, "that the lord lieutenant of Ireland, having received letters from the lords justices and council there, had communicated them to the council; and since the house of peers was not then sitting, they had thought fit, for the importance of the letters, to impart them to that house;" and so referred the business to the lord lieutenant; who, without any enlargement, only read the letters he had received, and so the lords departed from the house.

There was a deep silence in the house, and a kind of consternation: most men's heads having been intoxicated, from their first meeting in parliament, with imaginations of plots, and treasonable designs, through the three kingdoms. The affair itself seemed to be out of their cognizance; and the communication of it served only to prepare their thoughts, what to do when more should be known; and when they should hear what the king thought fit to be done. And when the king's letters arrived, they were glad the news had come to him, when he had so good council about him to advise him what to do.

The king was not then informed of what had been discovered at Dublin: but the letters out of Ulster (which he sent to the parliament) gave him notice "of the general insurrection in the north; and of the inhuman murders committed there,

"upon a multitude of the protestants; and that sir Phelim O'Neil appeared as the general and commander in chief."

Upon which his majesty writ to the two houses, "that he was satisfied that it was no rash insurrection, but a formed rebellion; which must be prosecuted with a sharp war; the conducting and prosecuting whereof he wholly committed to their care and wisdom, and depended upon them for the carrying it on; and that for the present he had caused a strong regiment of fifteen hundred foot, under good officers, to be transported out of Scotland into Ulster, for the relief of those parts;" which were upon the matter wholly inhabited by Scots and Irish; there being fewer English [there], than in any part of Ireland.

This fell out to their wish; and thereupon they made a committee of both houses, "for the consideration of the affairs of Ireland, and providing for the supply of men, arms, and money, for the suppressing that rebellion;" the lord lieutenant of Ireland being one of the committee, which sat every morning in the painted chamber; and the lord lieutenant first communicated all the letters he received, to them to be consulted on, and to be thence reported to the two houses; which were hereby possessed of a huge power and dependence; all men applying themselves to them, that is, to the chief leaders, for their preferments in that war: the mischief whereof, though in the beginning little taken notice of, was afterwards felt by the king very sensibly.

These concurrent circumstances much altered and suppressed that good humour and spirit the houses were well disposed to meet with; and the angry men, who were disappointed of the preferments they expected, and had promised themselves, took all occasions, by their emissaries, to insinuate into the minds of the people, "that this rebellion in Ireland was contrived or fomented by the king, or, at least, by the queen, for the advancement of popery; and that the rebels published and declared, that they had the king's authority for all they did;" which calumny, though without the least shadow or colour of truth, made more impression upon the minds of sober and moderate men (who till then had much disliked the passionate proceedings of the parliament) than could be then imagined, or can yet be believed. So great a prejudice, or want of reverence, was universally contracted against the court, especially against the queen, whose power and activity was thought too great.

Shortly after the beginning of the parliament, there had been a committee appointed, "to prepare and draw up a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and the particular grievances it had sustained;" but it scarce ever met, or was ever after mentioned. But now, the houses no sooner met after their recess, than Mr. Strode (one of the fiercest men of the party, and of the party only for his fierceness) moved, "that that committee might be revived, and ordered to meet;" for which, of course, a time and place was appointed: by which men easily discerned, that nothing of their fury was abated, and the less, in that they found their credit every day lessened in the house, by the opposition and contradiction they sustained. And men being thus disquieted; and knowing little; and so doubting much; every day produced a new discovery, of some new trea-

son and plot against the kingdom. One day, "a letter from beyond seas, of great forces prepared to invade England;" then, "some attempt upon the life of Mr. Pym;" and no occasion omitted to speak of the evil council about the king; when scarce a counsellor durst come near him, or be suspected to hear from him; then an order must be framed to the marquis of Hertford, (governor to the prince,) to require him to take all care of his highness' person, and a motion that the king might be desired to make no privy-counsellor but such as the two houses might approve of, and many other such extravagancies, which, though they seemed then but the murmurings of inconsiderable persons, were artificially vented to try the pulse of the house, and whether they were sufficiently inflamed with the new discoveries.

After some days, a new bill was presented to the house of commons, "for the taking away the bishops' votes in parliament; and for disabling them to exercise any temporal office in the kingdom:" against which was objected, "that it was contrary to the course and order of parliament, that any bill that had been rejected should be again preferred the same session; and therefore that it ought not to be so much as read:" to which nothing was replied but noise; and "that this bill varied in some clauses from the former; and that the good of the kingdom absolutely depended upon it:" and so, by majority of voices, it was ordered to be read; and afterwards, without any equal opposition, passed the house, and was transmitted to the lords: the greatest argument being, "that their intermeddling with temporal affairs was inconsistent with, and destructive to, the exercise of their spiritual function." Whilst their reformation, both in Scotland and this kingdom, was driven on by no men so much as those of the clergy, who were their instruments. As, without doubt, the archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at court, as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall had then upon the houses; neither did all the bishops of Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs, as Mr. Henderson had done.

There being at this time the bishoprics of Worcester, Lincoln, Exeter, Chichester, and Bristol, void by death, or translation; the king, during the time of his being in Scotland, collated to those sees, Dr. Prideaux, the regius professor of divinity in Oxford; Dr. Winniff, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Brownerigg, master of Catherine-hall in Cambridge; Dr. Henry King, dean of Litchfield; and Dr. Westfield, of Great St. Bartholomew's, London; all of great eminency in the church; frequent preachers; and not a man, to whom the faults of the then governing clergy were imputed, or against whom the least objection could be made.

As soon as the house of commons heard of this designation of his majesty's, (having then newly the second time sent up to the house of peers their bill to remove bishops from thence,) they were much troubled, that, at a time when they resolved to take away the old, the king should presume to make new bishops, and create so many voices to oppose the other; and therefore they moved very earnestly, "that the lords might be moved to join with them, in sending to the king, to make no new bishops till the controversy should be ended about the government of the church:" which appeared so unreasonable, that the wisest of them

who wished it, apprehended no possibility, that the lords would join with them; or, if they did, that the king would be prevailed with. However, being glad to find their companions had so much mettle, after a long debate, the major part carried it, "that a committee should be appointed to draw up reasons to give the lords, to concur with them in that desire to the king:" but, after that, moved that stone no further.

In all debates of this nature, where the law, reason, and common sense, were in a diameter opposite to what they proposed, they suffered those who differed from them in opinion, and purposes, to say what they thought fit in opposition; and then, without vouchsafing to endeavour their satisfaction, called importunately for the question; well knowing that they had a plurality of voices to concur with them, in whatsoever they desired. I remember, in this last business, when it was voted that a committee should be named to draw up reasons, the committee being to be named, many of those who had during the debate positively argued against the thing, were called upon to be of that committee; and, amongst these, the lord Falkland, and Mr. Hyde, who stood up, and "desired to be excused from that service, where they could be of no use; having given so many reasons against it, that they could not apprehend any could be given for it; therefore they thought the work would be better done, if those, who had satisfied themselves with the reasonableness of what they wished, would undertake the con-
"verting and disposing of other men." There was a gentleman who sat by, (Mr. Bond of Dorchester; very severe, and resolved, against the church and the court,) [who,] with much passion and trouble of mind, said to them, "For God's sake be of the committee; you know none of our side can give reasons;" which made those that overheard him smile, though he spake it suddenly, and upon observation that their leaders were not then in the house. Otherwise, it cannot be denied, those who conducted them, and were the contrivers of the mischief, were men of great parts, and unspeakable industry; and their silence in some debates proceeded partly from pride, that it might appear their reputation and interest had an influence upon the sense of the house, against any rhetoric or logic: but principally from the policy they were obliged to use; for though they could have given a pregnant reason for the most extravagant overture they ever made, and evinced it, that it was the proper way to their end; but it being not yet time to discover their purposes, (how apparent soever they were to discerning men,) they were necessarily to give no reasons at all; or such as were not in truth the true ones.

This stratagem failing, of stopping the creation of the new bishops, they endeavour by all means to hasten the house of peers to despatch the work before them, before they should be qualified (their elections, confirmations, and consecrations, and other ceremonies, spending much time) to increase the number of the opposers; and for the better doing thereof, with great confidence, they demand of the lords, "that no recusant lord, or bishop, might have a vote in the passing that act: the last being parties; and the other not supposed competent judges on the behalf of the kingdom." But, when they found that logic could not prevail, (the demand being indeed so scandalous, that the

house of peers, if they had not been fatally sotted, must have resented it as a high presumption, and insolent breach of privilege,) with more formality and colour, though as unreasonably, they pressed, "that those thirteen bishops, whom they had before impeached, for making the late canons; and upon whom their lordships themselves had passed notable votes," (such in truth as were fitter for accusers than judges, unparliamentary and unprecedented,) "might be sequestered from the house, till they should be brought to judgment." And for this, without any shame, they found lawyers in their house, who, prostituting the dignity and learning of their profession, to the cheap and vile affectation of popular applause, were not ashamed to aver custom and law for their senseless proposition. But the house of peers was not yet deluded enough, or terrified, (though too many amongst them paid an implicit devotion to the house of commons,) to comply in this unreasonable demand.

And here I cannot but with grief and wonder remember the virulency and animosity expressed upon all occasions, from many of good knowledge in the excellent and wise profession of the common law, towards the church and churchmen; taking all opportunities, uncharitably, to improve mistakes into crimes; and, unreasonably, to transfer and impute the follies and faults of particular men (swollen with ambition or corrupted with avarice) to the malignity of their order and function; and so whet and sharpen the edge of the law, to wound the church in its jurisdiction; and at last to cut it up by the roots, and demolish its foundation.

It cannot be denied, that the peevish and petulant spirits of some clergymen have taken great pains to irreconcile that profession to them; and others as unskilfully (finding that in former times, when the religion of the state was a vital part of its policy, many churchmen were employed eminently in the civil government of the kingdom) imputed their wanting those ornaments their predecessors wore, to the power and prevalency of the lawyers; some principal men whereof, in all times, they could not but remember as avowed enemies of the church: and so believed the straitening and confining their profession must naturally extend and enlarge their own jurisdiction. Thence proceeded their bold and unwarrantable opposing and protesting against prohibitions, and other proceedings at law, on the behalf of ecclesiastical courts; and the procuring some orders and privileges from the king, on the behalf of that faculty; even with an exclusion of the other: as the archbishop of Canterbury prevailed with the king to direct, "that half the masters of the chancery should be always civil lawyers;" and to declare, "that no others, of what condition soever, should serve him as masters of request." Which was a great mistake: for, besides the stopping prohibitions was an envious breach upon the justice of the kingdom; which, at some time or other, will still be too hard for the strongest opposers and oppressors of it: I could never yet know, why the doctors of the civil laws were more of kin to the bishops, or the church, than the common lawyers were. To say that their places were in their disposal, as chancellors, commissaries, and the like; and, therefore, that their persons were more like to be at their disposal too, at least, to pay them greater reverence, concludes nothing: for they

had all opportunity enough, and I think equal to oblige and create a dependence from the other profession; and I am persuaded, the stewardships to bishops, and of the lands of the church, which were to be managed by the rules of the common law, were not much inferior in profit to all the chancellorships in England. And for their affection and respect to their patrons, I believe, experience hath now manifested, that though many of the common lawyers have much indiscretion, injustice, and malice to repent of towards the church, the professors of the civil law have not been less active, to their skill and power, in the unnatural destruction of their mother; and then, where their policy may consist with justice, it will be no ill measure in making friendship, to look into the power of doing hurt and doing good, as well as into the faculty of judging; and it was apparent, that the civil law in this kingdom could neither help or hurt the church in any exigent, it being neither of reputation enough to advance it, or power to oppress it; whereas the professors of the other had always, by their interests, experience, abilities, and reputation, so great an influence upon the civil state, upon court and country, that they were notable friends or enemies; and then the dependence of the church was entirely upon that law, all their inheritance and estates (except their minute tithes) being only determinable by those rules; and by which they have seldom received eminent injustice. And truly, I have never yet spoken with one clergyman, who hath had the experience of both litigations, that hath not ingenuously confessed, "he had rather, in the respect of his trouble, charge, and satisfaction to his understanding, have three suits depending in Westminster-hall, than one in the arches, or any ecclesiastical court."

The particulars above mentioned were, I confess, to vulgar minds, great provocations and temptations to revenge; and, therefore, I do not at all wonder, that, in the great herd of the common lawyers, many pragmatical spirits, whose thoughts and observations have been contracted to the narrow limits of the few books of that profession, or within the narrower circle of the bar-oratory, should side with the others, in the womanish art of inveighing against persons, when they should be reforming things: and that some, by degrees, having found the benefit of being of that opinion, (for we all remember, when papist and puritan lawyers got more money than their neighbours, for the opinions they had; not which they delivered,) grew, at last, to have fits of conscience in earnest; and to believe, that a parity in the church was necessary to religion, and not like to produce a parity in the state; the suspicion of which would quickly have wrought upon their divinity.

But, that learned and unbiassed (I mean unprovoked) men, in that science, who knew the frame and constitution of the kingdom, and that the bishops were no less the representative body of the clergy, than the house of commons was of the people; and, consequently, that the depriving them of voice in parliament, was a violence, and removing landmarks, and not a shaking (which might settle again) but dissolving foundations; which must leave the building unsafe for habitation: [that such men,] who knew the ecclesiastical and civil state was so wrought and interwoven to-

gether, and, in truth, so incorporated in each other, that like Hippocrates' twins, they cannot but laugh and cry together; and that the professors of the law were never at so great a height, as even in this time that they so unjustly envied the greatness of the church: and, lastly, [that they,] who might well know, that the great and unwieldy body of the clergy, consisting of such different tempers, humours, inclinations, and abilities, and which inevitably will have so strong an influence upon the natures and affections of the people, could never be regulated and governed by any magistrates, but of themselves; nor by any rules, but such power which the bishops exercised; whom (besides all arguments of piety, and submission to antiquity) experience of that blessed time since the reformation, not to be paralleled in any nation under heaven, declared to be the most happy managers of that power, whatsoever rankness and excrescence had proceeded from some branches: I say, that these knowing and discerning men (for such I must confess there have been) should believe it possible for them to flourish, and that the law itself would have the same respect and veneration from the people, when the well disposed fabric of the church should be rent asunder, (which, without their activity and skill in confusion, could never have been compassed,) hath been to me an instance of the Divine anger against the pride of both, in suffering them to be the fatal engines to break one another: which could very hardly have been oppressed by any other strength or power than their own.

And I cannot but say, to the professors of that great and admirable mystery, the law, (upon which no man looks with more affection, reverence, and submission,) who seem now, by the fury and iniquity of the time, to stand upon the ground they have won, and to be masters of the field; and, it may be, wear some of the trophies and spoils they have ravished from the oppressed; that they have yet but sharpened weapons for others to wound themselves; and that their own eloquence shall be applied to their own destruction. And, therefore, if they have either piety to repent and redeem the ill that they have wrought, or policy to preserve their own condition from contempt, and themselves from being slaves to the most abject of the people, they will wind up the church and the law into one bottom; and, by a firm combination and steady pursuit, endeavour to fix both to the same pinnacle, from whence they have been so violently ravished.

By this time the king was as weary of Scotland, as he had been impatient to go thither; finding all things proposed to him, as to a vanquished person, without consideration of his honour, or interest; and having not one counsellor about him, but the duke of Lenox, (who from the beginning carried himself by the most exact rules of honour, gratitude, and fidelity to him,) and very few followers, who had either affection to his person, or respect of his honour.

That which should have been an act of oblivion, was made a defence and justification of whatsoever they had done: their first tumults, and erecting their tables in opposition [to], and at last suppressing, both courts of justice and session; and the acts and orders of those tables, declared to be "the effects of their duty to his majesty; and "according to the law of the land:" and so all those, who according to their allegiance had op-

posed and resisted them on the behalf of his majesty, and [were] qualified by his majesty's commissions, [were] adjudged criminal; and the only persons excepted from pardon, and exempted from the benefit of that oblivion.

The seditious acts of the assembly, which had expelled all bishops, and the canonical clergy, from being members of that assembly; and declared themselves to have a power "to inflict the censures of the church upon his majesty himself;" were declared "to be lawful, and according to the constitution of the kingdom; and the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, declared to be against the word of God, and an enemy to the propagation of the true reformed protestant religion; and therefore to be utterly abolished; and their lands given to the king, his heirs, and successors."

In consideration of the king's necessary absence from that his native kingdom, it was thought fit, "that the full and absolute government thereof should be committed to the lords of the secret council; who were likewise made conservators of the peace of the two kingdoms, during the intervals of parliaments;" and those lords and conservators "were then, and still, to be named by parliament, which was once in three years to assemble upon a day certain, without any summons from the king, if he neglected to publish such summons; and, upon the same reason, all great officers, as chancellor, treasurer, secretary, and the rest, nominated by parliament; and in the interval by the lords of the secret council;" without so much as being concerned in his majesty's approbation.

All which acts, and whatsoever else they were pleased to present to him, concerning church or state, the king confirmed; and thereby made the lord Lowden, who had been the principal manager of the rebellion, chancellor of Scotland; and created him likewise an earl; and conferred the other great offices, as he was directed: then he made the earl of Argyle (for he was still trusted with conferring of honours) marquis; their great general, Lesley, earl of Leven; and their lieutenant-general, earl of Calendar; and conferred other honours, according to the capacity and ability they had had in doing him mischief: and, lastly, (leaving all his own party to live, for he had procured a pardon for them from the parliament, upon condition "they came not near the king's presence; nor received any benefit from him, without their approbation,") he gave all the lands of the church, which had been devolved to him by their ruin, and whatsoever he had else to give, in that kingdom, to those who had discovered it not to be in good hands before: so that he seemed to have made that progress into Scotland, only that he might make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom; which he could never have done, so absolutely, without going thither. And so, having nothing more to do there, he began his journey towards England about the middle of November.

It is not to be doubted, in consideration of those extravagant concessions, they made as extravagant promises to the king; that, by their loyal and dutiful comportment, his majesty should find no diminution of his power; that he should have the entire obedience of that nation, to preserve his full rights and regalities in England; and to reduce Ireland: the earl of Leven telling him, (as mar-

quis Hamilton assured me, in his hearing,) "that he would not only never more serve against him, but that whenever his majesty would require his service, he should have it, without ever asking what the cause was:" and many of them whispering in his ear, and assuring him, "that as soon as the troubles of the late storm could be perfectly calmed, they would reverse and repeal whatsoever was now unreasonably extorted from him." And his majesty having never received any profit from Scotland, or other benefit than the reputation of a kingdom in his title, cared the less for what he parted with there: and, it may be, being resolved they should be no more charge to him in his court, (for sure he was then perfectly irreconciled to the whole nation,) he believed he should save more in this kingdom, than he had given in that; and he made no scruple, but that they were so full fed now, that they would not stir from home again, till the temper and affection of his people here should be better disposed for their reception.

But his majesty never considered, or not soon enough, that they could not reasonably hope to keep what they had so ill got, but by the same arts by which they were such gainers; and there cannot be a surer evidence of the continuance of an enemy, than the having received injuries from him, of a nature that do not use to be forgiven. Neither did he sufficiently weigh the unspeakable encouragement, and, in some particulars, the reasonable pretence the factious party here would have, from the prosperous wickedness of those there. And, it is certain, their number from thence increased wonderfully; the enemies of the church presuming their work was more than half done, when the king himself had declared, (for his consent to that act they would easily make appear to be such,) "that the government by archbishops, and bishops, was against the word of God, and the propagation of religion." Many concluding the king would at last yield to any thing, put themselves in company of the boldest and most positive askers; and some, who in their hearts abhorred what the Scots had done, yet disdaining to be overwitted by them; and that they should get more for themselves, and receive a greater argument of the king's trust, than we of this nation; out of pure malice to them, resolved to do the same things with them; and so joined and concurred in any exorbitances. All which the king too late discovered, by the entertainment he received upon his return.

About the time the news came of the king's being to begin his journey from Scotland upon a day appointed; and that he had settled all things in that kingdom to the general satisfaction; the committee for preparing the remonstrance offered their report to the house; which caused the draught they offered to be read. It contained a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done, from the first hour of the king's coming to the crown, to that minute; with all those sharp reflections which could be made, upon the king himself, the queen, and council; and published all the unreasonable jealousies of the present government, of the introducing popery; and all other particulars, which might disturb the minds of the people; which were enough discomposed.

The house seemed generally to dislike it; many

saying, "that it was very unnecessary, and unseasonable: unnecessary, all those grievances being already fully redressed; and the liberty and property of the subject being as well secured for the future, as could possibly be done: and then that it was very unseasonable, after the king had gratified them, with granting every thing which they had desired of him; and after so long absence, in the settling the disorders in another kingdom, which he had happily composed; to be now welcomed home with such a volume of reproaches, for what others had done amiss, and which he himself had reformed." Notwithstanding all which, all the other party appeared passionately concerned that it might not be rejected; and enlarged themselves with as high expressions against the government, as at first; with many insinuations, "that we were in danger of being deprived of all the good acts which we had gained, if great care and vigilance was not used, to disappoint some counsels which were still entertained;" making doubtful glances and reflections upon the rebellion in Ireland, (with which they perceived many good men were easily amused,) and in the end prevailed, "that a day should be appointed, when the house should be resolved into a grand committee, and the remonstrance to be then retaken into consideration:" and in the mean time they employed all their credit and interest with particular men, to persuade them, "that the passing that remonstrance was most necessary, for the preservation and maintenance of all those good laws which they had already made;" giving several reasons to several persons, according to their natures and inclinations; assuring many, "that they intended it only for the mortification of the court, and manifestation that that malignant party, which appeared to be growing up in the house, could not prevail;" and then "that it should remain still in the clerk's hands, and never be published."

And by these, and the like arts, they promised themselves, that they should easily carry it: so that the day it was to be resumed, they entertained the house all the morning with other debates, and towards noon called for the remonstrance; and it being urged by some, "that it was too late to enter upon it, with much difficulty they consented, that it should be entered upon the next morning at nine of the clock; and every clause should be debated, the speaker in the chair;" for they would not have the house resolved into a committee, which they believed would spend too much time. Oliver Cromwell (who, at that time, was little taken notice of) asked the lord Falkland, "Why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it?" He answered, "There would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate." The other replied, "A very sorry one:" they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it.

But he quickly found he was mistaken: for the next morning, the debate being entered upon about nine of the clock in the morning, it continued all that day; and candles being called for when it grew dark, (neither side being very desirous to adjourn it till the next day; though it was evident, very many withdrew themselves out of pure faintness and disability to attend the conclusion,) the debate continued, till after it was

twelve of the clock, with much passion; and the house being then divided, upon the passing or not passing it, it was carried for the affirmative, by nine voices, and no more: and as soon as it was declared, Mr. Hambden moved, "that there might be an order entered for the present printing it;" which produced a sharper debate than the former. It appeared then, that they did not intend to send it up to the house of peers for their concurrence; but that it was upon the matter an appeal to the people; and to infuse jealousies into their minds. It had never been the custom to publish any debates, or determinations of the house, which were not regularly first transmitted to the house of peers; nor was it thought, in truth, that the house had authority to give warrant for the printing of any thing; all which was offered by Mr. Hyde, with some warmth, as soon as the motion was made for the printing it; and he said, "he did believe the printing it in that manner was not lawful; and he feared it would produce mischievous effects; and therefore desired the leave of the house, that if the question should be put, and carried in the affirmative, that he might have liberty to enter his protestation;" which he no sooner said, than Jeffery Palmer (a man of great reputation, and much esteemed in the house) stood up, and made the same motion for himself, "that he might likewise protest." When immediately together many afterwards, without distinction, and in some disorder, cried out, "They did protest:" so that there was after scarce any quiet and regular debate. But the house by degrees being quieted, they all consented, about two of the clock in the morning, to adjourn till two of the clock the next afternoon. And as they went out of the house, the lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell, "whether there had been a debate?" to which he answered, "that he would take his word another time;" and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, "that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance.

And however they got this victory, they did not in a long time recover the spirits they lost, and the agony they had sustained, whilst it was in suspense; and they discerned well enough, that the house had not, at that time, half its members; though they had provided, that not a man of their party was absent; and that they had even then carried it by the hour of the night, which drove away a greater number of old and infirm opposers, than would have made those of the negative superior in number: so that they had little hope, in a fuller house, to prevail in any of their unjust designs, except they found some other expedient, by hopes or fears, to work upon the affections of the several members.

In order to which, they spent most part of the next day in their private consultations, how to chastise some of those who most offended them the day before; and resolved in the first place, not to suffer that precedent to be introduced into the house, "that men should protest against the sense of the house:" which, it is true, had not been used in the house of commons. And this subject was the more grateful to them, because they should

hereby take revenge upon Mr. Hyde, whom they perfectly hated above any man; and to whose activity they imputed the trouble they had sustained the day before; and he was the first who made the protestation, that is, asked leave to do it; which produced the other subsequent clamour, that was indeed in some disorder. But here they differed amongst themselves; all the leading violent men, who bore the greatest sway, were most glad of the occasion, as it gave them opportunity to be rid of Mr. Hyde, which they passionately desired: but sir John Hotham, Cholmondley, and Stapleton (who never severed, and had a numerous train which attended their motions) remembered the service Mr. Hyde had done against the court of York, (the overthrowing whereof was their peculiar glory,) and would not consent that they should question him; but were ready to concur with them in the prosecution of any other of the protesters; whereof there was number enough. This made so great difference amongst them, that for the present they agreed no further, than "that they would that afternoon only provide, that the next morning they would fall upon the matter;" and that then they might consult together at night, what person they would sacrifice.

And so about three of the clock, when the house met, Mr. Pym "lamented the disorder of the night before, which, he said, might probably have engaged the house in blood, and proceeded principally [from] the offering a protestation, which had been never before offered in that house, and was a transgression that ought to be severely examined, that mischief hereafter might not result from that precedent: and therefore proposed, that the house would the next morning enter upon that examination; and in the mean time, men might recollect themselves, and they, who used to take notes, might peruse their memorials; that the persons who were the chief causers of the disorder might be named, and defend themselves the best they could:" and with this resolution the house arose; the vexation of the night before being very visible in the looks and countenance of many. And that night's deliberation, nor all the artifice or importunity that could be used, could not remove the obstinate northern men from their resolution: and they declared positively, "that, if they prosecuted Mr. Hyde, they, and all their friends, would engage in his defence:" but the others would not incur the danger or inconvenience of such a schism; and so they unanimously agreed upon a third person, whom they would accuse.

The next morning they first enlarged upon the offence itself; "of the mischief it had like to have produced, and of the mischief it would unavoidably produce, if the custom or liberty of it was ever introduced; that it was the first time it had ever been offered in that house; and that care ought to be taken, that it should be the last; by the severe judgment of the house, upon those persons who had begun the presumption."

Mr. Hyde, who had then known nothing of the private consultation, and had many reasons to believe himself to be designed, stood up (notwithstanding some signs made to him at a distance by his northern friends, which he understood not) and said, "It concerned him to justify what he had done, being the first man who mentioned the protestation:" upon which there was a general

noise and clamour "to withdraw;" and as great "to speak:" upon which he proceeded, and said, "He was not old enough to know the ancient customs of that house; but, that he well knew, it was a very ancient custom in the house of peers; and leave was never denied to any man, who asked that he might protest, and enter his dissent, against any judgment of the house, to which he would not be understood to have given his consent: that he did not understand any reason, why a commoner should not have the same liberty, if he desired not to be involved in any vote, which he thought might possibly be inconvenient to him. That he had not offered his protestation against the remonstrance, though he had opposed [it] all he could, because it remained still within those walls; that he had only desired leave to protest against the printing it; which, he thought, was not in many respects lawful for them to do; and might prove very pernicious to the public peace." X

They were very much offended with all he said, and his confidence in speaking; and Mr. Strode could not contain himself from saying, "that that gentleman had confessed that he had first proposed the protestation; and, therefore, desired he might withdraw;" which many others likewise called for: till sir John Hotham appeared with some warmth against it; and young Hotham, his son, accused Jeffery Palmer "of giving the cause of disorder, by saying, *I do protest*, without asking the leave of the house, and encouraging [others] to cry out every man, *I do protest*:" whereupon they all fell into that noise and confusion; and so, without much more discourse, Mr. Palmer was called upon "to explain;" which as he was about to do, Mr. Hyde (who loved him much, and had rather have suffered himself, than that he should) spake to the orders of the house; and said, "that it was against the orders and practice of the house, that any man should be called upon to explain, for any thing he said in the house two days before; when it could not be presumed, that his own memory could recollect all the words he had used; or that any body else could charge him with them; and appealed to the house, whether there was any precedent of the like." And there is no doubt, there never had been; and it was very irregular. But they were too positively resolved not to be diverted; and, after two hours' debate, himself desiring, "that, to save the house further trouble, he might answer, and withdraw;" which he did. When it drew towards night, after many hours' debate, it was ordered, "that he should be committed to the Tower;" the angry men pressing, with all their power, "that he might be expelled the house;" having borne him a long grudge, for the civility he shewed in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford; that is, that he had not used the same reproachful language which the others had done: but they were at last glad to compound for his bare commitment to the Tower: from whence he was within few days enlarged, and returned again to the house. And in the close of that day, and the rising of the house, without much opposition, they obtained an order for the printing their remonstrance.

That remonstrance, after many clauses and unbecoming expressions were cast out, contained, "that there had been, from the beginning of his majesty's reign, a malignant and pernicious de-

“sign, of subverting the fundamental laws and principles of government, upon which the religion and justice of the kingdom was established: that the actors and promoters thereof were the jesuited papists; the bishops and corrupt part of the clergy; and such counsellors and courtiers, as had engaged themselves to further the interests of some foreign princes, or states, to the prejudice of the king and state at home; all which had endeavoured to raise differences and discontents betwixt the king and his people, upon questions of prerogative and liberty; to suppress the purity of religion, and such men as were best affected to it, as the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce; to cherish and maintain those opinions in religion, which brought ours nearest and most agreeable to the papists; and to continue, multiply, and enlarge the differences between the protestants themselves, distinguishing between protestants and puritans, by introducing and countenancing such opinions and ceremonies, as were fittest for accommodation with popery; that so, of papists, Arminians, and libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such counsels and resolutions, as were most conducive to their own ends: and, lastly, to disaffect the king to parliaments, by slanders and false imputations, and so putting him upon other ways of supply, as of more advantage than the ordinary course of subsidies, which brought infinite loss to king and people, and caused the distractions which ensued.”

They remembered “the breach of the parliament at Oxford, in the first year of his majesty’s reign; and reproached his majesty with the fruitless voyage to Cadiz, at his first coming to the crown; the loss of Rochelle, by first suppressing their fleet with his own royal ships, by which the protestant religion in France infinitely suffered; the making a war with France precipitately, and a peace with Spain, without their consent, and so deserting the cause of the palatinate; and with a design to bring in German horse, to force the kingdom, by rigour, to submit to such arbitrary contributions, as should be required of them.”

They remembered him “of charging the kingdom by billeting of soldiers, and by raising coat and conduct money for those soldiers, in the second and third years of his reign; of his dissolving the parliament in his second year, after their declaration of an intent to grant five subsidies; and the exacting those five subsidies afterwards by a commission of loan; upon the refusal whereof, divers gentlemen and others were imprisoned, whereof some died, by the diseases they contracted in that imprisonment; of great sums raised by privy-seals; and of an attempt to set the excise on foot.”

They remembered “the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year of his reign, and the untrue and scandalous declarations thereupon; the imprisoning divers members of that parliament after the dissolution, and detaining them close prisoners for words spoken in parliament; sentencing and fining them for those words; one of which died in prison, for want of ordinary refreshment, whose blood (they said) still cried for vengeance.”

They reproached his majesty “with injustice,

“oppression, and violence, which, after the breach of that parliament, broke in upon them, without any restraint or moderation; with the great sums of money he had exacted throughout the kingdom for default of knighthood, in the fourth year of his reign; with the receiving tonnage and poundage from the death of king James; and raising the book of rates, and laying new impositions upon trade; with the enlargement of forests, and compositions thereupon; the engrossing gunpowder, and suffering none to buy it without license; with all the most odious monopolies of soap, wine, salt, leather, sea-coal, and the rest,” (which had been granted from his majesty’s first coming to the crown, and some of them before,) “with the new tax of ship-money, and the ill-guarding the seas, and leaving the merchant naked to the violence of the Turkish pirates, notwithstanding that extraordinary and extravagant supply; with the vexations upon pretence of nuisances in building, and thereupon raising great sums of money for licenses to build; and of depopulation, that men might pay fines to continue the same misdemeanour; with the seizing the merchants’ money in the mint; and an abominable project of making brass money.”

They repeated “the extravagant censures of the star-chamber, whereby the subject had been oppressed by fines, imprisonments, stigmatizings, mutilations, whippings, pillories, gags, confinements, banishments; the severe and illegal proceedings of the council-table, and other new-erected judicatories; and the suspensions, excommunications, and deprivations of learned and pious ministers, by the high commission court; which grew to that excess of sharpness and severity, that they said it was not much less than the Romish inquisition.”

They reproached the king “with the liturgy and canons sent into Scotland, as an attempt upon the protestant religion; with the forcing that nation to raise an army in their own defence, and raising an army against them; with the pacification, and breach of that pacification; that he called a parliament after, in hope to corrupt it, and make it countenance the war with Scotland; which when he found it would not do, he dissolved it, and then committed members to prison; and compelled men to lend money against their wills; and imprisoned such as refused.”

They mentioned “the synod held by the bishops after the end of the parliament, and the canons and oath made by them; the raising the armies, here and in Ireland, against the Scots; and the liberal collection and contribution from the clergy, and the catholics, towards that war; all the favours that had been done to the papists; the reception and entertainment of seignior Con, and the comte Rozetti, by the queen, from Rome; and some ministers sent by her majesty thither.”

In a word, they left not any error or misfortune in government, or any passionate exercise of power, unmentioned and unpressed; with the sharpest and most pathetic expressions to affect the people, that the general observation of the wisest, or the particular animosity of the most disobliged, or ill-affected person, could suggest, to the disadvantage of the king, from the death of his father,

to the unhappy beginning of the present parliament.

Then they magnified their own services: "that having found the kingdom groaning under these difficulties, which seemed to be insuperable, they had, by the Divine Providence, overcome them all; that they [had] abolished ship-money, and all monopolies; and (which was the root of all those evils) had taken away that arbitrary power of taxing the subject, which was pretended to be in the king: that the living grievances, the evil counsellors, were so quelled, by the justice done upon the earl of Strafford; the flight of the lord Finch, and secretary Windebank; the accusation and imprisonment of the archbishop of Canterbury, and other delinquents; that it was not like to be only an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future."

[They] reckoned "all the good laws, and the benefit the people received by those laws; spake of many good designs they had for the good of the kingdom:" but then complained "of oppositions, and obstructions, and difficulties, with which they were encountered, and which still lay in their way, with some strength, and much obstinacy; that there was a malignant party took heart again, that preferred some of their own agents and factors to degrees of honour, and to places of trust and employment. That they had endeavoured to work in his majesty ill impressions and opinions of their proceedings; as if they had done altogether their own work, and not his; and had obtained many things from him prejudicial to the crown, in respect of prerogative and profit. To wipe out which slander, they said, all they had done was for his majesty, his greatness, honour, and support: that, when they gave five and twenty thousand pounds a month, for the relief of the northern counties, in the support of the Scottish army, it was given to the king, for that he was bound to protect his subjects; and that, when they undertook the charge of the army, which cost above fifty thousand pounds a month, it was given to the king, for that it was his majesty's army, and the commanders and soldiers under contract with him; and that, when they undertook to pay their brethren of Scotland three hundred thousand pounds, it was to repair the damages and losses they had sustained by his majesty and his ministers; and that these particulars amounted to above eleven hundred thousand pounds."

Then they negligently and perfunctorily passed over his majesty's graces and favours, "as being little more than in justice he was obliged to grant, and of inconsiderable loss and damage to himself; and promised the good people shortly ease in the matter of protections, (by which the debts from parliament-men, and their followers, and dependents, were not recoverable,) and speedily to pass a bill to that purpose."

Then they inveighed against the malignant party, that had sought "to cause jealousies between them and their brethren of Scotland; and that had such a party of bishops and popish lords in the house of peers, as hindered the proceedings of divers good bills, passed in the commons' house, concerning sundry great abuses and corruptions both in church and state," (when, at that time, the house of peers had only refused to concur with them in two bills,

that of the protestation; and, the taking away the votes of bishops out of the house of peers,) "that had attempted to disaffect and discontent his majesty's late army, and to bring it up against the parliament, and city of London; that had raised the rebellion in Ireland; and, if not by their wisdom prevented, had brought the like misery and confusion in this kingdom."

Then they declared, "that they meant to have a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island;" (when at that time there was not one orthodox divine of England in reputation with them;) "assisted by some from foreign parts, professing the same religion, who should consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church; and present the result of their consultations to the parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed: that they would provide a competent maintenance for conscientious and preaching ministers throughout the kingdom: that they intended to reform and purge the fountains of learning, the two universities; that the streams flowing from thence might be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land: that his majesty should be petitioned by both houses, to employ such counsellors, ambassadors, and other ministers, in managing his business at home and abroad, as the parliament might have cause to confide in; without which, they could not give his majesty such supplies for his own support, or such assistance for the protestant party beyond the seas, as was desired."

Withal they declared, "that the commons might have cause, often, justly to take exceptions at some men for being counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes; for that there are grounds of diffidence, which lie not in proof; and others, which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminal; as to be a known favourer of papists; or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders, questioned in parliament; or to speak contemptuously of either house of parliament, or parliamentary proceedings; or such as are suspected to get counsellors' places, or any other of trust concerning public employment, for money: that all good courses may be taken, to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; to be mutually aiding and assisting one another, for the common good of the island, and the honour of both:" with some other particulars of this nature. *(Par. Rems)*

I know not how those men have already answered it to their own consciences; or how they will answer it to Him who can discern their consciences; who, having assumed their country's trust, and, it may be, with great earnestness laboured to procure that trust, by their supine laziness, negligence, and absence, were the first inlets to these inundations; and so contributed to those licenses which have overwhelmed us. For, by this means, a handful of men, much inferior in the beginning, in number and interest, came to give laws to the major part; and to shew that three diligent persons are a greater number in arithmetic, as well as a more significant number in logic, than ten unconcerned, they, by plurality of voices, in the end, converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions. It is true, men of

activity and faction, in any design, have many advantages, that a composed and settled council, though industrious enough, usually have not; and some, that gallant men cannot give themselves leave to entertain: for, besides their through considering and forming their counsels before they begin to execute them, they contract a habit of ill nature and uningenuity necessary to their affairs, and the temper of those upon whom they are to work, that liberal-minded men would not persuade themselves to entertain, even for the prevention of all the mischief the others intend. And whosoever observed the ill arts, [by which] these men used to prevail upon the people in general; their absurd, ridiculous lying, to win the affections, and corrupt the understandings, of the weak; and the bold scandals, to confirm the wilful; the boundless promises they presented to the ambitious; and their gross, abject flatteries, and applications, to the vulgar-spirited; would hardly give himself leave to use those weapons, for the preservation of the three kingdoms.

The king besides had at that time a greater disadvantage (besides the concurrence of ill and extraordinary accidents) than himself, or any of his progenitors, had ever had before; having no servant of the house of commons, of interest, ability, and reputation, and of faithfulness and affection to his service: sir Thomas Jermyn, who was very honest to him, and of good abilities, through his indisposition of health, and trouble of mind for his son's misfortune, having left the house, and the court, and being retired into the country; and sir Harry Vane (who was the other only privy-counsellor) having committed those faults to the king, he knew could not be forgiven; and those faults to the country, could not be forgotten; gave himself entirely to the disposition of his new masters: and Mr. Saint-John, who at the beginning was made his solicitor general, [and] thereby had obliged himself, by a particular oath, "to defend his majesty's rights, and in no case to be of counsel, or give advice, to the prejudice of the king, and the crown;" was the chief instrument to devise and contrive all the propositions and acts of undutifulness towards him. So that, whilst these men, and their consorts, with the greatest deliberation, consulted, and disposed themselves to compass confusion; they, who out of the most abstracted sense of loyalty to the king, and duty to their country, severed from any relations to the king, or hopes from the court, preserved their own innocence, and endeavoured to uphold the good old frame of government, received neither countenance nor conduct from those who were naturally to have taken care of that province. And sure the raging and fanatic distempers of the house of commons (to which all other distempers are to be imputed) must most properly be attributed to the want of good ministers of the crown in that assembly, who being unawed by any guilt of their own, could have watched other men's; and informed, encouraged, and governed those, who stood well inclined to the public peace.

To which purpose, if that stratagem (though none of the best) of winning men by places, had been practised, as soon as the resolution was taken at York to call a parliament, (in which, it was apparent, dangerous attempts would be made; and that the court could not be able to resist those

attempts,) and if Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Hollis, had been then preferred with Mr. Saint-John, before they were desperately embarked in their desperate designs, and had innocence enough about them, to trust the king, and be trusted by him; having yet contracted no personal animosities against him; it is very possible, that they might either have been made instruments to have done good service; or at least been restrained from endeavouring to subvert the royal building, for supporting whereof they were placed as principal pillars.

But the rule the king gave himself, (very reasonable at another time,) that they should first do service, and compass this or that thing for him, before they should receive favour, was then very unseasonable: since, besides that they could not in truth do him that service without the qualification, it could not be expected they would desert that side, by the power of which they were sure to make themselves considerable, without an unquestionable mark of interest in the other, by which they were to keep up their power and reputation: and so, whilst the king expected they should manifest their inclinations to his service, by their temper and moderation in those proceedings that most offended him; and they endeavoured, by doing all the hurt they could, to make evident the power they had to do him good; he grew so far disobliged and provoked, that he could not in honour gratify them; and they so obnoxious and guilty, that they could not think themselves secure in his favour: and thence, according to the policy and method of injustice, combined to oppress that power they had injured; and to raise a security for themselves, by disabling the king to question their transgressions.

Notwithstanding all these contrivances to lessen the reputation of the court, (to which many other particulars contributed, which will be touched upon,) the city of London made great preparations to receive the king. Gourney, the lord mayor, was a man of wisdom and courage, and who expressed great indignation, to see the city so corrupted, by the ill artifices of factious persons; and therefore attended upon his majesty, at his entrance into the city, with all the lustre and good countenance it could shew; and as great professions of duty as it could make, or the king expect. And on Thursday, the five and twentieth of November, the king entered into London; where he was received with the greatest acclamations of joy, that had been known upon any occasion; and after a most magnificent entertainment, by sir Richard Gourney, lord mayor, at the guildhall; where the king, queen, prince, and the whole court of lords and ladies, were feasted; he was attended by the whole city to Whitehall, where he lodged that night; when the earl of Essex resigned his commission of general on this side Trent; which had been granted for the security of the kingdom, at his majesty's going into the north.

The next day, the king went to Hampton-court; and as soon as he came thither, took away the seals from sir Henry Vane, (having before taken his staff of treasurer of the [household] from him, and conferred it upon the lord Savile, in lieu of the presidentship of the north; which he should have had, if both houses had not declared that commission to be illegal;) then he appointed the guards

that were kept at Westminster, for the security of the two houses, ever since the news out of Scotland, to be dismissed; and shortly after published a proclamation, "for obedience to be given to the laws established, for the exercise of religion."

These proceedings of his majesty much troubled them; and the entertainment given to him by the city of London, in which their entire confidence was, much dejected them; and made them apprehend, their friends there were not so powerful as they expected. However, they seemed to abate nothing of their mettle; and, shortly after his return, resolved to present their remonstrance, lately framed, to him, together with a petition; in which they complained "of a malignant party, which prevailed so far, as to bring divers of their instruments to be of his privy-council; and in other employments of trust and nearness about his majesty, the prince, and the rest of his children: to which malignant party, amongst other wickedness, they imputed the insurrection of the papists in Ireland; and therefore, for the suppressing that wicked and malignant party, they besought his majesty, that he would concur with his people, in a parliamentary way, for the depriving the bishops of their votes in parliament," (when at that time the bill to that purpose had not passed the house of peers,) "and abridging their immoderate power over the clergy: [and] for the removing unnecessary ceremonies, by which divers weak consciences had been scrupled; that he would remove from his council such persons as persisted to favour any of those pressures wherewith the people had been grieved; and that he would for the future employ such persons in the public affairs, and take such to be near him in places of trust, as his parliament might have cause to confide in; and that he would reject and refuse all mediation and solicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near soever; that he would forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated lands in Ireland, which should accrue to the crown, by reason of this rebellion. Which desires of theirs being graciously fulfilled by his majesty, (they said,) they would apply themselves to such courses and counsels, as should support his royal estate with honour and plenty at home, with power and reputation abroad; and by their loyal affection and service lay a sure and lasting foundation of the greatness and prosperity of his majesty, and his royal posterity in future times."

This petition, together with the remonstrance, was presented at Hampton-court, on the first day of December; and within few days after, both the petition and remonstrance were by order printed, and with great industry published throughout the kingdom. Albeit the king, at the receipt thereof, desired and forbade them to publish either, till he should send his answer: which he did shortly after, expressing,

"How sensible he was of that disrespect: reprehending them for the unparliamentariness of their remonstrance; in point whereof," he said, "he would reserve himself to take such course, as he should think fit, in prudence and honour." But to their petition, he told them, "that if they would make that wicked and malignant party, whereof they complained, known to his majesty, he would be as ready to suppress and punish it, as they could be to complain; that by those

counsellors, whom he had exposed to trial, he had given sufficient testimony, that there was no man so near unto him, in place or affection, whom he would not leave to the justice of the law, if they should bring sufficient proofs, and a particular charge against him: in the mean time, he wished them to forbear such general aspersions, as, since they named none in particular, might reflect upon all his council; that, for the choice of his counsellors, and ministers of state, it was the natural liberty all freemen have, and the undoubted right of the crown, to call such to his secret council, and public employment, as he should think fit; yet he would be careful to make election of such, as should have given good testimonies of their abilities and integrity, and against whom there [could] be no just cause of exception; that for the depriving the bishops of their votes in parliament, they should consider, that their right was grounded upon the fundamental law of the kingdom, and constitution of parliament."

"For what concerned religion, church government, and the removing unnecessary ceremonies, if the parliament should advise him to call a national synod, he should consider of it, and give them due satisfaction therein; declaring his resolution to maintain the doctrine and discipline established by law, as well against all innovations of popery, as from the irreverence of schismatics and separatists; wherewith, of late, this kingdom and this city abounds, to the great dishonour and hazard both of church and state; for the suppression of whom, his majesty required their timely and active assistance."

"To their desire concerning Ireland, he told them, he much doubted whether it were seasonable to declare resolutions of that nature, before the events of the war were seen: however, he thanked them for their advice; and conjured them to use all possible diligence and expedition in advancing the supplies thither; the insolence and cruelty of the rebels daily increasing."

The graciousness and temper of this answer made no impression on them; but they proceeded in their usual manner; framing and encouraging, underhand, those whispers, by which the rebellion in Ireland might be understood to receive some extraordinary countenance from the court of England, the scandal whereof, they knew, would quickly fall upon the queen.

And the diligence and dexterity of the lord mayor caused an address to be prepared to his majesty from the court of aldermen; which was sent by the two sheriffs, and two others of that body; by which his majesty was humbly desired to reside at Whitehall: which angered the governing party as much as the ceremonious reception had done. The petition was graciously received; all the aldermen knighted; and the court, within a day or two, removed to Whitehall.

The letters out of Ireland were very importunate for relief, of men, money, and provisions; the rebels very much increasing, and taking courage, from the slow proceeding here for their suppression: which indeed was not advanced equal to men's expectations; though the king, upon his first coming to the houses after his return from Scotland, with great earnestness recommended it to them. Only the propositions made from Scotland, "for the sending ten thousand men from

"thence into Ulster, to be paid by the parliament," were consented to; whereby some soldiers were despatched thither, to defend their own plantation; and did in truth, at our charge, as much oppress the English that were there, as the rebels could have done; and had upon the matter the sole government of that province committed to them, the chief towns and garrisons, which were kept by English, being delivered into their hands. The lieutenant himself, the earl of Leicester, (who was now grown gracious to the managers,) made not that haste to his charge some men thought necessary; pretending "that the rebels had yet some apprehensions and terror of his coming thither with great forces, and provisions of all kinds; but that if they should hear he were landed, with so small a strength as was yet raised, and in no better equipage than he was yet able to go in, they would take courage and would oppress him, before more succours could come; by reason, that those who yet stood upon their guard, and publicly sided not with the rebels, (till, by the resistance and opposition they found prepared for them, they might guess who was like to prevail,) would then freely declare, and join with the rest."

The slow levies of men was imputed to the difficulty of getting volunteers; their numbers, who had commissions, upon beating their drums, rising very inconsiderably: and therefore they prepared a bill for pressing; which quickly passed the commons' house, and was sent up to the lords. It cannot be supposed, that there could be then a scarcity of men, or that it could be hard, within three months after the disbanding the northern army, to gather together as many men as they had occasion to use: but their business was to get power, not men; and therefore this stratagem was used, to transfer the power of impressing men from the king to themselves; and to get the king, that he might be now able to raise men for Ireland, to disenable himself from pressing upon any other occasion. For, in the preamble of this bill, which they sent up to the lords, (as they had done before in the first act for tonnage and poundage,) they declared, "that the king had in no case, or upon any occasion, but the invasion from a foreign power, authority to press the freeborn subject; which could not consist with the freedom and liberty of his person."

This doctrine was new to the lords, and contrary to the usage and custom of all times; and seemed a great diminution of that regal power, which was necessary for the preservation of his own subjects, and assistance of his allies; which in many cases he was bound to yield. And the attorney general took the courage "to desire the lords," (as he should often have done in other cases,) "that he might be heard on the king's behalf, before they consented to a clause so prejudicial to the king's prerogative." This necessary stop was no sooner made, than the commons laid aside the consideration of Ireland; ordered their committee "to meet no more about that business;" the levies, which were then making of volunteers, stood still; and they declared, "that the loss of Ireland must be imputed to the lords." On the other side, the lords too well understood that logic, to be moved by it; and were rather sensible of the inconveniences they had incurred by their former compliance, than inclined to repeat the same error.

In the mean time, letters came every day from Ireland, passionately bemoaning their condition; and multitudes of men, women, and children, who were despoiled of their estates, and forced into this kingdom for want of bread, spake more lamentably than the letters. In this strait, they knew not what to do; for whatever discourse they pleased themselves with, concerning the lords, it was evident the fault would lie at their own doors; besides that, his majesty might take that occasion, to take the whole business out of their hands, and manage it himself by his council; which would both lessen their reputation and interest, and indeed defeat much that they had projected.

Hereupon, Mr. Saint-John, the king's solicitor, (a man that might be trusted in every company,) went privately to his majesty; and seemed to him much troubled "at the interruption given by the commons; and to consent, that the preamble was unreasonable, and ought to be insisted [against] by the lords, on the behalf of his majesty's prerogative: however, he told him, since he thought it impossible to rectify the commons in their understandings, it would be a great blessing to his majesty, if he could offer an expedient to remove that rub, which must prove fatal to Ireland in a short time; and might grow to such a disunion between the two houses, as might much cloud the happiness of this kingdom; and, undoubtedly, could not but have a very popular influence upon both, when both sides would be forwarder to acknowledge his majesty's great wisdom and piety, than they could be now made to retract any thing that was erroneous in themselves:" and then "advised him to come to the houses; and to express his princely zeal for the relief of Ireland; and taking notice of the bill for pressing, depending with the lords, and the dispute raised, concerning that ancient and undoubted prerogative, to avoid further debate, to offer, that the bill should pass with a *salvo jure*, both for the king and people; leaving such debates to a time that might better bear it."

Which advice his majesty followed; and coming to the house, said the very words he had proposed to him. But now their business was done, (which truly, I think, no other way could have been compassed,) the divided lords and commons presently unite themselves in a petition to the king; "acknowledging his royal favour and protection to be a great blessing and security to them, for the enjoying and preserving all those private and public liberties and privileges which belong unto them; and whensoever any of those liberties or privileges should be invaded, they were bound, with humility and confidence, to resort to his princely justice for redress and satisfaction; because the rights and privileges of parliament were the birthright and inheritance, not only of themselves, but of the whole kingdom, wherein every one of his subjects was interested: that amongst the privileges of parliament, it was their ancient and undoubted right, that his majesty ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation and debate, in either house of parliament, but by their information and agreement; and that his majesty ought not to propound any condition, provision, or limitation, to any bill, or act, in debate or preparation, in either house of parliament; or to declare his consent or dis-

“sent, his approbation or dislike, of the same, before it be presented to him in due course of parliament. They declared, that all those privileges had been lately broken, to their great sorrow and grief, in that speech which his majesty had made to them; wherein he took notice of a bill for pressing of soldiers, not yet agreed upon; and offered a *salvo jure*, and provisional clause, to be added to it, before it was presented to him: and therefore they besought him, by his royal power to protect them, in those and the other privileges of his high court of parliament; and that he would not, for the time to come, break or interrupt them; and that, for the reparation of them in that their grievance and complaint, he would declare and make known the name of such person, by whose misinformation, and evil counsel, his majesty was induced to the same, that he might receive condign punishment. And this they did desire, and, as his greatest and most faithful council, did advise his majesty to perform, as a great advantage to him, by procuring and confirming a confidence and unity betwixt his majesty and his people,” &c.

And having delivered this petition, they no more considered Ireland, till this manifest breach should be repaired; which they resolved nothing should do, but the passing the bill: and therefore, when the king offered them, by a message sent by the earl of Essex, “that he would take care, by commissions which he would grant, that ten thousand English volunteers should be speedily raised for the service of Ireland, if the houses would declare that they would pay them;” the overture was wholly rejected; they neither being willing that such a body of men should be raised by the king’s direction, (which would probably be more at his devotion than they desired,) nor in any other way than they proposed: and so in the end (after other ill accidents intervening, which will be remembered in order) he was compelled to pass the bill for pressing, which they had prepared.

However, for all this, and the better, it may be, for all this, the king, upon his arrival at Whitehall, found both his houses of parliament of a much better temper than they had been; many having great indignation to see his majesty so ill treated by his own servants, and those who were most obliged to his bounty and magnificence; and likewise to discern how much ambition and private interest was covered under public pretences. They who were in truth zealous for the preservation of the law, the religion, and true interest of the nation, were solicitous to preserve the king’s honour from any indignity, and his regal power from violation; and so always opposed those who trenched upon either, and who could compass their ends by no other means than by trampling upon both. So that, in truth, that which was called the king’s party, in both houses, was made up of persons who were strangers, or without any obligation, to the court; of the best fortunes, and the best reputation, in their several countries where they were known; as having always appeared very zealous in the maintenance of their just rights, and opposed, as much as in them lay, all illegal and grievous impositions: whilst his own privy-council, (two or three only excepted,) and much the greater number of all his own servants, either publicly opposed, or privately betrayed him; and so much the more virulently abhorred all those who now appeared to

carry on his service, because they presumed to undertake, at least to endeavour, (for they undertook nothing, nor looked for any thanks for their labour,) to do that which they ought to have done; and so they were upon this disadvantage, that whenever they pressed any thing in the house, which seemed immediately to advance the king’s power and authority, some of the king’s council, or his servants, most opposed it, under the notion “of being prejudicial to the king’s interest:” whilst they who had used to govern and impose upon the house, made show of being more modest, and yet were more silent [insolent]; and endeavoured, by setting new counsels on foot, to entangle, and engage, and indeed to overreach the house; by cozening them into opinions which might hereafter be applicable to their ends, rather than to pursue their old designs, in hope to obtain in the end a success by their authority. The night of the remonstrance had humbled them in that point: and from that time, they rather contrived ways to silence those who opposed them, by traducing them abroad, and taking any advantage against them in the house, for any expressions they used in debate which might be misinterpreted; and so calling them to the bar, or committing them to the Tower: which did in truth strike such a terror into the minds of many, that they forbore to come to the house, rather than expose themselves to many uneasinesses there.

There was at this time, or thereabout, a debate started in the house, as if by mere chance, which produced many inconveniences after; and, if there had not been too many concurrent causes, might be thought the sole cause and ground of all the mischiefs which ensued. Upon some report, or discourse of some accident, which had happened upon or in the disbanding the late army, an obscure member moved, “That the house would enter upon the consideration, whether the militia of the kingdom was so settled by law, that a sudden force, or army, could be drawn together, for the defence of the kingdom, if it should be invaded, or to suppress an insurrection or rebellion, if it should be attempted.”

The house kept a long silence after the motion, the newness of it amusing most men, and few in truth understanding the meaning of it; until one and another of the members, who were least taken notice of, seeming to be moved by the weight of what had been said, enlarged upon the same argument: and in the end it was proposed, “That a committee might be appointed, to consider of the present state of the militia, and the power of it; and to prepare such a bill for the settling it, as might provide for the public peace, and for the suppressing any foreign enemy, or domestic insurrection.”

And hereupon they were inclined to nominate a committee, to prepare such a bill as should be thought necessary: upon which Mr. Hyde spake against the making any such committee; said, “There could be no doubt, that the power of the militia resided in the king, in whom the right of making war and peace was invested; that there had never yet appeared any defect of power, by which the kingdom had been in danger, and we might reasonably expect the same security for the future.” With which the house seemed well satisfied and composed, and inclined to resume some other debate, until Saint-John, who was then

the king's solicitor, and the only man in the house of his learned council, stood up, and said, "He could not suffer that debate, in which there had been so many weighty particularities mentioned, to be discontinued without some resolution: that he would be very glad there were that power in the king, (whose rights he was bound to defend,) as the gentleman who spake last seemed to imagine; which, for his part, he knew there was not; that the question was not about taking any power from the king, which was vested in him, (which was his duty always to oppose,) but to inquire, whether there be such a power in him, or any where else, as is necessary for the preservation of the king and the people, in many cases that may fall out; and if there be not, then to supply him with that power and authority;" and he said, "he did take upon him with confidence to say, that there was a defect of such power and authority:" he put them in mind, "how that power had been executed in the age in which we live; that the crown had granted commissions to great men, to be lord lieutenants of counties; and they to gentlemen of quality, to be their deputy lieutenants; and to colonels, and other officers, to conduct and list soldiers; and then he wished them to consider, what votes they had passed, of the illegality of all those commissions, and the unjustifiableness of all the proceedings which had [been] by virtue of those commissions; so that let the occasion or necessity be what it would, he did presume, no man would hereafter execute any such commission; and if there were any men so hardy, that nobody would obey them; and therefore desired them to consider, whether there be not a defect of power, and whether it ought not to be supplied."

It was now evident enough, that the debate had not begun by chance, but had been fully deliberated; and what use they would make, upon occasions, of those volumes of votes, they had often poured out upon all accidental debates; and no man durst take upon him to answer all that had been alleged, by saying, all those votes were of no validity; and that the king's right was, and would be, judged the same it had been before, notwithstanding those votes; which is very true: but this being urged by the king's own solicitor, they appointed him "to bring in and prepare such a bill as he thought necessary;" few men imagining that such a sworn officer would not be very careful and tender of all his master's prerogatives, which he was expressly sworn to defend.

Within few days after, he brought in a very short bill, in which was mentioned by way of preface, "That the power over the militia of the kingdom was not settled in any such manner, that the security of the kingdom was provided for, in case of invasion or insurrection, or such like accidents;" and then an enacting clause, "That henceforward the militia, and all the power thereof, should be vested in — &c." and then a large blank left for inserting names; and afterwards, the "absolute authority to execute — &c." The ill meaning whereof was easily understood; and with some warmth pressed, "That by this bill all the power would be taken out of the crown, and put into the hands of commissioners." To which the solicitor made answer, "That the bill took no power from any body who had it, but was provided to give power where it

"was not; nor was there mention of any commissioners; but a blank was therefore left, that the house might fill it up as they thought fit, and put the power into such hands as they thought proper; which, for aught he knew, might be the king's; and he hoped it would be so."

And with this answer the bill was received, notwithstanding all opposition, and read; all those persons who had formerly been deputy lieutenants, and lay under the terror of that vote, presuming, that this settlement would provide for the indemnity of all that had passed before; and the rest, who might still be exposed to the same hazards, if they should be required to act upon the like occasions, concurring in the desire, that somewhat might be done for a general security; and they who had contrived it, were well enough contented that it was once read; not desiring to prosecute it, till some more favourable conjuncture should be offered: and so it rested.

About this time, the king not being well satisfied in the affection or fidelity of sir William Balfour, whom he had some years before, to the great and general scandal, and offence of the English nation, made lieutenant of the Tower; and finding that the seditious preachers every day prevailed in the city of London, and corrupted the affections and loyalty of the meaner people towards the government of church and state; resolved to put that place (which was looked upon as a bridle upon the city) into the hands of such a man upon whom he might rely: and yet, he was willing to be quit of the other, without any act of disobligation upon him; and therefore gave him three thousand pounds, ready money, which was raised by the sale of some of the queen's own jewels: and immediately caused colonel Lunsford to be sworn in his place, lieutenant of the Tower.

This was no sooner known, than the house of commons found themselves concerned in it; and upon pretence "that so excellent a person as sir William Balfour" (who in truth was very gracious to them, for the safe keeping the earl of Strafford) "could not be removed from that charge, but upon some eminent design against the city and the kingdom; and that the man who was appointed for his successor was a person of great license, and known only by some desperate acts; for which he had been formerly imprisoned by the state, and having made his escape, fled the kingdom: they desired the lords to join with them in a petition to the king, to put the Tower into better hands;" making such arguments against the person of the man, as before spoken of. The lords replied to them, "That it was an argument of that nature, they thought not themselves competent advisers in it; the custody of the Tower being solely at the king's disposal, who was only to judge of the fitness of the person for such a charge." But at the same time that they refused to join in a public desire to the king, they caused privately advice to be given to him, "that he should make choice of a fitter person, against whom no exceptions could be made." For indeed sir Thomas Lunsford was not then known enough, and of reputation equal to so envious a province; and thereupon, within two or three days at most, he resigned the place, and the king constituted sir John Byron in the place.

— This gave them no satisfaction in the change,

since it had no reference to their recommendation; which they only looked after: but it gave them great delight, to see that the king's counsels were not so fixed, but their clamour might alter them; and that doing hurt, being as desirable a degree of power [to some men] as doing good, and likely to gain them more proselytes, they had marred a man, though they could not make one. And without doubt, it was of great disadvantage to the king, that that counsel had not been formed with such deliberation, that there would need no alteration; which could not be made, without a kind of recognition.

All this time the bill depended in the lords' house, "for the taking away the votes of bishops, and removing them from the house of peers;" which was not like to make a more prosperous progress there, than it had six months before; it being evident, that the jurisdiction of the peerage was invaded by the commons; and therefore, that it was not reasonable to part with any of their supporters. But the virulence against them still increased; and no churches frequented, but where they were preached against, as antichristian; the presses swelled with the most virulent invectives against them; and a sermon was preached at Westminster, and afterwards printed, under the title of *The Protestation Protested*, by the infamous Burton, whereby he declared, "That all men were obliged by their late protestation, by what means soever, to remove both bishops and the common prayer book out of the church of England, as impious and papistical:" whilst all the learned and orthodox divines of England were looked upon under the notion of scandalous ministers; and if the meanest and most vicious parishioner they had could be brought to prefer a petition against either of them to the house of commons, (how false soever,) he was sure to be prosecuted as such.

In the end, a petition was published, in the name "of the apprentices, and those whose apprenticeships were lately expired," in and about the city of London; and directed, "To the king's most excellent majesty in the parliament now assembled; shewing, That they found by experience, both by their own and masters' tradings, the beginning of great mischiefs coming upon them, to nip them in the bud, when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no others but the papists, and the prelates, and that malignant party which adhered to them: that they stood solemnly engaged, with their utmost of their lives and fortunes, to defend his sacred majesty and royal issue, together with the rights and liberties of parliaments, against papists, and popish innovators; such as archbishops, bishops, and their dependents, appear to be. They desired his majesty in parliament to take notice, that notwithstanding the much unwearied pains and industry of the house of commons, to subdue popery, and popish innovators; neither is popery yet subdued, nor prelates are yet removed; whereby many had taken encouragements desperately to plot against the peace and safety of his dominions: witness the most barbarous and inhuman cruelties perpetrated by the papists in Ireland; from whence (they said) a new spring of fears and jealousies arose in them: and therefore they desired, that the popish lords, and other eminent and dangerous papists, in all parts of the kingdom, might be looked unto,

"and secured; the laws against priests and jesuits fully executed; and the prelacy rooted up: that so the work of reformation might be prosperously carried on; their distracting fears removed; that the freedom of commerce and trade might pass on more cheerfully, for the encouragement of the petitioners," &c.

This, and such stuff, being printed, and scattered amongst the people; multitudes of mean people flocked to Westminster-hall, and about the lords' house; crying, as they went up and down, *No bishops, no bishops*, "that so they might carry on the reformation."

I said before, that upon the king's return from Scotland, he discharged the guards that attended upon the houses. Whereupon the house of commons (for the lords refused to join with them) petitioned the king, "in regard of the fears they had of some design from the papists, that they might continue such a guard about them as they thought fit."

To which his majesty answered, "That he was confident they had no just cause of fear; and that they were as safe as himself and his children: but, since they did avow such an apprehension of danger, that he would appoint a sufficient guard for them." And thereupon directed the train-bands of Westminster and Middlesex (which consisted of the most substantial householders, and were under known officers) in fit numbers to attend.

This security was not liked; and it was asked, *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes* - - - ? And when the disorderly rabble, spake of now, first came down, they resisted them, and would not suffer them to disturb the houses; and some of them, with great rudeness, pressing to the door of the house of peers, their lordships appointed the guard to be called up to remove them; and the earl of Dorset, being then lord lieutenant of Middlesex, (the crowd oppressing him, and refusing to leave the room,) in some passion, called upon the guard "to give fire upon them;" whereupon the rabble, frightened, left the place, and hasted away.

The house of commons, much incensed that their friends should be so used, much inveighed against the earl of Dorset; and talked "of accusing him of high treason;" at least, "of drawing up some impeachment against him;" for some judgment he had been party to in the star-chamber, or council-table: and so giving these hints of their displeasure, that he might have the more care hereafter to carry himself; they concluded, that since they could not have such a guard as pleased them, they would have none at all: and so sent to the lords "for the discharge of the train-bands that attended:" who willingly consented to it; which was done accordingly: the house of commons declaring, "That it should be lawful for every member to bring his own servants, to attend at the door, armed with such weapons as they thought fit."

It was quickly understood abroad, that the commons liked well the visitations of their neighbours: so that the people assembled in greater numbers than before, about the house of peers; calling still out with one voice, *No bishops, no popish lords*; crowded and affronted such lords as came near them, and whom they knew affected not their ends, calling them *rotten-hearted lords*.

Hereupon the house of peers desired a confer-

ence with the commons; at which they complained of these tumults; and told them, "that such disorders would be an imputation upon the parliament, and make it be doubted, whether they had freedom; and so might happily become a blemish to those many good laws they had already passed, as well as prevent the making more: and therefore desired them, that they would, for the dignity of parliaments, join with them in a declaration, for the suppressing such tumults." This was reported to the commons; and as soon laid aside, "for the handling of other matters of more importance."

The tumults continued; and their insolences increased; insomuch, as many dissolute and profane people went into the abbey at Westminster, and would have pulled down the organs, and some ornaments of the church; but being resisted, and by force driven out, they threatened, "they would come with greater numbers, and pull down the church."

Hereupon the lords again sent to the house of commons, to join with them in their declaration; and many members of that house complained, "that they could not come with safety to the house; and that some of them had been assaulted, and very ill entreated, by those people that crowded about that door." But this could not be procured; the debate being still put off to some other time; after several speeches had been made in justification of them, and commendation of their affections: some saying, "they must not discourage their friends, this being a time they must make use of all friends;" Mr. Pym himself saying, "God forbid the house of commons should proceed, in any way, to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way."

In the end, the lords required the advice of the judges, "what course was legally to be taken, to suppress and prevent those disorders;" and thereupon directed the lord keeper of the great seal, "to issue out a writ, upon the statute of Northampton, to the sheriff and justices, to appoint strong watches in such places as they judged most convenient, to hinder that unlawful conflux of people to Westminster, to the disturbance of their consultations." Which writ issuing accordingly, the justices of the peace, in obedience thereunto, appointed the constables to attend at the water side, and places near about Westminster, with good watches, to hinder that tumultuous resort.

This was no sooner done, than the constables were sent for, and, after the view of their warrants, required to discharge their watches. And then the justices [were] convened, and examined; and albeit it appeared, that what they had done was in pursuance of a legal writ, directed to them under the great seal of England, by the advice of the lords in parliament, without so much as conferring with the lords upon that act of theirs, the setting such a watch was voted to be "a breach of privilege:" and one of the justices of the peace, who, according to his oath, had executed that writ, was committed to the Tower for that offence.

Upon this encouragement, all the factious and schismatical people about the city and suburbs assembled themselves together with great license; and would frequently, as well in the night as the day, convene themselves, by the sound of a bell, or other token, in the fields, or some convenient place,

to consult, and receive orders from those by whom they were to be disposed. A meeting of this kind being about the time we speak of in Southwark, in a place where their arms and magazine for that borough was kept; the constable, being a sober man, and known to be an enemy to those acts of sedition, went amongst them, to observe what they did: he was no sooner espied, but he was reproached with disdainful words, beaten and dragged in so barbarous a manner, that he hardly escaped with his life. Complaint was made to the next justices; and oath of the truth of the complaint made: whereupon a writ was directed to the sheriff, to impanel a jury, according to the law, for the inquisition and examination of that riot.

This was complained of in the house of commons, as an act that concerned their privileges: for that it was pretended, "that meeting in Southwark had been by godly and well affected men, only to draw up and prepare a petition against bishops; and that the constable, being a friend to bishops, came amongst them to cross them, and to hinder men from subscribing that whole some petition." And upon this discourse, without any further examination, an order was made by that house, "that the under-sheriff of Surrey should be enjoined, not to suffer any proceedings to be made upon any inquisition, that might concern any persons who met together to subscribe a petition to be preferred to that house."

By this, and other means, all obstacles of the law being removed, and the people taught a way to assemble lawfully together, in how tumultuous a manner soever, and the Christmas holidays giving more leave and license to all kind of people, the concourse grew more numerous about Westminster; the people sometimes, in their passage between the city and Westminster, making a stand before Whitehall, and crying out, *No bishops, no bishops, no popish lords*, would say aloud, "that they would have no more porter's lodge, but would speak with the king when they pleased:" and, where they came near the two houses, took out papers from their pockets, and getting upon some place higher than the rest, would read the names of several persons, under the title of *disaffected members of the house of commons*; and called many lords, *false, evil, and rotten-hearted lords*. But their rage and fury against the bishops grew so high, that they threatened to pull down the lodgings where they lay; offered to force the doors of the abbey at Westminster, which were kept locked many days, and defended by a continual guard within; and assaulted the persons of some of the bishops in their coaches; and laid hands on the archbishop of York, in that manner, that, if he had not been seasonably rescued, it was believed they would have murdered him: so that all the bishops, and many other members, of both houses, withdrew themselves from attending in the houses, out of a real apprehension of endangering their lives.

These insurrections by this means were so countenanced, that no industry or dexterity of the lord mayor of London, sir Richard Gourney, could give any check to it [them]; but, instead thereof, himself (with great and very notable courage opposing all their fanatic humours, both in the court of aldermen, and at the common council) grew to be reckoned in the first form of the *malignants*, (which was the term they imposed upon all those they

meant to render odious to the people,) insomuch, as his house was no less threatened and disquieted by the tumults, than the house of lords: and when he apprehended some of those who were most notorious in the riot, and committed them to the custody of both the sheriffs of London in person, to be carried to Newgate, they were, by the power and strength of their companions, rescued from them in Cheapside, and the two sheriffs compelled to shift for their own safety. And when it was offered to be proved, by a member in the house of commons, that the wife of captain Venn, (having received a letter from her husband to that purpose,) who was one of the burgesses for London, and was known himself to lead those men, that came tumultuously down to Westminster, and Whitehall, at the time of the passing the bill of attainder of the earl of Strafford, had with great industry solicited many people to go down with their arms to Westminster, upon a day, (that was named,) when, she said, her husband had sent her word, that in the house of commons they were together by the ears, and that the worser party was like to get the better of the good party; and therefore her husband desired his friends to come with their arms to Westminster, to help the good party; and that thereupon very many in a short time went thither: they, who offered to make proof of the same, were appointed to attend many days; but, notwithstanding all the importunity that could be used, were never admitted to be heard.

All this time the king (who had been with great solemnity invited from [by] the city of London, and desired to make his residence nearer to them than Hampton-court) was at Whitehall, where, besides his ordinary retinue, and menial servants, many officers of the late disbanded army, who solicited their remainder of pay from the two houses, which was secured to them by act of parliament, and expected some farther employment in the war with Ireland, upon observation, and view of the insolence of the tumults, and the danger, that they might possibly bring to the court, offered themselves for a guard to his majesty's person; and were with more formality and ceremony entertained by him, than, upon a just computation of all distempers, was by many conceived seasonable. And from these officers, warm with indignation at the insolences of that vile rabble, which every day passed by the court, first words of great contempt, and then, those words commonly finding a return of equal scorn, blows were fastened upon some of the most pragmatical of the crew. This was looked upon by the house of commons like a levying war by the king, and much pity expressed by them, that the poor people should be so used, who came to them with petitions, (for some few of them had received some cuts and slashes, that had drawn blood,) and that made a great argument for reinforcing their numbers. And from those contestations, the two terms of *roundhead* and *cavalier* grew to be received in discourse, and were afterwards continued for the most succinct distinction of affections throughout the quarrel: they who were looked upon as servants to the king being then called *cavaliers*; and the other of the rabble contemned, and despised, under the names of *roundheads*.

The house of commons being at this time without any member, who, having relation to the king's service, would express any zeal for it, and could

take upon him to say to others, whom he would trust, what the king desired, or to whom they who wished well could resort for advice and direction; so that whilst there was a strong conjunction and combination to disturb the government by depraving it, whatever was said or done to support it, was as if it were done by chance, and by the private dictates of the reason of private men; the king resolved to call the lord Falkland, and sir John Colepepper, who was knight of the shire for Kent, to his council; and to make the former secretary of state in the place of Vane, that had been kept vacant; and the latter chancellor of the exchequer, which office the lord Cottington had resigned, that Mr. Pym might be put into that office, when the lord Bedford should have been treasurer, as is mentioned before. They were both of great authority in the house; neither of them of any relation to the court; and therefore what they said made the more impression; and they were frequent speakers. The lord Falkland was wonderfully beloved by all who knew him, as a man of excellent parts, of a wit so sharp, and a nature so sincere, that nothing could be more lovely. The other was generally esteemed as a good speaker, being a man of an universal understanding, a quick comprehension, a wonderful memory, who commonly spake at the end of the debate; when he would recollect all that had been said of weight on all sides with great exactness, and express his own sense with much clearness, and such an application to the house, that no man more gathered a general concurrence to his opinion than he; which was the more notable, because his person, and manner of speaking, were ungracious enough; so that he prevailed only by the strength of his reason, which was enforced with confidence enough. His infirmities were known only to his nearest friends, or those who were admitted into his most intimate conversation.

The king knew them to be of good esteem in the house, and good affections to his service, and the quiet of the kingdom; and was more easily persuaded to bestow those preferments upon them, than the lord Falkland was to accept that which was designed to him. No man could be more surprised than he was, when the first insinuation was made to him of the king's purpose: he had never proposed any such thing to himself, nor had any veneration for the court, but only such a loyalty to the person of the king as the law required from him. And he had naturally a wonderful reverence for parliaments, as believing them most solicitous for justice, the violation whereof, in the least degree, he could not forgive any mortal power: and it was only his observation of the uningenuity and want of integrity in this [parliament], which lessened that reverence to it, and which had disposed him to cross and oppose their designs: he was so totally unacquainted with business, and the forms of it, that he did believe really he could not execute the office with any sufficiency. But there were two considerations that made most impression upon him; the one, lest the world should believe, that his own ambition had procured this promotion; and that he had therefore appeared signally in the house to oppose those proceedings, that he might thereby render himself gracious to the court: the other, lest the king should expect such a submission, and resignation of himself, and his own reason, and judgment, to his com-

mands, as he should never give, or pretend to give; for he was so severe an adorer of truth, that he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble; or to suffer any man to think that he would do any thing, which he resolved not to do; which he thought a more mischievous kind of lying, than a positive averring what could be most easily contradicted.

It was a very difficult task to Mr. Hyde, who had most credit with him, to persuade him to submit to this purpose of the king cheerfully, and with a just sense of the obligation, by promising, that in those parts of the office, which required most drudgery, he would help him the best he could, and would quickly inform him of all the necessary forms. But, above all, he prevailed with him, by enforcing the ill consequence of his refusal to take the office, which would be interpreted to his dislike of the court, and his opinion, that more would be required from him than he could honestly comply with, which would bring great prejudice to the king: on the other hand, the great benefit that probably would redound to the king, and the kingdom, by his accepting such a trust in such a general defection, by which he would have opportunity to give the king a truer information of his own condition, and the state of the kingdom, than it might be presumed had been given to him, and to prevent any counsels, or practice, which might more alienate the affections of the people from the government; and then, that by this relation he would be more able to do the king service in the house, where he was too well known to have it believed, that he attained to it by any unworthy means or application. And in the end, he was persuaded to submit to the king's good pleasure, though he could not prevail upon himself to do it with so good a grace, as might raise in the king any notable expectation of his departing from the severity of his own nature.

And so they [he and Colepepper] were both invested in those offices, to the no small displeasure of the governing party, which could not dissemble their indignation, that any of their members should presume to receive those preferments, which they had designed otherwise to have disposed of. They took all opportunities to express their dislike of them, and to oppose any thing they proposed to them. And within few days there came a letter out in print, pretended to be intercepted, as written from a Roman catholic to another of the same profession, in which he gives an account, "That they had at last, by the interest of their friends, procured those two noble persons" (who are mentioned before) "to be preferred to those offices, and that they were well assured that they would be ready to do them, and all their friends, all good offices." Sir John Colepepper thought fit to take notice of it in the house, and to make those professions of his religion, which he thought necessary. But the lord Falkland chose rather to condemn it, without taking any notice of the libel, well knowing that he was superior to those calumnies, as indeed he was; all of that profession knowing that he was most irreconcilable to their doctrine, though he was always civil to their persons. However grievous this preferment was to the angry part of the house, it was very grateful to all those, both within and without the house, who wished well to the king and to the kingdom.

The king at the same time resolved to remove

another officer, who did disserve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. Hyde to that place; with which his gracious intentions his majesty acquainted him; but he positively refused it, and assured him, "That he should be able to do much more service in the condition he was in, than he should be, if that were improved by any preferment, that could be conferred upon him at that time;" and he added, "that he had the honour to have much friendship with the two persons, who were very seasonably advanced by his majesty, when his majesty's service in the house of commons did, in truth, want some countenance and support; and by his conversation with them, he should be so well instructed by them, that he should be more useful to his majesty, than if he were under a nearer relation and dependence." The king, with a very gracious countenance, told him, "that he perceived he must, for some time, defer the laying any obligation upon him: but bade him be assured he would find both a proper time, and a suitable preferment for him, which he should not refuse. In the mean time, he said, he knew well the friendship that was between the two persons, whom he had taken to his council, and him; which was not the least motive to him to make that choice; and that he would depend as much at least upon his advice, as upon either of theirs; and therefore wished that all three would confer together, how to conduct his service in the house, and to advise his friends how to carry themselves most to the advantage of it, and to give him constant advertisement of what had passed, and counsel when it was fit for him to do any thing; and declared, that he would do nothing, that in any degree concerned, or related to, his service in the house of commons, without their joint advice, and exact communication to them of all his own conceptions;" which, without doubt, his majesty did at that time steadfastly resolve, (though in very few days he did very fatally swerve from it,) and so giving him the liberty to repair to either of their majesties in the same place, whenever he thought fit, he was very graciously dismissed.

By what hath been said before, it appears, that the lord Digby was much trusted by the king, and he was of great familiarity and friendship with the other three, at least with two of them; for he was not a man of that exactness, as to be in the entire confidence of the lord Falkland, who looked upon his infirmities with more severity than the other two did; and he lived with more frankness towards those two, than he did towards the other: yet between those two there was a free conversation and kindness to each other. He was a man of very extraordinary parts by nature and art, and had surely as good and excellent an education as any man of that age in any country: a graceful and beautiful person; of great eloquence and becomingness in his discourse, (save that sometimes he seemed a little affected,) and of so universal a knowledge, that he never wanted subject for a discourse: he was equal to a very good part in the greatest affair, but the unfittest man alive to conduct it, having an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts, and a confidence peculiar to himself, which sometimes intoxicated, and transported, and exposed him. He had from his youth, by the disobligations his family had undergone from the duke of Buckingham, and the great men

who succeeded him, and some sharp reprehension himself had met with, which obliged him to a country life, contracted a prejudice and ill-will to the court; and so had in the beginning of the parliament engaged himself with that party which discovered most aversion from it, with a passion and animosity equal to their own, and therefore very acceptable to them. But when he was weary of their violent counsels, and withdrew himself from them with some circumstances which enough provoked them, and made a reconciliation, and mutual confidence in each other for the future, manifestly impossible; he made private and secret offers of his service to the king, to whom, in so general a defection of his servants, it could not but be very agreeable: and so his majesty being satisfied, both in the discoveries he made of what had passed, and in his professions for the future, removed him from the house of commons, where he had rendered himself marvellously ungracious, and called him by writ to the house of peers, where he did visibly advance the king's service, and quickly rendered himself grateful to all those who had not thought too well of him before, when he deserved less; and men were not only pleased with the assistance he gave upon all debates, by his judgment and vivacity, but looked upon him as one, who could derive the king's pleasure to them, and make a lively representation of their good demeanour to the king, which he was very luxuriant in promising to do, and officious enough in doing as much as was just.

He had been instrumental in promoting the three persons above mentioned to the king's favour; and had himself, in truth, so great an esteem of them, that he did very frequently, upon conference together, depart from his own inclinations and opinions, and concurred in theirs; and very few men of so great parts are, upon all occasions, more counsellable than he; so that he would seldom be in danger of running into great errors, if he would communicate and expose all his own thoughts and inclinations to such a disquisition; nor is he un inclinable in his nature to such an entire communication in all things which he conceived to be difficult. But his fatal infirmity is, that he too often thinks difficult things very easy; and doth not consider possible consequences, when the proposition administers somewhat that is delightful to his fancy, and by pursuing whereof he imagines he shall reap some glory to himself, of which he is immoderately ambitious; so that, if the consultation be upon any action to be done, no man more implicitly enters into that debate, or more cheerfully resigns his own conceptions to a joint determination: but when it is once affirmatively resolved, (besides that he may possibly reserve some impertinent circumstance, as he thinks, the imparting whereof would change the nature of the thing,) if his fancy suggests to him any particular, which himself might perform in that action, upon the imagination that every body would approve it, if it were proposed to them, he chooses rather to do it, than to communicate, that he may have some signal part to himself in the transaction, in which no other person can claim a share.

And by this unhappy temper he did often involve himself in very unprosperous attempts. The king himself was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily

amazed when they were entered upon. And from this unhappy composition in the one, and the other, a very unhappy counsel was entered upon, and resolution taken, without the least communication with either of the three, [who] had been so lately admitted to an entire trust.

The bishops, who were, in this manner [before spoken of], driven and kept from the house of peers, and not very secure in their own, could not have the patience to attend the dissolution of this storm, which in wisdom they ought to have done: but considering right and reason too abstractly, and what in justice was due, not what in prudence was to be expected, suffered themselves implicitly to be guided by the archbishop of York, who was of a proud, restless, overweening spirit, to such an act of indiscretion, and disadvantage to themselves, that all their enemies could not have brought upon them. This bishop, as is said, was a man of a very imperious and fiery temper, Dr. Williams, who had been bishop of Lincoln, and keeper of the great seal of England in the time of king James. After his removal from that charge, he had lived splendidly in his diocese, and made himself very popular amongst those who had no reverence for the court; of which he would frequently, and in the presence of many, speak with too much freedom, and tell many stories of things and persons upon his own former experience; in which, being a man of great pride and vanity, he did not always confine himself to a precise veracity; and did often presume, in those unwary discourses, to mention the person of the king with too little reverence. He did affect to be thought an enemy to the archbishop of Canterbury; whose person he seemed exceedingly to contemn, and to be much displeased with those ceremonies and innovations, as they were then called, which were countenanced by the other; and had himself written and published in his own name, and by his own authority, a book against the using those ceremonies, in which there was much good learning, and too little gravity for a bishop. His passion and his levity gave every day great advantages to those who did not love him; and he provoked too many, not to have those advantages made use of: so that, after several informations against him in the star-chamber, he was sentenced for no less crimes than for perjury and subornation of perjury, and fined in a great sum of money to the king, and committed prisoner to the Tower, without the pity or compassion of any, but those, who, out of hatred to the government, were sorry that they were without so useful a champion; for he appeared to be a man of a very corrupt nature, whose passions could have transported him into the most unjustifiable actions.

He had a faculty of making relations of things done in his own presence, and discourses made to himself, or in his own hearing, with all the circumstances of answers and replies, and upon arguments of great moment; all which, upon examination, were still found to have nothing in them that was real, but to be the pure effect of his own invention. After he was sentenced in the star-chamber, some of his friends resorted to him, to lament and condole with him for his misfortune; and some of them seemed to wonder that, in an affair of such a nature, he had not found means to have made some submission and com-

position, that might have prevented the public hearing, which proved so much to his prejudice in point of reputation, as well as profit. He answered them with all the formality imaginable, "that they had reason indeed to wonder at him upon the event; but when they should know how he had governed himself, he believed they would cease to think him worthy of blame." And then related to them, "that as soon as publication had passed in his cause, and the books were taken out, he had desired his council (who were all able men, and some of them very eminent) in the vacation time, and they at most leisure, to meet together, and carefully to look over, and peruse all the evidence that was taken on both sides; and that then they would all attend him such a morning, which he appointed, upon their consent, at his own house at Westminster: that they came at the time appointed; and being then shut up in a room together, he asked them, whether they had sufficiently perused all the books, and were thoroughly informed of his case? To which they all answered, that they had not only read them all over together, but had severally, every man by himself, perused [them] again, and they believed they were all well informed of the whole. That he then told them, he had desired this conference with them, not only as his council, by whose opinion he meant to govern himself, but as his particular friends, who, he was sure, would give him their best advice, and persuade him to do every thing as they would do themselves, if they were in his condition. That he was now offered to make his peace at court, by such an humble submission to the king, as he was most inclined and ready to make; and which he would make the next day after his cause was heard, though he should be declared to be innocent, of which he could make no doubt: but that which troubled him for the present was, that the infamousness of the charge against him, which had been often exposed, and enlarged upon in several motions, had been so much taken notice of through the kingdom, that it could not consist with his honour to divert the hearing, which would be imputed to his want of confidence in his innocence, since men did not suspect his courage, if he durst rely upon the other; but that he was resolved, as he said before, the next day after he should be vindicated from those odious aspersions, he would cast himself at the king's feet, with all the humility and submission, which the most guilty man could make profession of. It was in this point he desired their advice, to which he would, without adhering to his own inclination, entirely conform himself; and therefore desired them, singly in order, to give him their advice. He repeated the several and distinct discourse every man had made, in which he was so punctual, that he applied those phrases, and expressions, and manner of speech to the several men, which they were all taken notice of frequently to use; as many men have some peculiar words in discourse, which they are most delighted with, or by custom most addicted to: and in conclusion, that they were unanimous in their judgments, that he could not, with the preservation of his honour, and the opinion of his integrity, decline the public hearing; where he must be

"unquestionably declared innocent; there being no crime or misdemeanour proved against him in such a manner, as could make him liable to censure: they all commended his resolution of submitting to the king, as soon as he had made his innocence to appear; and they all advised him to pursue that method. This, he said, had swayed him; and made him decline the other expedient, that had been proposed to him."

This relation wrought upon those to whom it was made, to raise a prejudice in them against the justice of the cause, or the reputation of the council, as they were most inclined; whereas there was not indeed the least shadow of truth in the whole relation; except that there was such a meeting and conference, as was mentioned, and which had been consented to by the bishop, upon the joint desire and importunity of all the council; who, at that conference, unanimously advised and desired him, "to use all the means and friends he could, that the cause might not be brought to hearing; but that he should purchase his peace at any price; for that, if it were heard, he would be sentenced very grievously, and that there were many things proved against him, which would so much reflect upon his honour and reputation, and the more for being a bishop, that all his friends would abandon him, and be ever after ashamed to appear on his behalf." Which advice, with great passion and reproaches upon the several persons for their presumption and ignorance in matters so much above them, he utterly and scornfully rejected. Nor indeed was it possible, at that time, for him to have made his peace; for though, upon some former addresses and importunity on his behalf, by some persons of power, and place in the court, in which the queen herself had endeavoured to have done him good offices, the king was inclined to have saved him, being a bishop, from the infamy he must undergo by a public trial; yet the bishop's vanity had, in those conjunctures, so far transported him, that he had done all he could to have it insinuated, "that the court was ashamed of what they had done; and had prevailed with some of his powerful friends to persuade him to that composition:" upon which the king would never hear more any person, who moved on his behalf.

It had been once mentioned to him, whether by authority, or no, was not known, "that his peace should be made, if he would resign his bishopric, and deanery of Westminster," (for he held that *in commendam*), "and take a good bishopric in Ireland;" which he positively refused; and said, "he had much to do to defend himself against the archbishop here: but if he were in Ireland, there was a man (meaning the earl of Strafford) who would cut off his head within one month."

This bishop had been for some years in the Tower, by the sentence of the star-chamber, before this parliament met; when the lords, who were the most active and powerful, presently resolved to have him at liberty. Some had much kindness for him, not only as a known enemy to the archbishop of Canterbury, but as a supporter of those opinions, and those persons, which were against the church itself. And he was no sooner at liberty, and brought into the house, but, [as has been before mentioned,] he defended and

seconded the lord Say, when he made an invective, with all the malice and bitterness imaginable, against the archbishop, then in prison; and when he had concluded, that bishop said, "that he had long known that noble lord, and had always believed him to be as well affected to the church as himself;" and so he continued to make all his address to that lord, and those of the same party. Being now in full liberty, and in some credit and reputation, he applied himself to the king; and made all possible professions of duty to his majesty, and zeal to the church; protesting "to have a perfect detestation of those persons, who appeared to have no affection or duty towards his majesty, and all evil intentions against the religion established; and that the civilities he had expressed towards them was only out of gratitude for the good-will they had shewed to him; and especially that he might the better promote his majesty's service." And it being his turn shortly after, as dean of Westminster, to preach before the king, he took occasion to speak of the factious in religion; and mentioning the presbyterians, he said, "it was a government only fit for tailors and shoemakers, and the like, and not for noblemen and gentlemen:" which gave great scandal and offence to his great patrons; to whom he easily reconciled himself, by making them as merry with some sharp sayings of the court, and by performing more substantial offices for them.

When, upon the trial of the earl of Strafford, it was resolved to decline the judgment of the house [of peers], and to proceed by bill of attainder; and thereupon it was very unreasonably moved, "that the bishops might have no vote in the passing that act of parliament; because they pretended it was to have their hand in blood, which was against an old canon;" this bishop, without communicating with any of his brethren, very frankly declared his opinion, "that they ought not to be present;" and offered, not only in his own name, but for the rest of the bishops, "to withdraw always when that business was entered upon:" and so betrayed a fundamental right of the whole order; to the great prejudice of the king, and to the taking away the life of that person, who could not otherwise have suffered.

And shortly after, when the king declared, that he neither would, nor could in conscience, give his royal assent to that act of attainder; when the tumults came about the court with noise and clamour for justice; the lord Say desired the king to confer with his bishops for the satisfaction of his conscience; and desired him to speak with that bishop in the point. After much discourse together, and the king insisting upon many particulars, which might induce others to consent, but were known to himself to be false; and therefore he could never in conscience give his own consent to them; the bishop, amongst other arguments, told him, "that he must consider, that as he had a private capacity, and a public, so he had a public conscience, as well as a private; that though his private conscience, as a man, would not permit him to do an act contrary to his own understanding, judgment, and conscience; yet his public conscience, as a king, which obliged him to do all things for the good of his people, and to preserve his kingdom in peace for himself and his prosperity [posterity], would not only permit him to do that, but even oblige,

"and require him. That he saw in what commotion the people were; that his own life, and that of the queen's, and the royal issue, might probably be sacrificed to that fury; and it would be very strange, if his conscience should prefer the life of one single private person, how innocent soever, before all those other lives, and the preservation of the kingdom."

This was the argumentation of that unhappy casuist, who truly, it may be, did believe himself; for towards the end of the war, and when the king's power declined, he, being then an archbishop, did take a commission from the rebels to take a castle of the king's; in which there was a garrison, and which he did take by a long siege; because he might thereby, and by being himself governor there, the better enjoy the profits of his own estate, which lay thereabouts.

Notwithstanding all these great services he had performed for them, he grew every day more impetuous; and after the king thought it necessary to make him archbishop of York, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might possibly dispose and oblige him to do more good; he carried himself so insolently, in the house and out of the house, to all persons, that he became much more odious universally, than ever the other archbishop had been; having sure more enemies than he, and no friends, of which the other had abundance. And the great hatred of this man's person and behaviour, was the greatest invitation to the house of commons so irregularly to receive that bill to remove the bishops; and was their only encouragement to hope, that the lords, who had rejected the former, would now pass, and consent to this second bill.

This was one of the bishops, who was most rudely treated by the rabble; who gathered themselves together about the house of peers, crying out, *No bishops, no bishops*: and whose person was assaulted, and robes torn from his back; upon which, in very just displeasure, he returned to his house, the deanery at Westminster; and sent for all the bishops who were then in the town, (it being within very few days of Christmas,) of which there were twelve or thirteen; and, in much passion, and with his natural indignation, he proposed, as absolutely necessary, "that they might unanimously and presently prepare a protestation, to send to the house, against the force that was used upon them; and against all the acts, which were, or should be done during the time that they should by force be kept from doing their duties in the house." And immediately, having pen and ink ready, himself prepared a protestation; which, being read to them, they all approved; depending upon his great experience in the rules of the house, where he had sat so many years, and in some parliaments in the place of speaker, whilst he was keeper of the great seal; and so presuming that he could commit no error in matter of form: and without further communication and advice, which both the importance of the subject, and the distemper of the time, did require; and that it might have been considered as well what was fit, as what was right; without further delay, than what was necessary for the fair writing, and engrossing the instrument they had prepared; they all set their hands to it. And then the archbishop went to Whitehall to the king, and presented the protestation to him; it being directed to his majesty, with an humble desire, that he would

send it to the house of peers, since they could not present it themselves; and that he would command that it should be entered in the journal of the house. And his majesty casting his eye perfunctorily upon it, and believing it had been drawn by mature advice, no sooner received it, than he did deliver it to the lord keeper, who unfortunately happened to be likewise present, with his command that he should deliver it to the house as soon as it met; which was to be within two hours after. Which petition contained these words:

"To the king's most excellent majesty; and the lords
"and peers now assembled in parliament.

"The humble petition and protestation of all the
"bishops and prelates, now called by his majesty's writs to attend the parliament, and
"present about London and Westminster, for
"that service.

"That, whereas the petitioners are called up by
"several and respective writs, and under great
"penalties, to attend in parliament; and have a
"clear and indubitable right to vote in bills, and
"other matters whatsoever debatable in parliament,
"by the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this
"realm; and ought to be protected by your majesty, quietly to attend, and prosecute that great
"service:

"They humbly remonstrate, and protest before
"God, your majesty, and the noble lords and
"peers now assembled in parliament; that as they
"have an indubitable right to sit and vote in the
"house of lords, so are they (if they may be protected from force and violence) most ready and
"willing to perform their duties accordingly; and
"that they do abominate all actions or opinions
"tending to popery, and the maintenance thereof;
"as also all propension and inclination to any
"malignant party, or any other side or party
"whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and
"consciences shall not move them to adhere.

"But, whereas they have been at several times
"violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by
"multitudes of people, in their coming to perform
"their services in that honourable house; and
"lately chased away, and put in danger of their
"lives, and can find no redress, or protection, upon
"sundry complaints made to both houses in these
"particulars:

"They likewise humbly protest before your majesty, and the noble house of peers, that, saving
"to themselves all their rights and interests of
"sitting and voting in that house at other times,
"they dare not sit, or vote in the house of peers,
"until your majesty shall further secure them
"from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the
"premises.

"Lastly, whereas their fears are not built upon
"fantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds
"and objects as may well terrify men of good resolutions, and much constancy; they do in all
"duty and humility protest, before your majesty,
"and the peers of that most honourable house of
"parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null,
"and of none effect, which in their absence, since
"the seven and twentieth of this instant month of
"December, 1641, have already passed; as likewise against all such, as shall hereafter pass in
"that most honourable house, during the time of

"this their forced and violent absence from their
"said most honourable house; not denying, but if
"their absenting themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most honourable house might proceed
"in all these premises, their absence, or this their
"protestation, notwithstanding.

"And humbly beseeching your most excellent
"majesty to command the clerk of that house of
"peers to enter this their petition and protestation
"amongst his records;

"They will ever pray, &c."

(Signed)

Jo. Eborac.	Jo. Asaphen.	Ma. Ely.
Tho. Dunesme.	Guil. Ba. & Wells.	Godfr. Glouc.
Rob. Cov. Lich.	Geo. Hereford.	Jo. Peterburgh.
Jo. Norwich.	Rob. Oxon.	Mor. Llandaffe.

It was great pity, that, though the archbishop's passion transported him, as it usually did; and his authority imposed upon the rest, who had no affection to his person, or reverence for his wisdom; his majesty did not take a little time to consider of it, before he put it out of his power to alter it, by putting it out of his hands. For it might easily have been discerned by those who were well acquainted with the humour, as well as the temper, of both houses, that some advantage and ill use would have been made of some expressions contained in it; and that it could produce no good effect. But the same motive and apprehension, that had precipitated the bishops to so hasty a resolution, (which was, that the house of peers would have made that use of the bishops being kept from the house, that they would in that time have passed the bill itself for taking away their votes,) had its effect likewise with the king; who had the same imagination, and therefore would lose no time in the transmission of it to the house; whereas the lords would never have made use of that very season, whilst the tumults still continued, for the passing an act of that importance; and the scandal, if not invalidity of it, would have been an unanswerable ground for the king to have refused his royal assent to it.

As soon as the protestation, which, no doubt, in the time before the house was to meet, had been communicated to those who were prepared to speak upon it, was delivered by the lord keeper, with his majesty's command, and read; the governing lords manifested a great satisfaction in it; some of them saying, "that there was *digitus Dei* to bring that
"to pass, which they could not otherwise have
"compassed;" and without ever declaring any judgment or opinion of their own upon it, which they ought to have done, the matter only having relation to themselves, and concerning their own members; they sent to desire a conference presently with the house of commons, upon a business of importance: and, at the conference, only read and delivered the protestation of the bishops to them; which, the lord keeper told them, he had received from the king's own hand, with a command to present it to the house [of peers]. The house of commons took very little time to consider of the matter, but, within half an hour, they sent up to the lords; and, without further examination, accused them all, who had subscribed the protestation, of high treason; and, by this means, they were all, the whole twelve of them, committed to prison; and remained in the Tower till the bill for the putting them out of the house

was passed, which was not till many months after.

When the passion, rage, and fury of this time shall be forgotten, and posterity shall find, amongst the records of the supreme court of judicature, so many orders and resolutions in vindication of the liberty of the subject, against the imprisoning of any man, though by the king himself, without assigning such a crime as the law hath determined to be worthy of imprisonment; and in the same year, by this high court, shall find twelve bishops, members of this court, committed to prison for high treason, for the presenting this protestation; men will surely wonder at the spirit of that reformation: and even that clause of declaring all acts null, which had been, or should be, done in their absence, in defence of which no man then durst open his mouth, will be thought both good law and good logic; not that the presence of the bishops in that time was so essential, that no act should pass without them; which had given them a voice, upon the matter, as negative as the king's; and themselves, in their instrument, disclaimed the least pretence to such a qualification; but because a violence offered to the freedom of any one member, is a violation to all the rest: as if a council consist of threescore, and the door to that council be kept by armed men, and all such, whose opinions are not liked, kept out by force; no doubt the freedom of those within is infringed, and all their acts as void and null, as if they were locked in, and kept without meat till they altered their judgments.

And therefore you shall find in the journals of the most sober parliaments, that, upon any eminent breach of their privileges, as always upon the commitment of any member for any thing said or done in the house, sometimes upon less occasions, that house, which apprehended the trespass, would sit mute, without debating, or handling any business, and then adjourn; and this hath been practised many days together, till they had redress or reparation. And their reason was, because their body was lame; and what was befallen one member, threatened the rest; and the consequence of one act might extend itself to many other, which were not in view; and this made their privileges of so tender and nice a temper, that they were not to be touched, or in the least degree trenched upon; and therefore that in so apparent an act of violence, when it is not more clear that they were committed to prison, than that they durst not then sit in the house, and when it was lawful [in the house of peers] for every dissenter in the most trivial debate, to enter his protestation against that sense he liked not, though he were single in his opinion; that it should not be lawful for those, who could not enter it themselves, to present this protestation to the king, to whom they were accountable under a penalty for their absence; and unlawful to that degree, that it should render them culpable of high treason; and so forfeit their honours, their lives, their fortunes, expose their names to perpetual infamy, and their wives and children to penury, and want of bread; will be looked upon as a determination of that injustice, impiety, and horror, as could not be believed without those deep marks and prints of confusion, that followed and attended that resolution.

And yet the indiscretion of those bishops, swayed by the pride and insolence of that antiprelatical

archbishop, in applying that remedy at a time, when they saw all forms and rules of judgment impetuously declined; and the power of their adversaries so great, that the laws themselves submitted to their oppression; that they should, in such a storm, when the best pilot was at his prayers, and the card and compass lost, without the advice of one mariner, put themselves in such a cockboat, and to be severed from the good ship, gave that scandal and offence to all those who passionately desired to preserve their function, that they had no compassion, or regard of their persons, or what became of them; insomuch as in the whole debate in the house of commons, there was only one gentleman, who spake on their behalf, and said, "he did not believe they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad; and therefore desired they might be sent to "Bedlam."

This high and extravagant way of proceeding brought no prejudice to the king; and though it made their tribunal more terrible to men who laboured under any guilt, yet it exceedingly lessened the reverence and veneration that generally was entertained for parliaments: and this last accusation and commitment of so many bishops at once, was looked upon by all sober men with indignation. For whatever indiscretion might be in the thing itself, though some expressions in the matter might be unskilful and unwarrantable, and the form of presenting and transmitting it irregular and unjustifiable, (for all which the house of peers might punish their own members, according to their discretion,) yet every man knew there could be no treason in it; and therefore the end of their commitment, and the use all men saw would be made of it, made it the more odious; and the members who were absent from both houses, which were three parts of four, and many of those who had been present, abhorred the proceedings, [and] attended the houses more diligently; so that the angry party, who were no more treated with, to abate their fury, would have been compelled to have given over all their designs for the alteration of the government both in church and state; if the volatile and unquiet spirit of the lord Digby had not prevailed with the king, contrary to his resolution, to have given them some advantage; and to depart from his purpose of doing nothing [without very mature deliberation].

Though sir William Balfour, who is mentioned before, (a Scotchman who had been many years lieutenant of the Tower of London, which had raised great murmur and repining in the whole English nation, which, as it had an unreasonable aversion to all that people, thought it a great reproach that so eminent a command should be conferred upon a stranger, which the whole city of London took most to heart,) had, from the beginning of this parliament, according to the natural custom of his country, forgot all his obligations to the king; and had made himself very gracious to those people, whose glory it was to be thought enemies to the court; and, whilst the earl of Strafford was his prisoner, did many offices not becoming the trust he had from the king, and ministered much of the jealousy, which they had of his majesty; upon which there had been a long resolution to remove him from that charge; but to do it with his own consent, that there might be no manifestation of displeasure; yet it was a very un-

seasonable conjuncture, which was taken to execute it in; paying him such a considerable sum of money as well pleased him; and this whole transaction was so secretly carried, that there was neither notice or suspicion of it, till it was heard, that sir Thomas Lunsford was sworn lieutenant of the Tower; a man, [who,] though of an ancient family in Sussex, was of a very small and decayed fortune, and of no good education; having been few years before compelled to fly the kingdom, to avoid the hand of justice for some riotous misdemeanour; by reason whereof he spent some time in the service of the king of France, where he got the reputation of a man of courage, and a good officer of foot; and in the beginning of the troubles here had some command in the king's army; but so much inferior to many others, and was so little known, except upon the disadvantage of an ill character, that, in the most dutiful time, the promotion would have appeared very ungrateful. He was utterly a stranger to the king, and therefore it was quickly understood to proceed from the single election of the lord Digby, to whom he was likewise very little known; who had in truth designed that office to his brother sir Lewis Dives, against whom there could have been no exception, but his relation: but he being not at that time in town, and the other having some secret reason (which was not a good one) to fill that place in the instant with a man who might be trusted; he suddenly resolved upon this gentleman, as one who would be faithful to him for the obligation, and execute any thing he should desire or direct; which was a reason, he might easily have foreseen, would provoke more powerful opposition; which error, as is said before, was repaired by the sudden change, and putting in sir John Byron; though it gave little satisfaction, and the less, by reason of another more inconvenient action, which changed the whole face of affairs, and caused this to be the more reflected upon.

In the afternoon of a day when the two houses sat, Herbert, the king's attorney, informed the house of peers, that he had somewhat to say to them from the king; and thereupon, having a paper in his hand, he said, that the king commanded him to accuse the lord Kimbolton, a member of that house, and five gentlemen, who were all members of the house of commons, of high treason; and that his majesty had himself delivered him in writing several articles, upon which he accused them; and thereupon he read in a paper these ensuing articles, by which the lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Strode, stood accused of high treason, for conspiring against the king and the parliament.

Articles of high treason, and other misdemeanours, against the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, John Hambden, Denzil Hollis, sir Arthur Haslerig, and William Strode, members of the house of commons.

1. "That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom; and deprive the king of his regal power; and to place on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.
2. "That they have endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his majesty, and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious to them.
3. "That they have endeavoured to draw his majesty's late army to disobedience to his ma-

“jesty's command, and to side with them in their traitorous design.

4. "That they have traitorously invaded, and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England.

5. "That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the very rights and beings of parliament.

6. "That, for the completing of their traitorous designs, they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror to compel the parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs, and, to that end, have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and parliament.

7. "That they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied, war against the king."

The house of peers was somewhat appalled at this alarm; but took time to consider of it, till the next day, that they might see how their masters the commons would behave themselves; the lord Kimbolton being present in the house, and making great professions of his innocence; and no lord being so hardy to press for his commitment on the behalf of the king.

At the same time, a sergeant at arms demanded to be heard at the house of commons from the king; and being sent for to the bar, demanded the persons of the five members to be delivered to him in his majesty's name, his majesty having accused them of high treason. But the commons were not much surprised with the accident; for besides that they quickly knew what had passed with the lords, some servants of the king's, by especial warrant, had visited the lodgings of some of the accused members, and sealed up their studies and trunks; upon information whereof, before the sergeant came to the house, or public notice was taken of the accusation, an order was made by the commons; "That if any person whatsoever should come to the lodgings of any member of that house, and there offer to seal the doors, trunks, or papers of such members, or to seize upon their persons; that then such members should require the aid of the next constable, to keep such persons in safe custody, till the house should give further order: that if any person whatsoever should offer to arrest or detain any member of that house, without first acquainting that house therewith, and receiving further order from thence; that it should be lawful for such member to stand upon his guard, and make resistance, and [for] any person to assist him, according to the protestation taken to defend the privileges of parliament." And so, when the sergeant had delivered his message, he was no more called in; but a message sent to the king, "that the members should be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge should be preferred against them;" and so the house adjourned till the next day, every one of the accused persons taking a copy of that order, which was made for their security.

The next day in the afternoon, the king, attended only by his own guard, and some few gentlemen, who put themselves into their company in the way, came to the house of commons; and commanding all his attendants to wait at the door, and to give offence to no man; himself, with his nephew, the prince elector, went into the house, to the great amazement of all: and the speaker leaving the chair, the king went into it; and told the house, "he was sorry for that occasion of coming to them;

“that yesterday he had sent his sergeant at arms to apprehend some, that, by his command, were accused of high treason; whereunto he expected obedience, but instead thereof he had received a message. He declared to them, that no king of England had been ever, or should be, more careful to maintain their privileges, than he would be; but that in cases of treason no man had privilege; and therefore he came to see if any of those persons, whom he had accused, were there; for he was resolved to have them, wheresoever he should find them: and looking then about, and asking the speaker whether they were in the house, and he making no answer, he said, he perceived the *birds were all flown*, but expected they should be sent to him, as soon as they returned thither; and assured them in the word of a king, that he never intended any force, but would proceed against them in a fair and legal way;” and so returned to Whitehall.

The accused persons, upon information and intelligence what his majesty intended to do, how secretly soever it was carried at court, having withdrawn from the house about half an hour before the king came thither; the house, in great disorder, as soon as the king was gone, adjourned till the next day in the afternoon; the lords being in so great apprehension upon notice of the king's being at the house of commons, that the earl of Essex expressed a tender sense he had of the inconveniences which were like to ensue those divisions; and moved, “that the house of peers, as a work very proper for them, would interpose between the king and his people; and mediate to his majesty on the behalf of the persons accused;” for which he was reprehended by his friends, and afterwards laughed at himself, when he found how much a stronger defence they had, than the best mediation could prove on their behalf.

How secretly soever this affair was carried, it was evident that the king's [resolution of] coming to the house was discovered, by the members withdrawing themselves, and by a composedness, which appeared in the countenances of many, who used to be disturbed at less surprising occurrences; and though the purpose of accusing the members was only consulted between the king and the lord Digby; yet it was generally believed, that the king's purpose of going to the house was communicated to William Murray of the bed-chamber, with whom the lord Digby had great friendship; and that it was betrayed by him. And that lord, who had promised the king to move the house for the commitment of the lord Kimbolton, as soon as the attorney general should have accused him, (which if he had done would probably have raised a very hot dispute in the house, where many would have joined with him,) never spake the least word; but, on the contrary, seemed the most surprised and perplexed with the attorney's impeachment; and sitting at that time next to the lord Kimbolton, with whom he pretended to live with much friendship, he whispered him in the ear with some commotion, (as he had a rare talent in dissimulation,) “that the king was very mischievously advised; and that it should go very hard, but he would know whence that counsel proceeded; in order to which, and to prevent further mischief, he would go immediately to his majesty;” and so went out of the house.

Whereas he was the only person who gave the counsel, named the persons, and particularly named the lord Kimbolton, (against whom less could be said, than against many others, and who was more generally beloved,) and undertook to prove that he bade the rabble, when they were about the parliament-house, that they should go to Whitehall. And when he found the ill success of the impeachment in both houses, and how unsatisfied all were with the proceeding, he advised the king the next morning to go to the guildhall, and to inform the mayor and aldermen of the grounds of his proceeding; which will be mentioned anon. And that people might not believe, that there was any dejection of mind, or sorrow, for what was done; the same night, the same council caused a proclamation to be prepared for stopping the ports; that the accused persons might not escape out of the kingdom; and to forbid all persons to receive and harbour them: when it was well known, that they were all together in a house in the city, without any fear of their security. And all this was done without the least communication with any body, but the lord Digby, who advised it; and, it is very true, was so willing to take the utmost hazard upon himself, that he did offer the king, when he knew in what house they were together, with a select company of gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof sir Thomas Lunsford was one, to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place: but the king liked not such enterprises.

That night the persons accused removed themselves into their strong hold, the city: not that they durst not venture themselves at their old lodgings, for no man would have presumed to trouble them, but that the city might see, that they relied upon that place for a sanctuary of their privileges against violence and oppression; and so might put on an early concernment for them. And they were not disappointed; for, in spite of all the lord mayor could do to compose their distempers, (who, like a very wise and stout magistrate, bestirred himself,) the city was that whole night in arms; some people, designed to that purpose, running from one gate to another, and crying out, “that the cavaliers were coming to fire the city;” and some saying, “that the king himself was in the head of them.”

The next morning, the king, being informed of much that had passed that night, according to the advice he had received, sent to the lord mayor to call a common council immediately; and about ten of the clock, himself, attended only by three or four lords, went to the guildhall; and in the room, where the people were assembled, told them, “he was very sorry to hear of the apprehensions they had entertained of danger; that he was come to them, to shew how much he relied upon their affections for his security and guard, having brought no other with him; that he had accused certain men of high treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way; and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city.” And using many other very gracious expressions of his value of them, and telling one of the sheriffs, (who was of the two thought less inclined to his service,) “that he would dine with him,” he departed without that applause and cheerfulness, which he might have expected from the extraordinary grace he vouch-

safed to them; and in his passage through the city, the rude people flocking together, and crying out, "Privilege of parliament, privilege of parliament;" some of them pressing very near his own coach, and amongst the rest one calling out with a very loud voice, "To your tents, O Israel." However the king, though much mortified, continued his resolution, taking little notice of the distempers; and, having dined at the sheriff's, returned in the afternoon to Whitehall; and published, the next day, a proclamation for the apprehension of all those, whom he accused of high treason, forbidding any person to harbour them; the articles of their charge being likewise printed and dispersed.

When the house of commons next met, none of the accused members appearing, they had friends enough, who were well enough instructed to aggravate the late proceedings, and to put the house into a thousand jealousies and apprehensions, and every slight circumstance carried weight enough in it to disturb their minds. They took very little notice of the accusing the members; but the king's coming to the house, which had been never known before, and declaring, "that he would take them wherever he found them, was an evidence, that he meant himself to have brought a force into the house, to apprehend them, if they had been there;" was looked upon as the highest breach of privilege that could possibly be imagined. They who spake most passionately, and probably meant as maliciously, behaved themselves with modesty, and seemed only concerned in what concerned them all; and concluded, after many lamentations, "that they did not think themselves safe in that house, till the minds of men were better composed; that the city was full of apprehensions, and was very zealous for their security; and therefore wished that they might adjourn the parliament to meet in some place in the city." But that was found not practicable; since it was not in their own power to do it, without the consent of the peers, and the concurrence of the king; who were both like rather to choose a place more distant from the city. And, with more reason, in the end they concluded, "that the house should adjourn itself for two or three days, and name a committee, which should sit both morning and afternoon in the city;" and all who came, to have voices: and Merchant-Tailors' hall was appointed for the place of their meeting; they who served for London undertaking, "that it should be ready against the next morning:" no man opposing or contradicting any thing that was said; they, who formerly used to appear for all the rights and authority which belonged to the king, not knowing what to say, and between grief and anger that the violent party had, by these late unskilful actions of the court, gotten great advantage, and recovered new spirits: and the three persons before named, without whose privity the king had promised that he would enter upon no new counsel, were so much displeased and dejected, that they were inclined never more to take upon them the care of any thing to be transacted in the house: finding already, that they could not avoid being looked upon as the authors of those counsels, to which they were so absolute strangers, and which they so perfectly detested.

And in truth, they had then withdrawn them-

selves from appearing often in the house, but upon the abstracted consideration of their duty and conscience, and of the present ill condition the king was in; who likewise felt within himself the trouble and agony which usually attends generous and magnanimous minds, upon their having committed errors, which expose them to censure and to damage. In fine, the house of commons adjourned for some days, to consult with their friends in the city; and the house of lords held so good correspondence with them, that they likewise adjourned to the same days they knew, by some intelligence, they intended to meet again. But the lords made no committee to sit in the city.

When the committee met the next morning at Merchant-Tailors' hall, where all who came were to have voices, and whither all did come at first, out of curiosity to observe what method they meant to proceed in, rather than expectation that they should be able to do any good there; they found a guard ready to attend them, of substantial citizens in arms, and a committee from the common council, to bid them welcome into the city; and to assure them, "that the city would take care, that they and all their members should be secured from violence; and to that purpose had appointed that guard to attend them, which should be always relieved twice a day, if they resolved to sit morning and afternoon;" and acquainted them further, "that the common council, in contemplation that they might stand in want of any thing, had likewise appointed a committee of so many aldermen, and such a number of the common council, which should always meet at a place named, at those hours, which that committee should appoint to meet at; to the end that, if any thing were to be required of the city, they might still know their pleasure, and take care that it should be obeyed." And thus they had provided for such a mutual communication and confederacy, that they might be sure always to be of one mind, and the one to help the other in the prosecution of those designs and expedients, which they should find necessary to their common end: the committee of the city consisting of the most eminent persons, aldermen and others, for their disaffection to the government of church and state.

At their first sitting, the committee began with the stating the manner of the king's coming to the house, and all he did there; the several members mentioning all that they would take upon them to remember of his majesty's doing or speaking, both as he came to the house, and after he was there; some of them being walking in Westminster-hall when the king walked through, and so came to the house with him, or near him; others reporting what they had heard some of the gentlemen, who attended his majesty, say, as they passed by; every idle word having its commentary; and the persons, whoever were named, being appointed to attend; they having power given them to send for all persons, and to examine them touching that affair. Nor had any man the courage to refuse to obey their summons; so that all those of the king's servants, who were sent for, appeared punctually at the hour that was assigned them; and were examined upon all questions, which any one of the committee would propose to them, whereof many were very impertinent, and of little respect to the king.

It was very well known where the accused persons were, all together in one house in Coleman-street, near the place where the committee sat; and whither persons trusted passed to and fro to communicate and receive directions; but it was not seasonable time for them yet to appear in public, and to come and sit with the committee, or to own the believing that they thought themselves safe from the violence and the assaults of the court; the power whereof they exceedingly contemned, whilst they seemed to apprehend it: nor was it yet time to model in what manner their friends in the city and the country should appear concerned for them; in preparing whereof no time was lost.

Against the time the house was to meet, the first adjournment not being for above two or three days, the committee had prepared matter enough for a report; a relation of all they had discovered upon their examinations, and such votes as they thought fit to offer upon the breach of their privilege; that they might thereby discover the affections of the house, of which they could not yet take any measure, since there had been no debate since those accidents, which could discover the general temper; which they well enough knew was not before to their advantage. In the mean time, they used all the ways they could to asperse those, who used to oppose them, as the contrivers of the late proceedings; and were willing they should know it; which they imagined would restrain them from taking the same liberty they had used to do.

And so at their meeting in the house, upon the report of the committee, they declared, "That the king's coming to the house, and demanding the persons of divers members thereof to be delivered unto him, was a high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament, and inconsistent with the liberty and freedom thereof: and therefore that they could not with the safety of their own persons, or the indemnity of the rights and privileges of parliament, sit there any longer, without a full vindication of so high a breach, and a sufficient guard, wherein they might confide; and for that reason did order, that their house should be again adjourned for four days; and that the committee should meet in the same place, to consider and resolve of all things, that might concern the good and safety of the city, and the kingdom; and particularly how their privileges might be vindicated, and their persons secured; and should have power to consult and advise with any person or persons, touching the premises." And this order and declaration being made, they adjourned; the last clause being intended to bring their members to them.

At the meeting of the house, the committee had informed them, first of the great civilities they had received from the city in all the particulars, that they might have order to return the thanks of the whole house, which they easily obtained; and, at their return, they took more examinations than they had formerly; by which they made a fuller relation of the king's coming to the house, and his carriage and words there. And because it was visible to all men, that the king was so far from bringing any force with him, which they desired should be believed, that he had only his guard of halberdiers, and fewer of them than used to go with him upon any ordinary motion; and that fewer of his gentlemen servants were then with

him, than usually attended him when he went but to walk in the park; and had only their little swords; they were very punctual in mentioning any light or loose words, which had fallen from any man, that it might be believed that there was more in the matter. As they carefully inserted in their relation, that one of the waiters, as he walked very near his majesty through the hall, said, "he had a good pistol in his pocket;" and that another, as they were walking up the stairs towards the house of commons, called out, *Fall on*; from which they would have it believed, that there had been very bloody intentions.

Then they offered some votes to be offered to the house, in which they voted "the relation, which was made, to be true; and thereupon, that the king's coming to the house in that manner was the highest breach of the privilege of parliament that could be made; and that the arresting, or endeavouring to arrest, any member of parliament, was a high breach of their privilege; and that the person, who was so arrested, might lawfully rescue and redeem himself; and that all who were present, and saw the privilege of parliament so violated, might and ought to assist the injured person in his defence, and to procure his liberty with force." And these votes the house confirmed, when they were reported: though, in the debate, it was told them, "that they must take heed, that they did not, out of tenderness of their privilege, which was and must be very precious to every man, extend it further than the law would suffer it to be extended: that the house had always been very severe upon the breach of any of their privileges, and in the vindicating those members, who were injured; but that the disposing men to make themselves judges, and to rescue themselves or others, might be of evil consequence, and produce ill effects; at least if it should fall out to be, that the persons were arrested for treason, or felony, or breach of the peace; in either of which cases, there could be no privilege of parliament." This, though a known truth to any, who knew any thing of the law, was received with noise and clamour, and with wonderful evidence of dislike, and some faint contradictions, "that no such thing ought to be done whilst a parliament was sitting:" and then, falling upon the late action of the king, and the merit of those persons, and without much contradiction, which was found to be ungrateful, the house confirmed all that the committee had voted; and then adjourned again for some days, and ordered the committee to meet again in the city; which they did morning and afternoon, and prepared other votes of a brighter allay, and more in the face of the king and the law; every day adding to the fury and fierceness of the precedent; and the house met and sat, only to confirm the votes which were passed by the committee, and to prosecute such matters as were by concert brought to them, by petition from the city; which was ready to advance any thing they were directed: and so, whilst the members yet kept themselves concealed, many particulars of great importance were transacted in those short sittings of the house.

The king about this time, having found the inconvenience and mischief to himself of having no servant of interest and reputation, and who took his business to heart, in the house of commons,

had made the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper, both members of that house, and of unblemished reputations and confessed abilities, of his privy-council; and the one, the lord Falkland, his principal secretary of state, and sir John Colepepper, chancellor of the exchequer; as is said before. And so, having now gotten two counsellors about him, who durst trust one another, and who were both fit to be trusted by him, which he had been without above a year past, to his and the kingdom's irreparable disadvantage; he thought fit to publish a declaration to all his subjects, in answer to the remonstrance he had lately received from the house of commons, and was dispersed throughout the kingdom. In which, without the least sharpness or return of that language he had received, he took notice "of the fears and jealousies," (for those were the new words, which served to justify all indispositions, and to excuse all disorders,) "which made impression in the minds of his people, with reference to their religion, their liberty, or their civil interests."

"For religion, he observed the fears to be of two sorts; either as ours here established might be invaded by the Romish party; or as it was accompanied with some ceremonies, at which some tender consciences really were, or pretended to be, scandalized. For the first, as there might be any suspicion of favour or inclination to the papists, he said, he was willing to declare to all the world, that, as he had been brought up from his childhood in, and practised that religion, which was established in the church of England; so he believed he could, having given a good part of his time and pains to the examination of the grounds of it, as it differed from that of Rome, maintain the same by unanswerable reasons; and hoped he should be ready to seal it by the effusion of his blood, if it should please God to call him to that sacrifice: and that nothing could be so acceptable to him, as any proposition, which might contribute to the advancement of it here, as [well as] the propagation of it abroad; being the greatest means to draw down a blessing from God upon himself, and this nation; and if this profession of his was wanting to his people, he thought himself extremely unfortunate, for that his constant practice in his own person had always been, without ostentation, as much to the evidence of his care and duty therein, as he could possibly tell how to express.

"For matters of ceremony, he said, he would, in tenderness to any number of his loving subjects, be willing to comply with the advice of his parliament, that some law should be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for such ceremonies; and in such cases, which by the judgment of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful. Provided that that case should be attempted, and pursued with that modesty, temper, and submission, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the kingdom should not be disturbed, the decency and comeliness of God's service [not] discountenanced, nor the pious, sober, and devout actions of those reverend persons, who were the first labourers in the blessed reformation, or of that time, be scandalized and defamed. For, he said, he could not, without grief of heart, and

"without some tax upon himself and his ministers for the not execution of the laws, look upon the bold license of some men in printing of pamphlets, in preaching and printing of sermons so full of bitterness and malice against the present government, against the laws established; so full of sedition against his own person, and the peace of the kingdom; that he was many times amazed to consider by what eyes those things were seen, and by what ears they were heard.

"Concerning the civil liberties and interests of the subjects, he said, he should need say the less, having erected so many lasting monuments of his princely and fatherly care of his people, in those excellent laws passed by him this parliament; which, with very much content to himself, he said, he conceived to be so large and ample, that very many sober men had very little left to wish for of that kind. He told them, he very well understood the rights and particular advantages, he had departed from in many of the acts he had passed; and therefore he had reason to hope, as he had taken all occasions to render their condition most comfortable and happy; so they would, in grateful and dutiful relation, be always ready with equal tenderness and alacrity to advance his rights, and preserve his honour, upon which their own security and subsistence so much depended; and no particular should be presented unto him for the completing and establishing that security, to the which he would not with the same readiness contribute his best assistance. He said, if those resolutions were the effects of his present counsels, and he took God to witness that they were such, and that his subjects might confidently expect the benefit of them from him, certainly no ill design upon the public could accompany such resolutions; neither could there be great cause of suspicion of any persons preferred by him to degrees of honour, and places of trust and employment, since this parliament: and therefore, that amongst his misfortunes he reckoned it not the least, that, having not retained in his service, nor protected any one person, against whom the parliament had excepted, during the whole sitting of it; and having in all that time scarce vouchsafed to any man an instance of his favour or grace, but to such who were under some eminent character of estimation amongst the people, there should so soon be any misunderstanding or jealousy of their fidelity and uprightness; especially in a time, when he took all occasions to declare, that he conceived himself only capable of being served by honest men, and in honest ways.

"However, if he had been mistaken in such his election, the particular should no sooner be discovered to him, either by his own observation, or other certain information, than he would leave them to public justice, under the marks of his displeasure. If, notwithstanding this, any malignant party should take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambitions, under what pretence of religion and conscience soever; if they should endeavour to lessen his reputation and interest, and to weaken his lawful power and authority with his good subjects; if they should go about, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bonds

“ of government, that all disorder and confusion
 “ might break in; he doubted not, but God
 “ in his good time would discover them; and the
 “ wisdom and courage of his high court of parliament
 “ join with him in their suppression and punishment.

“ Having said all he could, to express the
 “ clearness and uprightness of his intentions,
 “ and done all he could to manifest those inten-
 “ tions, he said, he could not but confidently
 “ believe, all his good subjects would acknow-
 “ ledge his part to be fully performed, both in
 “ deeds past, and present resolutions to do what
 “ with justice might be required of him; and
 “ that their quiet and prosperity now depended
 “ wholly on themselves, and was in their own
 “ power, by yielding all obedience and due rever-
 “ ence to the law; which is the inheritance of
 “ every subject, and the only security he can have
 “ for his life, liberty, and estate; and the which
 “ being neglected or disesteemed, under what
 “ specious shows soever, a great measure of infe-
 “ licity, if not an irreparable confusion, must with-
 “ out doubt fall upon them. And he doubted
 “ not, it would be the most acceptable declaration
 “ a king could make to his subjects, that he was
 “ not only resolved to observe the laws himself,
 “ but to maintain them against what opposition
 “ soever, though with the hazard of his being.
 “ He hoped the loyalty and good affections of all
 “ his subjects would concur with him in the con-
 “ stant preserving a good understanding between
 “ him and his people; and that their own interest,
 “ and compassion of the lamentable condition of
 “ the poor protestants in Ireland, would invite
 “ them to a fair intelligence and unity amongst
 “ themselves; that so they might, with one heart,
 “ intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy
 “ kingdom; where those barbarous rebels prac-
 “ tised such inhuman and unheard of outrages
 “ upon the miserable people, that no Christian ear
 “ could hear without horror, or story parallel.
 “ He concluded with conjuring all his good sub-
 “ jects, of what degree or quality soever, by all the
 “ bonds of love, duty, and obedience, that are
 “ precious to good men, to join with him for the
 “ recovery of the peace of that kingdom, and the
 “ preservation of the peace of this; to remove all
 “ the doubts and fears which might interrupt their
 “ affection to him, and all their jealousies and
 “ apprehensions, which might lessen their charity
 “ to each other; and then, he said, if the sins
 “ of the nation had not prepared an inevitable
 “ judgment for all, God would make him a great and
 “ a glorious king over a free and a happy people.”

Though this declaration had afterwards a very
 good influence upon the people to his majesty's
 advantage, yet for the present it gave no allay to
 their distempers. Their seditious ministers were
 despatched to inflame the neighbour counties, and
 all possible art was used to inflame the city of
 London; which prevailed so far, that, notwith-
 standing all the opposition the lord mayor of
 London, the recorder, and the gravest and most
 substantial aldermen could make, the major part
 of the common council prevailed to send a peti-
 tion to the king, in the name of the mayor, al-
 dermen, and common council of the city of Lon-
 don; which was the next Sunday morning de-
 livered to him, with great solemnity, at Whitehall,
 by a number chosen of that body; represent-
 ing “ the great dangers, fears, and distractions,

“ the city then was in, by reason of the prevailing
 “ progress of the bloody rebels of Ireland; the
 “ putting out of persons of honour and trust from
 “ being constable and lieutenant of the Tower,
 “ especially in those times, and the preparations
 “ there lately made; the fortifying Whitehall
 “ with men and munition in an unusual manner;
 “ some of which men abused and wounded divers
 “ citizens passing by; the calling in divers can-
 “ noniers, and other assistance into the Tower;
 “ the discovery of divers fireworks in the hands of
 “ a papist, and the misunderstanding between
 “ his majesty and the parliament. That their
 “ fears were exceedingly increased by his majesty's
 “ late going into the house of commons, attended
 “ by a great multitude of armed men, for the
 “ apprehending of divers members of that house,
 “ to the endangering his own person, and the
 “ persons and privileges of that honourable assem-
 “ bly. That the effects of those fears tended not
 “ only to the overthrow of the whole trade of that
 “ city and kingdom, which they felt already in a
 “ deep measure, but threatened the utter ruin of
 “ the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties
 “ of all his subjects; and therefore they prayed
 “ his majesty, that, by the advice of his great
 “ council in parliament, the protestants in Ireland
 “ might be speedily relieved; the Tower put into
 “ the hands of persons of trust; that, by removal
 “ of doubtful and unknown persons from about
 “ Whitehall and Westminster, a known and ap-
 “ proved guard might be appointed for the safety
 “ of his majesty and the parliament; and that the
 “ lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the
 “ house of commons lately accused, might not bere-
 “ strained of liberty, or otherwise proceeded against,
 “ than according to the privileges of parliament.”

The king very well understood from what spirit
 this petition proceeded, and the inconvenience of
 giving so much countenance to it, as the very re-
 ceiving it was, if he could have avoided it. But
 the torrent was too strong to be resisted by any
 direct strength he could raise against it; and
 therefore he resolved to endeavour to divide and
 reduce them, by the most gracious descending to
 their pretended fears and apprehensions; and the
 same day gave them this answer; “ That, for the
 “ sad business of Ireland, he could not possibly
 “ express a greater sense than he had done, there
 “ being nothing left on his part unoffered, or un-
 “ done. For the Tower, he wondered that, hav-
 “ ing removed a servant of trust from that charge,
 “ only to satisfy the fears of the city, and put
 “ in another of unquestionable reputation and
 “ known ability, the petitioners should still enter-
 “ tain those fears; and whatever preparation of
 “ strength was there made, was with as great an
 “ eye of safety and advantage to the city, as to
 “ his own person, and should be equally employed
 “ to both.

“ For the fortifying Whitehall with men and
 “ munition in an unusual way, he doubted not,
 “ they had observed the strange provocation he
 “ had received to entertain that guard; that, by
 “ the disorderly and tumultuous conflux of people
 “ at Westminster and Whitehall, his great council
 “ was not only disquieted, but his own royal per-
 “ son in danger most seditious language being
 “ uttered even under his own windows. And if
 “ any citizens had been wounded, or ill treated,
 “ he was confidently assured, that it had hap-

"pended by their own evil and corrupt demeanours. For the fireworks in the hands of a papist, he knew nothing, nor understood whom, or what they meant.

"For his going to the house of commons, when his attendants were no otherwise armed than as gentlemen with swords, he was persuaded, that if they knew the clear grounds, upon which those persons stood accused of high treason, and what would be proved against them, with which they should be in due time acquainted, and considered the gentle way he took for their apprehension, (which he preferred before any course of violence, though that way had been very justifiable; since it was notoriously known, that no privilege of parliament can extend to treason, felony, or breach of the peace,) they would believe his going thither was an act of grace and favour to that house, and the most peaceable way of having that necessary service performed; there being such orders made for the resistance of what authority soever for their apprehension: and for the proceedings against those persons, he ever intended the same should be with all justice and favour, according to the laws and statutes of the realm; to the which all innocent men would cheerfully submit. And that extraordinary way of satisfying a petition of so unusual a nature, he said, he was confident would be thought the greatest instance could be given of his clear intentions to his subjects; and of the singular esteem he had of the good affections of that city, which he hoped in gratitude would never be wanting to his just commands and service."

It was no wonder that they, who at such a time could be corrupted to frame and deliver such a petition, would not be reformed by such an answer. Neither will it be here unseasonable, to spend a little time in considering how the affections and tempers of so rich and opulent a city, which could naturally expect to prosper only by peace and agreement, were wrought upon and transported to that degree, as to be the only instruments of its own and the kingdom's destruction.

The city of London, as the metropolis of England, by the situation the most capable of trade, and by the most usual residence of the court, and the fixed station of the courts of justice for the public administration of justice throughout the kingdom, the chief seat of trade, was, by the successive countenance and favour of princes, strengthened with great charters and immunities, and was a corporation governed within itself; the mayor, recorder, aldermen, sheriffs, chosen by themselves; several companies incorporated within the great corporation; which, besides notable privileges, enjoyed lands and perquisites to a very great revenue. By the incredible increase of trade, which the distractions of other countries, and the peace of this, brought, and by the great license of resort thither, it was, since the access of the crown to the king, in riches, in people, in buildings, marvellously increased, insomuch as the suburbs were almost equal to the city; a reformation of which had been often in contemplation, never pursued, wise men foreseeing that such a fulness could not be there, without an emptiness in other places; and whilst so many persons of honour and estates were so delighted with the city, the government of the country must be

neglected, besides the excess, and ill husbandry, that would be introduced thereby. But such foresight was interpreted a morosity, and too great an oppression upon the common liberty; and so, little was applied to prevent so growing a disease.

As it had these and many other advantages and helps to be rich, so it was looked upon too much of late time as a common stock not easy to be exhausted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice; and therefore, it was not only a resort, in all cases of necessity, for the sudden borrowing great sums of money, in which they were commonly too good merchants for the crown, but it was thought reasonable, upon any specious pretences, to void the security, that was at any time given for money so borrowed.

So after many questionings of their charter, which were ever removed by considerable sums of money, a grant made by the king in the beginning of his reign, (in consideration of great sums of money,) of good quantities of land in Ireland, and the city of Londonderry there, was avoided by a suit in the star-chamber; all the lands, after a vast expense in building and planting, resumed into the king's hands, and a fine of fifty thousand pounds imposed upon the city. Which sentence being pronounced after a long and public hearing, during which time they were often invited to a composition, both in respect of the substance, and the circumstances of proceeding, made a general impression in the minds of the citizens of all conditions, much to the disadvantage of the court; and though the king afterwards remitted to them the benefit of that sentence, they imputed that to the power of the parliament, and rather remembered how it had been taken from them, than by whom it was restored: so that, at the beginning of the parliament, the city was as ill affected to the court as the country was; and therefore chose such burgesses to sit there, as had either eminently opposed it, or accidentally been oppressed by it.

The chief government and superintendency of the city is in the mayor and aldermen; which, in that little kingdom, resembles the house of peers; and as subordinate the common council is the representative body thereof, like the house of commons, to order and agree to all taxes, rates, and such particulars belonging to the civil policy. The common council are chosen every year, so many for every parish, of the wisest and most substantial citizens, by the vestry and common convention of the people of that parish; and as the wealthiest and best reputed men were always chosen, so, though the election was once a year, it was scarce ever known, that any man once chosen was afterwards rejected or left out, except upon discovery of an enormous crime, or decaying in fortune to a bankrupt; otherwise, till he was called to be alderman, or died, he continued, and was every year returned of the common council.

After the beginning of this parliament, when they found by their experience in the case of the earl of Strafford, of what consequence the city might be to them, and afterwards found, by the courage of the present lord mayor, sir Richard Gourney, who cannot be too often nor too honourably mentioned, that it might be kept from being disposed by them; and that the men of wealth and ability, who at first had concurred with them, began now to discern that they meant to lead them

further than they had a mind to go; they directed their confidants, that at the election of the common councilmen by the concurrence and number of the meaner people, all such who were moderate men, and lovers of the present government, should be rejected; and in their places men of the most active and pragmatical heads, of how mean fortunes soever, should be elected: and by this means all that body consisted of upstart, factious, indigent companions, who were ready to receive all advertisements and directions from those who steered at Westminster, and as forward to encroach upon their superiors, the mayor and aldermen, as the other was upon the house of peers. And so this firebrand of privilege inflamed the city at that time.

That they might gratify the city in procuring a better answer than they had received from the king to their petition, and that they might more expose his majesty to their affronts, the house resumed the business of the Tower again, with the old reflections upon the remove of the former good lieutenant, and the putting in a rude person, and of a desperate fortune, that he might use such prisoners, as there was an intent to send thither, in such a manner as he should be directed; and that the person, who was since put in, had put the city into great apprehensions, by the observation that was made, that he took great store of provisions into the Tower, as if he made provision for a greater garrison, which raised great jealousies; and there was a petition brought, and delivered to the houses in the names of several merchants who used to trade to the mint; and they desired that there might be such a person made lieutenant of the Tower, "as they could confide in," (an expression that grew from that time to be much used,) without which no man would venture bullion into the mint, and by consequence no merchant would bring it into the kingdom. Whereas in truth there was no gentleman of the kingdom of a better reputation amongst all sorts of men, and there had been more bullion brought into the mint in the short time of his being lieutenant, than had been in many months before: and amongst those persons, which so solemnly delivered that petition, and had all subscribed it, there were very few who had ever sent any silver into the mint. However, the house entertained the complaint as very reasonable, and sent for a conference with the lords, with whom they prevailed to join with them in a desire to the king, "that he would remove sir John Byron from being lieutenant of the Tower;" which the king for some time refused to do, till they pressed it in another manner, which shall be mentioned anon.

The committee, that still continued to sit in London, intended no other business, but their own privileges; sent for, and examined, as hath been said, all men who had attended his majesty, or had been casually present in the hall, or at the door of the commons' house, when the king was there: and all such examinations, as testified any extravagant discourse uttered by any loose fellow, who had accidentally put himself into the company, though it appeared he had no relation to the king's service, were carefully entered, and published; but such as declared the king's strict command against any violence or disorder, and his positive charge, that no man should presume to follow him into the house of commons, (as full proof was made to

them of those particulars,) were as carefully suppressed and concealed.

The sheriffs of London were directed to appoint a guard to attend the committee, whilst it should continue at Guildhall; and then to guard the houses when they should again sit at Westminster. The accused persons, who lodged all this time in the city, were brought to the committee with much state, and sat with them to devise some way to vindicate themselves.

Then a declaration was agreed upon by the commons only, in which was set forth, "that the chambers, studies, and trunks of Mr. Hollis, sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Strode, had been by colour of his majesty's warrant sealed up; which was not only against the privilege of parliament, but the common liberty of every subject; that the said members had been the same day demanded by a sergeant at arms to be delivered to him, that he might arrest them of high treason; that the next day his majesty came to the house in his own person, attended by a multitude of armed men, in a warlike manner, with halberds, swords, and pistols, who came up to the very door of the house, and placed themselves there, and in other places and passages near to the house, to the great terror and disturbance of the members then sitting; that his majesty, sitting in the speaker's chair, demanded the persons of those members to be delivered to him; which was a high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament, and inconsistent with the liberties and freedom thereof; that afterwards his majesty did issue forth several warrants to divers officers under his own hand, for the apprehension of their persons, which by law he could not do." And thereupon they declared, "that if any person should arrest Mr. Hollis, &c. or any other member of parliament, by pretence of any warrant issuing out from the king, he was guilty of the breach of the privilege of parliament, and a public enemy of the commonwealth; and that the arresting any member of parliament, by any warrant whatsoever, without consent of that house, whereof he is a member, is a breach of the privilege of parliament: and the person that shall so arrest him is declared a public enemy of the commonwealth."

They published, "that it did fully appear by several examinations, that many soldiers, papists and others, to the number of about five hundred, came with his majesty to the house of commons, armed; and that some of them, holding up their pistols cocked near the door of the house, which they kept open, said, I am a good marksman; I can hit right, I warrant you: and said, they would have the door open; and if any opposition was made, they made no question but they should maintain their party; and that some said, A pox take the house of commons; let them be hanged. And when the king returned from the house, they expressed great discontent, asking, when comes the word: that some of them being demanded what they thought the company intended to have done, answered, that questionless in the posture they were set, if the word had been given, they should have fallen upon the house of commons, and have cut all their throats: upon which they said they were of opinion, that the soldiers and papists coming in that manner

"with his majesty was to take away some of the members of the house; and if they should have found opposition, or denial, then to have fallen upon the house in a hostile manner."

And they did thereupon declare, "That the same was a traitorous design against the king and parliament. And whereas the persons accused had, with the approbation of the house, absented themselves from the service of the house, for avoiding the great and many inconveniences, which otherwise might have happened; since which time, a printed paper in the form of a proclamation had issued out for the apprehending and imprisoning them, suggesting, that through the conscience of their guilt they were absent and fled;" they did further declare, "that the said printed paper was false, scandalous, and illegal; and that notwithstanding that printed paper, or any warrant issued out, or any other matter against them, they might and ought [to] attend the service of the house, and the committees then on foot; and that it was lawful for all persons whatsoever to lodge, harbour, or converse with them; and whosoever should be questioned for the same should be under the protection and privilege of parliament."

And they declared, "That the publishing the articles of high treason against the persons accused, was a high breach of the privilege of parliament, a great scandal to his majesty and his government, a seditious act, manifestly tending to the subversion of the peace of the kingdom, and an injury and dishonour to the members; that the privileges of parliament, and liberties of the subject, so violated and broken, could not be fully and sufficiently vindicated, unless the king would be graciously pleased to discover the names of those persons, who advised him to do the particular acts before mentioned, that they might receive condign punishment."

This strange declaration, so contrary to the known rules and judgments of law, and to the known practice and proceedings of parliament, was no sooner framed and agreed upon in the committee, than it was printed, and published throughout the city and kingdom, before it was confirmed by, or reported to the house; which is against the law, and an express statute in that case provided, that no act done at any committee should be divulged before the same be reported to the house.

The truth is, it cannot be expressed how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country, upon these late proceedings of the king. They, who had before even lost their spirits, having lost their credit and reputation, except amongst the meanest people, who could never have been made use of by them, when the greater should forsake them; and so despairing of ever being able to compass their designs of malice, or ambition, (some of them were resuming their old resolutions of leaving the kingdom,) now again recovered greater courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been; the court being reduced to a lower condition, and to more disesteem and neglect, than ever it had undergone. All that they had formerly said of plots and conspiracies against the parliament, which had before been laughed at, was now

thought true and real; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and foresight. All that had been whispered of Ireland was now talked aloud and printed; as all other seditious pamphlets and libels were. The shops of the city generally shut up, as if an enemy were at their gates ready to enter, and to plunder them; and the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed to any undertaking.

On the other side, they who had, with the greatest courage and alacrity, opposed all their seditious practices, between grief and anger were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was like to follow. They were far from thinking that the accused members had received much wrong; yet they thought it an unseasonable time to call them to account for it. That if any thing had been to be done of that kind, there should have been a better choice of the persons, there being many of the house, of more mischievous inclinations, and designs against the king's person and the government, and were more exposed to the public prejudice, than the lord Mandeville Kimbolton was; who was a civil and well natured man, and had rather kept ill company, than drank deep of that infection and poison, that had wrought upon many others. Then sir Arthur Haslerig and Mr. Strode were persons of too low an account and esteem; and though their virulence and malice was as conspicuous and transcendent as any men's, yet their reputation and interest to do any mischief, otherwise than in concurring in it, was so small, that they gained credit and authority by being joined with the rest, who had indeed a great influence. However, if there was a resolution to proceed against those men, it would have been much better to have caused them to have been all severally arrested, and sent to the Tower, or to other prisons, which might have been very easily done before suspected, than to send in that manner to the houses with that formality, which would be liable to so many exceptions. At least, they ought so far to have imparted it to members in both houses, who might have been trusted, that in the instant of the accusation, when both houses were in that consternation, (as in a great consternation they were,) somewhat might have been pressed confidently towards the king's satisfaction; which would have produced some opposition and contradiction, which would have prevented that universal concurrence and dejection of spirit, which seized upon and possessed both houses.

But, above all, the anger and indignation was very great and general, that to all the other oversights and presumptions [was added] the exposing the dignity, and majesty, and safety of the king, in his coming in person, in that manner, to the house of commons; and in going the next day, as he did, to the guildhall, and to the lord mayor's, which drew such reproaches upon him to his face. All which was justly imputed to the lord Digby, who had before fewer true friends than he deserved, and had now almost the whole nation his enemies, being the most universally odious of any man in it.

When the house of commons had passed such votes from the committee at Merchant-Tailors' hall, as they thought necessary, and once more adjourned thither, the committee asked the advice

of the house, whether the accused members might be present with them, (who had in truth directed and governed all their proceedings from the time they sat there :) which was not only approved, but those members required to attend the house the next day it was to sit, and so to continue the service of the house, which was then adjourned for three or four days, that the city might appear in such a posture, as should be thought convenient.

The noise was so great of the preparations made in the city to bring the accused members in triumph to the parliament, and that the whole militia would accompany them, whilst the seamen and mariners made an appearance in barges, and other vessels, upon the Thames to Westminster, [that] the king thought it convenient to remove again from Whitehall; and so on the tenth of January, which was the eve to the great festival, his majesty, the queen, and the royal children, went from Whitehall to Hampton-court, attended by some few of their own household servants, and thirty or forty of those officers, who had attended at Whitehall for security against the tumults.

Before his going, he sent to the earls of Essex and Holland to attend him in his journey; who were both by their places, the one being his chamberlain of his household, the other the prime gentleman of his bedchamber, obliged to that duty. The earl of Essex resolved to go; and to that purpose was making himself ready, when the earl of Holland came to him, and privately dissuaded him; assuring him, that if they two went, they should be both murdered at Hampton-court: whereupon they left the king to his small retinue and in a most disconsolate, perplexed condition, in more need of comfort and counsel, than they had ever known him; and, instead of attending their master in that exigent, they went together into the city, where the committee sat, where they were not the less welcome for being known to have been invited to have waited upon their majesties. They who wished the king best, were not sorry that he then withdrew from Whitehall; for the insolence, with which all that people were transported, and the animosity, which was infused into the hearts of the people in general against the court, and even against the person of the king, cannot be expressed.

Whilst the committee sat in London, the common council likewise met, [as hath been said,] to the end they might be ready to comply in any particulars should be desired from the city; and so the committee having resolved, "that the actions of the citizens of London, or of any other person whatsoever for the defence of the parliament, or the privileges thereof, or the preservation of the members thereof, were according to their duty, and to their late protestation, and the laws of this kingdom:" and if any person should arrest or trouble any of them for so doing, he was declared "to be a public enemy of the commonwealth:" and in the next place having resolved, "that that vote should be made known to the common council of the city of London," the accused members about two of the clock in the afternoon on the eleventh of January, being the next day after the king went to Hampton-court, came from their lodgings in the city to Westminster, guarded by the sheriffs, and trained-bands of London and Westminster, and attended by a conflux of many thousands of people besides, making

a great clamour against bishops and popish lords, and of the privileges of parliament; some of them, as they passed by Whitehall, asking, with much contempt, "what was become of the king and his cavaliers? and whither he was gone?"

From London-bridge to Westminster, the Thames was guarded with above one hundred lighters and long-boats, laden with nablettes and murderers, and dressed up with waist-clothes and streamers, as ready for fight. And that the trained-bands of London might be under the command of a person fit to lead them, they granted a commission to captain Skippon, who was captain of the artillery-garden, to be major-general of the militia of the city of London; an office never before heard of, nor imagined that they had authority to constitute such an officer. The man had served very long in Holland, and from a common soldier had raised himself to the degree of a captain, and to the reputation of a good officer: he was a man of order and sobriety, and untainted with any of those vices, which the officers of that army were exercised in; and had newly given over that service upon some exceptions he had to it; and, coming to London, was by some friends preferred to that command in the artillery-garden, which was to teach the citizens the posture of their arms. He was altogether illiterate, and having been bred always in Holland, he brought disaffection enough with him from thence against the church of England, and so was much caressed and trusted by that party.

This man marched that day in the head of their army to the parliament-house; where the accused members were no sooner entered, than they magnified "the great kindness and affection they had found in the city, and their zeal to the parliament; and if their expressions of it, upon this extraordinary occasion, had been somewhat unusual, that the house was engaged in honour to protect and defend them from receiving any damage." Whereupon the sheriffs of London were called into the house of commons, and thanked by the speaker for their extraordinary care, and love expressed to the parliament; and told, "that they should have an ordinance of parliament for their indemnity, declaring that all their actions of respect and kindness, which they had shewed to the lords and commons in London, and their attending them to and at Westminster, was legal and justifiable." The masters and officers of ships were likewise called in, and most heartily thanked for their kindness; and sergeant-major-general Skippon appointed every day to attend at Westminster, with such a guard as he thought sufficient for the guard of the two houses. There was one circumstance not to be forgotten in the march of the city that day, when the show by water was little inferior to the other by land, that the pikemen had fastened to the tops of their pikes, and the rest in their hats, or their bosoms, printed papers of the protestation which had been taken, and enjoined by the house of commons the year before for the defence of the privilege of parliament; and many of them had the printed votes of the king's breaking their privileges in his coming to the house, and demanding their members.

As soon as the citizens and mariners were discharged, some Buckinghamshire men, who were said to be at [the] door, with a petition, and had

indeed waited upon the triumph with a train of four thousand men, were called in; who delivered their petition in the name of the inhabitants of the county of Buckingham, and said it was brought to the town by about six thousand men. "They commended the unwearied pains of the house of commons, for redress of the pressures they had lain under; but complained that the success was not answerable, their endeavours being frustrated or retarded by a malignant faction of popish lords, bishops, and others; and now of late, to take all that little hope, was left, from them, of a future reformation, the very being of the parliament was shaken, the privileges thereof broken in a desperate and unexampled manner, and the members thereof unassured of their lives, in whose safety, the safety of them and their posterity was involved. They held it therefore their duty, according to their late protestation, to defend and maintain the persons and privileges thereof, to the utmost power of their lives and estates; to which purpose, they said, they were then come to make the humble tender of their service, and would remain in expectation of their commands and order; to the execution whereof they would with all alacrity address themselves, ready to live by them, or to die at their feet, against whomsoever should in any sort illegally attempt upon them.

"They besought them therefore to assist the ardent prayers of the petitioners, that the popish lords and bishops might be forthwith outed the house of peers; that all privileges of parliament might be confirmed to them, and that all evil counsellors, the Achans of the commonwealth, might be given up to the hands of justice; without all which, they said, they had not the least hope of Israel's peace, or to reap those glorious advantages, which the fourteen months seed-time of their unparalleled endeavours had given to their unsatisfied expectations."

When they had received thanks for their wonderful affection, and were told, that, "by the great care of the city of London, the parliament was sufficiently guarded and assured; and therefore that they might depart to their houses till further occasion appeared, of which they should be sure to be informed;" one of them said, "they had another petition, which they meant to prefer to the king; but desired their advice, whether that house would vouchsafe to commend it, or whether they themselves should deliver it." For that, they received new thanks; and were wished, that six or eight of them should present it to his majesty in the name of the rest;" for the house saw their wisdom and moderation such, that they presumed they of themselves were very able to manage that business.

When they had thus caressed the commons, they went to the house of lords with another petition, complaining "of the malignant faction, which rendered the endeavours of the house of commons unsuccessful," and said, "that in respect of that late attempt upon the honourable house of commons, they were come to offer their service, as resolved in their just defence to live and die. And therefore they did humbly pray, that that most honourable house would cooperate with the house of commons, in speedily perfecting the most necessary work of reformation, bringing to condign and unexampled punishment both

"wicked counsellors, and other plotters and delinquents; and that the whole kingdom might be put into such a present posture of defence, that they might be safe both from all practices of the malignant party at home, and the endeavours of any ill-affected states abroad." The lords were as civil to them as the commons had been, and gave them great thanks. And from thence they went to find out the king with another petition; in which they complained, "that Mr. Hambden, whom they had chosen knight of their shire, and in whom they had ever good cause to confide, was, to their great amazement, accused; amongst others accused of high treason. They said, that having taken into their serious consideration the manner of their impeachment, they could not but conceive that it did oppugn the rights of parliament, to the maintenance whereof their protestation did bind them; and they did believe, that the malice, which his and the others' zeal to his majesty's service, and the state, had contracted in the enemies of his majesty, the church, and the commonwealth, had occasioned that foul accusation, rather than any deserts of theirs; and that through their sides the judgment and care of the petitioners and others were wounded, by whose choice they were presented to the house; and therefore they did humbly desire his majesty, that Mr. Hambden, and the rest, who lay under the burden of that accusation, might enjoy the just privileges of parliament." So from this day we may reasonably date the levying of war in England; whatsoever hath been since done being but the superstructures upon those foundations, which were then laid.

The members being in this manner placed again upon their thrones, and the king retired with his poor family to Hampton-court, they reviewed their votes, which had passed in the committee in the city, which they had caused every night to be printed without staying for the confirmation of the house; and where they had any defect, as they thought, or in the interpretation of others, they supplied them with more strength and authority. So they provided and declared, "that no member of parliament should be arrested upon any pretence whatsoever." And because it had been insisted on, that they would not make any declaration so much against the known law, which allowed no privilege in the case of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, they now added, that "even in the case of treason no member ought or could be arrested, or proceeded against, without first informing the house, of which he was a member, of the charge and evidence against him, and receiving their leave and direction for the proceeding against him." And that men might hereafter be more wary how they were made instrumental in bringing any reproach upon them, they appointed a committee to prepare a charge against Herbert, the king's attorney-general, for presuming to accuse the members of high-treason; which was made ready accordingly, and prosecuted with wonderful vigour, as will be remembered hereafter.

They resolved that the king should not enjoy much ease and quiet in his retreat; and therefore every day sent some committee or other to him with petitions and expostulations: a committee of lords and commons attended him with a grievous complaint of the breach of privilege they had sustained

by his coming to the house; and desired "that he would inform them who had given him that pernicious counsel, that such evil counsel might be brought to justice, and receive condign punishment." And when they found that the lord Digby, whom they generally believed to be the author and contriver of all that transaction, though they could have no evidence of it, had withdrawn himself from the court, and they well enough knew had transported himself beyond the seas, they brought witnesses to the bar, who affirmed, "that there were, on such a day, several officers, whereof the unbeloved Lunsford was one, assembled together at Kingston upon Thames near Hampton-court; and that the lord Digby came thither to them in a coach with six horses from Hampton-court, and conferred a long time with them, and then returned again thither." They were well satisfied with the evidence, and forthwith accused him to the house of peers of high treason, for the levying of war against the king and parliament; and a proclamation was shortly issued out for his apprehension, when all the town knew that he was safely arrived in Zealand; but they thought it fit to shew him how unsavoury a jest the sending out such proclamations was to be esteemed. They resumed the consideration of the lieutenant of the Tower; and upon new information that much provision was sent in thither every day, they sent for sir John Byron, who appeared at their bar, and gave so full answers to all the questions they asked of him, that they could not but dismiss him. However they sent again to the king to remove him, and put a fitter man into the place, and recommended sir John Coniers to him, as a man in whom they could confide; and because they did not speedily receive such an answer as they liked, they appointed their major-general Skippon to place such guards about the Tower, as might prevent the carrying in more provision of victual thither, than would serve for one day's consumption; notwithstanding which, his majesty would not consent to their desire.

All men were now in union in both houses: the lords had not yet recovered the courage to dissent in any one proposition made to them from the commons; and in that house no man durst presume to debate the matter of privilege, how far it extended, and in what cases it was of no moment, lest he might be thought to be privy to, and a counsellor of, that heinous breach, which had given them all this credit. In this consent and concurrence, all the votes, which had passed at the committee in London, and which had been by them communicated to the common council, and so divulged throughout the city and kingdom, were confirmed; and those who objected against any expressions, which were not warrantable, reprehended for laying a tax upon the discretion of the committee.

And in one day both houses agreed in and executed three acts of sovereignty, even of as high a nature as any they have since ventured upon; the first, "in commanding the sheriffs of London, by and with the advice of their new sergeant-major-general Skippon, to place a guard upon, that is to besiege the Tower of London, to hinder the going in of any provisions, or going out of any arms or ammunition;" the second, "in appointing sir John Hotham to go to Hull," which will be mentioned anon; the third, "in sending an

"order to the governor of Portsmouth, that no body should be admitted into that town and fort, or suffered to pass from thence, or any thing to be disposed of there, but by order from the king signified by both houses of parliament."

After this, a message was resolved upon to be sent to the governor of the prince, "that he should not suffer the prince to be transported out of the kingdom, as he would answer the breach of trust reposed in him concerning religion, and the honour, safety, and peace of the three kingdoms;" and declaring, "that any person, who should persuade or attend upon him in such transportation, should be under the same censure." With these high acts of public concernment they joined the vindication of themselves from the late trespass from the king: and to that end caused the attorney-general to be publicly examined upon interrogatories, "whether he did contrive, frame, or advise the articles of impeachment against the members that were accused? whether he knew the truth of them upon his own knowledge, or by information? whether he would undertake to make them good, when he should be thereunto called? from whom he received them, and by whose direction or advice he did exhibit them? whether he had any testimony or proof of them before the exhibiting?" And having received his answer, "that he had neither framed, nor advised them, nor knew any thing of the truth of them, nor could undertake to justify them; but that he had received them from the king, and was by him commanded to exhibit them;" they presently declared, "that he had broken the privilege of parliament in preferring those articles, and that the same was illegal, and he criminous for so doing; and that a charge should be sent to the lords, in the name of the house of commons, against the attorney-general, to have satisfaction for the great scandal and injury to the members thereof, unless he did within five days bring in his proof, and make good the articles against them."

So that they had now raised to themselves an unquestionable stock of security, when they had declared, "that they might neither be apprehended by a warrant under the king's own hand, nor indeed by himself, nor accused by his attorney-general, except themselves were willing;" and they, who had concluded it most exactly just, that the house of peers must imprison their own members, as fast as they accused them of high treason, and, by that rule, had, within less than a week before, freed themselves of twelve bishops, who always opposed their desires, (and in a case, where every man's conscience absolved them of the guilt, of which they were charged,) thought it now unanswerable reason to evince the injustice of the king's proceedings; "because if a man should be committed and imprisoned as soon as the king accused him of high treason, the parliament might be dissolved; since he might successively accuse the whole body;" which logic, if they had not pleased to vote the contrary, would have run as well in their own case, and upon their own license of accusing, and more dangerously in respect of the house of peers, which might possibly indeed have been thereby dissolved, when by new elections that mischief

would easily be prevented in the house of commons.

Though the king had removed himself out of the noise of Westminster, yet the effects of it followed him very close; for besides the Buckinghamshire petitioners, who alarmed him the same, or the next day after he came to Hampton-court, several of the same nature were every day presented to him, in the name of other counties of the kingdom; all which were printed, and scattered abroad with the declaration of the lord Digby's levying war at Kingston upon Thames, and the proclamation for apprehending him; all which being so industriously dispersed, and without any colour, or ground of danger, but only that the kingdom might be injured to the style of the two houses, and exercised in their commands against the time that they meant to be in earnest, gave the king reason to remove in few days from Hampton-court to his castle at Windsor, where he could be more secure from any sudden popular attempt; of which he had reason to be very apprehensive, when, after those high acts of sedition at London and Westminster were declared to be according to the laws of the land, and the protestation lately taken, that protestation was by a new order enjoined to be administered throughout the kingdom, and the names of all those who refused to take it, which there was reason to believe many would upon the new gloss, returned to the house of commons, who were as severe inquisitors as could be found any where.

From thence he sent a message to both houses, "That he took notice, that his proceedings against those persons, whom he had accused, (naming them,) were conceived by many to be illegal, and not agreeable to the privileges of the parliament; and that he was so desirous to give satisfaction to all men in all matters that might seem to have relation to privilege of parliament, that he would wave his former proceedings; and all doubts being by that means settled, when the minds of men were composed, he would proceed against them in an unquestionable way; and assured both houses, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life, or his crown. To which he added, that, in all his proceedings against those persons, he had never the least intention of violating the least privilege of parliament; and in case any doubt of breach of privilege remained, he would be willing to assert it by any reasonable way his parliament should advise him to; and therefore he desired them forthwith to lay by all jealousies, and apply themselves to the public and pressing affairs, and especially to those of Ireland, where, in the good of the kingdom, and the true religion, which should ever be his first care, were so highly and so nearly concerned. And he desired them, that his care of their privileges might increase their care of his lawful prerogative, which was so necessary to the mutual defence of each other, and both would be the foundation of a perpetual and perfect intelligence between his majesty and parliaments, and of the happiness and prosperity of his people."

But these messages were not such as they looked for; there was still left a courage for prosecution; and though the error in form seemed to be consented to, yet the substance and matter of the

accusation might be still insisted on. And therefore they took no notice of them, but proceeded in inflaming all men with the sense of the breach of privilege; and finding the general mettle somewhat to abate, that they might keep up the apprehension of danger, and the estimation of their darling the city, they consult about adjourning both houses into London; but finding some danger of infringing the act of parliament, from whence some advantage might be taken to their prejudice, till that power might be cleared by a law, they were contented to adjourn their houses as they had done for some days, and to appoint committees, qualified with more power than the houses had, to meet in London; which, for the conveniency of the common council, who took up the guildhall, chose to sit in Grocers' hall.

It was wondered, having all places so much at their devotion, that they would remove from their more convenient seats at Westminster; where they might transact whatsoever they desired without interruption, and where they were only disturbed by their own direction. But the advantage they reaped by it was extraordinary; for, besides the fears they dispersed abroad, and the confidence they gave their own friends of the city by being with them, they were sure, for the most part, to have a committee to their own hearts' desire; for besides many out of laziness or indignation would not attend the service in so unnatural a place, very many, who troubled them most in their counsels, durst not in earnest go thither, for fear of uncomely affronts, if not danger, their names being published in the tumults as disaffected persons; and [they] were those, indeed, which constituted the malignant party, which they prayed against: and they found it much easier to transact any thing contrived and framed by such a committee, than originally offered and debated in either house, before the mystery was understood by their proselytes, and when those, who too well understood it, did render their designs sometimes ineffectual.

The minds of men throughout the kingdom being now prepared to receive all their dictates with reverence, and to obey all their orders, and to believe that all their safety consisted in, and depended upon their authority, and there being few within the house, who had courage to oppose and contradict them, they sent to the lords to quicken them in the bill they had formerly sent to them concerning removing the bishops out of their house; which now, when there were so many of them removed into the Tower, they presumed would not meet with so great an opposition. In the house of commons they called to have the bill read, which had lain so long there, the same that had been brought in by Saint-John for the settling the militia of the kingdom; to which they now added "the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons, into the hands of such persons, as they could confide in;" which was the expression they used, when they had a mind to remove any man from a place, of which he was justly possessed, "that they could not confide in him, which they thought to be reason enough to displace any man." When it had been with much ado accepted, and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance: but now there were very few, who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision

for the peace and safety of the kingdom. So great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them; so that with little opposition it passed the commons, and was sent up to the lords.

Upon the disbanding the late army in the north, all the artillery, arms, and ammunition, that was provided for that service, had been by the king's command sent to Hull, where it still remained; and his majesty intended it should be kept there, for a magazine upon all occasions. And he had a little before these late passages sent the earl of Newcastle thither, with a private commission, to be governor thereof, as soon as it should be fit to publish such a command; and in the mean time by his own interest to draw in such of the country, as were necessary to guard the magazine. But nothing the king did in the most private manner, but was quickly known to those from whom it should most have been concealed. And so the earl of Newcastle was no sooner gone, but notice was taken of it; and he had not been three days in Hull, before the house of peers sent for him, to attend the service of that house, which he had rarely used to do, being for the most part at Richmond attending upon the prince of Wales, whose governor he was. He made no haste to return upon the summons of the house, but sent to the king to know his pleasure; who, not thinking matters yet ripe enough to make any such declaration, appointed him to come away; upon which he appeared in the house, without being asked where he had been.

But both houses shortly after moved the king, "that the magazine at Hull might be removed to the Tower of London, which would be very necessary for the quieting the minds of that country, and abating the fears and jealousies in the hearts of very many, who did apprehend some design in the keeping so much ammunition in those northern parts:" and his majesty not giving them a speedy answer, they sent down sir John Hotham, whose estate lay within three or four miles of Hull, and [he] had some command of the trained-bands, "to be governor thereof, and to draw in such of the country as he thought fit for the security of the place." And though Hotham had concurred with them in all their violent ways, yet they well knew that he was not possessed with their principles in any degree, but was very well affected in his judgment to the government both in church and state, but had been first engaged by his particular malice against the earl of Strafford, and afterwards terrified by their votes against sheriffs and deputy lieutenants; and therefore they sent his son, a member likewise of the house, and in whom they most confided, to assist him in that service, or rather to be a spy upon his father. And this was the first essay they made of their sovereign power of the militia and the forts, whilst their bill was yet depending, and was a sufficient manifestation what they intended to do, when it should be passed; towards which they made all the haste they could, exercising the king's patience every day with some unsavoury message to him, upon their privileges, and requiring "vindication, and reparation, and discovery of the persons who had promoted that prosecution;" and the council once a week attending upon his majesty at Windsor, though he could not consult with them upon what most concerned him.

In this sad condition was the king at Windsor, fallen in ten days from a height and greatness that his enemies feared, to such a lowness, that his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him. For though, it is true, the acts of the house of commons, and the tumults, were as great affronts to majesty, before this last act upon the members, as any that could be imagined possible to succeed, yet the house of peers was well disposed, and might have been managed with a little patience, to have blasted all the extravagances of the commons. And the truth is, the greatest extravagances appeared to the standers-by to be but the attempts of persons in despair, and the strong accents of men at the last gasp. And, without doubt, if the king could have had the patience to have sat still a spectator of the dissensions between the two houses, and encouraging the lords, who were firm to him, and putting those matters in issue, wherein the commons had invaded both his and the lords' privileges; if he had commanded his council at law and the judges, to have proceeded by the strict rules of the law against seditious persons at large, for preaching and printing against the peace of the kingdom, and put the commons' house either to have been quiet, whilst their champions were exemplarily punished, (which would have put a speedy end to their license,) or to have appeared the champions for an infamous act against the law and the justice of the kingdom, their jurisdiction would in a short time have been brought within the due limits, and the stoutest factor for the violent party been glad to have compounded for an act of oblivion.

And I have heard from credible persons, that the chief of that faction afterwards confessed, that if that extraordinary accident had not happened to give them new credit and reputation, they were sinking under the weight of the expectation of those whom they had deluded, and the envy of those whom they had oppressed. I am sure, they who out of conscience, and loyalty to their king and country, diligently attended the public service, were strangely surprised at the matter and manner of that accusation; and foresaw, from the minute, the infinite disadvantage it would bring to the king's affairs. Not that they thought the gentlemen accused, less guilty; for their extreme dishonest arts in the house were so visible, that nothing could have been laid to their charge incredible: but the going through with it was a matter of so great difficulty and concernment, that every circumstance ought to have been fully deliberated, and the several parts dispensed into such hands, as would not have shaken in the execution. And the saying, that the king had not competent persons enough, whom he might trust in so important a secret, (which I believe was true,) is only an argument, that the thing was not to be attempted at all, than that it was to be attempted in that manner; for whoever would have betrayed the trust, would be sure to find fault with it, when it was endeavoured without him, especially if it miscarried. The truth is, there was little reason to believe, that the house of peers would commit the lord Kimbolton upon the accusation of Mr. Attorney in that conjuncture of time; and less that the house of commons would deliver up their members to the sergeant at arms, when they should be demanded; which was an irregular

thing, and implied unreasonably, that they had some power to keep them, who were desired to deliver them. Yet if the choice had been better made, and the several persons first apprehended, and put into distinct close custodies, that neither any body else should have heard from them, nor they one from another, all which had not been very difficult, the high spirit of both houses might possibly have been so dejected, that they might have been treated withal. But even that attempt had been too great for the solitary state the king was at that time in; which was most naturally to have been improved by standing upon his guard, and denying all that was in his power to deny, and in compelling his ministers to execute the law in those cases, that demonstrably concerned the public peace.

The committee at Grocers' hall, very exalted to find no opposition in any thing they desired from both houses, resolved to make what advantage they could of that season of their power; and therefore, not vouchsafing to return any answer to the king's messages of retractation, they concluded upon "a new remonstrance to be made of the state of the kingdom; in which they would present to the king's view the causes of the present evils and distractions, and propose to him, by way of advice, the remedies that in their opinion he was to apply to those evils.

The causes they agreed to be, the evil council about the king and queen, disposing all occurrences of state, and abusing the king's power and authority to the prejudice of religion, the hazarding the public peace, and strengthening a malignant party in the kingdom; the influence which the priests and Jesuits had upon the affections and counsels of the queen, and the admission of her majesty to intermeddle with the great affairs of state, and with the disposing [of] places and preferments of the highest concernment in the kingdom; whereby those of great power and authority were engaged to favour such designs, as were infused into her majesty by those of that religion: the want of a due reformation of the church-government, and liturgy then used; the want of a preaching ministry, and a competent maintenance for them; the over strict pressing of divers ceremonies in the liturgy and rubrick, and the pressing other ceremonies not enjoined by law; the votes of the popish lords in the house of peers, which was a hinderance of the reformation, and a protection of the malignant party; the preferring such as had adhered to delinquents, and the displeasure shewed against those who had been used as witnesses in the prosecution of them; the breaches of the privileges of parliament; and the managing the great affairs of the realm in cabinet councils by men unknown, and not publicly trusted; the preferring men to degrees of honour and offices, and displacing others, in parliament time, and without the consent of that council; and many other particulars; to which they thought these remedies most natural, and proper to be applied.

That all privy-counsellors, and others of trust and employment beyond the seas, should be removed from their places, and only such admitted, as should be recommended to the king by both houses of parliament; and that such counsellors and officers, as should be so displaced, and not again recommended, should not have access to

"the courts of the king and queen: that all priests, papists, and ill-affected persons, though professing the protestant religion, should be removed from the queen's person, and from having any office or employment under her, and that all her servants should take such an oath as should be devised by parliament; that he, or she, would not at any time, directly or indirectly, by him, or herself, or any other, move or petition, or solicit her majesty in any matter concerning the state and government of the kingdom, or concerning any favour or immunity to be conferred upon any papists, or for any honour, preferment, or employment of any person whatsoever.

That the king would remove from about his own person, and the queen's, and from both their courts, Mr. William Murray, Mr. Porter, Mr. John Winter, and Mr. William Crofts, being all persons of evil fame, and disaffected to the public peace and prosperity of the kingdom, and instruments of jealousy and discontent between the king and the parliament, &c., that the king would not entertain any advice or mediation from the queen in matters of religion, or concerning the government of any of his dominions, or for the placing or displacing of any great officers, counsellors, ambassadors, or agents beyond the seas, or any of his servants attending his royal person, either in his bed-chamber, or privy-chamber, or attending the prince, or any of the royal issue after they shall attain to the age of five years.

That the queen should take a solemn oath, in the presence of both houses of parliament, that she would not hereafter give any counsel, or use any mediation to the king, concerning the disposing of any offices or places above mentioned, or at all intermeddle in any of the affairs of state, or government of the kingdom: that all officers and counsellors, that should be employed in any of the places before mentioned, should take a solemn oath, that they had not made use of any power or mediation of the queen, directly or indirectly, for their preferment, or in obtaining any such place or employment: that the affairs of the kingdom should not be concluded or transacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unsworn counsellors, but such matters as were fit for the council, by the privy-counsellors only; and such as were fit for the parliament, by the parliament only.

That no person whatsoever, under the penalty of treason, should presume to solicit or further any proposition for the marriage of any of the king's children with any prince or person of the popish religion; and that no marriage for any of the king's children should be concluded with any prince or person whatsoever, without the consent and advice of both houses of parliament: that none of the king's children, except the princess Mary then affianced, should at any time go beyond the seas without the consent of both houses of parliament; and that no person, under penalty of high treason, should assist, or attend any of his majesty's children in any such voyage beyond the seas, without the like consent of both the houses of parliament.

That no mass, or popish service, should be said in the courts of the king or queen, or in the house of any subject of the kingdom; and that more laws should be made against the papists;

“and all the priests which were condemned should
 “be forthwith executed. That the votes of popish
 “lords might be taken away; and a reformation
 “[made] of the church-government and liturgy
 “by the parliament; and that no penalty should
 “be incurred for omission of any ceremony, till
 “the reformation should be perfect: that all delin-
 “quents should be subject to such penalties and
 “forfeitures as should be agreed on, and imposed
 “by bill, in both houses of parliament: that such
 “as should be declared in parliament to adhere to
 “any delinquents, and had thereupon received any
 “preferment from the king, should be removed
 “from such preferment; and such as should be
 “declared by both houses to have been employed
 “and used against delinquents, and had thereupon
 “fallen into the king’s displeasure, and been put
 “from their places, should be restored to their
 “places, and his majesty’s favour.

“That every person, who, being a member of
 “the house of commons in that parliament, had
 “been accused of any offence against that house,
 “and, the accusation depending, had been called
 “up to the house of lords in the quality of a peer,
 “should by act of parliament be put out of that
 “house; and that hereafter no member of the
 “house of commons should without their consent
 “be called up to be a peer, except in case of de-
 “scend: that no person, which should hereafter
 “be made a peer of the realm, should be admitted
 “to have his seat, or vote in the house of peers,
 “without the consent of both houses of parlia-
 “ment: that those members of the house of com-
 “mons, who had this parliament been called to the
 “house of peers, except in case of descent, should
 “be excluded from giving their votes in the house
 “of peers, unless both houses of parliament should
 “assent thereunto: that no member of either
 “house of parliament should be preferred or dis-
 “placed, sitting the parliament, without the con-
 “sent of that house, whereof he was a member:
 “that such of either house as had been preferred
 “to any place or office, during the parliament,
 “might be put out of those offices and places.

“That the king would declare the names of
 “those who advised him to the accusation of the
 “members, and all the particulars that ensued
 “upon that accusation; and that he would make
 “public declaration and promise in parliament,
 “never more to receive information from any man
 “to the prejudice of any member of either house,
 “for any thing done in that house, without disco-
 “vering the name of such person who gave him
 “such information.”

These, and many other particulars of the like
 nature, were the results of that committee at
 Grocers’ hall; which I insert here, being the pro-
 per time of their birth, that the world may see
 what their projections were in the infancy of their
 visible power and advantage, though they were not
 digested into avowed propositions till long after,
 as the effects of riper divisions, and fuller grown
 jealousies. For by that time they had shaped and
 formed these devices, they found the eyes of the
 people not to be so universally shut as they had
 been; and that the king’s coming to the house of
 commons, or the accusing the members, was not
 more spoken of than the tumults, and the driving
 the king out of London, and not suffering him to
 be quiet at Hampton-court; then that the lords
 begun to take new courage, and though they were

somewhat intoxicated with the matter of privilege,
 yet that they thought a trespass capable of repara-
 tion, and so were willing to receive any overture
 from the king to that purpose. They concluded
 therefore, “the time was not yet ripe to do all at
 “once, till more men were engaged,” and re-
 solved, “with more patience to win their ground
 “by inches.”

The king continued at Windsor to expect the
 end, or the issue of this tempest; and finding that
 they hardly would take notice of his former mes-
 sages, but proceeded in the high ways of destruc-
 tion, for he had advertisement of their most secret
 combinations, resolved to send such a message to
 the two houses, whose united reputation was yet
 too great to struggle with, as might at least divide
 those, who desired the public peace, from the
 ministers of confusion: and so on the twentieth of
 January sent this proposition and message to them
 in writing, “for preventing those evils, which the
 “manifold distractions threatened to the kingdom;
 “that they would with all speed fall into a serious
 “consideration of all those particulars, which they
 “held necessary, as well for the upholding and
 “maintaining the king’s just and regal authority,
 “and the settling his revenue, as for the present
 “and future establishment of their privileges, the
 “free and quiet enjoying of their estates and for-
 “tunes, the liberties of their persons, the security
 “of the true religion now professed in the church
 “of England, and the settling of ceremonies in
 “such a manner, as might take away all just of-
 “fence; which when they should have digested,
 “and composed into one entire body, that so his
 “majesty and themselves might be able to make
 “the more clear judgment of them, it should then
 “appear, by what his majesty would do, how far
 “he had been from intending or designing any of
 “those things, which the too great fears and jea-
 “lousies of some persons seemed to apprehend;
 “and how ready he would be to equal and exceed
 “the greatest examples of the most indulgent
 “princes in their acts of grace and favour to their
 “people; so that, if all the present distractions,
 “which so apparently threatened the ruin of the
 “kingdom, did not, by the blessing of Almighty
 “God, end in a happy and blessed accommodation,
 “his majesty would then be ready to call heaven
 “and earth, God and man, to witness, that it had
 “not failed on his part.”

This message was received by the lords with
 great signs of joy, insomuch that they desired the
 commons to join with them in returning their joint
 thanks to his majesty for his gracious offer, and to
 assure him, “that they would forthwith apply
 “themselves to those considerations he proposed.”
 However the next day they joined together in a
 petition to the king, “that he would, within very
 “few days, send in his proofs, and proceed against
 “the members he had accused of high treason, or
 “declare them to be innocent, and himself to be
 “ill advised:” to the which he answered, “that
 “he was ready to proceed against them; but, that
 “there might be no new mistakes in the way, and
 “form of the proceedings, he desired, that it might
 “be first resolved, whether his majesty were bound
 “in respect of privileges to proceed against them
 “by impeachment in parliament, or whether he
 “were at liberty to prefer an indictment at com-
 “mon law in the usual way, or whether he had his
 “choice of either: before that was resolved, his

"majesty thought it unusual and unfit to discover what proof he had against them; but then, he would give such speedy direction for prosecution, as might put a determination to the business."

This gave them new offence and trouble; and if the king's council had had the courage to have insisted upon the matter of law, and the lords would have given them reasonable countenance, they would have been much puzzled to have procured a resolution, that would have served their purposes to all parts, and been contented to have suspended their judgment, that so the king might have suspended his prosecution. For if the judges had been compelled to deliver their opinions in point of law, which they ought to have been, they could not have avoided the declaring, that by the known law, which had been confessed in all times and ages, no privilege of parliament could extend in the case of treason; but that every parliament-man was then in the condition of every other subject, and to be proceeded against accordingly. In the next place, as they would never have ventured themselves upon the house of peers under an impeachment, and thereby made them their judges, which indeed was incongruous, every subject being to be tried for his life *per pares*, and *per legem terræ*, to both which the lords and the impeachment [were] directly opposite; so they would less have trusted an indictment at law, and a well chosen sober jury, who had been bound to follow their evidence of fact, and were not judges of the law, which was severe in any conspiracy against the crown, or the persons of king or queen.

But having shut the doors against any mention of law, they made no scruple of resolving, and answering his majesty, "that they were first to see the evidence he had to prove the guilt, before they could give any direction for the manner of the prosecution, and proceeding;" which they grounded upon a maxim, they had established three or four days before, though never till then heard of; "that no member of parliament, for what offence soever, could be arrested, or proceeded against, but by the consent of that house, of which he was a member; and then, they said, they could not give or deny their consent by any other measure than the knowledge of the crime and proof, upon which such member stood accused." Which conclusion had been reasonable, if the assumption had been just; whereas the argument was to be inverted, that their consent was not to be asked, because they had no cognizance of the crime, of which their members were accused, nor were judges whether their accusation were valid in law, or sufficiently proved in fact.

It is not to be believed how many sober, well-minded men, who were real lovers of the peace of the kingdom, and had the known laws in full submission and reverence, were imposed upon, and had their understandings confounded, and so their wills perverted, by the mere mention of privilege of parliament; which, from the most defined, limited notion, was, by the dexterity of those boute-feus, and their under-agents of the law, and the supine sottishness of the people, rendered such a mystery, as could be only explained by themselves, and extended as far as they found necessary for their occasions, and was to be acknowledged a good reason for any thing that no other reason could be given for. "We are," say they, "and have been always confessed, the only judges of

"our own privileges; and therefore whatsoever we declare to be our privilege, is such: otherwise whosoever determines that it is not so, makes himself judge of that, whereof the cognizance only belongs to us." And this sophistical riddle hath perplexed many, who, notwithstanding the desperate consequence they saw must result from such logic, taking the first proposition for true, which, being rightly understood, is so, have not been able to wind themselves out of the labyrinth of the conclusion: I say the proposition rightly understood: they are the only judges of their own privileges, that is, upon the breach of those privileges, which the law hath declared to be their own, and what punishment is to be inflicted upon such breach. But there can be no privilege, of which the law doth not take notice, and which is not pleadable by, and at law.

The truth and clearness of this will best appear by instance: if I am arrested by process out of any court, I am to plead in the court, that I am a member of parliament, and that, by the privilege of parliament, my person ought to be free from arrests. Upon this plea the judge is bound to discharge me; and if he does not, he is criminous, as for any other trespass against the law: but the punishing the person, who hath made this infringement, is not within his power, but proper to that jurisdiction, against which the contempt is; therefore that house, of which I am a member, upon complaint made of such an arrest, usually sends for the persons culpable, the party at whose suit the arrest is made, and the officers which executed it, and commits them to prison, till they make acknowledgment of their offence. But that house never sends, at least never did till this parliament, any order to the court, out of which the process issued, to stay the proceedings at law, because the privilege ought to be legally pleaded. So, after the dissolution of parliament, if I am arrested within the days of privilege, upon my plea of privilege the court discharges me; but then the party that arrests me escapes punishment till the next parliament, the judge having no more power to commit the man that sued or arrested me, than he hath to imprison a man for bringing an action at law, when he hath no good title; neither is he judge of the contempt.

Again: If a man brings an information, or an action of the case, for words spoken by me, and I plead, that the words were spoken by me in parliament, when I was a member there; and that it is against the privilege of parliament, that I should be impleaded in any other place, for the words I spake there; I ought to be discharged from this action or information, because this privilege is known, and pleadable at law: but that judge can neither punish nor examine the breach of privilege, nor censure the contempt. And this is the true and proper meaning of the old received axiom, that they are judges only of their own privileges.

And indeed these two, of freedom from arrests for their persons, (which originally hath not been of that latitude to make a parliament a sanctuary for bankrupts, where any person outlawed hath been declared incapable of being returned thither a member,) and of liberty of speech, were accounted their chiefest, if not their only privileges of parliament: for their other, of access to the king, and correspondence by conference with the lords, are rather of the essence of their councils, than privileges belonging to it. But that their being judges

of their privileges should qualify them to make new privileges, or that their judgment should create them such, as it was a doctrine never before now heard of, so it could not but produce all those monstrous effects we have seen; when they have assumed to swallow all the rights and prerogative of the crown, the liberties and lands of the church, the power and jurisdiction of the peers, in a word, the religion, laws, and liberties of England, in the bottomless and insatiable gulph of their own privileges; and no doubt will determine this digression to be the most unparalleled and capital breach of those privileges, that had ever yet been attempted.

In the address, which the house of commons prepared for acknowledgment of the king's grace and favour in his message of the twentieth of January, they had desired, "that for a ground of their confidence, and removal of jealousies, that they might apply themselves to give his majesty satisfaction in the method he proposed, his majesty would presently put the Tower of London into the hands of such a person, as both houses should recommend to him:" in which the lords differed with them; as well for that the disposal of the custody thereof was the king's peculiar right and prerogative, as likewise that his majesty had committed the charge thereof to sir John Byron, a person of a very ancient family, an honourable extraction, good fortune, and as unblemished a reputation as any gentleman of England. The commons, much troubled, that the lords should again take the courage to dissent from them in any thing, resolved to press the king upon their own score, and to get the recommendation of so great an officer to themselves.

And therefore on the six and twentieth day of January, they sent a petition to him in the name of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the commons' house assembled in parliament; in which they took notice "of the gracious message from his majesty of the twentieth instant, for which they returned most humble thanks, resolving to take it into speedy and serious consideration; and said, to enable them with security to discharge their duties therein, they had desired the house of peers to join with them in humbly beseeching his majesty to raise up unto them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting the Tower, and other principal forts of the kingdom, and the whole militia thereof, into the hands of such persons as his parliament might confide in, and as should be recommended unto him by both houses of parliament; that, all fears and jealousies being laid aside, they might with cheerfulness proceed to such resolutions, as they hoped [would] lay a sure foundation of honour, greatness, and glory to his majesty, and his royal posterity, and of happiness and prosperity unto his subjects, throughout all his dominions; wherein the house of peers had refused to join with them. But they, notwithstanding, no way discouraged, but confiding in his majesty's goodness to his people, did therefore make their humble address to him to beseech him, that the Tower of London, and other principal forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, might be put into the hands of such persons as should be recommended to him by the house of commons; not doubting but they should receive a gracious and speedy answer to that their humble desire, without which, in all human reason, the great

"distractions of the kingdom must needs overwhelm it with misery and ruin."

The king was not troubled at the receipt of this petition, glad that, since they could not be brought to such a degree of reasonableness, as might make up all breaches, they would be so peremptorily unreasonable as might probably sever those from them, who were not as desperate as themselves; and he hoped, that when the people should observe that this grasping of the militia of the kingdom into their own hands, as an expedient for the composing their high-grown fears and jealousies, was no more than they desired the summer before, when sir Arthur Haslerig brought in his bill into the house of commons, which is before remembered, when that title of fears and jealousies was not discovered; and when the peers should observe, that the house of commons insolently demanded, by their own single suffrage, the deputing men to that prodigious trust, they would both conclude, that those immodest askers were not only fit to be denied, but reformed: yet believing that real and just fears would grow up, to discountenance and suppress those imaginary ones, his majesty vouchsafed a very soft and dispassionate answer to that petition; and told them, "that he hoped his gracious message would have produced some such overture, as, by offering what was fit on their parts to do, and by asking what was proper for him to grant, might have begot a mutual confidence in each other. Concerning the Tower of London, that he did not expect, having preferred a person of a known fortune, and unquestionable reputation, to that trust, that he should have been pressed to remove him without any particular charge objected against him: however, that if, upon due examination, any particular should be presented to him, whereby it might appear he was mistaken in his good opinion of that gentleman, and that he was unfit for the trust committed to him, he would make no scruple of discharging him; otherwise, he was obliged, in justice to himself, to preserve his own work, lest his favour and good opinion might prove a disadvantage and misfortune to his servants, without any other accusation; of which he hoped his house of commons would be so tender, as of a business, wherein his honour was much concerned, as, if they found no material exceptions against that person, they would rather endeavour to satisfy and reform the fears of other men, than, by complying with them, press his majesty to any thing, which did so much reflect upon his honour and justice.

"For the forts and castles of the kingdom, that he was resolved they should always be in such hands, and only in such, as the parliament might safely confide in; but the nomination of any persons to those places, being so principal and inseparable a flower of his crown, vested in him, and derived to him from his ancestors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he would reserve to himself; in bestowing whereof, as he would take care that no corrupt or sinister courses should prevail with him, so he was willing to declare, that he should not be induced to express that favour so soon to any persons, as to those whose good demeanour should be eminent in, or to his parliament. And if he then had, or should at any time, by misinformation, confer such a trust upon an undeserving person, he was, and

"would always be, ready to leave him to the wisdom and justice of his parliament.

"For the militia of the kingdom, which by the law was subject to no command but of his majesty, and of authority lawfully derived from him, he said, when any particular course for ordering the same should be considered, and digested, and proposed to him, he would return such an answer as should be agreeable to his honour, and the safety of his people, he being resolved only to deny those things, the granting whereof would alter the fundamental laws, and endanger the very foundation, upon which the public happiness and welfare of his people was founded and constituted, and which would nourish a greater and more destructive jealousy between the crown and the subject, than any of those, which would seem to be taken away by such a satisfaction.

"He said, he was not willing to doubt, that his having granted more than ever king had granted, would persuade them to ask more than ever subjects had asked : but if they should acquaint him with the particular grounds of their doubts and their fears, he would very willingly apply remedies proportionable to those fears; for he called God to witness, that the preservation of the public peace, the law, and the liberty of the subject, was, and should always be, as much his care and his industry as of his own life, or the lives of his dearest children.

"And therefore he did conjure them by all the acts of favour they had received from him this parliament, by their hopes of future happiness in his majesty, and in one another, by their love of religion, and the peace of the kingdom, in which, he said, that of Ireland was included, that they would not be transported by jealousies, and apprehensions of possible dangers, to put themselves, or his majesty, into real and present inconveniences; but that they would speedily pursue the way proposed by his former message, which, in human reason, was the only way to compose the distractions of the kingdom, and, with God's blessing, would restore a great measure of felicity to king and people."

This answer being not only a denial, but such an expostulation as would render their counsels of less reverence to the people, if upon those reasons they should recede from what they had with that confidence, and disdain of the house of peers, demanded of the king; and therefore they resolved to set up their rest upon that stake, and to go through with it, or perish in the attempt. And, to this purpose, they again muster up their friends in the city, and send their emissaries abroad, to teach the people a new language. All petitions must now desire, "that the kingdom might be put into a posture of defence, and nothing else would serve to defend them from the many plots and conspiracies against them, or secure them from their own fears and jealousies." More petitions were presented to the house of commons by some citizens of London, in the name of those merchants, that usually traded to the mint with bullion; who pretended "that their fears and jealousies were so great, that they durst not carry their bullion to the Tower, being not satisfied with the present lieutenant of the Tower; and therefore desired that he might be removed;" and to that purpose;

whereas in truth there was at that time, and from the time that that gentleman was lieutenant, more bullion brought in to be coined, than in the same time for seven years before; neither was there one man of those who subscribed that petition, who ever brought pound weight of bullion to the mint in his life. So that these cheats were too gross to do their business by, and they were quickly supplied with more powerful arguments.

They had wholly undertaken the managing of the war in Ireland, and really, for many reasons, neither did use, nor desired to use, any great expedition in that work; yet having with great industry infused into the minds of the people at least a suspicion that the court favoured that rebellion, they always made use of the slowness in those proceedings to the king's disadvantage. About that time, they had desired the city to furnish them with one hundred thousand pounds, for the levying and accommodating forces to be sent into that kingdom, which gave the common council, where such loans were always transacted, opportunity to return their opinions, and advice upon the general state of affairs. They said, "they could lend no more money by reason of those obstructions, which threatened the peace of this kingdom, and had already rendered that even desperate: that the not passing the bill [against] pressing of soldiers, which still depended with the lords, upon those reasons formerly mentioned at large, put many men into fears, that there was some design rather to lose that kingdom, and to consume this in the loss of it, than to preserve either the one or the other; and that the rebels were grown so strong there, that they made account speedily to extirpate the British nation in that kingdom; and that they intended then, as they already bragged, to come over, and make this the seat of the war.

"That the not putting the forts into such hands, in whom the parliament might confide, the not settling the kingdom in a posture of defence, the not removing the present lieutenant of the Tower, and putting such a person into that place, as might be well approved by the parliament, could not but overthrow trading more and more, and make monies yet more scarce in the city and kingdom. That the misunderstanding between the king and parliament, the not vindicating the privileges thereof, the charging some members of treason to the deterring of others from discharging their duties, and to the destroying the very being of parliaments, did exceedingly fill the minds of men well affected to the public, with many fears and discouragements; and so disable them from yielding that cheerful assistance, which they would be glad to afford. That by means of these there was such a decay of trading, and such scarcity of money, neither of which could be cured, till the former evils were removed, as it was like, in very short time, to cast innumerable multitudes of poor artificers into such a depth of poverty and extremity, as might enforce them upon some dangerous and desperate attempts, not fit to be expressed, much less to be justified; which they left to the house speedily to consider, and prevent. These evils, under which they did exceedingly labour and languish, they said, did spring from the employing of ill affected persons in places of trust and honour in the state, and near to the person of

“the king; and that they were still continued by means of the votes of bishops, and popish lords, in the house of peers. And so having faithfully represented, they said, the true reasons, which really enforced them to return that answer, they craved leave to protest before God and the high court of parliament, that if any further miseries befell their dear brethren in Ireland, or if any mischief should break in upon this kingdom, to the endangering or disturbing [the peace] thereof, it ought not to be imputed to them, but only to such, who should endeavour to hinder the effectual and speedy cure of those evils before recited, which did so much disable and discourage them from doing that which the house had desired of them.”

At the same time were presented other petitions, subscribed by many thousand hands, and in the names of the knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, and other inhabitants, of the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford; all which severally inveighed against the malignant party, which rendered the good endeavours of the house of commons fruitless; desired that the votes of the bishops, and popish lords, might be taken out of the house of peers; that they might be put into a posture of defence, and the forts, and castles of the kingdom, into such hands as the parliament might confide in; that so Ireland might be relieved, and this kingdom made happy: one of them adding, that the malignant party of prelates and papists, and their adherents, were inconsistent with the happy success of the parliament.” These petitions, and the answer of the common council of London, were thought ample materials for a conference with the lords, who might be thereby remembered of their duty; and to that purpose Mr. Pym delivered them at a conference, and after they were read, told them, “that their lordships might in those petitions hear the voice, or rather the cry of all England; and that they were not to wonder if the urgency, the extremity of the condition we were all in, did produce some earnestness and vehemency of expression more than ordinary; the agony, terror, and perplexity, in which the kingdom laboured, was universal, all parts were affected with it; and therefore in those petitions they might observe the groans and miserable complaints of all.” After a long discourse of the great and notorious dangers the kingdom was in, by invasions threatened from abroad, and insurrections from within, he told them, “the obstructions, that had brought them into that distemper, were principally the obstruction of reformation in matters of religion, and that there was never church or state afflicted with more grievances of that kind, than we had been; and that though they were partly eased and diminished by the wisdom of the parliament, yet many still remained; and as long as the bishops, and the corrupt part of the clergy, continued in their power, there would be little hope of freedom, either from the sense of those that continued, or the fear of those which were removed. And of that obstruction, he said, he must clear the commons, who were in no part guilty of it. Some good bills they had already passed, and others were in preparation, and might have been passed before that time, if they had not found such ill success in the other [house]: whatsoever mischief that obstruction should produce, they were free from it; they might have their

“part of the misery, they could have none in the guilt or dishonour.”

He told them, “there was a great obstruction in trade, which brought food and nourishment to the kingdom; and then having enlarged himself with enumeration of the notable benefits the kingdom received by the fulness of trade, he said, he must protest, the house of commons had given no cause to that obstruction: they had eased trade of many burdens, and heavy taxes, and had freed it from many hard restraints by patents and monopolies; they had sought to put the merchants into security and confidence in respect of the Tower of London, that so they might be invited to bring in their bullion to the mint, as heretofore they had done; they were no way guilty of the troubles, the fears, and public dangers, which made men withdraw their stocks, and keep their money by them, to be ready for such sudden exigents, as, in those great distractions, they had too great cause to expect.

“There was an obstruction, he said, in the relief of Ireland; but he must declare the commons were altogether innocent of any neglect therein; they had agreed to the levies of men and money, and, from time to time, done all for the furtherance thereof, though in the midst of many distractions and diversions; but the wants of commissions for levying men, that was the bill [about] pressing, and divers other impediments, had been the causes of that obstruction. Nay, he said, he did not only find impediments to themselves, but encouragement to the rebels; for many of the chief commanders now in the head of the rebels, after both houses had stopped the ports against all Irish papists, had been suffered to pass, by his majesty’s immediate warrants, much to the discouragement of the lords justices and council there, and were procured by some evil instruments too near his royal person, and, they believed, without his knowledge and intention.”

He said, “there was an obstruction in providing for the defence of the kingdom, that they might be enabled to resist a foreign enemy, and to suppress all civil insurrections: what endeavour they had used to remove them, but hitherto without that success and concurrence which they expected, and where their stop had been, and upon what grounds they might proclaim their own innocency and faithfulness in that particular, they desired no other witnesses but their lordships.”

He told them, “the evil influences, which had caused that distemper, were the evil councils about the king, the great power, that a factious and interested party had in parliament by the continuance of the votes of the bishops, and popish lords, in their lordships’ house, and the taking in of others out of the house of commons, and, otherwise to increase their strength, the fomenting a malignant party throughout the kingdom, the jealousies between the king and his parliament.” And after many bitter and seditious expressions of the court, and of all those who were not of his mind, he concluded, “that he had nothing to propose to their lordships by way of request or desire from the house of commons; he doubted not, but their judgments would tell them what was to be done; their consciences, their honours, their interests, would

"call upon them for the doing of it. The commons would be glad to have their help and concurrence in saving of the kingdom; but if their lordships should fail, it should not discourage them in doing their duty; and whether the kingdom be lost, or saved, they should be sorry, that the story of this present parliament should tell posterity, that, in so great a danger and extremity, the house of commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the house of peers should have no part in the honour of the preservation of it, they having so great an interest in the good success of those endeavours, in respect of their great estates, and high degrees of nobility."

As soon as this conference was ended, the speaker of the house of commons was appointed to give Mr. Pym solemn thanks for his so well performing that service, and to require him to deliver his speech in writing into the house, to the end it might be printed; which was done accordingly, to the end that the people might understand, besides those reproaches upon the king, how negligent the house of peers were of their welfare and security.

The same day and hour after that conference, a great number of people, in the name of the inhabitants of the county of Hertford, presented a petition to the house of peers; in which, amongst other particulars, "they complained of the delay of putting the kingdom into a posture of war for their better defence, and the want of compliance by that honourable house with the house of commons in entertaining those many good motions, and passing those necessary bills presented to them from that house for the common good. And therefore they desired them, for the better removing of all the causes and springs of their fears and troubles, that the evil counsellors, and others hindering the public good, might be taken from his majesty, and the voting of the popish lords and bishops removed out of that honourable house: and that the petitioners, who would be ever ready to hazard their lives and estates for the defence of the king and parliament, the privileges of the same, and in special those noble lords and gentlemen in both houses, whose endeavours were for the public good, might have liberty to protest against all those, as enemies to the kingdom, who refused to join with those honourable lords and the house of commons, for the putting the kingdom into a way of safety, under the command of such persons, as the parliament should appoint." But neither this, nor any of the other proceedings were resented by the house of peers, though their privileges were not only invaded, but the very freedom and liberty of parliament were absolutely taken away and destroyed thereby.

When the house of commons found that none of these extraordinary ways would thoroughly subdue the house of lords, but that, though they had very sturdy champions there, the major part, albeit the bishops and all the recusant lords were driven from thence, still opposed them, whereby neither the bill for the taking away the bishops' votes, nor [about] pressing, could pass, and that they peremptorily still refused to join in the business of the militia; they found a new way, as unpractised and as unnatural as any of the former, whereby they would be sure to have an influence

upon the house of peers. It is an old custom, and privilege of that house, that upon any solemn debate, whosoever is not satisfied with the conclusion and judgment of the house, may demand leave to enter his protestation, which must be granted. The original of this was in jealous times, when men desired, for avoiding the ill consequence of any act there, that their dissents might appear; and was very seldom practised, but when they conceived religion, or the crown, trencched upon; insomuch as you shall not find, in the journals of many parliaments, one protestation entered; and when there was any, there is no more in the records, than, after the resolution of the house is entered, and the number of those that were content and not content, "that such a lord desired that his protestation, that is, dissent might be entered;" and oftentimes when ten have dissented from the general opinion, not above one hath entered his protestation. But since this parliament, as they altered the custom from cases of high concernment to the most trivial debates, the minor part ordinarily entering their protestation, to the end that their opinions might be taken notice of, and who were opposite to them, whereby the good and bad lords were known and published; so they altered the form, and, instead of short general entries, caused the matter of the debate to be summed up, and thereupon their protestation, "that they were not to be answerable for any inconveniencies or mischiefs, that should befall the commonwealth by reason of this or that resolution." So that from an act, for the particular indemnity of the person that made it, it grew to be a reproaching and arraigning the sense of the house by any factious number that disagreed. Then, because the house of peers is a court of record, they concluded, "that any man upon any occasion might peruse their journals;" and so every night the house of commons could see how the debates had been managed and carried all the day, and take public notice, and make use of it accordingly, which they could not do of those discourses they received from their confidants; for supplying whereof this trick was most unjustifiably found out. For though it is a court of record, the highest court, and the acts and judgments of parliament are records, to which the subject may upon all occasions resort, yet they have not liberty to examine and peruse their journal books, much less question any words spoken, or act done, and remembered there; of which if they are not the only judges, their privileges are much less than the commons in truth have, and may justly claim.

It happened, about this time, that upon some overture in the lords' house, which pleased them not, the violent party there, in a disorderly manner, cried out, *Adjourn, adjourn*, being not willing the matter should then come into debate; others were not willing that the house should adjourn. The duke of Richmond, troubled at that tumultuary and indirect proceeding, said, without directing himself to the speaker, "if they would adjourn, he wished it might be for six months," or words to that effect; upon which some of the other party straight moved, "that the house might not rise, and that the duke might explain himself, and answer the making such a motion, as, being granted, would be destructive to the commonwealth." The duke said, "he made no motion,

“but used that expression, to shew his dislike of
“the other motion to adjourn at that time, when
“there was business in agitation of great concern-
“ment; and that, when he spoke, all men being
“upon their feet, and out of their places, he con-
“ceived the house had been up.” Upon this he
was required to withdraw; and then they, who
had long looked upon him with great envy and
animosity, as the only great person, and officer at
court, who had contemned their power, and their
stratagems, [and] had with notable courage always
opposed their extravagances, and servile complying
with the house of commons, and submitting to
the tumults, and had with singular constancy pre-
served his duty and fidelity to his majesty unvio-
lated, inveighed against the motion, “as of too
“serious a nature to be made a jest of, and fit to
“be censured as most pernicious to this kingdom,
“and destructive to Ireland; the war whereof
“could not proceed, if the parliament should have
“been adjourned for six months, as his lordship
“had proposed.”

On the other side, it was alleged, “that the
“motion had never been made to the house; and
“therefore they ought no more to question, or
“take notice of it, than of every light or frolic
“discourse or expression, that negligently or
“casually fell from any man; which would take
“away all liberty of conversation. However, that
“if it had been seriously and formally made, it
“could be no crime, it being the necessary liberty
“and privilege of every member, to make any
“motion he thought in his judgment fit, which
“the house would approve, or reject, as it found
“reasonable. And that, since it was as much in
“the house’s power to adjourn for six months,
“as for six days, it was as lawful to move the one
“as the other; of which there could not be the
“least inconvenience, because the house would be
“sure to reject it, if it were not found proper.”
After a very fierce and eager debate, in which
much bitterness and virulency was expressed, it
was resolved by the major part, “that the duke
“had committed no offence;” and so he was as
regularly absolved as was possible. Hereupon
the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex,
Holland, who thought the duke’s affection and
duty to his master a reproach, and his interest
prejudicial to them, with the rest of that party
entered their protestation; “that whereas such a
“motion had been made by the duke of Rich-
“mond, and upon being questioned for the same,
“he had been acquitted by the major part, they
“were free from the mischiefs or inconveniences,
“which might attend the not punishment of an
“offence tending so much to the prejudice of king
“or kingdom.”

This protestation, by the advice of that night’s
meeting, was, the next day, taken notice of in the
house of commons, and the matter itself of the
motion extended by all possible and rhetorical ag-
gravations, concerning the person, and his inter-
ests, according to the license of that house, and
that people. It was said, “here was an evil coun-
sellor, that had discovered himself, and no doubt
“had been the author of many of those evil coun-
“sels, which had brought that trouble upon us;
“that he had received his education in Spain, and
“had been made a grandee of that kingdom, and
“had been ever since notoriously of that faction;
“that his sisters were papists, and therefore his

“affection was to be questioned in religion; that,
“from the beginning of this parliament, he had
“been opposite to all their proceedings, and was
“an enemy to reformation; that he had vehemently
“opposed the attainder of the earl of Strafford;
“was a friend to bishops; and now, to prevent
“any possibility of reformation, which could not
“be effected without the concurrence of the two
“houses, had desperately moved in the house of
“peers, where he had a great faction, that it would
“adjourn for six months; in which time the
“malignant party, of which he might well be
“thought the head, and had the greatest influence
“upon the king’s affections, would prevail so far,
“that all future hopes would be rendered des-
“perate, and the kingdom of Ireland be utterly
“lost, and possessed by the papists: that they
“were therefore to take this opportunity, which
“God had given them, to remove so malignant
“and dangerous a person from the king, and
“so suspected a one, from so important a charge
“as the cinque ports, of which the duke was
“lord warden, and to send to the lords to join
“with them in a desire to the king to that pur-
“pose.”

On the other side, it was objected, that “whilst
“they were so solicitous of their own privileges,
“and sensible of the breach and violation of them,
“they could not more justify those, who had been
“the advisers of such breaches, than by offering
“the like trespass to the privileges of the peers:
“that the life of that council depended upon the
“liberty of speech; and where there were so dif-
“ferent minds, there must be different expres-
“sions; and if one house might take notice what
“the other house said, or did, within those walls,
“the lords would as well question their members,
“as they did now one of the lords; which would
“take away all freedom of debate: that they could
“not examine the circumstances, which attended
“that motion, if any such was made; and there-
“fore could not so much as, in their private un-
“derstandings, make a reasonable judgment of it;
“but that they were naturally to presume the cir-
“cumstances were such, as took away the offence
“of the motion; for that the major part of that
“house where the words were spoken, and at the
“time when they were spoken, had, upon solemn
“debate, concluded, that there was no crime in
“them; and that they were not only the proper,
“but the only judges in that case: and if the com-
“mons should intermeddle therewith, it was no
“otherwise, than, by the strength of the major
“part of the house of commons, to make the minor
“part of lords superior to the major part of that
“house; which they would not suffer to be offered
“to themselves.”

It was alleged, “That the duke was a person of
“great honour and integrity, and of so unblemished
“a fame, that in all the discovery of the court-
“offences, there was not any reflection upon him.
“That his education had been, according to the
“best rules of the greatest persons, for some years
“beyond the seas; and that, having spent more
“time in France and Italy, he visited Spain; where
“his great quality being known, and no question
“as a compliment to this kingdom, with which it
“was then in strait alliance and confederacy, that
“king had conferred the honour of a grandee
“upon him; which was of no other advantage or
“signification to him, than to be covered in the

"presence of that king, as the principal subjects there are. That his affection to the protestant religion was unquestionable, and very eminent; and though his sisters, who had been bred under their mother, were catholics, yet his brothers, of whose education he had taken the sole care, were very good protestants.

"That his opinions in parliament had been very avowed, and were to be presumed to be according to his conscience, in the profession of which he was so public, that there was reason to believe he used no ill arts in private; since he had the courage to do that aloud, which he had reason to believe would displease many. That it would be a great prejudice and blemish to their counsels and discoveries, if after so long discourse of a malignant party, and evil counsellors, of which they had never yet named any, they should first brand this lord with that imputation upon such a ground and occasion, as must conclude [include] all those lords who had absolved him, which was the major part of the lords. In a word, that it would look as if they had devised those new words to make men afraid, and kept them in reserve to apply to all those, with whom they were angry."

But notwithstanding all this, and all the reason that could be spoken on that part, and that there could be none on the other, after a debate of very many hours, till after nine of the clock at night, (the latest that ever was in parliament, but that of the remonstrance,) in which it was evident, that they meant, as far as in them lay, to confound all those, whom they could not convert; it was resolved by the majority of voices, not half of the house being present at that unseasonable time of the debate, "that they should accuse the duke of Richmond to the lords to be one of the malignant party, and an evil counsellor to his majesty; and to desire them to join in a request to the king, that he might be removed from any office or employment about his person;" which was solemnly commended to the lords accordingly, and by them so far received, that though the desire was rejected, no dislike or disapprobation of the matter or the manner was in the least manner discovered, or insisted on.

All things thus prepared, and so many lords driven and kept from the house, besides the bishops, and they that stayed there, by this last instance, instructed how to carry themselves, at least how they provoked the good lords to protest, they resolved once more to try whether the house of peers would be induced to join in the business of the militia, which they had twice refused; and to that purpose, their old friends of the city in the same numbers flocked to Westminster, but under the new, received, and allowed style of petitioners; but as unlike petitioners to any of those lords or commons, whom they understood to be malignant, as the other tumults had been. From these herds there were two notable petitions delivered to the house of commons, the one from the porters, their number, as they said, consisting of fifteen thousand; the other under the title of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London. The porters, with great eloquence, confessed "the unexpressible pains that honourable house had taken for the good of church and state; which deserved to be recorded to their eternal fame, though the effects of those unwearied endeavours

"were not produced, by reason of the prevalence of that adverse, malignant, bloodsucking, rebellious party, by the power of which the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject was trampled upon, the rebellion in Ireland increased, and all succours and relief for that kingdom obstructed." They said, "That trade had been long languishing, but was now dead by the fears, jealousies, and distractions they lay under, for want of fortification of the cinque ports, which was a great encouragement to the papists to make insurrection, and did much animate a foreign power to invade us: that by the deadness of trade they did want employment in such a measure, as did make their lives very uncomfortable; therefore their request was, that that extreme necessity of theirs might be taken into serious consideration, and that the honourable house of commons would fall upon the speediest course for abating and quelling the pride, outrage, and insolency of the adverse party at home; that the land might be secured by fortifying the cinque ports, and putting the people into a posture of defence, that all their fears, or as many as could, might be removed, and that trade might be again set up and opened, that so their wants might be in some measure supplied. They further desired that justice might be done upon offenders, according as the atrocity of their crimes had deserved; for if those things were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and to make good that saying, that necessity hath no law. They said they had nothing to lose but their lives, and those they would willingly expose to the utmost peril, in defence of the house of commons, according to their protestation," &c.

The other was a petition in the names of many thousands of poor people, and brought by a great multitude of such, who seemed prepared for any exploit. I have thought fit, for the rareness of it, and the rare effect it produced, to insert that petition in terms as it was presented, thus.

To the honourable the house of commons now assembled in parliament.

"The humble petition of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London,

"Humbly sheweth, that your petitioners have lain a long time under great pressures, and grievances both in liberties and consciences, as hath been largely, and sundry times, shewed and declared, by several petitions exhibited to this honourable assembly both by the citizens and apprentices of the city of London, and divers counties and parts of this kingdom, from which we hoped long ere this, by your pious care, to have been delivered.

"But now we, who are of the meanest rank and quality, being touched with penury, are very sensible of the approaching storms of ruin, which hang over our heads, and threaten to overwhelm us, by reason of the sad distractions occasioned chiefly and originally, as your petitioners humbly conceive, by the prevalency of the bishops, and the popish lords, and others of that malignant faction; who make abortive all good motions, which tend to the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom of England, and have hitherto hindered the sending relief to our brethren in Ireland, al-

“ though they lie weltering in blood ; which hath
 “ given such head to the adversaries, that we justly
 “ fear the like calamities inevitably to befall us
 “ here, when they have vented their rage and
 “ malice there.

“ All which occasions so great a decay and stop
 “ of trade, that your petitioners are utterly im-
 “ verished, and our miseries are grown insupporta-
 “ ble, we having already spent all that little means,
 “ which we had formerly, by God’s blessing, and
 “ our great labour, obtained ; and many of us have
 “ not, nor cannot tell where to get, bread to sus-
 “ tain ourselves and families ; and others of us are
 “ almost arrived at the same port of calamity ; so
 “ that unless some speedy remedy be taken for the
 “ removal of all such obstructions, which hinder
 “ the happy progress of your great endeavours,
 “ your petitioners shall not rest in quietness, but
 “ shall be forced to lay hold on the next remedy
 “ which is at hand, to remove the disturbers of
 “ our peace ; want and necessity breaking the
 “ bounds of modesty : and rather than your peti-
 “ tioners will suffer themselves, and their families,
 “ to perish through hunger and necessity, though
 “ hitherto patiently groaned under, they cannot
 “ leave any means unessayed for their relief.

“ The cry therefore of the poor and needy, your
 “ poor petitioners, is, that such persons, who are
 “ the obstacles of our peace, and hinderers of the
 “ happy proceedings of this parliament, and the
 “ enjoyment of the looked for purity of religion,
 “ safety of our lives, and return of our welfares,
 “ may be forthwith publicly declared, to the end
 “ they may be made manifest ; the removal of
 “ whom we humbly conceive will be a remedy to
 “ cure our miseries, and put a period to these dis-
 “ tractions : and that those noble worthies of the
 “ house of peers, who concur with you in your
 “ happy votes, may be earnestly desired to join
 “ with this honourable house, and to sit and vote
 “ as one entire body ; which we hope will remove
 “ from us our destructive fears, and prevent that,
 “ which apprehension will make the wisest and
 “ peaceablest men to put in execution.

“ For the Lord’s sake hear us, and let our re-
 “ ligious, lives, and welfares be precious in your
 “ sight, that the loins of the poor may bless you,
 “ and pray,” &c.

After this horrible petition delivered, the house,
 according to its gracious custom, ordered thanks
 to be given for their great kindness. The which
 when delivered by the speaker, who told them
 that the house was in consideration of those things,
 whereof they complained, some of that rabble, no
 doubt as they had been taught, replied, “ that they
 “ never doubted the house of commons, but they
 “ heard all stuck in the lords’ house, and they de-
 “ sired to know the names of those peers, who
 “ hindered the agreement between the good lords
 “ and the commons :” which they pressed with
 unheard of rudeness and importunity, and with a
 seeming unwillingness withdrew, whilst the house
 took the matter into further consultation.

Yet notwithstanding this provocation, and that
 it was urged by many members, some which had
 been assaulted and ill intreated by that rabble in
 their passage to the house, “ that the countenanc-
 “ ing such licentious persons and proceedings
 “ would be a great blemish to their counsels,”
 they were again called in ; and told, “ that the
 “ house of commons had endeavoured, and would

“ continue those endeavours for their relief ; and
 “ they doubted not, when they had delivered their
 “ petition, and what they had said, to the lords,
 “ which they would presently do, the causes of
 “ their evils would be found out, and some speedy
 “ course resolved upon for their relief ; and there-
 “ fore desired them with patience to attend a fur-
 “ ther answer.” And accordingly that petition
 was solemnly read, and delivered to the lords at a
 conference ; and the conference no sooner ended,
 than Mr. Hollis, one of those five whom the king
 had accused a month before of high treason, was
 sent to the lords in a message to desire them,
 “ that they would join with the house of commons
 “ in their desire to the king about the militia ;”
 to which he added, “ that if that desire of the
 “ house of commons was not assented to, he de-
 “ sired those lords who were willing to concur,
 “ would find some means to make themselves
 “ known, that it might be known who were against
 “ them, and they might make it known to those
 “ that sent them.”

After which motion and message, the lords again
 resumed the debate ; which the earl of Northum-
 berland begun with a profession, “ that whosoever
 “ refused, in that particular, to join with the house
 “ of commons, were, in his opinion, enemies to
 “ the commonwealth ;” when the major part of
 that house had twice before refused to concur with
 them in it. Yet when his lordship was questioned
 for that unparliamentary language, all the other
 lords of that faction joined with him ; and de-
 clared, “ that it was their opinions likewise :” the
 rabble being at the door to execute whatever they
 were directed : so that many lords, out of a just
 indignation to see their honours and their liberties
 sacrificed to the people by themselves ; others, out
 of real fear of being murdered, if they should, in
 that conjuncture of time, insist on their former
 resolutions, withdrawing themselves ; the major
 part of those, who stayed, concluded to join with
 the house of commons in their desire [concerning]
 the militia.

Within two days after this agreement and sub-
 mission of the lords, another petition was pre-
 sented to the commons, in the name of the in-
 habitants of the county of Surrey, by a multitude
 of people, who were, or pretended to be, of that
 county, and subscribed by above two thousand
 hands. Their petition was of the ordinary strain,
 full of devotion to the house of commons, and
 offering to execute all their commands ; but with
 it they presented likewise a petition, which they
 intended to present to the lords, if they approved
 it, and was subscribed by above two thousand
 hands ; by which it may appear where that petition
 was drawn, and when, however the hands were
 procured. The petition to the lords took notice
 “ of their happy concurrence with the house of
 “ commons in settling the militia, and forts, in
 “ such hands as the commonwealth might confide
 “ in, and the kingdom in such a posture as might
 “ be for its defence and safeguard : yet they com-
 “ plained of the miserable condition of Ireland,
 “ which, they said, by the delay it had found
 “ amongst their lordships, notwithstanding the
 “ pressing endeavours of the house of commons,
 “ together with many of their lordships, had been
 “ exposed to the inhuman cruelties of their mer-
 “ ciless enemies. With like grief they apprehended
 “ the distractions of this nation, the composure of

"which, they said, was altogether hopeless, so long as the king's throne was surrounded with evil counsellors, and so long as the votes of popish lords and bishops were continued in their house.

"Wherefore they did humbly pray, and beseech their lordships, that they would go on in a constant union with the house of commons, in providing for the kingdom's safety; that all evil counsellors might be found out, Ireland relieved; that the votes of the popish lords and bishops might be speedily removed; that so the peace of the kingdom might be established, the privileges of parliament vindicated, and the purity of religion settled and preserved. And, they said, they should be in duty obliged to defend, and maintain with their lives and estates, their lordships, so far as they should be united with the honourable house of commons, in all their just and pious proceedings."

Which petition was read in the house of commons, and approved, and the petitioners thanked for their kind expressions therein; and then it was delivered by them at the bar of the house of peers; who, within a day or two, passed both the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, and [that concerning] pressing, which had lain so long desperate, whilst the lords came, and sat with freedom in the house. And these marvellous things done, they again adjourn both houses into London, to lay the scene for future action.

Upon the second of February, some members, appointed by both houses, attended his majesty at Windsor with their petition, "that he would forthwith put the Tower of London, and all other forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into the hands of such persons, as should be recommended unto his majesty by both houses of parliament; which, they assured themselves, would be a hopeful entrance into those courses, which, through God's blessing, should be effectual for the removing all diffidence, and misapprehension betwixt his majesty and his people; and for establishing and enlarging the honour, greatness, and power of his majesty, and royal posterity; and for the restoring and confirming the peace and happiness of his loyal subjects in all his dominions. And to that their most necessary petition, they said, they did, in all humility, expect his speedy and gracious answer, the great distractions, and distempers of the kingdom, not admitting any delay."

At the same time they likewise presented another petition to him, concerning the accused members; in which they besought him "to give directions, that his parliament might be informed, before Friday next, (which was within two days,) what proof there was against them, that accordingly they might be called to a legal trial; it being the undoubted right and privilege of parliament, that no member of parliament could be proceeded against, without the consent of parliament."

His majesty now found that these persons could not be compounded with, and that their purpose was, by degrees, to get so much power into their hands, that they need not care for what was left in his; and that the lords were in no degree to be relied on to maintain their own privileges, much less to defend his rights; and that they had the power to impose generally upon the people's un-

derstandings, contrary to their own senses, and to persuade them, "that they were in danger to be invaded by foreign enemies," when the king was not only in peace with all Christian princes, but almost all other nations so embroiled in war, that they all desired the friendship and assistance of England; none was in case or condition to disturb it: "and that there was a decay and deadness of trade, and want and poverty growing upon the whole kingdom," when no man living had ever remembered the like plenty over the whole land, and trade was at that height, that the like had never been known.

He resolved therefore to remove himself to a greater distance from London, where the fears and jealousies grew; and constantly to deny to pass any act, that should be recommended to him from the two houses, except what might concern Ireland, till he might have a full prospect of all they intended to demand, and an equal assurance how far they intended to gratify him for all his condescensions; which resolution was very parliamentary, it having been rarely known, till this present parliament, that the king consented to any acts, till the determination of the session.

The truth is, when his majesty found the extreme ill success of the accusation against the members, and that the tumults, and the petitioners, were no other than an army at the disposal of those, in whom he had no reason to put his confidence, and that all such, who expressed any eminent zeal to his service, would be taken from him under the style of delinquents and malignants, he resolved that the queen, who was very full of fears, should go to Portsmouth, colonel Goring, who was governor thereof, having found means to make good impressions again in their majesties of his fidelity; and that himself would go to Hull, where his magazine of cannon, arms, and munition was; and that being secured in those strong places, whither they who wished him well might resort, and be protected, he would sit still, till they who were over-active would come to reason.

But this, though resolved with so much secrecy, that it was not communicated to three persons, (as I have been since assured by those who knew,) whether by the treachery of one of those few, or by the curiosity of others, (which I rather believe,) who found means to overhear all private discourses, (as both bedchambers were inhabited, and every corner possessed, by diligent spies upon their master and mistress,) was imparted to those, who procured those orders before mentioned for Hull and Portsmouth; by reason whereof, and the advice, and promise of many lords, "that they would firmly unite themselves for the just support of the regal power," with the extreme apprehension the queen had of danger, that counsel was laid aside. That which wrought so much upon the queen's fears, besides the general observation how the king was betrayed, and how his rights and power were every day wrested from him, was an advertisement, that she had received, of a design in the prevalent party, to have accused her majesty of high treason; of which, without doubt, there had been some discourse in their most private cabals, and, I am persuaded, was imparted to her upon design, and by connivance, (for there were some incorporated into that faction, who exactly knew her nature, passions, and infirmities,) that the disdain of it might transport her to somewhat,

which might give them advantage. And shortly after that discovery to her majesty, those persons before mentioned were accused of high treason; yet afterwards, when they had received the full fruits, they found means to complain, "as a great argument of the malignity of those persons of nearness to both their majesties, that an infusion had been made to the queen, that there was a purpose of accusing her of high treason," and solemnly by message "besought her to discover, who had done that malicious office;" when they very well knew who it was, and for whose sake the queen was brought to return answer, "that she had heard such a discourse, but took no notice of it, as never believing it:" whereas, if they could have been compelled to have discovered, how they knew that the queen had been informed, all the secret would have appeared; the same person first telling her what was in projection against her, and then returning intelligence of any expressions and distemper, he might easily observe upon the apprehension which the other begat.

But both king and queen were then upon that disadvantage, that all their words and actions, which were the pure results of their own reasons and judgments upon what they saw every day occurred, were called the effects of evil counsels, that so they might take the liberty to reproach them with the more license; whilst what they received by the most secret perjury of bedchamber spies, or what they forged themselves, was urged as the resultants of common fame, or the effects of their fears and jealousies, to the rancour of which the most precious balm of the crown must be applied. And therefore it was concluded, "that the queen should take the opportunity of her daughter the princess Mary's journey into Holland," (who had been before married to the young prince of Orange, and was now solemnly desired by the States' ambassadors to come into that country,) "to transport herself into Holland, patiently to expect an amendment of the affairs of England; and that the king should retire into the north, and reside at York, and deny all particulars, till the whole alteration should be framed." But the first resolution concerning the queen was only published; the other, concerning the king, communicated to very few; both their majesties being reduced to so great wants, that the queen was compelled to coin, or sell, her chamber plate, for the supply of her most necessary occasions, there being no money in the exchequer, or in the power of the ministers of the revenue; and the officers of the customs, out of which the allowance for the weekly support of their majesties' household had been made, being enjoined by the house of commons, not to issue out any money, without their particular consent and approbation.

It was evident now that the accused members were too mighty for the king, or the law, and that they would admit no other judges of their guilt, than themselves, nor rules of proceeding, than the plurality of their own voices: and therefore the king resolved to give over any more thought of that business. And so to that petition he answered, "that as he once conceived that he had ground enough to accuse them, so now he found as good cause wholly to desert any prosecution of them." The other petition concerning the militia gave him more trouble; for though he was resolved in no

degree to consent to it, yet he was willing, till all things could be ready for the queen's journey, and so for his own remove, [rather] to delay it, than deny it; lest the same army of petitioners might come to Windsor to persuade him; which had converted, or prevailed over the house of peers. And he was persuaded by some, who thought they knew the temper of both houses, that though they were now united in the matter, they might easily be divided upon the circumstances; and that they would not be of one mind in the election of the persons to be confided in. So to that petition his majesty returned this answer:

"That he was willing to apply a remedy not only to their dangers, but to their doubts and fears; and therefore, that when he should know the extent of power, which was intended to be established in those persons, whom they desired to be commanders of the militia in the several counties, and likewise to what time it should be limited, that no power should be executed [by] his majesty alone without the advice of parliament, then he would declare, that he would be content to put in all the forts, and over the militia, such persons as both houses of parliament should either approve, or recommend to him; so that they before declared the names of the persons, whom they would approve or recommend, and so that no persons should be named by them, against whom his majesty should have just and unquestionable exception."

Which answer, though it was not a consent, gave them notable encouragement, and exceedingly united the vulgar minds to them; who concurred only with them, as they saw them like to prevail in what they went about. And there was no danger of any disunion in the nomination of persons; because, though they should at first admit such into the number, whom they could not sufficiently trust, nor plausibly except against, yet when they were once possessed of the power of nomination, they might easily weed out those, which were not agreeable to the soil they were planted in. However this would take up some time; and therefore to keep the king's inclination to gratify them (for so they would understand it) warm, the same day they received this answer, they returned a message of thanks; and desired his majesty, "whilst they were preparing all other particulars according to his command, that he would confer the custody of the Tower upon sir John Coniers," whom his majesty had lately recommended to them, as a person of great merit. With which being surprised, and desired likewise by sir John Byron to free him from the agony and vexation of that place, which had exposed his person and reputation to the rage and fury of the people, and compelled him to submit to such reproaches, as a generous spirit could not brook without much regret; for he had upon frivolous surmises been sent for as a delinquent, and been brought upon his knees at the bar of both houses; his majesty consented to that alteration, and made sir John Coniers lieutenant of the Tower. Which was such an instance of his yielding upon importunity, that from that time they thought themselves even possessed of the whole militia of the kingdom.

Whilst all diligence was used in making preparation for the queen's journey, to divert their councils from other inquisitions, the king (who had received so many sharp expostulations for breach of privi-

leges, and other attempts upon their reputations) resolved, upon the publication of a bold scandal upon himself by one of their principal members, to expostulate with them, and try what satisfaction and reparation they were prepared to give to him, who exacted so much from him. All opportunities had been taken in public, and all license given to private and clandestine forgeries, to lay odious or envious imputation on the king and queen, in the business of Ireland; and to impute the progress and success of that rebellion to a connivance, if not a countenance, from the court: the not levying men, and not sending provisions, imputed to his majesty; though he had, as is before observed, offered to levy ten thousand volunteers for that service, and had consented cheerfully to every proposition, that had been made with the least reference to the assistance of that kingdom. Indeed he was so alarmed with those perpetual odious impositions, which he perceived wrought very pernicious effects in the minds of the people, that he was compelled to consent to many things contrary to his judgment and kingly policy, to prevent greater inconveniences by those scandals, which he saw were prepared for him. So when several propositions were recommended to him by the two houses concerning those supplies, which were to be sent out of Scotland, amongst the rest, there was one, "that the Scots should have the command and keeping of the town and castle of Carrickfergus; and if any regiments, or troops, in that province should join with them, that they should receive orders from the commander of the Scottish forces." The king consented to all the rest, though there were matters unreasonable enough in favour of that nation; but, "that," he said, "he could not approve of;" and wished "the houses to take that proposition again into consideration, as a business of very great importance, which he doubted might prove prejudicial to the crown of England, and the service intended." And he said, "if the houses desired it, he would be willing to speak with the Scottish commissioners, to see what satisfaction he could give them therein." This answer was no sooner read, but both houses voted, "that whosoever gave the king advice, or counsel, to send that answer, was an enemy to the king and kingdom," and a committee appointed to find out who those evil counsellors were. So that, the Scottish commissioners pressing him, "that, being their native king, he would not publish a less trust and confidence in them, than their neighbour nation had done," his majesty thought fit to consent to the whole, as the two houses had advised.

Then, in the carrying on the war, they allowed his majesty so little power, that when he recommended some officers of prime quality, reputation, and experience in the war, to the lord lieutenant to be employed in that service, the house of commons by express order, and after they knew that his majesty had recommended them, rejected them, because they were taken notice to have attended upon the king at Whitehall, as a guard to his person. And, after all this, they took all occasions to asperse him with any omissions that were in that great work; as Mr. Pym had more particularly done, in that speech before taken notice of, at the conference with the lords, upon the delivery of those seditious petitions; of which the king could not take notice,

lest he should be again reproached with breach of privilege.

But when that speech was printed by order of the house, the king thought he had an opportunity to require a vindication; and therefore, in a letter to the speaker, he sent this message: "That he had taken notice of a speech, pretended by the title to have been delivered by Mr. Pym in a conference, and printed by order of the house of commons; in which it was affirmed, that since the stop upon the ports against all Irish papists by both houses, many of the chief commanders, now in the head of the rebels, have been suffered to pass by his majesty's immediate warrant: and being certain of having used extreme caution in the granting of passports into Ireland, he conceived, either that paper not to have been so delivered, and printed, as is pretended; or that house to have received some misinformation. And therefore his majesty desired to know, whether that speech had been so delivered and printed; and if it had, that the house would review, upon what information that particular had been grounded, that either it might be found upon reexamination false, and so both the house, and his majesty, to have been injured by it; or that his majesty might know, by what means, and by whose fault, his authority had been so highly abused, as to be made to conduce to the assistance of that rebellion, which he so much detested and abhorred; and that he might see himself fully vindicated from all reflections of the least suspicion of that kind."

It was some time before they would vouchsafe any answer to the king upon this message; but at last they returned, "that the speech, mentioned in that message, was printed by their order, and what was therein delivered was agreeable to the sense of the house: that they had received divers advertisements concerning the several persons, Irish papists, and others, who had obtained his majesty's immediate warrant for their passing into Ireland, since the order of restraint of both houses; some of which, as they had been informed, since their coming into Ireland, had joined with the rebels, and been commanders amongst them; and some others had been stayed, and were yet in safe custody."

Then they named some, to whom licenses had been granted before the order of restraint, and were still in England; and said, "there were others, whose names they had not yet received, but doubted not, upon examination, they would be discovered."

To this the king replied, and told them, "that as he had expressed a great desire to give them all possible satisfaction to all their just requests, and a readiness to rectify, or retract, any thing done by himself, which might seem to trench upon their privileges by any mistake of his; so he hoped, they would be ready, upon all occasions, to manifest an equal tenderness and regard of his honour, and reputation with his subjects: and therefore he expected they should review his message concerning Mr. Pym's speech, and their answer, with which he could not rest satisfied. He said, he was most assured that no person, who had command in the head of the rebels, had passed by his warrant, or privity. And then, he desired them to consider, whether such a general

“information, and advertisement, as they implied
 “in their answer, without the name of any particular person, was ground enough for such a
 “direct and positive affirmation, as was made in
 “that speech; which, in respect of the place and
 “person, and being now acknowledged to be according to the sense of the house, was of that
 “authority, that his majesty might suffer in the
 “affections of many of his good subjects, and fall
 “under a possible construction; considering many
 “scandalous pamphlets to such a purpose, of not
 “being sensible enough of that rebellion, so horrid
 “and odious to all Christians; by which, in that
 “distraction, such a danger might possibly ensue
 “to his majesty’s person and estate, as he was well
 “assured they would endeavour to prevent. And
 “therefore he thought it very necessary, and expected that they should name those persons who
 “had passed by his license, and were then in the
 “head of the rebels: or if, upon their reexamination, they did not find particular evidence to
 “prove that assertion, (as he was most confident
 “they never could,) as that affirmation, which reflected upon his majesty, was very public, so they
 “would publish such a declaration, whereby that
 “mistake might be discovered; he being the more
 “tender in that particular which had reference to
 “Ireland, as being most assured, that he had been,
 “and was, from his soul, resolved to discharge his
 “duty, for the relief of his poor protestant subjects, and the utter rooting out that rebellion;
 “so that service had not suffered for the want of
 “any thing proposed to him, and within his power
 “to grant.”

He said, “in this matter he had diligently examined his own memory, and the notes of his
 “secretaries;” and then named all the Irish persons to whom he had given any licenses to go into that
 “kingdom, since the beginning of the rebellion; and said, “he was well assured, none of them
 “were with the rebels; and though some of them
 “might be papists, yet he had no reason to discover any suspicion of them, in respect of their
 “alliance with persons of great honour and power
 “in that kingdom, of whose fidelity to him he
 “had good assurance; and the lords justices
 “themselves having declared, that they were
 “so far from owning a jealousy of all papists
 “there, that they had put arms into the hands of
 “divers noblemen of that religion, within the pale,
 “which the parliament had well approved of.
 “And therefore, unless the first affirmation of
 “the house of commons could be made good by
 “some particulars, he expected a vindication by
 “such a declaration as he had proposed; which,
 “he said, was, in duty and justice, due to him.”

But this, and any thing else could be said, was so far from procuring any reparation, or his majesty from receiving any, that when they perceived the king still pressed for that justice, and apprehended that many would believe it due to him, and that the prejudice they had raised to him for Ireland would be removed thereby, they confidently published another declaration of several persons’ names, to whom they said the king had granted passes, and were then commanders in the rebels’ army, of whose names his majesty had never before heard, to whom no passes had been granted, neither did he believe that there were such men in nature; and so left the people to believe as they found

themselves inclined upon the king’s denial, or their so particular and positive affirmation.

These proceedings of the parliament made a deep impression upon all noble and generous persons, who found that their pride and ambition was so great, that they resolved to remove all persons out of their way, who were like to stand in their way, by opposing anything they desired, or by filling any place, or office, which they designed should be executed by some other person, in whom they could confide. The earl of Newcastle, who was governor to the prince, knew very well in what prejudice he stood with the earls of Essex and Holland, (two very powerful persons,) upon the account of the challenge formerly mentioned to be sent by him to the latter of the two, who would be glad of any opportunity to expose him to an affront; and that they would find opportunities enough upon the account of his known affections to the king’s service, from which it was not possible to remove or startle him. He knew they liked not that he should have the government of the prince, as one, who would infuse such principles into him, as would not be agreeable to their designs, and would dispose him to no kindness to their persons, and that they would not rest, till they saw another man in that province; in order to which, they would pick all quarrels they could, and load him with all reproaches, which might blast him with the people, with whom he had a very good reputation. Upon those considerations, and some other imaginations upon the prospect of affairs, he very wisely resolved to retire from the court, where he had expended much of his own fortune, and only made himself obnoxious to the malice and envy of other pretenders; and desired the king to approve of this his reasonable inclination, and to put the prince under the tuition of some person of honour of unquestionable fidelity to him, and above the reach of popular disapprobation; and at the same time mentioned the marquis of Hertford, who was indeed superior to any temptations. The king could not dislike the earl’s judgment upon his own interest and concernment; and did foresee likewise that he might probably have occasion to use his service under another qualification; and therefore was well contented to dismiss him from the prince.

The marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour, great interest in fortune and estate, and of an universal esteem over the kingdom; and though he had received many and continued disobligations from the court, from the time of this king’s coming to the crown, as well as during the reign of king James, in both which seasons, more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his interest; yet he had carried himself with notable steadiness, from the beginning of the parliament, in the support and defence of the king’s power and dignity, notwithstanding all his allies, and those with whom he had the greatest familiarity and friendship, were of the opposite party; and never concurred with them against the earl of Strafford, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy.

And then, he was not to be shaken in his affection to the government of the church; though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed by any great inclination to the person of any churchman. And with all this, that party carried themselves towards him with profound respect,

not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen his.

It is very true, in many respects he wanted some of those qualities, which might have been wished to be in a person to be trusted in the education of a great and a hopeful prince, and in the forming of his mind and manners in so tender an age. He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises; and had even contracted such a laziness of mind, that he had no delight in an open and liberal conversation; and cared not to discourse, and argue on those points, which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending; and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance: but then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well support the dignity of a governor, and exact that diligence from others, which he could not exercise himself; and his honour was so unblemished, that none durst murmur against the designation; and therefore his majesty thought him very worthy of the high trust, against which there was no other exception, but that he was not ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the charge, so contrary to his natural constitution. But [in] his pure zeal and affection for the crown, and the conscience, that in this conjuncture his submission might advance the king's service, and that the refusing it might prove disadvantageous to his majesty, he very cheerfully undertook the province, to the general satisfaction and public joy of the whole kingdom; and to the no little honour and credit of the court, that so important and beloved a person would attach himself to it under such a relation, when so many, who had scarce ever eaten any bread but the king's, detached themselves from their dependence, that they might without him, and against him, preserve and improve those fortunes, which they had procured and gotten under him, and by his bounty.

The bill for the taking away the votes of bishops out of the house of peers, which was called a bill for taking away all temporal jurisdiction from those in holy orders, was no sooner passed the house of peers, than the king was earnestly desired "to give his royal assent to it." The king returned, "that it was a matter of great concernment; and therefore he would take time to advise, and would return an answer in convenient time." But this delay pleased not their appetite; they could not attempt their perfect reformation in church and state, till those votes were utterly abolished; therefore they sent the same day again to the king, who was yet at Windsor, and gave him reasons to persuade him "immediately to consent to it; one of which was the grievances the subjects suffered by their exercising of temporal jurisdiction, and their making a party in the lords' house: a second, the great content of all sorts by the happy conjunction of both houses in their absence: and a third, that the passing of that bill would be a comfortable pledge of his majesty's gracious assent to the future remedies of those evils, which were to be presented to him, this once being passed."

Reasons sufficient to have converted him, if he had the least inclination or propensity to have concurred with them. For it was, upon the matter,

to persuade him to join with them in this, because, that being done, he should be able to deny them nothing.

However those of greatest trust about the king, and who were very faithful to his service, though in this particular exceedingly deceived in their judgments, and not sufficiently acquainted with the constitution of the kingdom, persuaded him "that the passing this bill was the only way to preserve the church, there being so united a combination in this particular, that he would not be able to withstand it. Whereas, by the passing this bill, so many persons in both houses would be fully satisfied, that they would join in no further alteration: but, on the other hand, if they were crossed in this, they would violently endeavour an extirpation of bishops, and a demolishing of the whole fabric of the church.

"They alleged that he was, upon the matter, deprived of their votes already, they being not suffered to come to the house, and the major part in prison under an accusation of high treason, of which there was not like to be any reformation, till these present distempers were composed; and then that by his power, and the memory of the indirect means that had been used against them, it would be easier to bring them in again, than to keep them in now. They told him, there were two matters of great importance pressed upon him for his royal assent, but they were not of equal consequence and concernment to his sovereign power; the first, that bill for the bishops' votes; the other, the whole militia of the kingdom, the granting of which would absolutely divest him of all regal power; that he would not be able to deny both; but by the granting the former, in which he parted with no matter of moment, he would, it may be, not be pressed in the second; or if he were, that as he could not have a more popular quarrel to take up arms, than to defend himself, and preserve that power in his hands, which the law had vested in him, and without which he could not be a king; so he could not have a more unpopular argument for that contention, than the preservation of the bishops in the house of peers, which few men thought essential, and most men believed prejudicial, to the peace and happiness of the kingdom."

These arguments, though used by men whom he most trusted, and whom he knew to have opposed that bill in its passage, and to be cordially friends to the church of England in discipline and doctrine, prevailed not so much with his majesty, as the persuasions of the queen; who was not only persuaded to think those reasons valid, and that indeed the church could be only that way preserved, (and there are that believe that infusion to have been made in her by her own priests, by instructions from France, and for reasons in state of that kingdom,) but that her own safety very much depended upon the king's consent to that bill; and that, if he should refuse it, her journey into Holland would be crossed by the parliament, and possibly her person in danger either by the tumults, which might easily be brought to Windsor from Westminster, or by the insurrection of the countries in her passage from thence to Dover, where she intended to take shipping. Whereas by her intercession with the king to do it, she would lay a most seasonable and popular obligation upon the whole nation, and leave a pleasant

odour of her grace and favour to the people behind her, which would prove much to her advantage in her absence; and she should have the thanks for that act, as acquired by her goodness, which otherwise would be extorted from the king, when she was gone.

These insinuations and discourses so far satisfied the queen, and she the king, that, contrary to his most positive resolution, the king consented, and sent a commission for the enacting both that bill, and the other for pressing; which was done accordingly, to the great triumph of the boutefeus, the king sending the same day that he passed those bills, which was the fourteenth of February, a message to both houses; "That he was assured his having passed those two bills, being of so great importance, so suddenly, would serve to assure his parliament, that he desired nothing more than the satisfaction of his kingdom." For Ireland, he said, "as he had concurred in all propositions made for that service by his parliament, so he was resolved to leave nothing undone for their relief, which should fall within his possible power, nor would refuse to venture his own person in that war, if the parliament should think it convenient, for the reduction of that miserable kingdom."

The passing that bill for taking away the bishops' votes, exceedingly weakened the king's party; not only as it perpetually swept away so considerable a number out of the house of peers, which were constantly devoted to him; but as it made impression on others, whose minds were in suspense, and shaken, as when foundations are dissolved. Besides, they that were best acquainted with the king's nature, opinions, and resolutions, had reason to believe, that no exigence could have wrought upon him to have consented to so anti-monarchical an act; and therefore never after retained any confidence, that he would deny what was importunately asked; and so, either absolutely withdrew themselves from those consultations, thereby avoiding the envy, and the danger of opposing them, or quietly suffered themselves to be carried by the stream, and consent to any thing that was boldly and lustily attempted.

And then it was so far from dividing the other party, that I do not remember one man, who furiously insisted on, or indeed heartily wished, the passing of that bill, that ever deserted them, till the kingdom was in a flame: but, on the contrary, very many, who cordially and constantly opposed that act, as friends rather to monarchy than religion, after that bill, never considered or resisted any attempt, or further alteration, in the church, looking upon the bishops as useless to sovereignty, and so not of importance enough to defend by the sword. And I have heard the same men, who urged before, "that their places in that house had no relation to the discipline of the church, and their spiritual jurisdiction, and therefore ought to be sacrificed to the preservation of the other, upon which the peace and unity of religion so much depended," since argue, "that since their power in that house, which was a good outwork to defend the king's from invasion, was taken away, any other form of government would be equally advantageous to his majesty; and therefore, that he ought not to insist on it, with the least inconvenience to his condition."

That which was above, or equal to all this, [was,] that, by his majesty's enacting those two bills, he had, upon the matter, approved the circumstances of their passage, which had been by direct violence, and force of arms; in which case, he ought not to have confirmed the most politic, or the most pious constitutions: *Male posita est lex, quæ tumultuarie posita est*, was one of those positions of Aristotle, which hath never been since contradicted; and was an advantage, that, being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations, which were not yet firmly and solidly formed, have brought them to a temper of being treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this argument, which was unanswerable for the rejecting that bill, was applied for the confirming it; and an opinion that the violence and force, used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good, which was in itself null. And I doubt this logic had an influence upon other acts of no less moment than these: but it was an erroneous and unskilful suggestion; for an act of parliament, what circumstances soever concurred in the contriving and framing it, will be always of too great reputation to be avoided, or to be declared void, by the sole authority of any private persons, [or] the single power of the king himself. And though the wisdom, sobriety, and power, of a future parliament, if God shall ever bless the kingdom with another regularly constituted, may find cause to declare this or that act of parliament void; yet there will be the same temper requisite to such a declaration, as would serve to repeal it. And it may be then, many men, who abhorred the thing when it was done, for the manner of doing it, will be of the civilian's opinion, *fieri non debuit, factum valet*; and never consent to the altering of that, which they would never have consented to the establishing: neither will that single precedent of the judges in the case of king Henry the Seventh, when they declared the act of attainder to be void by the accession of the crown, though if he had in truth been the person, upon whom the crown had lineally and rightfully descended, it was good law, find, or make, the judges of another age parallel to them, till the king hath as strong a sword in his hand, and the people as much at his devotion and disposal; and then the making, and declaring law, will be of equal facility, though, it may be, not of equal justice. How much soever the king's friends were, for the reasons aforesaid, dejected upon the passing those two acts, it is certain, they who thought they got whatever he lost, were mightily exalted, and thought themselves now superior to any opposition: and what returns of duty and acknowledgment they made to the king for that grace and favour, is to be remembered in the next place.

The same day those two acts were by his majesty's commission confirmed, and as soon as a very short message of thanks for that favour, as much importing the safety of both kingdoms, of England and Ireland, was consented to, an ordinance for the settling the militia was consented to by both houses, and, together with a list of the names of such persons as for the present they meant to confide in, was immediately sent to the king for his approbation; the which, being the

most avowed foundation of all the miseries that have followed, will be here necessary to be inserted in the very terms and form it was agreed upon, and presented; and was as followeth.

An ordinance of both houses of parliament for the ordering of the militia of the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales.

"Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons, which we have just cause to believe to be the effect of the bloody counsels of the papists, and other ill affected persons, who have already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland, and, by reason of many discoveries, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like rebellion and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad; for the safety therefore of his majesty's person, the parliament, and kingdom, in this time of imminent danger, it is ordained by the king, the lords, and commons, now in parliament assembled, That shall have power to assemble, and call together, all and singular his majesty's subjects within the county of as well within liberties, as without, that are meet and fit for the wars, and them to train, exercise, and put in readiness, and them, after their abilities, and faculties, well and sufficiently, from time to time, to cause to be arrayed and weaponed, and to take the muster of them in places most fit for that purpose. And shall have power within the said county to nominate and appoint such persons of quality, as to him shall seem meet, to be his deputy lieutenants to be approved of by both houses of parliament: and that any one, or more of the said deputies, so assigned and approved of, shall in the absence, or by the command of the said have power and authority to do and execute within the county of all such powers and authorities, before in this present ordinance contained; and shall have power to make colonels, and captains, and other officers, and to remove out of their places, and to make others from time to time, as he shall think fit for that purpose. And his deputies, colonels, and captains, and other officers, shall have further power and authority to lead, conduct, and employ, the persons aforesaid, arrayed and weaponed, as well within the county of as within any other part of this realm of England, or dominion of Wales, for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions, that may happen, according as they, from time to time, shall receive directions by his majesty's authority, signified unto them by the lords and commons, assembled in parliament. And it is further ordained, that such persons as shall not obey in any of the premises, shall answer their neglect and contempt to the lords and commons, in a parliamentary way, and not otherwise, nor elsewhere: and that every the powers, granted as aforesaid, shall continue, until it shall be otherwise ordered, or declared by both houses of parliament, and no longer. This to go also to the dominion of Wales."

A second act of the same day, and the only way they took to return their thanks and acknowledgment to the queen for her intercession, and media-

tion in the passing those bills, was the opening a letter they intercepted, which was directed to her majesty herself. The lord Digby, after their majesties going to Windsor, when he found in what umbrage he stood with the powerful and prevailing party, and that they were able to improve his going through a town in a coach and six horses to a warlike appearance, and so to expose him to the fury of the people, at least to the power of the counties, to be suppressed, as they had done by their order, or proclamation of the twelfth of January, before remembered, and appointed to be read in all market towns throughout England; concluded for his own security, and to free the king's councils from the imputation of his evil influence, to remove himself into some parts beyond the seas: and so, with the king's leave, and by his license, was transported into Holland, from whence he writ some letters to his friends at London, to give them an account where he was, and for supplying himself with those accommodations as he stood in need of. Amongst these letters there was one to his brother [brother-in-law] sir Lewis Dives, which, by the treachery of that person, to whose care it was intrusted for conveyance, was brought to the house of commons: and it being averred, "that it came from the lord Digby," whom they looked upon as a fugitive, they made no scruple of opening it; and finding another in it directed to the queen, after a very little pause they did the like; for which they made no other excuse, (when upon a message from the king they sent her the transcript, for the original they still kept) than, "that having opened the other letters, and finding in them sundry expressions full of asperity, and malignity to the parliament, they thought it very probable, that the like might be contained in that to her majesty; and that it would have been dishonourable to her majesty, and dangerous to the kingdom, if it should not have been opened: and they besought the king to persuade her majesty, that she would not vouchsafe any countenance to, or correspondence with, the lord Digby, or any other of the fugitives or traitors, whose offences depended under the examination and judgment of parliament."

In that letter to the queen were these words: "If the king betake himself to a safe place, where he may avow and protect his servants, from rage (I mean) and violence, for from justice I will never implore it; I shall then live in impatience, and in misery, till I wait upon you. But if, after all he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to the easiest and compliantest ways of accommodation, I am confident, that then I shall serve him more by my absence, than by all my industry." And in that to sir Lewis Dives were these words: "God knows, I have not a thought to make me blush towards my country, much less criminal; but where traitors have so great a sway, the honestest thoughts may prove most treasonable." Which gave those, that thought themselves concerned, so great offence, that, within two days after, they accused him of high treason; and finding no words in the letters would amount to that offence, they accused him of levying war against the king; which could have relation to no act of his, but what was before mentioned at Kingston upon Thames, when, to the terror of the king's subjects, he was seen there in a coach with six horses. Though this extravagancy of theirs

seems to be directed against a particular person, I could not omit it in this place, being accompanied with those circumstances. And it may be, posterity may look upon the severe persecution of a young man of admirable parts, and eminent hopes, in so implacable a manner, as a most pertinent instance of the tyranny and injustice of that time, not possible to end, but in so much wickedness as it hath since practised.

A third act of that day was the carrying up an impeachment to the lords against the king's attorney general, "for maliciously advising and contriving the articles upon which the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Strode, and sir Arthur Haslerig, had been accused by his majesty of high treason;" it being not thought security and reparation enough, that the king had waved any further proceeding against them, except they left such a monument of their power, that, upon what occasion or provocation soever, no man should presume to obey the king in the like command: so that the same fourteenth of February, that was celebrated for the king's condescension to that act for the putting the bishops out of the house of peers, is famous likewise for those three unparalleled acts of contempt upon the sovereign power; the demand of the sole power over all the militia of the kingdom; the opening letters directed to the sacred person of the queen; and the impeaching the attorney general, for performing the duty of his place, by his master's command. All which were very ill instances of that application and compliance his majesty had reason to expect, and some men had promised him he should receive.

Though the king was resolved in no degree to consent to the proposition for the militia, yet he thought not the time seasonable for his positive denial, the queen retaining still her fears of being stopped in her journey. Therefore, for the present, he returned answer, "that his dearest consort the queen, and his dear daughter the princess Mary, being then upon their departure for Holland, he could not have so good time to consider of a particular answer for a matter of so great weight, as that was; therefore he would respite the same till his return:" the king intending to accompany the queen to Dover, and, as soon as she was embarked, to return. They received this answer with their usual impatience, and the next day sent messengers to him, with that which they called an humble petition; in which they told him, "that they had, with a great deal of grief, received his answer to their just and necessary petition concerning the militia of the kingdom; which, by a gracious message formerly sent unto them, he had been pleased to promise should be put into such hands, as his parliament should approve of, the extent of their power, and the time of their continuance, being likewise declared; the which being now done, and the persons nominated, his majesty nevertheless reserved his resolution to a longer and a very uncertain time; which, they said, was as unsatisfactory and destructive as an absolute denial. Therefore they once again besought him to take their desire into his royal thoughts, and to give them such an answer, as might raise in them a confidence, that they should not be exposed to the practices of those who thirst after the ruin of this kingdom, and the kindling of that combustion in England,

"which they had in so great a measure effected in Ireland; from whence, as they were informed, they intended to invade this kingdom, with the assistance of the papists here. They said, nothing could prevent those evils, nor enable them to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, and secure themselves, but the instant granting of that their petition; which, they hoped, his majesty would not deny to those, who must, in the discharge of their duty to his majesty and the commonwealth, represent unto him, what they found so absolutely necessary for the preservation of both; which the laws of God and man enjoined them to see put in execution, as several counties by their daily petitions desired them to do, and in some places began already to do it of themselves." Notwithstanding all that importunity, the king made no other answer than formerly he had done, "that he would give a full answer at his return from Dover."

In the mean time, the house of commons, to whom every day petitions are directed by the several counties of England, professing all allegiance to them, govern absolutely, the lords concurring, or rather submitting, to whatsoever is proposed; insomuch as when they had bailed the twelve bishops, who were in the Tower for the treason of their protestation, which they did the next day after the bill was passed for taking away their votes, the house of commons in great indignation expostulated with them, and caused them immediately again to be recommitted to the Tower. So they gave their private intimations to their correspondents in the counties, that they should make small entries upon the militia; which was done in many places, the people choosing their officers, and listing themselves, and so training and exercising under the names of volunteers; whereby they had opportunity to unite themselves, to know their confederates, observe those who were of other opinions, and to provide arms and ammunition against they should have occasion. The Tower of London was at their devotion, and Hull was their own; the mayor of that place having been lately sent for and reprehended, for having said, "that they ought not to have soldiers billeted upon them by the petition of right, and for refusing to submit that town, which was his charge, to the government of Mr. Hotham;" and after a tedious and chargeable attendance, without being brought to a public hearing, he was persuaded to submit; and so was discharged.

Then they fell to raising of monies under pretence of the relief of Ireland, and, for that purpose, prepared one act "for the payment of four hundred thousand pounds to such persons as were nominated by themselves, and to be disbursed and issued in such manner, and to such uses, as the two houses should direct," which the king confirmed accordingly; whereby they had a stock of credit to raise monies, whensoever they found themselves put to it: and this could not be prevented; for the king having committed the carrying on the war of Ireland to them, and they being engaged both for the payment of the arrears to the officers of the northern army disbanded the summer before, and of the three hundred thousand pounds to the Scots, his majesty was necessitated to pass the act with such general clauses, that it might be in their power to divert the money to other uses

than those to which it was given; as it afterwards fell out.

The queen being shipped for Holland, his majesty returned to Greenwich, whither he had sent to the marquis of Hertford to bring the prince of Wales from Hampton-court to meet him; of which as soon as the houses were advertised, they sent a message to the king, who was upon his way from Dover, to desire him, "that the prince might not be removed from Hampton-court, for that they conceived his removal at that time might be a cause to promote jealousies and fears in the hearts of his good subjects, which they thought necessary to avoid;" and, at the same time, sent an express order to the marquis of Hertford, "to require him not to suffer the prince to go to Greenwich:" but his lordship, choosing rather to obey the king's commands than theirs, carried his highness to his father; of which the houses no sooner were informed, than they sent some members of both houses to Greenwich, "to bring the prince from thence to London." But when they came thither, they found the king, whom they did not expect there; and so made no attempt to perform that command. The reason of this extravagancy (besides their natural humour to affront the king, and this seeming care of the prince was a popular thing) was pretended to be an information they had received from a member of the house.

There was one Griffith, a young Welshman, of no parts or reputation, but for eminent license; this youth had long, with great boldness, followed the court, and pretended to preferment there; and so in the house had always opposed, as far as not consenting, all the undutiful acts towards the king, and, upon this stock of merit, had pressed more confidently for a reward; and, when the queen was ready to take shipping at Dover for Holland, he barefaced importuned her to mediate to the king, "that he might be forthwith admitted of the prince's bedchamber:" the which her majesty refusing, he forthwith told his companions, "that since he could not render himself considerable by doing the king service, he would be considerable by doing him disservice:" and so made great haste to London, and openly in the house told them, (the same day that the prince was to go to Greenwich,) "that if they were not exactly careful, they would speedily lose the prince; for, to his knowledge, there was a design and resolution immediately to carry him into France." From which senseless and groundless information, he was taken into their favour; and, his malice supplying the defect of other parts, was thenceforth taken into trust, and used as their *Bravo* to justify all their excesses in taverns and ordinaries. And I saw Mr. Hambden, shortly after this discovery, take him in his arms, telling him, "his soul rejoiced to see, that God had put it in his heart to take the right way."

To their message the king sent them word, "That to their fears and jealousies he knew not what answer to give, not being able to imagine from what grounds they proceeded; but if any information had been given to them to cause those apprehensions, he much desired the same might be examined to the bottom; and then he hoped that their fears and jealousies would be hereafter continued only with reference to his majesty's rights and honour."

The queen being gone, and the prince come to his father at Greenwich, the king sent an answer to the two houses concerning the militia; "that having, with his best care and understanding, perused and considered that, which had been sent him from both houses, for the ordering the militia to be made an ordinance of parliament by the giving of his royal assent, as he could by no means do it for many reasons, so he did not conceive himself obliged by any promise made to them in his answer to their former petition. He said, he found great cause to except against the preface, or introduction to that order; which confessed a most dangerous and desperate design upon the house of commons of late, supposed to be an effect of the bloody counsels of papists, and other ill-affected persons, by which many might understand (looking upon other printed papers to that purpose) his own coming in person to the house of commons on the fourth of January, which begot so unhappy a misunderstanding between him and his people. And for that, though he believed it, upon the information since given him, to be a breach of their privileges, and had offered, and was ready, to repair the same for the future, by any act should be desired from his majesty; yet he must declare, and require to be believed, that he had no other design upon that house, or any member of it, than to require, as he did, the persons of those five gentlemen he had before accused of high treason, and to declare that he meant to proceed against them legally and speedily; upon which he believed that house would have delivered them up.

"And he called the almighty God to witness, that he was so far from any intention, or thought, of force or violence, although that house had not delivered them according to his demand, or in any case whatsoever, that he gave those his servants, and others, who then waited on his majesty, express charge and command, that they should give no offence unto any man; nay, if they received any provocation or injury, that they should bear it without return; and he neither saw nor knew, that any person of his train had any other weapons, but his pensioners and guard, those with which they usually attend his person to parliament; and the other gentlemen, swords. And therefore he doubted not, but the parliament would be regardful of his honour therein, that he should not undergo any imputation by the rash and indiscreet expressions of any young men then in his train, or by any desperate words uttered by others, who might mingle with them without his consent or approbation.

"For the persons nominated to be the lieutenants of the several counties of England and Wales, he said, he was contented to allow that recommendation; only concerning the city of London, and such other corporations as by ancient charters had granted to them the power of the militia, he did not conceive that it could stand with justice or policy to alter their government in that particular. And he was willing forthwith to grant to every one of them, that of London and those other corporations excepted, such commissions, as he had granted this parliament to some lords lieutenants by their advice. But if that power were not thought

“ enough, but that more should be thought fit to
 “ be granted to those persons named, than, by
 “ the law, is in the crown itself, he said, he
 “ thought it reasonable that the same should be
 “ by some law first vested in him, with power to
 “ transfer it to those persons; which he would
 “ willingly do: and whatever that power should
 “ be, to avoid all future doubts and questions, he
 “ desired it might be digested into an act of par-
 “ liament, rather than an ordinance; so that all
 “ his subjects might thereby particularly know,
 “ both what they were to do, and what they were
 “ to suffer for their neglect; that so there might
 “ be the least latitude for them to suffer under any
 “ arbitrary power whatsoever.

“ To the time desired for the continuance of the
 “ powers to be granted, he said, he could not con-
 “ sent to divest himself of the just power, which
 “ God, and the laws of the kingdom, had placed
 “ in him for the defence of his people, and to put
 “ it into the hands of others for any indefinite
 “ time. And since the ground of their request to
 “ him was to secure their present fears and jea-
 “ lousies, that they might with safety apply them-
 “ selves to his message of the twentieth of January,
 “ he hoped that his grace to them since that time,
 “ in yielding to so many of their desires, and in
 “ agreeing to the persons now recommended to
 “ him, and the power before expressed to be placed
 “ in them, would wholly dispel those fears and
 “ jealousies: and he assured them, that as he had
 “ now applied this unusual remedy to their doubts;
 “ so, if there should be cause, he would continue
 “ the same to such time, as should be agreeable
 “ to the same care he now expressed towards
 “ them.

“ He said, he was so far from receding from
 “ any thing he had promised, or intended to grant
 “ in his former answer, that he had hereby con-
 “ sented to all that had been then asked of him by
 “ that petition, concerning the militia of the king-
 “ dom, except that of London, and the other cor-
 “ porations; which was, to put the same into the
 “ hands of such persons, as should be recom-
 “ mended to him by both houses of parliament.
 “ And he doubted not but they, upon well weigh-
 “ ing the particulars of that his answer, would
 “ find the same more satisfactory to their ends,
 “ and the peace and welfare of all his good sub-
 “ jects, than the way proposed by that intended
 “ ordinance; to which, for those reasons, he could
 “ not consent.

“ And whereas he observed by their last peti-
 “ tion, that in some places, some persons begun
 “ already to intermeddle of themselves with the
 “ militia, he said, he expected his parliament
 “ should examine the particulars thereof, it being
 “ a matter of high concernment, and very great
 “ consequence. And he required, that if it should
 “ appear to them, that any person whatsoever had
 “ presumed to command the militia without lawful
 “ authority, they might be proceeded against ac-
 “ cording to law.”

It seems this was not the answer they promised
 themselves; for, at the publishing it, they were
 marvellously transported, and immediately voted,
 both houses concurring in it, “ That those, that
 “ advised his majesty to give that answer, were
 “ enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors
 “ against the defence of the kingdom: that that
 “ denial was of that dangerous consequence, that

“ if his majesty should persist in it, it would hazard
 “ the peace and safety of all his kingdoms, unless
 “ some speedy remedy were applied by the wisdom
 “ and authority of both houses of parliament: and
 “ that such parts of the kingdom, as had already
 “ put themselves into a posture of defence against
 “ the common danger, had done nothing but what
 “ was justifiable, and was approved by both
 “ houses.” And having caused these, and such
 other resolutions to be immediately published in
 print, that their friends abroad might know what
 they had to do, they sent a committee of both
 houses to the king at Theobalds with another peti-
 tion; in which they told him, “ that their just ap-
 “ prehensions of sorrow and fear, in respect of the
 “ public dangers and miseries like to fall upon his
 “ majesty and the kingdom, were much increased
 “ upon the receipt of his unexpected denial of
 “ their most humble and necessary petition con-
 “ cerning the militia of the kingdom; and that
 “ they were especially grieved, that wicked and
 “ mischievous counsellors should still have that
 “ power with him, as in that time of imminent
 “ and approaching ruin, he should rather incline
 “ to that, which was apt to further the accomplish-
 “ ment of the desires of the most malignant ene-
 “ mies of God's true religion, and of the peace
 “ and safety of himself, and his kingdom, than to
 “ the dutiful and faithful counsel of his parliament.
 “ Wherefore, they said, they were enforced in all
 “ humility to protest, that, if his majesty should
 “ persist in that denial, the dangers and distem-
 “ pers of the kingdom were such, as would endure
 “ no longer delay: but unless he should be gra-
 “ ciously pleased to assure them by those messen-
 “ gers, that he would speedily apply his royal
 “ assent to the satisfaction of their former desires,
 “ they should be enforced, for the safety of his
 “ majesty and his kingdoms, to dispose of the
 “ militia by the authority of both houses, in such
 “ a manner as had been propounded to him; and
 “ they resolved to do it accordingly.

“ They likewise most humbly besought his ma-
 “ jesty to believe, that the dangerous and despe-
 “ rate design upon the house of commons, men-
 “ tioned in their preamble, was not inserted with
 “ any intention to cast the least aspersion upon
 “ his majesty; but therein they reflected upon
 “ that malignant party, of whose bloody and mali-
 “ cious practices they had so often experience, and
 “ from which they could never be secure, unless
 “ his majesty would be pleased to put from him
 “ those wicked and unfaithful counsellors, who
 “ interposed their own corrupt and malicious de-
 “ signs betwixt his majesty's goodness and wis-
 “ dom, and the prosperity and contentment of
 “ himself, and of his people: and that for the
 “ despatch of the great affairs of the kingdom,
 “ the safety of his person, the protection and com-
 “ fort of his subjects, he would be pleased to con-
 “ tinue his abode near to London, and the parlia-
 “ ment; and not to withdraw himself to any the
 “ remoter parts, which if he should do, must
 “ needs be a cause of great danger and distrac-
 “ tion.

“ That he would likewise be graciously pleased
 “ to continue the prince's highness in those parts
 “ at St. James's, or any other of his houses near
 “ London; whereby the designs, which the ene-
 “ mies of the religion, and peace of the kingdom,
 “ might have upon his person, and the jea-

"lousies and fears of his people, might be prevented."

"And they besought him to be informed by them, that, by the laws of the kingdom, the power of raising, ordering, and disposing of the militia within any city, town, or other place, could not be granted to any corporation by charter, or otherwise, without the authority and consent of parliament: and that those parts of the kingdom, which had put themselves in a posture of defence against the common danger, had therein done nothing but according to the declaration and direction of both houses, and what was justifiable by the laws of the kingdom. All which their most humble counsel and desires they prayed him to accept, as the effect of that duty and allegiance, which they owed unto him, and which would not suffer them to admit of any thoughts, intentions, or endeavours, but such as were necessary and advantageous for his greatness and honour, and the safety and prosperity of the kingdom, according to that trust and power, which the laws had reposed in them."

As soon as the petition was read, the king told them that presented it, "That he was so much amazed at their message, that he knew not what to answer. He said, they spake of jealousies and fears; but he desired them to lay their hands to their hearts, and ask themselves, whether he might not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies? and if so, he assured them, that message had nothing lessened them."

"For the militia, he said, he had thought so much of it before he sent his answer, and was so well assured that the answer was agreeable to what, in justice or reason, they could ask, or he in honour grant, that he should not alter it in any point."

"For his residence near them, he said, he wished it might be so safe and honourable, that he had no cause to absent himself from Whitehall: he bid them ask themselves, whether he had not? For his son, he said, he should take that care of him, which should justify him to God, as a father; and to his dominions, as a king. To conclude, he assured them upon his honour, that he had no thought but of peace, and justice to his people; which he would by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of himself, and his rights."

This, being suddenly, and with more than usual quickness, spoken by the king, much appalled them; but they were too far engaged to retire; and therefore, as soon as it was reported to the houses, they resolved, upon debate, "that the kingdom should be forthwith put into a posture of defence, by authority of both houses, in such a way as had been formerly agreed upon by both houses; and that a declaration should be speedily sent unto the king, containing the causes of their just fears and jealousies, and to make it evident that any that were entertained against them were groundless;" ordering at the same time, "that all the lords lieutenants of any counties in England, who had been formerly so constituted by the king by his commissions under the great seal of England, should immediately bring in those commissions to be cancelled as

"illegal:" albeit some such commissions had been granted, upon their own desire, since the beginning of the parliament, as particularly to the earl of Essex to be lord lieutenant of Yorkshire, and to the earl of Salisbury for Dorsetshire.

Then both houses sent to the earl of Northumberland, being high admiral of England, "that they had received advertisement of extraordinary preparations made, by the neighbouring princes, both by land and sea; by which an apprehension was raised in both houses, that the public honour, peace, and safety of his majesty, and his kingdom, could not be secured, unless a timely course were taken for the putting the kingdom into a condition of defence at sea, as well as at land: and they did therefore order him forthwith to give effectual direction, that all the ships belonging to his majesty's navy, and fit for service, and not already abroad, nor designed for the summer's fleet, should be rigged, and put in such a readiness, as that they might be soon fitted for the sea: and that his lordship would also make known to the masters and owners of other ships, in any of the harbours of the kingdom, [as] might be of use for the public defence, that it would be an acceptable service to the king and parliament, if they would likewise cause their ships to be rigged, and so far put into a readiness, as they might, at a short warning, likewise be set to sea upon any emergent occasion; which would be a means of great security to his majesty and his dominions." To which the earl returned an answer full of submission and obedience.

I have been assured from persons of very good credit, and conversant with those councils, that they had it in deliberation and debate to send, and take the prince from his father at Theobalds by force: but that design was quickly laid aside, when they heard that the king was removed from thence to Newmarket, and was like to make a further progress. So they used all possible expedition in preparing their declaration; which they directed to his majesty, and in which they told him, "that although that answer, he had given to their petition at Theobalds, did give just cause of sorrow to them; yet it was not without some mixture of confidence and hope, considering those expressions proceeded from the misapprehensions of their actions and intentions; which, having no ground of truth or reality, might, by his justice and wisdom, be removed, when he should be fully informed, that those fears and jealousies of theirs, which his majesty thought to be causeless, and without any just ground, did necessarily and clearly arise from those dangers and distempers, into which the mischievous and evil councils about him had brought the kingdom. And that those other fears and jealousies, by which his favour, his royal presence, and confidence, had been withdrawn from his parliament, had no foundation, or subsistence in any action, intention, or miscarriage of theirs; but were merely grounded upon the falsehood and malice of those who, for the supporting and fomenting their own wicked designs against the religion and peace of the kingdom, did seek to deprive his majesty of the strength and the affection of his people; and them of his grace and protection; and thereby to subject both his

“ person, and the whole kingdom, to ruin and destruction.

“ That, to satisfy his majesty’s judgment and conscience in both those points, they desired to make a free and clear declaration of the causes of their fears and jealousies, in some particulars.

1. “ That the design of altering religion, in this and his other kingdoms, had been potently carried on, by those in greatest authority about him, for divers years together: and that the queen’s agent at Rome, and the pope’s agent, or nuncio, here, were not only evidences of that design, but had been great actors in it.

2. “ That the war with Scotland was procured to make way for that intent, and chiefly invited and fomented by the papists, and others popishly affected, whereof they had many evidences, especially their free and general contribution to it.

3. “ That the rebellion in Ireland was framed and contrived here in England; and that the English papists should have risen about the same time, they had several testimonies and advertisements from Ireland: and that it was a common speech amongst the rebels, (with which, they said, other evidences did concur, as the information of a minister who came out of Ireland; the letter of one Tristram Whetcomb in Ireland to his brother in England, and many others,) that they would recover unto his majesty his royal prerogative, wrested from him by the puritan faction in the houses of parliament in England; and would maintain episcopal jurisdiction, and the lawfulness thereof; which, they said, were the two quarrels, upon which his late army in the north should have been incensed against them.

4. “ The cause they had to doubt that the late design, styled the queen’s pious intention, was for the alteration of religion in this kingdom, for success whereof the pope’s nuncio (the count Rozetti) enjoined fasting and praying to be observed every week by the English papists; which, they said, appeared to them by one of the original letters directed by him to a priest in Lancashire.

5. “ The boldness of the Irish rebels in affirming they do nothing but by authority from the king; that they call themselves the queen’s army; that the prey and booty they take from the English, they mark with the queen’s mark; that their purpose was to come into England, when their business was done in Ireland; and sundry other things of that kind, which, they said, were proved by one Oconelly, and others; but especially in the forementioned letter from Tristram Whetcomb, wherein there was this passage, that many other speeches they utter, concerning religion, and our court of England, which he dares not commit to paper.

6. “ The many attempts to provoke his late army, and the army of the Scots, and to raise a faction in the city of London, and other parts of the kingdom. That those, who had been actors in these businesses, had their dependence, their countenance, and encouragement, from the court; witness the treason, whereof Mr. Jermy, and others, stood accused; who, they said, was transported beyond seas by warrant under his majesty’s own hand, after he had

“ given assurance to his parliament, that he had laid a strict command upon his servants, that none of them should depart from court. And that dangerous petition delivered to captain Leg by his majesty’s own hand, accompanied with a direction signed with C. R.

7. “ The false and scandalous accusation against the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the house of commons, tendered to the parliament by his own command, and endeavoured to be justified in the city by his own presence and persuasion, and to be put in execution upon their persons by his demand of them in the house of commons, in so terrible and violent a manner, as far exceeded all former breaches of privileges of parliament acted by his majesty, or any of his predecessors: and they said, whatever his own intentions were, divers bloody and desperate persons, that attended him, discovered their affections, and resolutions, to have massacred and destroyed the members of that house, if the absence of those persons accused had not, by God’s providence, stopped the giving that word, which they expected for the setting them upon that barbarous and bloody act: the listing of officers and soldiers, for a guard at Whitehall, and such other particulars.

8. “ That, after a vote had passed in the house of commons, declaring that the lord Digby had appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames, to the terror and affright of his majesty’s good subjects, and disturbance of the public peace of the kingdom, he should nevertheless be of that credit with his majesty, as to be sent away by his majesty’s own warrant to sir J. Pennington to land him beyond seas: from whence he vented his own traitorous conceptions, that his majesty should declare himself, and retire to a place of strength; as if he could not be safe amongst his people. Which false and malicious counsel and advice, they said, they had great cause to doubt, made too deep an impression on his majesty, considering the course he was pleased to take of absenting himself from his parliament, and carrying the prince with him; which seemed to express a purpose in his majesty to keep himself in a readiness for the acting of it.

9. “ The many advertisements they had from Rome, Paris, Venice, and other parts, that they still expected that his majesty had some great design in hand, for the altering of religion, the breaking the neck of his parliament. That the pope’s nuncio had solicited the kings of France and Spain to lend his majesty four thousand men apiece, to help to maintain his royalty against the parliament. And they said, as that foreign force was the most pernicious and malignant design of all the rest; so they hoped it was, and should always be, farthest from his majesty’s thoughts; because no man could believe he would give up his people and kingdom to be spoiled by strangers, if he did not likewise intend to change both his own profession in religion, and the public profession of the kingdom, that so he might be still more assured of those foreign states of the popish religion for their future support and defence.

“ These, they said, were some of the grounds of their fears and jealousies, which had made them so earnestly implore his royal authority, and pro-

"tection, for their defence and security, in all the
 "ways of humility and submission; which being
 "denied by his majesty, seduced by evil counsel,
 "they did, with sorrow for the great and un-
 "avoidable misery and danger, which thereby was
 "like to fall upon his own person, and his king-
 "doms, apply themselves to the use of that power
 "for the security and defence of both, which, by
 "the fundamental laws and constitutions of the
 "kingdom, resided in them; yet still resolving to
 "keep themselves within the bounds of faithful-
 "ness and allegiance to his sacred person, and his
 "crown.

"To the fears and jealousies expressed by his
 "majesty, when he said, that for his residence
 "near the parliament, he wished it might be so
 "safe and honourable, that he had no cause to
 "absent himself from Whitehall: that, they said,
 "they took as the greatest breach of privilege,
 "that could be offered; as the heaviest misery to
 "himself, and imputation upon them, that could
 "be imagined, and the most mischievous effect of
 "evil counsels; it rooted up the strongest founda-
 "tion of the safety and honour the crown af-
 "forded; it seemed as much as might be, they
 "said, to cast upon the parliament such a charge,
 "as was inconsistent with the nature of that great
 "council, being the body, of which his majesty
 "was the head; it struck at the very being both
 "of king and parliament, depriving his majesty,
 "in his own apprehension, of their fidelity, and
 "them of his protection; which are the natural
 "bands and supports of government and sub-
 "jection.

"They said, they had, according to his majesty's
 "desire, laid their hands upon their hearts; they
 "had asked themselves in the strictest examina-
 "tion of their consciences; they had searched
 "their affections, their thoughts, considered their
 "actions; and they found none, that could give
 "his majesty any just occasion to absent himself
 "from Whitehall, and his parliament; but that
 "he might, with more honour and safety, continue
 "there, than in any other place. They said, his
 "majesty laid a general tax upon them: if he
 "would be graciously pleased to let them know the
 "particulars, they should give a clear and satisfac-
 "tory answer. But, they said, they could have no
 "hope of ever giving his majesty satisfaction,
 "when those particulars, which he had been made
 "believe were true, yet, being produced, and made
 "known to them, appeared to be false; and his
 "majesty notwithstanding would neither punish
 "nor produce the authors, but go on to contract
 "new fears and jealousies, upon general and un-
 "certain grounds; affording them no means or
 "possibility of particular answer to the clearing
 "of themselves, of which they gave him these
 "instances. 1. The speeches pretended to be
 "spoken at Kensington concerning the queen,
 "which had been denied and disavowed; yet his
 "majesty had not named the authors. 2. The
 "charge and accusation of the lord Kimbolton,
 "and the five members, who refused no trial or
 "examination, which might stand with the privi-
 "leges of parliament; yet no authors, no wit-
 "nesses, were produced, against whom they might
 "have reparation for the great injury, and infamy
 "cast upon them.

"They besought his majesty to consider in what
 "state he was, how easy and fair a way he had to

"happiness, honour, greatness, and plenty, and se-
 "curity, if he would join with his parliament, and
 "his faithful subjects, in the defence of the reli-
 "gion, and the public good of the kingdom. That,
 "they said, was all they expected from him, and
 "for that they would return to him their lives,
 "fortunes, and uttermost endeavours to support
 "his majesty, his just sovereignty, and power over
 "them. But, they said, it was not words that
 "could secure them in those their humble desires;
 "they could not but too well and sorrowfully
 "remember, what gracious messages they had
 "from him the last summer; when, with his pri-
 "vity, the bringing up the army was in agitation:
 "they could not but with the like affections re-
 "call to their minds, how, not two days before
 "he gave direction for the aforementioned ac-
 "cusation, and his own coming to the commons'
 "house, that house received from him a gracious
 "message, that he would always have care of
 "their privileges, as of his own prerogative; and
 "of the safety of their persons, as of his own
 "children.

"They said, that which they expected, and
 "which would give them assurance that he had no
 "thought but of peace, and justice to his people,
 "must be some real effect of his goodness to them,
 "in granting those things, which the present
 "necessity of the kingdom did enforce them to
 "desire. And in the first place, that he would
 "be graciously pleased to put from him those
 "wicked and mischievous counsellors, which had
 "caused all those dangers and distractions; and
 "to continue his own residence, and the prince's,
 "near London, and the parliament; which, they
 "hoped, would be a happy beginning of con-
 "tentment, and confidence between him and his
 "people; and be followed with many succeed-
 "ing blessings of honour and greatness to his
 "majesty, and of security and prosperity to
 "them.

In the debate of this declaration, the like where-
 of had never before been heard of in parliament, in
 which they took his majesty's doubt of his safety
 at Whitehall so heavily, that, they said, "it seemed
 "to cast such a charge upon the parliament, as
 "was inconsistent with the nature of that great
 "council," (so apprehensive they were of the least
 suspicion of want of freedom,) the prevalent party
 carried themselves with that pride and impetuosity,
 that they would endure no opposition or dispute;
 insomuch as sir Ralph Hopton, (who indeed was
 very grievous to them for not complying with
 them,) for objecting against some sharp expres-
 sions in the declaration, (before it passed the house,
 and when the question was, whether it should
 pass,) as being too distant from that reverence,
 which ought to be used to the king; and saying,
 upon a clause, in which they mentioned their ge-
 neral intelligence from Rome, Venice, Paris, and
 other places, of some design the king had upon
 religion, and the parliament, from whence they
 seemed to conclude that the king would change his
 religion, "that they seemed to ground an opinion
 "of the king's apostasy upon a less evidence, than
 "would serve to hang a fellow for stealing a
 "horse," was committed to the Tower of London,
 "for laying an imputation upon that committee,
 "which had drawn up the declaration." Notwith-
 standing which, after they had imprisoned him,
 they thought fit to make that expression less gross

and positive; though, as it is set down above, (in which words it passed, and was delivered to the king,) it was thought by standers-by to be very unagreeable to the gravity of a wise court, and to the duty of subjects.

But in this particular, in oppressing all those who were of different opinions from them, their carriage was so notorious and terrible, that spies were set upon, and inquiries made upon all private, light, casual discourses, which fell from those who were not gracious to them: as one Mr. Trelawny, a member of the house of commons, and a merchant of great reputation, was expelled the house, and committed to prison, for having said, in a private discourse in the city, to a friend, "that the house could not appoint a guard for themselves without the king's consent, under pain of high treason:" which was proved by a fellow, who pretended to overhear him; when the person himself, with whom the conference was held, declared, "that he said, it might be imputed to them for treason:" and it was confessed on all parts, that the words were spoken long before the discovery, and some days before the house had resolved, "that they would have a guard." And afterwards, upon the old stock of their dislike, when the war began to break out, they again imprisoned this poor gentleman; seized upon all his estate, which was very good; and suffered him to die in prison for want of ordinary relief and refreshment.

And in this very time we speak of, and in the very business of the militia, when every day very great multitudes with petitions from most of the counties of England, and from the city of London, were presented to both houses, to desire them to be put into a posture of defence; and that they would cause the ordinance for the militia to be speedily executed, which was alleged to be an instance of the people's desire throughout the kingdom, and the chief ground of their proceeding; the most substantial citizens of London, both in reputation and estate, finding that the militia of that city, with which by their charter, and constant practice, the lord mayor had been always intrusted, was now with a most extravagant power to be committed to a number of factious persons of the city, the major part of whom consisted of men of no fortune, or reputation, resolved to petition both houses "not to alter their original constitution and right of their city:" and, to that purpose, a petition was signed by some hundreds, and very probably would in few days have been subscribed by all, or most of the substantial citizens of London. The house had notice of this petition, which they called another conspiracy and plot against the parliament, and immediately employed a member of their own to procure a sight of it; who, under a trust of redelivering it, got it into his hands, and brought it to the house of commons; upon which, some principal citizens, who had subscribed it, were examined, and committed to prison; and a direction given, that a charge and impeachment should be prepared against the recorder of London, who, they heard, had been of council in the drawing up and preparing that petition, and, they knew, was opposite to their tumultuary proceedings. So when the chief gentlemen of Oxfordshire heard, that a petition had been delivered to the house of commons in their name, and the name of that county, against the established government of the church, and for the exercise of the militia, they assembled

together to draw up a petition disavowing the former, and to desire, "that the settled laws might be observed;" of which the lord Say having notice, he procured the chief gentlemen to be sent for as delinquents, and so suppressed that address: and this was the measure of their justice in many other particulars of the same nature, receiving and cherishing all mutinous and seditious petitions, and discountenancing such as besought the continuance and vindication of the so long celebrated and happy government in church and state; the prime leaders of that faction not blushing, in public debates in the house, to aver, "that no men ought to petition for the government established by law, because he had already his wish; but they that desired an alteration, could not otherwise have their desires known; and therefore were to be countenanced."

The committee, which presented the declaration to the king at Newmarket, presented likewise additional reasons, as they called them, for his majesty's return, and continuance near the parliament; as a matter, in their apprehension, of so great necessity and importance towards the preservation of his person, and his kingdom: and they said,

"They could not think they discharged their duties in the single expression of their desire, unless they added some further reasons to back it with. 1. His majesty's absence would cause men to believe, that it was out of design to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other provisions for raising money for defence of Ireland. 2. It would very much hearten the rebels there, and disaffected persons in this kingdom, as being an evidence, and effect of the jealousy and division between his majesty and his people. 3. That it would much weaken and withdraw the affection of the subject from his majesty; without which, a prince is deprived of his chiefest strength and lustre, and left naked to the greatest dangers and miseries that can be imagined. 4. That it would invite and encourage the enemies of our religion and the state in foreign parts, to the attempting, and acting of their evil designs and intentions towards us. 5. That it did cause a great interruption in the proceedings of parliament. Those considerations, they said, threatened so great danger to his person, and to all his dominions, that, as his great council, they held it necessary to represent to him that their faithful advice, that so, whatsoever should follow, they might be excused before God and man."

Whilst that declaration was reading, his majesty expressed some passion upon particular expressions; and once, when that passage was read, that takes notice "of the transportation of Mr. Jermyn by his majesty's own warrant, after he had given his word, that he had commanded that none of his servants should depart from court," interrupted the earl of Holland, who read it, and said, "That's false;" and when he was told, "it related not to the date, but the execution of the warrant," his majesty said, "It might have been better expressed then: it is a high thing to tax a king with breach of promise." But after both the declaration and reasons were read, the king, after a short pause, said to them,

"I am confident that you expect not I should give you a speedy answer to this strange and unexpected declaration; and I am sorry, in the

"distraction of this kingdom, you should think this way of address to be more convenient, than that propounded, by my message of the twentieth of January last, to both houses. As concerning the grounds of your fears and jealousies, I will take time to answer [them] particularly; and doubt not but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the world. God, in his good time, will, I hope, discover the secrets and bottoms of all plots and treasons; and then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean time I must tell you, that I rather expected a vindication for the imputation laid on me in Mr. Pym's speech, than that any more general rumours and discourses should get credit with you. For my fears and doubts, I did not think they should have been thought so trivial and groundless, whilst so many seditious pamphlets and sermons are looked upon, and so great tumults are remembered, unpunished, uninquied into. I still confess my fears, and call God to witness, that they are greater for the true protestant profession, my people and laws, than for my own rights, or safety; though I must tell you, I conceive none of these are free from danger. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? Have I denied to pass any one bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me. Are my people transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. There is a judgment from heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me, and mine, as all my thoughts, and intentions, are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession, and for the observation and preservation of the laws of the land: and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation."

This being suddenly, and with some vehemence, spoken by his majesty, and he having taken further time to answer the declaration, and the reasons, the committee besought him, "since they were to carry back with them no other answer, that his majesty would vouchsafe to give them what he had spoken in writing;" which, the next morning, he did: and then the earl of Holland again desired him, "that he would reside nearer his parliament;" whereunto the king shortly answered, "I would you had given me cause; but I am sure this declaration is not the way to it." Then being asked by the earl of Pembroke, whether the militia might not be granted, as was desired by the parliament, for a time? he answered, "By God, not for an hour. You have asked that of me in this, was never asked of a king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." He told them, he could not have believed the parliament would have sent him such a declaration, if he had not seen it brought by such persons: and said he was sorry for the parliament, but glad he had it; for by that he doubted not to satisfy his people. He said they spake of ill councils; but he was confident they had worse informations, than he had councils. He told them, the business of Ireland would never be done in the way they were in; four hundred would never do that work; it must be put into the hands of one: and, he said, if he were trusted with it, he would pawn his head to end that work."

As soon as the committee returned, and re-

ported what answer they had received, and in what disposition and temper they found and left the king; it was ordered, that their declaration, which they had sent to him, should be speedily printed, and carefully dispersed throughout the kingdom, that the people might see upon what terms they stood; and all other possible courses were taken to poison the hearts and affections of the subjects, and to suppress all those, who, in any degree, seemed to dislike their high proceedings. Above all, care was taken to place such preachers and lecturers in the most populous towns and parishes, as were well known to abhor the present government, and temperance of church and state; many of whom were recommended, and positively enjoined, and imposed upon parishes, by the house of commons; and others, by such factious members, whose reputation was most current: and all canonical clergymen, and orthodox divines, were, with equal industry, discountenanced, imprisoned, or forced to a long attendance upon committees, or the house, (which was worse than imprisonment,) under the notion and imputation of scandalous ministers. Which charge and reproach reached all men, whose inclinations they liked not, or whose opinions they suspected. And that they might be sure to be as strong and absolute at sea, as at land, they appointed the lord admiral to send the names of all those captains of ships, who were to attend the fleet for that summer service, to them, to the end they might have such men, in whom they might confide; which his lordship most punctually observed. By which they helped to free him of those officers whom he could not plausibly have discharged; and struck out the names of those, whose affections or relations they thought themselves not secure in.

The king thought it now time, according to his former resolution, which he had not communicated to many, to remove to York, which was a place of good receipt and conveniency, for those who were willing to attend him; and, to the end that there might be public notice of it, he sent from Huntington, when he was upon his journey, a message to both houses: "That, being then in his remove to his city of York, where he intended to make his residence for some time, he thought fit to send that message to them, and very earnestly to desire them, that they would use all possible industry in expediting the business of Ireland; in which they should find so cheerful a concurrence from his majesty, that no inconvenience should happen to that service by his absence, he having all that passion for the reducing that kingdom, which he had expressed in his former messages, and being, by words, unable to manifest more affection to it, than he had endeavoured to do by those messages: having likewise done all such acts, as he had been moved unto by his parliament. Therefore, if the misfortunes and calamities of his poor protestant subjects there should grow upon them, (though he should be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings,) he said, he should wash his hands before all the world from the least imputation of slackness in that most necessary and pious work."

And, that he might leave no way unattempted, which might beget a good understanding between him and his parliament, he said, he thought it necessary to declare, that, as he had been so tender of the privilege of parliament, that he

“ had been ready and forward to retract any act
“ of his own, which he had been informed had
“ trenched upon their privileges; so he expected
“ an equal tenderness in them of his known and
“ unquestionable prerogatives, which are the pri-
“ vileges of the kingdom; amongst which, he was
“ assured, it was a fundamental one, that his sub-
“ jects could not be obliged to obey any act, order,
“ or injunction, to which he had not given his
“ consent.

“ And, therefore, he thought it necessary to pub-
“ lish, that he expected, and thereby required,
“ obedience from all his loving subjects to the
“ laws established; and that they presumed not
“ upon any pretence of order, or ordinance, to
“ which his majesty was no party, concerning the
“ militia, or any other thing, to do, or execute
“ what was not warrantable by those laws; he
“ being resolved to keep the laws himself, and to
“ require obedience to them from all his subjects.

“ And he once more recommended unto them the
“ substance of his message of the twentieth of Ja-
“ nuary last; that they would compose, and digest
“ with all speed, such acts as they should think fit
“ for their present and future establishment of
“ their privileges, the free and quiet enjoying their
“ estates and fortunes, the liberties of their persons,
“ the security of the true religion then professed in
“ the church of England, the maintaining his regal
“ and just authority, and settling his revenue; he
“ being most desirous to take all fitting and just
“ ways, which might beget a happy understanding
“ between him and his parliament, in which he
“ conceived his greatest power and riches did
“ consist.”

I have not known both houses in more choler
and rage, than upon the receiving this message,
which came early to them on Wednesday the six-
teenth of March. Now the day before had been
spent in preparing all things ready for the execu-
tion of the ordinance of the militia; they had
voted, and resolved, “ that it was not any way
“ against the oath of allegiance, that all the com-
“ missions to lieutenants under the great seal were
“ illegal and void; and that whosoever should
“ execute any power over the militia by colour of
“ any commission of lieutenancy, without consent
“ of both houses of parliament, should be accounted
“ a disturber of the peace of the kingdom.” Then
they agreed upon this proposition, “ That the
“ kingdom had been of late, and still was, in so
“ evident and imminent danger, both from enemies
“ abroad, and a popish and discontented party at
“ home, that there was an urgent and inevitable
“ necessity of putting his majesty's subjects into a
“ posture of defence, for the safeguard both of the
“ king and his people; and that the lords and
“ commons, apprehending that danger, and being
“ sensible of their own duty to provide a suitable
“ prevention, had, in several petitions, addressed
“ themselves to his majesty for the ordering and
“ disposing the militia of the kingdom in such a
“ way, as was agreed upon, by the wisdom of both
“ houses, to be most proper for the present exi-
“ gence of the kingdom: yet they could not ob-
“ tain it; but his majesty did several times refuse
“ to give his royal assent thereunto.” Upon this
proposition, they resolved, “ that in that case of
“ extreme danger, and of his majesty's refusal, the
“ ordinance agreed on by both houses for the
“ militia did oblige the people, and ought to be

“ obeyed by the fundamental laws of the kingdom;
“ and that such persons, as should be nominated
“ deputy lieutenants, and approved of by both
“ houses, should receive the commands of both
“ houses, to take upon them to execute their of-
“ fices.” All which resolutions were ordered, the
same night, to be printed and published. So that,
when the king's message from Huntington was
read the next morning, and seemed to be against
their votes of the day before, they concluded,
“ that it could not be sent from the king, but that
“ it had been inserted in blanks left in the town
“ for such purposes;” and immediately made a
committee, “ to find out by whom that message
“ was framed.” But when they remembered, that
they had voted as much a week before, and had
examined the gentleman who brought it, and had
received it from the king's own hand, they pro-
ceeded no further in that inquisition; but satisfied
themselves with a new vote, “ that those persons,
“ who advised his majesty to absent himself from
“ the parliament, and those that advised him to
“ that message, were enemies to the peace of the
“ kingdom, and justly to be suspected to be favour-
“ ers of the rebellion in Ireland.” And for the
matter itself they resolved to insist upon their
former votes; and withal declared, “ that when
“ the lords and commons in parliament, which is
“ the supreme court of judicature in the kingdom,
“ should declare what the law of the land is, to
“ have that not only questioned and controverted,
“ but contradicted, and a command that it should
“ not be obeyed, was a high breach of the privilege
“ of parliament.”

And this likewise they caused to be speedily
printed; lest the king should be able to persuade
the subjects, that an order of theirs, without his
consent, was no law to compel their obedience.
And from this last resolution, by which the law of
theland, and consequently the liberty of the subject,
was resolved into a vote of the two houses, which
passed without any dispute or hesitation, all sober
men discerned the fatal period of both, and saw
a foundation laid for all the anarchy and confusion
that hath followed.

It was now known, that the king was gone
to York, which made them apprehend their prin-
cipality of Hull might be in danger; and therefore
they immediately resolve, “ that no forces what-
“ soever shall be admitted in that town, without
“ the immediate consent of both houses:” which
order was sent thither by an express. And having
prepared the people to be ready for the militia, by
publishing, “ that, in case of extreme danger, they
“ were to obey that ordinance;” they were, in the
next place, to find the danger to be extreme; and,
to that purpose, they produced letters without any
name, pretended to be written from Amsterdam,
signifying, “ that they had intelligence there, that
“ there was an army ready in Denmark to be trans-
“ ported into England, and was to be landed at
“ Hull; which, they said, had been confirmed to
“ them by a person of reputation, from Newmarket,
“ who confirmed the intelligence of Denmark: and
“ added, that there [were] likewise forces ready
“ in France to be likewise landed at Hull.”

And of this, how gross and ridiculous soever it
appeared to wise men, they made a double use,
(besides the general impression in the people,) the
one to colour and countenance their orders to their
governor there; the other, to make the king's

residence in those parts suspected and grievous, as if he came thither only to bring in foreign forces upon them. With these alarms of foreign forces, they mingled other intelligence of the papists in England, "that they had a purpose of making an insurrection;" and therefore they proceeded in preparing a bill to secure the persons of those of the best quality, and greatest interest, and enjoining the oath of supremacy to be taken with great rigour; and, amongst other stratagems they had to humble the papists, I remember, upon an information that they used their protestant tenants worse in the raising their rents, than they did those of their own religion, there was an order, "that they should not raise the rents of their tenants, above the rates that the protestant landlords adjoining received from their tenants:" by virtue of which, in some places, they undertook to determine what rents their tenants should pay to them. But, in this zeal against the papists, they could not endure that the king should have any share; and therefore, when they found, that his majesty had published a proclamation in his journey towards York, "commanding all the judges and justices of peace, and other officers, to put in due execution all the laws and statutes of the kingdom, against popish recusants, without favour or connivance," they presently sent for the sheriffs of London to the house of commons, and examined them, "why seven priests, who were in Newgate, and had been long condemned, were not executed?" the reason whereof they well knew: and when they said, "that they had received a reprieve for them under the king's hand," they published that with great care in their prints, to take off the credit of the new proclamation; and appointed their messengers, whom they were then sending to the king with a new declaration, to move his majesty, "that he would take off his reprieve, and suffer those seven condemned priests to be executed, according to the judgments they had received."

They proceeded now to provide all necessary means for the raising great sums of money, by the diligent collection of what was granted by former acts, and by a new bill for the raising of four hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the great debts of the kingdom, (by which they meant the remainder of the three hundred thousand pounds, they had bountifully given to their brethren of Scotland,) and the support of the war of Ireland: all which monies were to be received and disposed as the two houses should direct; of which though the king saw the danger, that might, and after did ensue to them, yet he thought that probable inconvenience and mischief to be less, than that, which the scandal of denying any thing, upon which the recovery of Ireland seemed to depend, would inevitably bring upon him; and so ratified whatsoever they brought to him of that kind.

Amongst other expedients for raising of money for the war of Ireland, about this time, they made certain propositions to encourage men to be adventurers in that traffick, thus: they concluded "that, in so general a rebellion, very much land must escheat to the crown by the forfeiture of treason, and that, out of such forfeitures, satisfaction might be given to those, who should disburse money towards the suppression of the rebels; so many acres of land to be allowed for so much money, according to the value of the lands in the several provinces, which was specified in the pro-

positions;" which, having passed both houses, were presented to the king, who (it being about the beginning of February, when the breach of their privileges rang in all men's ears) answered, "that as he had offered, and was still ready to venture, his own person for the recovery of that kingdom, if his parliament should advise him thereunto; so he would not deny to contribute any other assistance he could to that service, by parting with any profit or advantage of his own there; and therefore, relying upon the wisdom of his parliament, he did consent to every proposition, now made to him, without taking time to consider and examine, whether that course might not retard the reducing that kingdom, by exasperating the rebels, and rendering them desperate of being received into grace, if they should return to their obedience. And, he said, he would be ready to give his royal assent to such bills, as should be tendered to him by his parliament for the confirmation of those propositions."

Which answer, together with their propositions, they caused forthwith to be printed; made their committees, in all places, to solicit subscriptions, and to receive the monies, the principal and most active persons subscribing first, for the example of others; and delayed the framing and presenting the bill to the king, till they had received great sums of money, and procured very many persons of all conditions to subscribe, many coming in out of pure covetousness to raise great fortunes; five hundred acres of land being assigned for one hundred pound in some counties, and not much under that proportion in others; some out of pure fear, and to win credit with the powerful party, which made this new project a measure of men's affections, and a trial how far they might be trusted, and relied on.

Then they sent those propositions digested into a bill to the king, with such clauses of power to them, and diminution of his own, that, upon the matter, he put the making a peace with the rebels there out of his own power, though upon the most advantageous terms; which he was likewise necessitated to pass.

But notwithstanding all these preparations on this side the sea, the relief and provision was very slowly supplied to the other side: where the rebels still increased in strength, and by the fame of these propositions enlarged their power, very many persons of honour and fortune, who till then had sat still, and either were, or seemed to be, averse to the rebellion, joining with them, as being desperate, and conceiving the utter suppressing their religion, and the very extirpation of their nation, to be decreed against them. And, without doubt, the great reformers here were willing enough to drive them to any extremity, both out of revenge and contempt, as a people easy to be rooted out, and that the war might be kept still up; since they feared an union in that kingdom might much prejudice their designs in this, both as it might supply the king with power, and take away much of theirs; whereas now they had opportunity, with reference to Ireland, to raise both men and money, which they might be able to employ upon more pressing occasions, as they will be found afterwards to have done. Neither was it out of their expectation and view, that, by the king's consenting to that severe decree, he might very probably

discourage his catholic subjects, in his other dominions, from any extraordinary acts of duty and affection: at least, that it would render him less considered by the most catholic princes. And they knew well what use to make of any diminution of his interest or reputation. These matters thus settled, for the ease of the two houses, who were now like to have much to do, they appointed the

whole business of Ireland to be managed by commission under the great seal of England, by four lords and eight commoners, whom they recommended to the king, and who were always to receive instructions from themselves. And in this state and disposition were the affairs of Ireland, when the king went to York, where let us now resort to him.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK V.

AS soon as the king came to York, which was about the end of the year 1641, and found his reception there to be equal to his expectation, the gentry, and men of ability of that great and populous county, (some very few excepted,) expressing great alacrity for his majesty's being with them, and no less sense of the insolent proceedings of the parliament; whereupon he resolved to treat with the two houses in another manner than he had done, and to let them clearly know, "that as he would deny them nothing that was fit for them to ask, so he would yield to nothing that was unreasonable for him to grant; and that he would have nothing extorted from him, that he was not very well inclined to consent to." So, within few days after his coming thither, he sent a declaration (which he caused to be printed, and, in the frontispiece, recommended to the consideration of all his loving subjects) to them, in answer to that presented to him at Newmarket some days before: he told them,

"That, though that declaration, presented to him at Newmarket from both houses of parliament, [was] of so strange a nature, in respect of what he expected, (after so many acts of grace and favour to his people,) and some expressions in it so different from the usual language to princes, that he might well take a very long time to consider it; yet the clearness and uprightness of his conscience to God, and love to his subjects, had supplied him with a speedy answer; and his unalterable affection to his people prevailed with him to suppress that passion, which might well enough become him upon such an invitation. He said, he had considered his answer of the first of that month at Theobalds, which was said to have given just cause of sorrow to his subjects: but, he said, whoever looked over that message, (which was in effect to tell him, that if he would not join with them in an act, which he conceived might prove prejudicial and dangerous to him, and the whole kingdom,

"they would make a law without him, and impose it upon his people,) would not think that sudden answer could be excepted to. He said, he had little encouragement to replies of that nature, when he was told of how little value his words were like to be with them, though they came accompanied with all the actions of love and justice, (where there was room for actions to accompany them;) yet he could not but disavow the having any such evil counsel, or counsellors about him, to his knowledge, as were mentioned by them; and, if any such should be discovered, he would leave them to the censure and judgment of his parliament. In the mean time he could wish, that his own immediate actions, which he did avow, and his own honour, might not be so roughly censured and wounded, under that common style of evil counsellors. For his faithful and zealous affection to the true protestant profession, and his resolution to concur with his parliament in any possible course for the propagation of it, and the suppression of popery, he said he could say no more than he had already expressed in his declaration to all his loving subjects, published in January last, by the advice of his privy council; in which he endeavoured to make as lively a confession of himself in that point as he was able, being most assured, that the constant practice of his life had been answerable thereunto: and therefore he did rather expect a testimony, and acknowledgment of such his zeal and piety, than those expressions he met with in that declaration of any design of altering religion in this kingdom. And he said, he did, out of the innocency of his soul, wish, that the judgments of Heaven might be manifested upon those, who have or had any such design.

"As for the Scots' troubles, he told them, he had thought, that those unhappy differences had been wrapped up in perpetual silence by the act of oblivion; which, being solemnly passed in the

“parliaments of both kingdoms, stopped his own
 “mouth from any other reply, than to shew his
 “great dislike for reviving the memory thereof.
 “He said, if the rebellion in Ireland, so odious to
 “all Christians, seemed to have been framed and
 “maintained in England, or to have any counte-
 “nance from hence, he conjured both his houses
 “of parliament, and all his loving subjects what-
 “soever, to use all possible means to discover and
 “find such out, that he might join in the most
 “exemplary vengeance upon them, that could be
 “imagined. But, he told them, he must think
 “himself highly and causelessly injured in his
 “reputation, if any declaration, action, or expres-
 “sion of the Irish rebels; any letter from the
 “count Rozetti to the papists, for fasting and
 “praying; or from Tristram Whetcomb, of strange
 “speeches uttered in Ireland, should beget any
 “jealousy or misapprehension in his subjects of his
 “justice, piety, and affection: it being evident to
 “all understandings, that those mischievous and
 “wicked rebels are not so capable of great advan-
 “tage, as by having their false discourses so far
 “believed, as to raise fears and jealousies to the
 “distraction of this kingdom; the only way to
 “their security. He said, he could not express a
 “deeper sense of the sufferings of his poor pro-
 “testant subjects in that kingdom, than he had
 “done in his often messages to both houses; by
 “which he had offered, and was still ready, to
 “venture his royal person for their redemption;
 “well knowing, that as he was, in his own inter-
 “ests, more concerned in them; so he was to
 “make a strict account to Almighty God for any
 “neglect of his duty, or their preservation.

“For the manifold attempts to provoke his late
 “army, and the army of the Scots, and to raise a
 “faction in the city of London, and other parts of
 “the kingdom, if it were said as relating to him,
 “he could not without great indignation suffer
 “himself to be reproached to have intended the
 “least force, or threatening to his parliament; as
 “the being privy to the bringing up of the army
 “would imply. Whereas, he called God to wit-
 “ness, he never had any such thought, or knew
 “of any such resolution concerning his late army.
 “For the petition shewed to him by captain Leg,
 “he said, he well remembered the same, and the
 “occasion of that conference. Captain Leg being
 “lately come out of the north, and repairing to
 “him at Whitehall, his majesty asked him of the
 “state of his army; and, after some relation of it,
 “he told his majesty, that the commanders and
 “officers of the army had a mind to petition the
 “parliament, as others of his people had done,
 “and shewed him the copy of a petition; which
 “he read, and finding it to be very humble, de-
 “siring the parliament might receive no interrup-
 “tion in the reformation of the church and state,
 “to the model of queen Elizabeth's days, his ma-
 “jesty told him, that he saw no harm in it;
 “whereupon captain Leg replied, that he believed
 “all the officers of the army would like it; only,
 “he thought, sir Jacob Ashley would be un-
 “willing to sign it, out of fear that it might dis-
 “please him. His majesty then read the petition
 “over again; and observing nothing in matter or
 “form he conceived could possibly give just cause
 “of offence, he delivered it to him again, bidding
 “him give it to sir Jacob Ashley, for whose satis-
 “faction he writ C. R. upon it, to testify his ap-

“probation; and he wished that the petition might
 “be seen and published, and then he believed it
 “would appear no dangerous one, nor a just
 “ground for the least jealousy or misappre-
 “hension.

“For Mr. Jermyn, he said, it was well known
 “that he was gone from Whitehall, before he re-
 “ceived the desire of both houses for the restraint
 “of his servants; neither returned he thither, or
 “passed over by any warrant granted by him after
 “that time. For the breach of privilege in the
 “accusation of the lord Kimbolton, and the five
 “members of the house of commons, he told
 “them, he thought, he had given so ample satis-
 “faction in his several messages to that purpose,
 “that it should have been no more pressed against
 “him; being confident, if the breach of privilege
 “had been greater than ever had been before
 “offered, his acknowledgment and retractation
 “had been greater than ever king had given: be-
 “sides the not examining how many of his pri-
 “vileges had been invaded in defence and vin-
 “dication of the other. And therefore he hoped
 “his true and earnest protestation in his answer
 “to their order concerning the militia, would so
 “far have satisfied them of his intentions then,
 “that they would no more have entertained any
 “imagination of any other design, than he there
 “expressed. But why the listing so many officers,
 “and entertaining them at Whitehall, should be
 “misconstrued, he said, he much marvelled, when
 “it was notoriously known the tumults about
 “Westminster were so great, and their demeanour
 “so scandalous and seditious, that he had good
 “cause to suppose his own person, and those of
 “his wife and children, to be in apparent danger;
 “and therefore he had great reason to appoint a
 “guard about him, and to accept the dutiful ten-
 “der of the services of any of his loving subjects,
 “which was all he did to the gentlemen of the
 “inns of court.

“For the lord Digby, he assured them in the
 “word of a king, that he had his warrant to pass
 “the seas, and had left his court, before ever he
 “heard of the vote of the house of commons, or
 “had any cause to imagine that his absence would
 “have been excepted against. What their adver-
 “tisements were from Rome, Venice, Paris, and
 “other parts, or what the pope's nuncio solicits
 “the kings of France or Spain to do, or from what
 “persons such informations come to them, or how
 “the credit and reputation of such persons had
 “been sifted and examined, he said, he knew not;
 “but was confident, no sober honest man in his
 “kingdoms could believe, that he was so des-
 “perate, or so senseless, to entertain such designs,
 “as would not only bury this his kingdom in sud-
 “den distraction and ruin, but his own name and
 “posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy. And
 “therefore, he said, he could have wished in mat-
 “ters of so high and tender a nature, wherewith
 “the minds of his good subjects must needs be
 “startled, all the expressions had been so plain
 “and easy, that nothing might stick with them
 “that reflected upon his majesty; since they
 “thought fit to publish it at all.

“And having now dealt thus plainly and freely
 “with them, by way of answer to the particular
 “grounds of their fears, he said, he hoped, upon a
 “due consideration and weighing of both together,
 “they would not find the grounds to be of that

“ moment to beget, or longer to continue, a misunderstanding between them; or force them to apply themselves to the use of any other power, than what the law had given them: the which he always intended should be the measure of his own power, and expected it should be the rule of his subjects' obedience.

“ Concerning his own fears and jealousies, as he had no intention of accusing them, so he said, he was sure no words spoken by him on the sudden at Theobalds would bear that interpretation. He had said, for his residence near them, he wished it might be so safe and honourable, that he had no cause to absent himself from Whitehall; and how that could be a breach of privilege of parliament he could not understand. He said, he had explained his meaning in his answer at Newmarket, at the presentation of that declaration, concerning the printed seditious pamphlets, and sermons, and the great tumults at Westminster: and he said, he must appeal to them, and all the world, whether he might not justly suppose himself in danger of either. And if he were now at Whitehall, he asked them, what security he had, that the like should not be again? especially if any delinquents of that nature had been apprehended by the ministers of justice, and had been rescued by the people, and so as yet had escaped unpunished. He told them, if they had not yet been informed of the seditious words used in, and the circumstances of those tumults, and would appoint some way for the examination of them, he would require some of his learned council to attend with such evidence as might satisfy them; and till that were done, or some other course should be taken for his security, he said, they could not with reason wonder, that he intended not to be, where he most desired to be.

“ He asked them, whether there could yet want evidence of his hearty and importunate desire to join with his parliament, and all his faithful subjects, in defence of the religion and public good of the kingdom? Whether he had given them no other earnest but words, to secure them of those desires? He told them the very remonstrance of the house of commons (published in November last) of the state of the kingdom allowed him a more real testimony of his good affections, than words; that remonstrance valued his acts of grace and justice at so high a rate, that it declared the kingdom to be then a gainer, though it had charged itself, by bills of subsidies and poll-money, with the levy of six hundred thousand pounds, besides the contracting a debt of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds more to his subjects of Scotland. He asked them, whether the bills for the triennial parliament, for relinquishing his title of imposing upon merchandise, and power of pressing of soldiers, for the taking away the star-chamber and high-commission courts, for the regulating the council-table, were but words? whether the bills for the forests, the stannary courts, the clerk of the market, and the taking away the votes of bishops out of the lords' house, were but words? Lastly, what greater earnest of his trust, and reliance on his parliament, he could give, than the passing the bill for the continuance of this present parliament? the length of which, he

“ said, he hoped, would never alter the nature of parliaments, and the constitution of this kingdom; or invite his subjects so much to abuse his confidence, as to esteem any thing fit for this parliament to do, which were not fit, if it were in his power to dissolve it to-morrow. And after all these, and many other acts of grace on his part, that he might be sure of a perfect reconciliation between him and all his subjects, he had offered, and was still ready to grant, a free and general pardon, as ample as themselves should think fit. Now if those were not real expressions of the affections of his soul for the public good of this kingdom, he said he must confess that he wanted skill to manifest them.

“ To conclude: although he thought his answer already full to that point concerning his return to London, he told them, that he was willing to declare, that he looked upon it as a matter of so great weight, as with reference to the affairs of this kingdom, and to his own inclinations and desires, that if all he could say, or do, could raise a mutual confidence, (the only way, with God's blessing, to make them all happy,) and, by their encouragement, the laws of the land, and the government of the city of London, might recover some life for his security; he would overtake their desires, and be as soon with them, as they could wish. And, in the mean time, he would be sure that neither the business of Ireland, or any other advantage for this kingdom, should suffer through his default, or by his absence; he being so far from repenting the acts of his justice and grace, which he had already performed to his people, that, he said, he should, with the same alacrity, be still ready to add such new ones, as might best advance the peace, honour, and prosperity of this nation.”

They who now read this declaration, and remember only the insolent and undutiful expressions in that declaration, to which this was an answer, and the more insolent and seditious actions which preceded, accompanied, and attended it, may think that the style was not answerable to the provocation, nor princely enough for such a contest; and may believe, that if his majesty had then expressed himself with more indignation for what he had suffered, and more resolution, “ that he would no more endure those sufferings,” they who were not yet grown to the hardness of avowing the contempt of the king (and most of them having designs to be great with and by him, whom they provoked) would sooner have been checked, and recovered their loyalty and obedience. But they again, who consider and remember that conjuncture of time, the incredible disadvantage his majesty suffered by the misunderstanding of his going to the house of commons, and by the popular mistake of privilege of parliament, and consequently of the breach of those privileges; and, on the contrary, the great height and reputation the factious party had arrived to, the stratagems they used, and the infusions they made into the people, “ of the king's disinclination to the laws of the land;” and especially, “ that he had consented to all those excellent laws made this parliament (of which the people were possessed) very unwillingly, and meant to avoid them: that the queen had an irreconcilable hatred to the religion professed, and to the

"whole nation, and that her power was unquestionable: that there was a design to send the prince beyond the seas, and to marry him to some papist:" above all, (which the principal of them, with wonderful confidence, in all places avowed to be true,) "that the rebellion in Ireland was fomented, and countenanced at least, by the queen, that good terms might be got for the catholics in England:" I say, whoever remembers this, and, that though it might be presumed, that the exorbitancy of the parliament might be very offensive to some sober and discerning men, yet his majesty had no reason to presume of their eminent and vehement zeal on his behalf, since he saw all those (two or three only excepted) from whom he might challenge the duty, and faith of servants *usque ad aras*, and for whose sake he had undergone many difficulties, either totally aliened from his service, and engaged against him, or, like men in a trance, unapplicable to it: he will conclude that it concerned his majesty, by all gentleness and condescension, to undeceive and recover men to their sobriety and understanding, before he could hope to make them apprehensive of their own duty, or the reverence that was due to him; and therefore, that he was to descend to all possible arts and means to that purpose, it being very evident, that men would no sooner discern his princely justice and clemency, than they must be sensible of the indignities which were offered to him, and incensed against those who were the authors of them.

And the truth is, (which I speak knowingly,) at that time, the king's resolution was to shelter himself wholly under the law; to grant any thing, that by the law he was obliged to grant; and to deny what by the law was in his own power, and which he found inconvenient to consent to; and to oppose and punish any extravagant attempt by the force and power of the law, presuming that the king and the law together would have been strong enough for any encounter that could happen; and that the law was so sensible a thing, that the people would easily perceive who endeavoured to preserve, and who to suppress it, and dispose themselves accordingly.

The day before this answer of his majesty came to them, though they knew they should speedily receive it, lest somewhat in it might answer, and so prevent some other scandals they had a mind to lay to his majesty's charge, they sent a petition to him, in the name of the lords and commons, upon occasion of the short cursory speech he made to their committee, (which is before mentioned,) at the delivery of their declaration at Newmarket, in which they told him,

"That the lords and commons in parliament could not conceive, that that declaration, which he received from them at Newmarket, was such as did deserve that censure his majesty was pleased to lay upon them in that speech, which his majesty made to their committee; their address therein, being accompanied with plainness, humility, and faithfulness, they thought more proper for the removing the distraction of the kingdom, than if they had then proceeded according to his message of the twentieth of January; by which he was pleased to desire, that they would declare, what they intended to do for his majesty, and what they expected to be done for themselves; in both which, they

said, they had been very much hindered by his majesty's denial to secure them, and the whole kingdom, by disposing the militia as they had divers times most humbly petitioned. And yet, they said, they had not been altogether negligent of either, having lately made good proceedings in preparing a book of rates, to be passed in a bill of tonnage and poundage, and likewise the most material heads of those humble desires, which they intended to make to his majesty for the good and contentment of his majesty and his people; but none of these could be perfected before the kingdom be put in safety, by settling the militia: and until his majesty should be pleased to concur with his parliament in those necessary things, they held it impossible for his majesty to give the world, or his people, such satisfaction concerning the fears and jealousies, which they had expressed, as they hoped his majesty had already received touching that exception, which he was pleased to take to Mr. Pym's speech. As for his majesty's fears and doubts, the ground whereof was from seditious pamphlets and sermons, they said, they should be as careful to endeavour the removal [of them], as soon as they should understand what pamphlets and sermons were by his majesty intended, as they had been to prevent all dangerous tumults. And if any extraordinary concourse of people out of the city to Westminster had the face and show of tumult and danger, in his majesty's apprehension, it would appear to be caused by his majesty's denial of such a guard to his parliament, as they might have cause to confide in; and by taking into Whitehall such a guard for himself, as gave just cause of jealousy to the parliament, and of terror and offence to his people. They told him, they sought nothing but his majesty's honour, and the peace and prosperity of his kingdoms; and that they were heartily sorry they had such plentiful matter [for] an answer to that question, whether his majesty had violated their laws? They besought his majesty to remember, that the government of this kingdom, as it was, in a great part, managed by his ministers before the beginning of this parliament, consisted of many continued and multiplied acts of violation of laws; the wounds whereof were scarcely healed, when the extremity of all those violations was far exceeded by the late strange and unheard of breach of their laws in the accusation of the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the commons' house, and in the proceedings thereupon; for which they had yet received no full satisfaction.

"To his majesty's next question, whether he had denied any bill for the ease and security of his subjects? they wished they could stop in the midst of their answer; that with much thankfulness they acknowledged, that his majesty had passed many good bills full of contentment and advantage to his people: but truth and necessity enforced them to add this, that, even in or about the time of passing those bills, some design or other had been on foot, which, if it had taken effect, would not only have deprived them of the fruit of those bills, but have reduced them to a worse condition of confusion, than that wherein the parliament found them.

"And if his majesty had asked them the third question intimated in that speech, what they

“ had done for him? they told him, their answer
 “ would have been much more easy; that they had
 “ paid two armies with which the kingdom was
 “ burdened the last year, and had undergone the
 “ charge of the war in Ireland at this time, when,
 “ through many other excessive charges and pres-
 “ sures, whereby his subjects had been exhausted,
 “ and the stock of the kingdom very much di-
 “ minished; which great mischiefs, and the charges
 “ thereupon ensuing, had been occasioned by the
 “ evil counsels so powerful with his majesty, and
 “ would cost this kingdom more than two millions;
 “ all which, in justice, ought to have been borne
 “ by his majesty.

“ As for that free and general pardon his
 “ majesty had been pleased to offer, they said, it
 “ could be no security to their fears and jealousies,
 “ for which his majesty seemed to propound it;
 “ because they arose not from any guilt of their
 “ own actions, but from the evil designs and at-
 “ tempts of others.

“ To that their humble answer to that speech,
 “ they desire to add an information, which they
 “ lately received from the deputy governor of the
 “ merchant adventurers at Rotterdam in Holland,
 “ that an unknown person, appertaining to the
 “ lord Digby, did lately solicit one James Henly, a
 “ mariner, to go to Elsinore, and to take charge
 “ of a ship in the fleet of the king of Denmark,
 “ there prepared; which he should conduct to
 “ Hull. In which fleet likewise, he said, a great
 “ army was to be transported: and although they
 “ were not apt to give credit to informations of
 “ that nature, yet they could not altogether think
 “ it fit to be neglected; but that it might justly
 “ add somewhat to the weight of their fears and
 “ jealousies, considering with what circumstances
 “ it was accompanied; with the lord Digby's pre-
 “ cedent expressions in his letter to her majesty,
 “ and sir Lewis Dives; and his majesty's suc-
 “ ceeding course of withdrawing himself north-
 “ ward from his parliament, in a manner very
 “ suitable and correspondent to that evil counsel;
 “ which, they doubted, would make much deeper
 “ impression in the generality of his people: and
 “ therefore they most humbly advised, and be-
 “ sought his majesty, for the procuring and settling
 “ the confidence of his parliament and all his
 “ subjects, and for the other important reasons
 “ concerning the recovery of Ireland, and securing
 “ this kingdom, which had been formerly presented
 “ to him, he would be graciously pleased, with all
 “ convenient speed, to return to those parts, and
 “ to close with the counsel and desire of his par-
 “ liament; where he should find their dutiful
 “ affections and endeavours ready to attend his
 “ majesty with such entertainment, as should not
 “ only give him just cause of security in their
 “ faithfulness, but other manifold evidences of
 “ their earnest intentions, and endeavours to ad-
 “ vance his majesty's service, honour, and con-
 “ tentment; and to establish it upon the sure
 “ foundation of the peace and prosperity of all his
 “ kingdoms.”

This, which they called a petition, being pre-
 sented to the king, his majesty immediately re-
 turned, by the same messengers, his answer in these
 words:

“ If you would have had the patience to have
 “ expected our answer to your last declaration,
 “ (which, considering the nature of it, hath not

“ been long in coming,) we believe, you would
 “ have saved yourselves the labour of saying much
 “ of this message. And we could wish, that our
 “ privileges on all parts were so stated, that this
 “ way of correspondency might be preserved with
 “ that freedom, which hath been used of old. For
 “ we must tell you, that if you may ask any thing
 “ of us by message, or petition, and in what
 “ language (how unusual soever) you think fit;
 “ and we must neither deny the thing you ask,
 “ nor give a reason why we cannot grant it, with-
 “ out being taxed of breaking your privileges, or
 “ being counselled by those, who are enemies to
 “ the peace of the kingdom, and favourers of the
 “ Irish rebellion, (for we have seen your printed
 “ votes upon our message from Huntington,) you
 “ will reduce all our answers hereafter into a
 “ very little room; in plain English, it is to take
 “ away the freedom of our vote; which, were we
 “ but a subject, were high injustice; but being
 “ your king, we leave all the world to judge what
 “ it is.

“ Is this the way to compose all misunderstand-
 “ ings? we thought we shewed you one, by our
 “ message of the twentieth of January; if you
 “ have a better or readier, we shall willingly
 “ hearken to it, for hitherto you have shewed us
 “ none. But why the refusal to consent to your
 “ order, which you call a denial of the militia,
 “ should be any interruption to it, we cannot un-
 “ derstand. For the militia, which we always
 “ thought necessary to be settled, we never denied
 “ the thing (as we told you in our answer of the
 “ twenty-eighth of January) to the petition of the
 “ house of commons; for we accepted the persons,
 “ except for corporations; we only denied the way.
 “ You ask it by way of ordinance, and with such a
 “ preface, as we can neither with justice to our
 “ honour or innocency consent to. You exclude
 “ us from any power in the disposition or ex-
 “ ecution of it together with you, and for a time
 “ utterly unlimited. We tell you, we would
 “ have the thing done; allow the persons, with
 “ that exception; desire a bill, the only old way of
 “ imposing on our subjects: we are extremely un-
 “ satisfied what an ordinance is, but well satisfied,
 “ that without our consent it is nothing, not bind-
 “ ing: and it is evident by the long time spent in
 “ this argument, the necessity and danger was not
 “ so imminent, but a bill might have been pre-
 “ pared; which if it shall yet be done, with that
 “ due regard to us, and care of our people, in the
 “ limitation of the power and other circumstances,
 “ we shall recede from nothing we formerly ex-
 “ pressed in that answer to your order; otherwise,
 “ we must declare to all the world, that we are not
 “ satisfied with, or shall ever allow our subjects to
 “ be bound by, your printed votes of the fifteenth
 “ or sixteenth of this month; or that, under pre-
 “ tence of declaring what the law of the land is,
 “ you shall, without us, make a new law, which is
 “ plainly the case of the militia: and what is this
 “ but to introduce an arbitrary way of govern-
 “ ment?

“ Concerning Pym's speech, you will have found,
 “ by what the lord Compton and Mr. Baynton
 “ brought from us in answer to that message they
 “ brought to us, [that,] as yet, we rest nothing
 “ satisfied in that particular.

“ As for the seditious pamphlets and sermons,
 “ we are both sorry and ashamed (in so great a

"variety, and in which our rights, honour, and authority are so insolently slighted and vilified, and in which the dignity and freedom of parliament is so much invaded and violated) it should be asked of us to name any. The mentioning of the Protestation Protested, the Apprentices' Protestation, *To your tents, O Israel*, or any other, would be too great an excuse for the rest: if you think them not worth your inquiry, we have done. But we think it most strange to be told, that our denial of a guard (which we yet never denied, but granted in another manner, and under a command at that time most accustomed in the kingdom,) or the denial of any thing else, (which is in our power legally to deny,) which in our understanding, of which God hath surely given us some use, is not fit to be granted, should be any excuse for so dangerous a course of people; which, not only in our apprehension, but, we believe, in the interpretation of the law itself, hath been always held most tumultuous and seditious. And we must wonder, what, and whence come the instructions and informations, that those people have, who can so easily think themselves obliged by the protestation to assemble in such a manner for the defence of privileges, which cannot be so clearly known to any of them, and so negligently pass over the consideration and defence of our rights, so beneficial and necessary for themselves, and scarce unknown to any of them; which by their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and even by the same protestation, they are at least equally obliged to defend. And what interruptions such kind of assemblies may be to the freedom of future parliaments, (if not seasonably discountenanced and suppressed,) we must advise you to consider; as likewise, whether both our rights and powers may not by such means be usurped, by hands not trusted by the constitution of this kingdom. For our guard, we refer you to our answer to your declaration.

"By that question of violating your laws, by which we endeavoured to express our care and resolution to observe them, we did not expect you would have been invited to have looked back so many years, for which you have had so ample reparation; neither looked we to have been reproached with the actions of our ministers then against the laws, whilst we express so great a zeal for the present defence of them; it being our resolution, upon observation of the mischief which then grew by arbitrary power, (though made plausible to us by the suggestions of necessity and imminent danger; and take you heed, you fall not into the same error, upon the same suggestions,) hereafter to keep the rule ourself, and to our power require the same from all others. But above all, we must be most sensible of what you cast upon us for requital of those good bills, you cannot deny. We have denied any such design; and as God Almighty must judge in that point between us, who knows our upright intentions at the passing those laws, so in the mean time we defy the Devil to prove, that there was any design (with our knowledge or privity) in or about the time of passing those bills, that, had it taken effect, could have deprived our subjects of the fruit of them. And therefore we demand full reparation in this point, that we may be cleared in the sight of all the

"world, and chiefly in the eyes of our loving subjects, from so notorious and false an imputation as this is.

"We are far from denying what you have done; for we acknowledge the charge our people have sustained in keeping the two armies, and in relieving Ireland; of which we are so sensible, that, in regard of those great burdens our people have undergone, we have, and do patiently suffer those extreme personal wants, as our predecessors have been seldom put to, rather than we would press upon them; which we hope in time will be considered on your parts.

"In our offer of a general pardon, our intent was to compose and secure the general condition of our subjects, conceiving that, in these times of great distractions, the good laws of the land have not been enough observed: but it is a strange world, when princes' proffered favours are counted reproaches: yet if you like not this our offer, we have done.

"Concerning any discourses of foreign forces, though we have given you a full answer in ours to your last declaration, yet we must tell you, we have neither so ill an opinion of our own merit, or the affections of our good subjects, as to think ourself in need of any foreign forces to preserve us from oppression; and we shall not need for any other purpose: but are confident, through God's providence, not to want the good wishes and assistance of the whole kingdom, being resolved to build upon that sure foundation, the law of the land: and we take it very ill, that any general discourses between an unknown person and a mariner, or inferences upon letters, should be able to prevail in matters so improbable in themselves, and scandalous to us; for which we cannot but likewise ask reparation, not only for the vindicating of our own honour, but also thereby to settle the minds of our subjects, whose fears and jealousies would soon vanish, were they not fed and maintained by such false and malicious rumours as these.

"For our return to our parliament, we have given you a full answer in ours to your declaration; and you ought to look on us as not gone, but driven (we say not by you, yet) from you. And if it be not so easy for you to make our residence in London so safe as we could desire, we are and will be contented, that our parliament be adjourned to such a place, where we may be fitly and safely with you. For though we are not pleased to be at this distance, yet you are not to expect our presence, until you shall both secure us concerning our just apprehensions of tumultuary insolences, and likewise give us satisfaction for those insupportable and insolent scandals, that are raised upon us.

"To conclude: as we have or shall not refuse any way agreeable to justice or honour, which shall be offered to us for the begetting a right understanding between us; so we are resolved that no straits or necessities, to which we may be driven, shall ever compel us to do that, which the reason and understanding that God hath given us, and our honour and interest, with which God hath trusted us for the good of our posterity and kingdoms, shall render unpleasant and grievous to us. And we assure you, that how meanly soever you are pleased to value the discharge of our public duty, we are so conscious

“to ourself of having done our part since this parliament, that, in whatsoever condition we now stand, we are confident of the continued protection from Almighty God, and the constant gratitude, obedience, and affection from our people. And we shall trust God with all.”

These quick answers from the king gave them very much trouble, and made it evident to them, that he would be no more swaggered into concessions that he thought unreasonable, or persuaded to them upon general promises, or an implicit confidence in their future modesty; but that he demanded reparation for the breach of his privileges, and so fought with them with their own weapons, troubled them much more; apprehending that, in a short time, the people might be persuaded to believe, that the king was in the right, and had not been well dealt with: and though some few, who thought themselves too far engaged to retire, were glad of the sharpness of these paper skirmishes, which they believed made the wound still wider, and more incurable; yet the major part, which had been induced to join with them out of confidence that the king would yield, and that their boldness and importunity in asking would prevail with his majesty to consent, wished themselves fairly unentangled: and I have heard many of the fiercest concurrers, and who have ever since kept them company, at that time profess, “that if any expedient might be found to reconcile the present difference about the militia, they would no more adventure upon demands of the like nature:” and the earl of Essex himself was startled, and confessed to his friends, “that he desired a more moderate proceeding should be in parliament; and that the king, who had given so much, should receive some satisfaction.” But those of the court, who thought their faults to their master most unpardonable, could not endure that he being the youngest courtier should be the eldest convert; and therefore, by repeating what the king and queen had said of him heretofore, and by fresh intelligence, which they procured from York, of what the king then thought of him, they persuaded him, “that his condition was too desperate to recede:” and all men were persuaded, that this severe deportment of the king proceeded from the spirit of some new evil counsellors, who would be as soon destroyed as discovered; and that then they would so carry themselves, that the king should owe his greatness and his glory (for they still said, “he should excel all his predecessors in both”) to their formed counsels and activity, and not to the whispers of those who thought to do his business without them. And I am persuaded, that even then, and I was at that time no stranger to the persons of most that governed, and a diligent observer of their carriage, they had rather a design of making themselves powerful with the king, and great at court, than of lessening the power of the one, or reforming the discipline of the other: but, no doubt, there were some few in the number that looked further; yet, by pretending that, kept up the mettle of writing, and inclined them for their honour to new declarations.

When the king came to York, he found himself at ease; the country had received him with great expressions of joy and duty, and all persons of quality of that great county, and of the counties adjacent, resorted to him, and many persons of condition from London, and those parts, who had

not the courage to attend upon him at Whitehall; so that the court appeared with some lustre. And now he began to think of executing some of those resolutions, which he had made with the queen before her departure; one of which was, and to be first done, the removing the earls of Essex and Holland from their offices in the court, the one of chamberlain, the other of groom of the stole, which hath the reputation and benefit of being first gentleman of the bedchamber. Indeed no man could speak in the justification of either of them, yet no man thought them both equally culpable. The earl of Holland was a person merely of the king's creation; raised from the condition of a private gentleman, a younger brother of an extraction that lay under a great blemish, and without any fortune, to a great height by the king's mere favour and bounty. And he had not only adorned him with titles, honours, and offices, but enabled him to support those in the highest lustre, and with the largest expense: and had drawn many inconveniences, and great disadvantages, upon himself and his service, by his preferring him to some trusts, which others did not only think themselves, but really were, worthier of; but especially by indulging him so far in the rigorous execution of his office of chief justice in eyre, in which he brought more prejudice upon the court, and more discontent upon the king, from the most considerable part of the nobility and gentry in England, than any one action, that had its rise from the king's will and pleasure, though it was not without some warrant from law; which having not been practised for some hundreds of years, was looked upon as a terrible innovation and exaction upon persons, who knew not that they were in any fault; nor was any imputed to them, but the original sin of their forefathers, even for which they were obliged to pay great penalties and ransoms. That such a servant should suffer his zeal to lessen and decay towards such a master, and that he should keep a title to lodge in his bedchamber, from whose court he had upon the matter withdrawn himself, and adhered to and assisted those who affronted and contemned his majesty so notoriously, would admit of no manner of interposition and excuse.

Less was to be objected against the earl of Essex, who, as he had been, all his life, without obligations from the court, and believed he had undergone oppression there, so he was, in all respects, the same man he had always professed himself to be, when the king put him into that office; and in receiving of which, many men believed, that he rather gratified the king, than that his majesty had obliged him in conferring it; and it had been, no doubt, the chief reason of putting the staff in his hand, because in that conjuncture no other man, who would in any degree have appeared worthy of it, had the courage to receive it. However having taken the charge upon him, he ought, no doubt, to have taken all his master's concerns more to heart, than he had done; and he can never be excused for staying in Whitehall, when the king was with that outrage driven from thence, and for choosing to behold the triumph of the members' return to Westminster, rather than to attend his majesty's person in so great perplexity to Hampton-court; which had been his duty to have done, and for failing wherein no other excuse can be made, but that, after he had taken so full a resolution to

have waited upon his majesty thither, that he had dressed himself in his travelling habit, he was diverted from it by the earl of Holland, who ought to have accompanied him in the service, and by his averment, "that if he went, he should be assassinated;" which was never thought of.

Notwithstanding all this, the persons trusted by his majesty, and remaining at London, had no sooner notice of it, (which his majesty sent to them, that he might be advised the best way of doing it,) but they did all they could to dissuade the pursuing it. They did not think it a good conjuncture to make those two desperate; and they knew that they were not of the temper and inclinations of those, who had too much credit with them, nor did desire to drive things to the utmost extremities, which could never better their conditions; and that they did both rather desire to find any expedients, by which they might make a safe and an honourable retreat, than to advance in the way they were engaged. But the argument they chiefly insisted on to the king, was, "that, being deprived of their offices, they would be able to do more mischief, and ready to embark themselves with the most desperate persons, in the most desperate attempts;" which fell out accordingly. And there is great reason to believe, that if that resolution the king had taken had not been too obstinately pursued at that time, many of the mischiefs, which afterwards fell out, would have been prevented; and, without doubt, if the staff had remained still in the hands of the earl of Essex, by which he was charged with the defence and security of the king's person, he would never have been prevailed with to have taken upon him the command of that army, which was afterwards raised against the king, and with which so many battles were fought. And there can be as little doubt in any man, who knew well the nature and temper of that time, that it had been utterly impossible, for the two houses of parliament to have raised an army then, if the earl of Essex had not consented to be general of that army.

But the king was inexorable in the point; he was obliged by promise to the queen at parting, which he would not break; and her majesty had contracted so great an indignation against the earl of Holland, whose ingratitude indeed towards her was very odious, that she had said, "she would never live in the court, if he kept his place." And so the king sent an order to Littleton, then lord keeper of the great seal, "that he should require the staff and key from the one and the other, and receive them into his custody." The keeper trembled at the office, and had not courage to undertake it. He went presently to the lord Falkland, [and] desired him to assist him in making his excuse to the king. He made many professions of his duty to the king, "who, he hoped, would not command him in an affair so unsuitable to the office he held under him; that no keeper had ever been employed in such a service; that if he should execute the order he had received, it would in the first place be voted a breach of privilege in him, being a peer; and the house would commit him to prison, by which the king would receive the greatest affront, though he should be ruined; whereas the thing itself might be done by a more proper officer, without any inconvenience."

How weak soever the reasons were, the passion was strong; and the lord Falkland could not refuse to convey his letter to the king, which contained his answer in his own words, with all the imaginable professions of duty and zeal for his service. How ill soever his majesty was satisfied, he saw the business would not be done that way; and therefore he writ immediately a letter, all in his own hand, to the lord Falkland; in which with some gracious expressions of excuse for putting that work upon him, he commanded him "to require the surrender of the ensigns of their offices from those two earls." The lord Falkland was a little troubled in receiving the command: they were persons from whom he had always received great civilities, and with whom he had much credit; and this harsh office might have been more naturally, and as effectually, performed by a gentleman usher, as the same staff had been demanded before from the earl of Pembroke, within less than a year. However, he would make no excuse, being a very punctual and exact person in the performance of his duty; and so went to both of them, and met them coming to the house, and imparted his message to them: they desired him very civilly, "that he would give them leave to confer a little together, and they would, within half an hour, send for him into the house of commons:" whither he went, and they, within less time, sent to him to meet them in sir Thomas Cotton's garden, (a place adjacent, where the members of both houses used frequently to walk,) and there, with very few words, they delivered the staff and the key into his hands, who immediately carried them to his lodging; and they went up to the house of peers: and immediately both houses took notice of it, and with passion, and bitter expressions against the evil counsellors, who had given his majesty that counsel, they concurred in a vote, "that whosoever presumed to accept of either of those offices, should be reputed an enemy to his country;" and then they proceeded with more impetuosity in the business of the militia, and all other matters which most trench upon the king's authority.

Whilst they were so eager in pursuit of the militia, and pretended the necessity so imminent, that they could not defer the disposition thereof till it might be formally and regularly settled by bill, they had their eye upon another militia, the royal navy; without recovering of which to their own power, (though they were satisfied by the pulse of the people, that they would join with them, and be generally obedient to their commands,) they had no mind to venture upon the execution of their land ordinance. And therefore, in the beginning of the spring, when the fleet for that year was provided, after they [had] excepted against such persons to be captains of ships, as they thought not devoted to them, (as is before mentioned,) they sent a formal message to the lords, "that the earl of Northumberland, lord admiral, might be moved to constitute the earl of Warwick his admiral of the fleet for that year's service, being a person of such honour and experience, as they might safely confide in him; and that the earl of Warwick might be desired to undertake that service." The lords thought fit that the king's approbation might be first desired, before it was recommended

to the earl of Northumberland: but the commons thought that superfluous, since it was absolutely in the earl's disposal to dispose of the officers of the fleet; and therefore refused to send to the king, but of themselves sent to both the one earl and the other; and the earl of Warwick, being well pleased with the trust, very frankly, without waiting the king's consent, declared, "that he was ready to undertake the employment." But this being so publicly agitated, the king could not but take notice of it; and finding that the business should not be proposed to him, thought it necessary to signify his pleasure in it, that so at least the lord admiral might not pretend innocence, if ought should be done to his disservice; and therefore he appointed Mr. Secretary Nicholas to write to the earl of Northumberland, "that his majesty expected that sir John Pennington should command that fleet, as he had done two or three years before." This letter being communicated to both houses, and the lord admiral being thereby upon the disadvantage of a single contest with the king, the house of commons, rather out of kindness and respect to the earl, than of duty to the king, condescended to join with the lords in a message to the king; which they sent not by members of their own, but directed the lord keeper "to inclose it in a letter to the secretary attending the king, and to send the same to York;" which he did accordingly. The message was:

"That the lords and commons, in this present parliament assembled, having found it necessary to provide, and set to sea, a strong and powerful navy for the defence of this kingdom against foreign force, and for the security of his majesty's other dominions, the charge whereof was to be borne by the commonwealth: and taking notice of the indisposition of the lord admiral, which disabled him, at that time, for commanding the fleet in his own person, did thereupon recommend unto his lordship the earl of Warwick, a person of such quality and abilities, in whom they might best confide, to supply his lordship's room for this employment: and understanding that his majesty hath since signified his pleasure concerning that command for John Pennington, they said, they did hold it their duty to represent to his majesty the great danger and mischief the commonwealth was like to sustain by such interruption; and therefore did humbly beseech his majesty, that the noble person, recommended by both houses of parliament for this service, might no longer be detained from it, out of any particular respect to any other person whatsoever."

The same day that this message came to his majesty, he despatched an answer to the lord keeper; in which he told him, "that he wondered both at the form and matter of that inclosed paper he had sent to him, in the name of both houses of parliament; it being neither by the way of petition, declaration, or letter; and for the matter, he believed, it was the first time, that the houses of parliament had taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief sea-commander; but it added to the wonder, that sir John Pennington being already appointed by him for that service, upon the recommendation of his admiral, and no fault so much as alleged against him, another should

"be recommended to him. Therefore, he said, his resolution upon that point was, that he would not alter him, whom he had already appointed to command that year's fleet; whose every ways sufficiency was so universally known, the which he was confident his admiral, if there should be occasion, would make most evident; against whose testimony he supposed his parliament would not except. And though there were yet none appointed, or the said sir John, through some accident, not able to perform the service; yet, he said, the men of that profession were so well known to him, besides many other reasons, that (his admiral excepted, because of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to him."

This answer was no other than they expected, though they seemed troubled at it, and pretended that they had many things of misdemeanour to object against sir John Pennington, at least such matters as would render him incapable of that trust; the greatest of which was, that he had conveyed the lord Digby over sea; though they well knew (as is before mentioned) that he had the king's warrant and command for that purpose; and therefore moved the lords that he might be sent for to be examined upon many particulars: and in the mean time, whilst they caused him to attend their leisure to be examined, they proceeded in hastening the earl of Warwick to make himself ready for the service, who made no scruple of undertaking it; and the earl of Northumberland receiving the order, and desire of both houses, "to grant his commission to him to be admiral of that fleet," thought himself sufficiently excused towards the king, and did it accordingly; the two houses in the mean time, without any further thought of procuring the king's consent, preparing reasons to satisfy his majesty for the necessity or conveniency of their proceeding.

Many men, especially they who at a distance observed and discerned the difficulties the king was like to encounter, wondered that upon so apparent a breach of trust, and act of undutifulness, his majesty did not at that time revoke the lord admiral's commission, which was but during pleasure; and so put that sure guard of the kingdom, his navy, under such a command as he might depend upon. But the truth is, it was not then counsellable; for (besides that it was easier to resolve, "that it was fit to remove the earl of Northumberland," than to find a man competent for the place) that way it might have been possible to have prevented the going out of any fleet to sea, which would have confirmed the frantic jealousies of bringing in foreign forces, [but] not have reduced it to his own obedience.

They had, by degrees, so ordered the collection of tonnage and poundage, by passing bills for six weeks and two months at a time, and putting those, who should receive or pay those duties, otherwise than they were granted by those bills, into a *præmunire*; and so terrified the old customers, that the king had no other means of setting out his fleet, than by the monies arising by the customs, which they absolutely disposed of; and at this time had contracted with the victualler, made the ships ready, and hired many merchants' ships to join in that fleet for the guard of the seas. And whilst this matter of the admiral was in suspense, they suffered the former bill of tonnage and poundage

to expire, and did not, till the very night before, pass a new bill; which could not have the royal assent till many days after, the king being then at York. Yet the house of commons, to salve all danger of the *præmunire*, on the twenty-fourth of March, being the very day that the former bill expired, sent an order to all the collectors of the customs, many of which could not receive it in ten days after;

"That the new bill being passed by both houses for the continuance of those payments until the third day of May, (which could not yet receive the royal assent, in regard of the remoteness of his majesty's person from the parliament,) which monies to be collected by that bill were to be employed for the necessary guarding of the seas, and defence of the commonwealth: it was therefore ordered by the commons in parliament, that the several officers belonging to the custom-house, both in the port in London, and the out-ports, should not permit any merchant or other to lade or unlade any goods, or merchandises, before such persons do first make due entries thereof in the custom-house. And it was declared also by the said commons, that such officers, upon the respective entry made by any merchant as aforesaid, should intimate to such merchant, that it was the advice of the commons, for the better ease of the said merchants, and in regard the respective duties would relate, and become due as from that day; that the said merchants upon entry of their goods, as usually they did, when a law was in force to that purpose, would deposit so much money as the several customs would amount unto, in the hands of such officers, to be by them accounted to his majesty, as the respective customs due by the said bill, when the said bill should have the royal assent; or otherwise, his majesty refusing the passing thereof, the said monies to be restored, upon demand, unto the several merchants respectively."

By which order, which was a more absolute dispensation for a *præmunire*, than ever any *non-obstante* granted by the crown, the customs were as frankly and fully paid, as if an act of parliament had been passed to that purpose; and as soon as the commission could be sent, and returned from York, the act was passed. But no doubt they had a further design in suffering the bill totally to expire, before they prepared a new [one], than at that time was apprehended; and intended, under such a popular necessity, which seemed to be occasioned by the king's absence, to bring their own orders in such reputation, that in another necessity which they should declare, they might by the precedent of this, which was the only indemnity all those merchants who paid, and the officers who received, customs, had for the preservation of their estates, be currently and absolutely obeyed and submitted to.

By this it appears the king could not at that time, with conveniency or safety to his affairs, displace the earl of Northumberland; and he believed, if his occasions should hereafter require it, that the time would be much more seasonable, when the fleet was at sea; and the thing itself more practicable: which was a true conclusion. However, he expressed so much dislike against the earl of Warwick's commanding that fleet, that he was not willing that any officers whom he valued should take employment under him; which he had shortly

after cause to repent. For, by this means, the vice-admiralty, which was designed to captain Cartwright, the comptroller of the navy, who hath since sufficiently testified how advantageously to his majesty he would have managed that charge, upon his refusal (which was occasioned by intimation from his majesty, as shall be hereafter mentioned) was conferred upon Batten, an obscure fellow; and, though a good seaman, unknown to the navy, till he was, two or three years before, for money, made surveyor, who executed it ever since with great animosity against the king's service, of which more hereafter.

Being, by this means, secure at sea, they proceeded with more vigour at land; and, though they thought it not yet seasonable to execute their ordinance for the militia with any form and pomp, they directed, underhand, their agents and emissaries, that the people, of themselves, should choose captains and officers, and train under the name of volunteers; which began to be practised in many places of the kingdom, but only in those corporations, and by those inferior people, who were notorious for faction and schism in religion. The king's declarations, which were now carefully published, gave them some trouble, and made great impression in sober men, who were moved with the reason, and in rich men, who were startled at the commands in them. But that clause in the king's answer to their declaration, presented to him at Newmarket, in which he told them, "that if they had not been informed of the seditious words used in, and the circumstances of the tumults, and would appoint some way for the examination of them, that he would require some of his learned council to attend with such evidence as might satisfy them," troubled them much more. For if there were still so much courage left in the king's council, that they durst appear to inform against any of those proceedings, which they favoured, they should find men grow more afraid of the law than of them; which would destroy all their designs. Therefore they resolved to proceed with all expedition, and severity, against the attorney general for his trespass and presumption upon their privileges, in the accusation of the five members, and the lord Kimbolton: of the circumstances of which proceeding, and judgment thereupon, being as extraordinary, and as distant from the rules of justice, at least of practice, as any thing that then happened, it will not be amiss to set down two or three particulars.

Shortly after they had impeached him, (which is mentioned before,) and the king had found it necessary to give over any prosecution against them, his majesty being desirous, now he had freed them, that they should free his attorney, writ a letter from Royston, when he was in his way to York, to the lord keeper; in which he told him, "that the articles, which had been preferred against the members, [were,] by himself, delivered to his attorney general, engrossed in paper; and that he had then commanded him to accuse those persons, upon those articles of high treason, and other misdemeanours; and, in his name, to desire a committee of lords might be appointed to take the examinations of such witnesses as should be produced, as formerly had been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of the house. And his majesty did further declare, that his said attorney did not advise or

“ contrive the said articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising, any breach of privilege that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to his commands, he conceived he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the trust reposed in him by his majesty, so to do: and that, if he had refused to obey his majesty therein, his majesty would have questioned him for breach of oath, duty, and trust; but now having declared that he found cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the persons accused, he had commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor to discover any proof concerning the same.”

Though this testimony of his majesty's clearly absolved him from the guilt, with which he was charged, yet it rather hastened the trial, and sharpened the edge, that was before keen enough against him; and the day of trial being come, when the members of the commons, who were appointed for the prosecution, found that council was ready (which had been assigned by the lords) for the defence of the attorney general, they professed, “ that they would admit no council; that it was below the dignity of the house of commons to plead against fee'd council; that whoever presumed to be of council with a person accused by the commons of England, should be taught better to know his duty, and should have cause to repent it.” The lords seemed much moved with this reproach, that their acts of judicature should be questioned, and the council, which had been justly and regularly assigned by them, should be threatened for submitting to their order. But that which troubled them most, was, that the council, which was assigned by them, upon this reprehension and threat of the commons, positively refused to meddle further in the business, or to make any defence for the attorney. Hereupon they put off the trial, and commit to the Tower of London sir Thomas Bedingfield, and sir Thomas Gardiner, for their contempt in refusing to be of council with the attorney upon their assignment: standers by looking upon the justice of parliament with less reverence, to see the subject, between the contradictory and opposite commands of both houses, (the displeasure of either being insupportable,) punished and imprisoned for not doing, by one, what he was straitly inhibited by the other not to do.

However, this difference gave only respite for some days to the attorney, who was quickly again called before his judges. To what was passionately and unreasonably objected against him, “ of breach of privilege and scandal,” he confidently alleged “ the duty of his place; that his master's command was warrant for what he had done; and that he had been justly punishable, if he had refused to do it when commanded; that there had never been a pretence of privilege in case of treason, the contrary whereof was not only understood by the law, but had been by themselves confessed, in a petition delivered by them in the beginning of this king's reign, upon the imprisonment of the earl of Arundel; in which it was acknowledged, that the privilege of parliament extended not to treason, felony, or refusal to find sureties for the peace; that he had no reason to suspect the executing the duty of his place would have been imputed to him for any trespass, since the very same thing he had now done, and of which

he stood accused, was done, in the first year of this king's reign, by sir Robert Heath, the then attorney general; who exhibited articles of high treason before their lordships, against the earl of Bristol, which was not then understood to be any breach of privilege; and therefore, having so late a precedent, most of their lordships being then judges, he hoped he should be held excusable for not being able to discern that to be a crime, which they had yet never declared to be so.” The undeniable reasons of his defence (against which nothing was replied, “ but the inconvenience and mischief, which would attend a parliament, if the members might be accused of high treason without their consent”) prevailed so far with the major part of the house of peers, though the prosecution was [carried on] with all imaginable sharpness and vehemence by the house of commons, and entertained by those peers who were of that party, as a matter of vast concernment to all their hopes, that the questions being put, whether he should be deprived of his place of attorney? whether he should be fined to the king? whether he should pay damages to the persons accused? and whether he should be committed to the Tower? which were the several parts of the sentence, which many of the lords had judged him to undergo, the negative prevailed in every one of the particulars; so that the attorney was understood by all men, who understood the rules and practice of parliament, to be absolutely absolved from that charge and impeachment, by the judgment of the house of peers.

The house of commons expressed all possible resentment, and declared, “ that they would not rest satisfied with the judgment;” and some lords, even of those who had acquitted him, were very desirous to find out an expedient, whereby the house of commons might be compounded with; and it was believed, that the attorney himself was much shaken with the torrent of malice and prejudice, which the house of commons seemed now to threaten him with; conceiving, “ that he and his office now triumphed over the whole body, and not over six members only:” and therefore, after some days, the house of peers considering, “ that his discharge was but negative, that he should not be punished in this and that degree; and that he had no absolution from the crime, with which he was charged,” proceeded to a new judgment, (contrary to all course and practice of parliament, or of any judicial court,) and complying with all their other votes, resolved, by way of judgment upon him, “ that he should be disabled from ever being a parliament man; incapable of any place of judicature, or other preferment, than of attorney general;” which they could not deprive him of, by reason of the former vote; and “ that he should be committed to the prison of the Fleet.” Which sentence was with all formality pronounced against him, and he committed to the Fleet accordingly: the which the commons was no more satisfied with than with the former; some of them looking that their favourite, the solicitor, should have the place of attorney; others, that the accused members should receive ample damages by way of reparation; without which they could not think themselves secure from the like attempts.

Having, by this extraordinary and exemplary proceeding, fortified their privileges against such

attempts, and secured their persons from being accused, or proceeded against by law, they used no less severity against all those who presumed to question the justice or prudence of their actions, especially against those, who, following the method that had done so much hurt, drew the people to petition for that which they had no mind to grant; and in this prosecution they were not less severe and vehement, than against the highest treason could be imagined.

Upon the petition mentioned before, that was framed in London against their settling the militia, they committed one George Binion, a citizen of great reputation for wealth and wisdom, and [who] was indeed a very sober man. After he had lain some time in prison, the lords, according to law, bailed him; but the commons caused him the next day to be recommitted, and preferred an impeachment against him, for no other crime but "advising and contriving that petition." The gentleman defended himself, "that it was always held, and so publicly declared this parliament, to be lawful, in a modest way, to petition for the removal or prevention of any grievance: that he observing very many petitions to be delivered, and received, for the settling the militia in another way than was then agreeable to the law, or had been practised, and conceiving that the same would prove very prejudicial to the city of London, of which he was a member, he had joined with many other citizens, of known ability and integrity, in a petition against so great an inconvenience; which he presumed was lawful for him to do." How reasonable soever this defence was, the house of peers adjudged him to be disfranchised, and incapable of any office in the city; to be committed to the common gaol of Colchester," (for his reputation was so great in London, that they would not trust him in a city prison,) and fined him three thousand pounds.

About the same time, at the general assizes in Kent, the justices of peace, and principal gentlemen of that county, prepared a petition to be presented to the two houses, with a desire, "that the militia might not be otherwise exercised in that county, than the known law permitted: and that the Book of Common-Prayer, established by law, might be observed." This petition was communicated by many to their friends, and copies thereof sent abroad, before the subscription was ready; whereupon the house of peers took notice of it, as tending to some commotion in Kent; and, in the debate, the earl of Bristol taking notice, "that he had seen a copy of it, and had had some conference about it with judge Mallet," who was then judge of assize in Kent, and newly returned out of his circuit, both the earl and judge, for having but seen the petition, were presently committed to the Tower; and a declaration published, "that none should presume to deliver that, or the like petition to either house." Notwithstanding which, some gentlemen of Kent, with a great number of the substantial inhabitants of that county, came to the city; which, upon the alarm, was put in arms; strong guards placed at London-bridge, where the petitioners were disarmed, and only some few suffered to pass with their petition to Westminster; the rest forced to return to their country. And, upon the delivery thereof to the house of commons, (though the same was very

modest, and in a more dutiful dialect than most petitions delivered to them,) the bringers of the petition were sharply reprehended; two or three of them committed to several prisons; the principal gentlemen of the country, who had subscribed and advised it, sent for as delinquents; and charges, and articles of impeachment, drawn up against them; and a declaration published, "that whosoever should henceforth advise or contrive the like petitions, should be proceeded against, as enemies to the commonwealth." So unlike and different were their tempers, and reception of those modest addresses, which were for duty and obedience to the laws established, and those which pressed and brought on alteration and innovation. But that injustice gave great life and encouragement to their own proselytes; and taught others to know that their being innocent would not be long easy or safe: and this kind of justice extended itself in the same measure to their own members, who opposed their irregular determinations; who, besides the agony and vexation of having the most abstract reason, and confessed law, rejected, and overruled with contempt and noise, were liable to all the personal reproaches and discountenance, that the pride and petulancy of the other party could lay upon them; and were sometimes imprisoned and disgraced, for freely speaking their opinions and conscience in debate.

All sorts of men being thus terrified, the commons remembered, that a great magazine of the king's ammunition lay still at Hull; and though that town was in the custody of a confidant of their own, yet they were not willing to venture so great a treasure so near the king, who continued at York, with a great resort of persons of honour and quality from all parts; and therefore they resolved, under pretence of supplying Ireland, to remove it speedily from thence; and to that purpose moved the lords, "to join with them in an order to that purpose." The lords, who proceeded with less fury, and more formality, desired, "that it might be done with the king's consent." After a long debate, the one thinking they merited much by that civility, the other contented to gratify those in the ceremony, who, they knew, would in the end concur with them, a petition was agreed upon to be sent to his majesty; in which, that he might the sooner yield to them in this matter, they resolved to remember him of that, which, they thought, would reflect on him with the people, and to "move him to take off the reprieve from the six priests," which is before mentioned. And so they sent their petition to him, telling him, "that they found the stores of arms and ammunition in the tower of London much diminished; and that the necessity for supply of his kingdom of Ireland (for which they had been issued from thence) daily increased; and that the occasion, for which the magazine was placed at Hull, was now taken away; and considering it would be kept at London with less charge, and more safety, and transported thence with much more convenience for the service of the kingdom of Ireland; they therefore humbly prayed, that his majesty would be graciously pleased to give leave, that the said arms, cannon, and ammunition, now in the magazine of Hull, might be removed to the Tower of London, according as should be directed by both his houses of parliament. And whereas six priests, then in New-

“gate, were condemned to die, and by his majesty
 “had been reprieved, they humbly prayed his ma-
 “jesty to be pleased, that the said reprieves might
 “be taken off, and the priests executed according
 “to law.” To which petition his majesty imme-
 “diately returned answer in these words :

“We rather expected, and have done so long,
 “that you should have given us an account, why a
 “garrison hath been placed in our town of Hull,
 “without our consent, and soldiers billeted there
 “against law, and express words of the Petition
 “of Right, than to be moved, for the avoiding of
 “a needless charge you have put upon yourselves,
 “to give our consent for the removal of our maga-
 “zine and munition, our own proper goods, upon
 “such general reasons as indeed give no satisfac-
 “tion to our judgment : and since you have made
 “the business of Hull your argument, we would
 “gladly be informed, why our own inclination, on
 “the general rumour of the designs of papists in
 “the northern parts, was not thought sufficient
 “ground for us to put a person of honour, fortune,
 “and unblemished reputation, into a town and
 “fort of our own, where our own magazine lay :
 “and yet the same rumour be warrant enough for
 “you to commit the same town and fort, without
 “our consent, to the hands of sir John Hotham,
 “with a power unagreeable to the law of the land,
 “or the liberty of the subject.

“And yet of this, in point of right, or privilege,
 “for sure we are not without privilege too, we
 “have not all this while complained : and being
 “confident that the place, whatsoever discourse
 “there is of public or private instructions to the
 “contrary, shall be speedily given up, if we shall
 “require it, we shall be contented to dispose our
 “munition there, as we have done in other places,
 “for the public ease and benefit, as, upon particular
 “advice, we shall find convenient ; though we
 “cannot think it fit, or consent, that the whole
 “magazine be removed together. But when you
 “shall agree upon such proportions, as shall be
 “held necessary for any particular service, we
 “shall sign such warrants as shall be agreeable to
 “wisdom and reason ; and if any of them be de-
 “signed for Ulster, or Lemster, you know well
 “the conveyance will be more easy and convenient
 “from the place they are now in. Yet we must
 “tell you, that if the fears are so great from the
 “papists at home, or of foreign force, as is pre-
 “tended, it seems strange that you make not pro-
 “vision of arms and munition for defence of this
 “kingdom, rather than seek to carry any more
 “from hence, without some course taken for
 “supply ; especially, if you remember your en-
 “gagement to our Scots subjects, for that pro-
 “portion of arms which is contained in your
 “treaty. We speak not this, as not thinking the
 “sending of arms to Ireland very necessary, but
 “only for the way of the provision. For you
 “know what great quantities we have assigned out
 “of our several stores, which, in due time, we
 “hope, you will see replenished. For the charge
 “of looking to the magazine at Hull, as it was
 “undertaken voluntarily by you at first, and, to
 “say no more, unnecessarily ; so you may free our
 “good people of that charge, and leave it to us to
 “look to, who are the proper owner of it. And
 “this, we hope, will give you full satisfaction in
 “this point, and that ye do not, as you have done
 “in the business of the militia, send this message

“out of compliment and ceremony, resolving to
 “be your own carvers at last. For we must tell
 “you, if any attempt shall be made or given in
 “this matter, without our consent or approbation,
 “we shall esteem it as an act of violence against
 “us ; and declare it to all the world, as the great-
 “est violation of our right, and breach of our
 “privilege.

“Concerning the six priests condemned, it is
 “true, they were reprieved by our warrant, [we]
 “being informed, that they were, by some restraint,
 “disabled to take the benefit of our former pro-
 “clamation : since that, we have issued out an-
 “other, for the due execution of the laws against
 “papists ; and have most solemnly promised, in
 “the word of a king, never to pardon any priest
 “without your consent, which shall be found guilty
 “by law ; desiring to banish these, having here-
 “with sent warrant to that purpose, if, upon
 “second thoughts, you do not disapprove thereof.
 “But if you think the execution of these persons
 “so very necessary to the great and pious work of
 “reformation, we refer it wholly to you ; declaring
 “hereby, that upon such your resolution signified
 “to the ministers of justice our warrant for their
 “reprieve is determined, and the law to have the
 “course. And now let us ask you, (for we are
 “willing to husband time, and to despatch as
 “much as may be under one message ; God knows
 “the distractions of this kingdom want a present
 “remedy,) will there never be a time to offer to,
 “as well as to ask of us ? We will propose no
 “more particulars to you, having no luck to please,
 “or to be understood by you ; take your own time
 “for what concerns our particular : but be sure
 “you have an early, speedy care of the public ;
 “that is, of the only rule that preserves the pub-
 “lic, the law of the land ; preserve the dignity
 “and reverence due to that. It was well said in
 “a speech, made by a private person ; it was Mr.
 “Pym's speech against the earl of Strafford, but
 “published by order of the house of commons
 “this parliament : the law is that which puts a
 “difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just
 “and unjust. If you take away the law, all things
 “will fall into a confusion, every man will become
 “a law unto himself ; which, in the depraved con-
 “dition of human nature, must needs produce
 “many great enormities. Lust will become a law,
 “and envy will become a law ; covetousness and
 “ambition will become laws ; and what dictates,
 “what decisions, such laws will produce, may easily
 “be discerned. So said that gentleman, and much
 “more, very well, in defence of the law, and
 “against arbitrary power. It is worth looking
 “over, and considering : and if the most zealous
 “defence of [the] true protestant profession, and
 “the most resolved protection of the law, be the
 “most necessary duty of a prince, we cannot be-
 “lieve this miserable distance and misunderstand-
 “ing can be long continued between us ; we
 “having often and earnestly declared them to be
 “the chiefest desires of our soul, and the end and
 “rule of all our actions. For Ireland, we have
 “sufficiently, and we hope satisfactorily, expressed
 “to all our good subjects our hearty sense of
 “that sad business, in our several messages in
 “that argument, but especially in our last of
 “the eighth of this month, concerning our re-
 “solution for that service ; for the speedy, ho-
 “nourable, and full performance whereof, we

"conjure you to yield all possible assistance and present advice."

This answer was received with the usual circumstances of trouble and discontent, the taxation of evil counsellors and malignant persons about the king: and that clause about the condemned priests exceedingly displeased them; for by the king's reference of the matter entirely to them, he had removed the scandal from himself, and laid it at their doors; and though they were well content, and desirous, that they should have been executed by the king's warrant, for taking off his own reprieve, (whereby they should have made him retract an act of his own mercy, and undeniably within his own power; and thereby have lessened much of the devotion of that people to him, when they should have seen him quit his power of preserving them in the least degree,) yet, for many reasons, they were not willing to take that harsh part upon themselves; and so those condemned priests were no more prosecuted, and were much safer under that reference for their execution, than they could have been, at that time, by a pardon under the great seal of England. For the other part of the answer concerning the magazine, it made no pause with them; but, within few days after, they sent a warrant to their own governor, sir John Hotham, to deliver it; and to their own admiral, the earl of Warwick, to transport it to London; which was, notwithstanding the king's inhibition, done accordingly. But they had at that time another message from the king, which was referred to in the last clause of that answer, and came to their hands some few days before, that gave them some serious trouble and apprehension; the grounds and reasons of which were these:

The king finding that, notwithstanding all the professions and protestations he could make, the business of Ireland was still unreasonably objected to him, as if he were not cordial in the suppressing that rebellion, sent a message to both houses:

"That being grieved at the very soul for the calamities of his good subjects of Ireland, and being most tenderly sensible of the false and scandalous reports dispersed amongst the people concerning the rebellion there; which not only wounded his majesty in honour, but likewise greatly retarded the reducing that unhappy kingdom, and multiplied the distractions at home, by weakening the mutual confidence between him and his people: out of his pious zeal to the honour of Almighty God, in establishing the true protestant profession in that kingdom, and his princely care for the good of all his dominions, he had firmly resolved to go with all convenient speed into Ireland, to chastise those wicked and detestable rebels, odious to God and all good men; thereby so to settle the peace of that kingdom, and the security of this, that the very name of fears and jealousies might be no more heard of amongst them.

"And he said, as he doubted not but his parliament would cheerfully give all possible assistance to this good work, so he required them, and all his loving subjects, to believe, that he would, upon those considerations, as earnestly pursue that design, not declining any hazard of his person in performing that duty, which he owed to the defence of God's true religion, and

"his distressed subjects, as he undertook it for those only ends; to the sincerity of which profession he called God to witness, with this further assurance, that he would never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a toleration of the popish profession there, or the abolition of the laws now in force against popish recusants in that kingdom.

"His majesty further advertised them, that, towards this work, he intended to raise forthwith, by his commission, in the counties near West Chester, a guard for his own person, (when he should come into Ireland,) consisting of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which should be armed at West Chester, from his magazine at Hull; at which time, he said, all the officers and soldiers should take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; the charge of raising and paying whereof, he desired the parliament to add to their former undertakings for that war; which he would not only well accept, but, if their pay should be found too great a burden to his good subjects, he would be willing, by the advice of his parliament, to sell, or pawn, any of his parks, lands, or houses, towards the supplies of the service of Ireland. With the addition of these levies to the former of English, and Scots, agreed upon in parliament, he said, he hoped so to appear in that action, that, by the assistance of Almighty God, that kingdom, in a short time, might be wholly reduced, and restored to peace, and some measure of happiness; whereby he might cheerfully return, to be welcomed home with the affections and blessings of all his good English people.

"Towards this good work, he said, as he had lately made despatches into Scotland, to quicken the levies there for Ulster, so he heartily wished, that his parliament would give all possible expedition to those, which they had resolved for Munster and Connaught; and hoped the encouragement, which the adventurers, of whose interests he would be always very careful, would hereby receive, would raise full sums of money for the doing thereof. He told them, that out of his earnest desire to remove all occasions, which did unhappily multiply misunderstandings between him and his parliament, he had likewise prepared a bill to be offered to them by his attorney concerning the militia; whereby he hoped the peace and safety of the kingdom might be fully secured to the general satisfaction of all men, without violation of his majesty's just rights, or prejudice to the liberty of the subject. If this should be thankfully received, he said, he should be glad of it; if refused, he must call God, and all the world, to judge on whose part the default was; only he required, if the bill should be approved of, that if any corporation should make their lawful rights appear, they might be reserved to them. He said, before he would part from England, he would take all due care to intrust such persons with such authority in his absence, as he should find to be requisite for the peace and safety of the kingdom, and the happy progress of the parliament."

They neither before nor after ever received any message from his majesty, that more discomposed them; and so much the more, because that which gave them most umbrage could not be publicly and

safely avowed by them. For though, to those who had a due reverence to the king's person, and an impatient desire, that all misunderstandings might be composed, they urged, "the hazard and danger to his majesty's person, in such an expedition, and the increase of jealousies and distractions, that would ensue in this kingdom by his absence;" and to others, as well those who from the barbarity, inhumanity, and unheard of cruelty, exercised by the rebels in Ireland upon the English protestants, (of which they every day received fresh and bleeding evidence,) had contracted a great animosity against the nation, and were persuaded that the work of extirpation was not so difficult as in truth it was; as to the adventurers, who had disbursed great sums of money, and had digested a full assurance of ample recompence, by confiscations and forfeitures; "that by this voyage of the king a peace would be in a short time concluded in that kingdom, to their great disadvantage and damage;" yet the true reasons, which surprised and startled them, were, that hereby the managing the war of Ireland would be taken out of their hands; and so, instead of having a nursery for soldiers of their own, which they might employ as they saw occasion; and a power of raising what money they pleased in this kingdom under that title, which they might dispose, as they found most fit for their affairs; the king would probably in a short time recover one entire kingdom to his obedience, by which he might be able to preserve the peace of the other two. However, working by the several impressions upon the several affections, they found it no difficult thing to persuade, almost an unanimous, aversion from approving the journey; they who usually opposed their advice not enduring to think of staying in England, where the power, at least for a time, would be in them, whose government, they knew, would be terrible, when his majesty should be in Ireland. And then they despatched a magisterial answer to the king, in which they told him:

"That the lords and commons in parliament had duly considered the message, received from his majesty, concerning his purpose of going into Ireland in his own person to prosecute the war there, with the bodies of his English subjects, levied, transported, and maintained at their charge; which he was pleased to propound to them, not as a matter, wherein he desired the advice of his parliament, but as already firmly resolved on, and forthwith to be put in execution, by granting out commissions for the levying of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, for a guard for his person, when he should come into that kingdom; wherein they said, they could not but, with all reverence and humility to his majesty, observe, that he had declined his great council, the parliament, and varied from the usual course of his royal predecessors; that a business of so great importance concerning the peace and safety of all his subjects, and wherein they have a special interest, by his majesty's promise, and by those great sums, which they had disbursed, and for which they stood engaged, should be concluded, and undertaken, without their advice; whereupon, they said, they held it their duty to declare, that if, at that time, his majesty should go into Ireland, he would very much endanger the safety of his royal person and kingdoms, and of all other states professing the pro-

testant religion in Christendom, and make way to the execution of that cruel and bloody design of the papists, every where to root out and destroy the reformed religion; as the Irish papists had, in a great part, effected in that kingdom; and, in all likelihood, would quickly be attempted in other places, if the consideration of the strength and union of the two nations of England and Scotland did not much hinder and discourage the execution of any such design. And that they might manifest to his majesty the danger and misery, which such a journey and enterprise would produce, they presented to his majesty the reasons of that their humble opinion and advice:

1. "His royal person would be subject, not only to the casualty of war, but to secret practices and conspiracies; especially his majesty continuing his profession to maintain the protestant religion in that kingdom, which the papists were generally bound by their vow to extirpate.

2. "It would exceedingly encourage the rebels; who did generally profess and declare, that his majesty did favour and allow their proceedings, and that this insurrection was undertaken by the warrant of his commission; and it would make good their expectation of great advantage, by his majesty's presence at that time, of so much distraction in this kingdom, whereby they might hope the two houses of parliament would be disabled to supply the war there, especially there appearing less necessity of his majesty's journey at that time, by reason of the manifold successes, which God had given against them.

3. "It would much hinder and impair the means whereby the war was to be supported, and increase the charge of it, and in both these respects make it more insupportable to the subject; and this, they said, they could confidently affirm; because many of the adventurers, who had already subscribed, did, upon the knowledge of his majesty's intention, declare their resolution not to pay in their money; and others, very willing to have subscribed, do now profess the contrary.

4. "His majesty's absence must necessarily very much interrupt the proceedings of parliament; and deprive his subjects of the benefit of those further acts of grace and justice, which they should humbly expect from his majesty for the establishing of a perfect union, and mutual confidence between his majesty and his people, and procuring and confirming the prosperity and happiness of both.

5. "It would exceedingly increase the fears and jealousies of his people; and render their doubts more probable, of some force intended, by some evil councils near his majesty, in opposition of the parliament, and favour of the malignant party of this kingdom.

6. "It would bereave his parliament of that advantage, whereby they were induced to undertake that war, upon his majesty's promise, that it should be managed by their advice; which could not be done, if his majesty, contrary to their counsels, should undertake to order and govern it in his own person.

"Upon which, they said, they had resolved, by the full and concurrent agreement of both houses, that they could not, with discharge of their duty, consent to any levies or raising of soldiers to be

"made by his majesty, for that his intended expedition into Ireland; or to the payment of any army, or soldiers there, but such as should be employed and governed according to their advice and direction: and that, if such levies should be made by any commission of his majesty's, not agreed to by both houses of parliament, they should be forced to interpret the same to be raised to the terror of his people, and disturbance of the public peace; and did hold themselves bound, by the laws of the kingdom, to apply the authority of parliament to suppress the same.

"And, they said, they did further most humbly declare, that if his majesty should by ill counsel be persuaded to go, contrary to that advice of his parliament, (which they hoped his majesty would not,) they did not, in that case, hold themselves bound to submit to any commissioners, which his majesty should choose; but did resolve to preserve and govern the kingdom, by the counsel and advice of parliament, for his majesty and his posterity, according to their allegiance, and the law of the land: wherefore they did most humbly pray, and advise his majesty, to desist from that his intended passage into Ireland, and from all preparation of men and arms tending thereunto; and to leave the managing of that war to his parliament, according to his promise made unto them, and his commission granted under his great seal of England, by advice of both houses; in prosecution whereof, by God's blessing, they had already made a prosperous entrance, by many defeats of the rebels, whereby they were much weakened and disheartened; and had no probable means of subsistence, if the proceedings of the two houses were not interrupted by that interruption of his majesty's journey: but they hoped, upon good grounds, that, within a short time, without hazard of his person, and so much dangerous confusion in his kingdoms, which must needs ensue, if he should proceed in that resolution, they should be enabled fully to vindicate his majesty's right, and authority in that kingdom; and punish those horrible, outrageous cruelties, which had been committed in the murdering and spoiling so many of his subjects; and to bring that realm to such a condition, as might be much to the advantage of his majesty and the crown, and the honour of his government, and contentment of his people: for the better and more speedy effecting whereof, they did again renew their humble desires of his return to his parliament; and that he would please to reject all counsels and apprehensions, which might any way derogate from that faithfulness and allegiance, which, in truth and sincerity, they had always borne and professed to his majesty, and should ever make good, to the uttermost, with their lives and fortunes."

This petition (the matter whereof finding a general concurrence, there was the least debate and contradiction upon the manner of expression) being sent to the king to York; and, in the mean time, all preparations being suspended for the necessary relief for Ireland, insomuch as with the votes (which were presently printed) against the king's journey, there was likewise an order printed to discourage the adventurers from bringing in their money; the which, though it had no approbation from either house, and seemed to be angrily inter-

preted by them, and the printer was ordered to be found out and punished, yet did wholly stop that service; and by the no-inquiry, or punishment of that boldness, appeared to be done by design; his majesty speedily returned this answer:

"That he was so troubled, and astonished to find that unexpected reception and misunderstanding of his message concerning his Irish journey, that (being so much disappointed of the approbation and thanks he looked for to that declaration) he had great cause to doubt, whether it were in his power to say or do any thing, which would not fall within the like interpretation: but he said, as he had, in that message, called God to witness the sincerity of the profession of his only ends for the undertaking that journey; so he must appeal to all his good subjects, and the whole world, whether the reasons alleged against that journey were of weight to satisfy his understanding; or the counsel, presented to dissuade him from it, were full of that duty, as was like to prevail over his affections. For the resolving of so great a business without the advice of his parliament, he said, he must remember, how often, by his messages, he made the same offer, if they should advise him thereunto; to which they never gave him the least answer; but, in their late declaration, told him, that they were not to be satisfied with words: so that he had reason to conceive, they rather avoided, out of regard to his person, to give him counsel to run that hazard, than that they disapproved the inclination. And, he asked them, what greater comfort or security the protestants of Christendom could receive, than by seeing a protestant king venture, and engage his person for the defence of that religion, and the suppression of popery? to which he solemnly protested, in that message, never to grant a toleration, upon what pretence soever, or an abolition of any of the laws there in force against the professors of it. And, he said, when he considered the great calamities, and unheard of cruelties, his poor protestant subjects in that kingdom had undergone for the space of near, or full six months; the growth and increase of the strength of those barbarous rebels; and the evident probability of foreign supplies, if they were not speedily suppressed; the very slow succours hitherto sent them from hence: that the officers of several regiments, who had long time been allowed entertainment for that service, had not raised any supply or succour for that kingdom; that many troops of horse had long lain near Chester untransported; that the lord lieutenant of Ireland, on whom he relied principally for the conduct and managing of affairs there, was still in this kingdom, notwithstanding his majesty's earnestness expressed, that he should repair to his command: and when he considered the many and great scandals raised upon himself by report of the rebels, and not sufficiently discountenanced here, notwithstanding so many professions of his majesty; and had seen a book, lately printed by the order of the house of commons, entitled, *A Remonstrance of divers remarkable Passages concerning the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, wherein some examinations were set down, (how improbable or impossible soever,) which might make an impression in the minds of many of his weak subjects: and, lastly, when he had duly*

“ weighed the dishonour which would perpetually
 “ lie upon this kingdom, if full and speedy relief
 “ were not despatched thither; his majesty could
 “ not think of a better way to discharge his duty
 “ to Almighty God, for the defence of the true
 “ protestant religion, or to manifest his affection to
 “ his three kingdoms, for their preservation, than
 “ by engaging his person in that expedition, as
 “ many of his royal progenitors had done, even in
 “ foreign parts, upon causes of less importance and
 “ piety, with great honour to themselves, and
 “ advantage to this kingdom. And therefore he
 “ expected at least thanks for such his inclination.

“ For the danger to his person, he said, he conceived it necessary, and worthy of a king, to adventure his life to preserve his kingdom; neither could it be imagined, that he would sit still, and suffer his kingdoms to be lost, and his good protestant subjects to be massacred, without exposing his own person to the utmost hazard for their relief and preservation; his life, when it was most pleasant, being nothing so precious to him, as it was, and should be, to govern and preserve his people with honour and justice.

“ For any encouragement to the rebels, because of the reports they raised, he said, he could not conceive, that the rebels were capable of a greater terror, than by the presence of their lawful king, in the head of an army, to chastise them. Besides, it would be an unspeakable advantage to them, if any report of theirs could hinder him from doing any thing, which were fit for him to do, if such report were not raised: that would quickly teach them, in this jealous age, to prevent, by such reports, any other persons coming against them, whom they had no mind should be employed.

“ He told them, he marvelled, that the adventurers, whose advantage was a principal motive (next the reasons before mentioned) to him, should so much mistake his purpose; whose interest he conceived must be much improved by the expedition he hoped, by God's blessing, to use in that service; that being the most probable way for the speedy conquest of the rebels, their lands were sufficiently secured by act of parliament.

“ He told them, he thought himself not kindly used, that the addition of so few men to their levies (for a guard to his person in Ireland) should be thought fit for their refusal; and much more, that having used so many cautions in that message, both in the smallness of the number; in his having raised none, until their answer; in their being to be raised only near the place of shipping; in their being there to be armed, and that not till they were ready to be shipped; in the provision, by the oaths, that none of them should be papists, (all which were sufficient to destroy all grounds of jealousy of any force intended by them in opposition to the parliament, or favour to any malignant party,) any suspicion should, notwithstanding, be grounded upon it.

“ Neither, he said, could it be understood, that, when he recommended the managing of that war to them, that he intended to exclude himself, or not to be concerned in their counsels, that if he found any expedient, (which, in his conscience and understanding, he thought necessary for that great work,) he might not put it in practice. He told them, he looked upon them as his great

“ council, whose advice he always had, and would, with great regard and deliberation, weigh and consider: but he looked upon himself as neither deprived of his understanding, or divested of any right he had, if there were no parliament sitting. He said, he called them together by his own writ and authority (without which they could not have met) to give him faithful counsel about his great affairs; but he resigned not up his own interest and freedom; he never subjected himself to their absolute determination; he had always weighed their counsels, as proceeding from a council intrusted by him; and when he had dissented from them, he had returned them the reasons, which had prevailed with his conscience and understanding, with that candour, which a prince should use towards his subjects; and that affection, which a father could express to his children. What application had been used to rectify his understanding by reasons, or what motives had been given to persuade his affections, he would leave all the world to judge. And then, he said, he must tell them, howsoever a major part might bind them in matter of opinion, he held himself (and he was sure the law and constitution of the kingdom had always held the same) as free to dissent, till his reason [was] convinced for the general good, as if they had delivered no opinion.

“ For his journey itself, he told them the circumstances of their petition were such, as he knew not well what answer to return, or whether he were best to give any; that part which pretended to carry reason with it did no way satisfy him; the other, which was rather reprehension and menace, than advice, could not stagger him. His answer therefore was, that he should be very glad to find the work of Ireland so easy as they seemed to think it; which did not so appear by any thing known to him, when he sent his message: and though he would never refuse, or be unwilling, to venture his person for the good and safety of his people, he was not so weary of his life, as to hazard it impertinently; and therefore, since they seemed to have received advertisements of some late and great successes in that kingdom, he would stay some time to see the event of those, and not pursue his resolution till he had given them a second notice: but, if he found the miserable condition of his poor subjects of that kingdom were not speedily relieved, he would, with God's assistance, visit them with succours as his particular credit and interest could supply him with, if they refused to join with him. And he doubted not but the levies he should make (in which he would observe punctually the former, and all other cautions, as might best prevent all fears and jealousies; and to use no power but what was legal) would be so much to the satisfaction of his subjects, as no person would dare presume to resist his commands; and if they should, at their peril [be it]. In the mean time, he hoped his forwardness, so remarkable to that service, should be notorious to all the world; and that all scandals, laid on him in that business, should be clearly wiped away.

“ He told them, he had been so careful that his journey into Ireland should not interrupt the proceedings of parliament, nor deprive his subjects of any acts of justice, or further acts of grace, for the real benefit of his people, that he had made a free offer of leaving such power behind,

“ as should not only be necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom, but fully provide for the happy progress of the parliament : and therefore he could not but wonder, since such power had been always left here, by commission, for the government of this kingdom, when his progenitors had been out of the same, during the sitting of parliaments; and since themselves desired that such a power might be left here by his majesty, at his last going into Scotland; what law of the land they had now found to dispense with them from submitting to such authority, legally derived from him, in his absence; and to enable them to govern the kingdom by their own mere authority.

“ For his return to London, he said, he had given them so full answers in his late declaration, and answers that he knew not what to add, if they would not provide for his security with them, nor agree to remove to another place, where there might not be the same danger to his majesty. He told them, he expected, that (since he had been so particular in the causes and grounds of his fears) they should have sent him word, that they had published such declarations against future tumults and unlawful assemblies, and taken such courses for the suppressing seditious pamphlets and sermons, that his fears of that kind might be laid aside, before they should press his return.

“ To conclude, he told them, he could wish, that they would, with the same strictness and severity, weigh and examine their messages and expressions to him, as they did those they received from him. For he was very confident, that if they examined his rights and privileges, by what his predecessors had enjoyed; and their own addresses, by the usual courses observed by their ancestors; they would find many expressions in that petition, warranted only by their own authority; which indeed he forbore to take notice of, or to give answer to, lest he should be tempted, in a just indignation, to express a greater passion, than he was yet willing to put on. God in his good time, he hoped, would so inform the hearts of all his subjects, that he should recover from the mischief and danger of that distemper; on whose good pleasure, he said, he would wait with all patience and humility.”

And from this time the purpose was never resumed of his majesty's personal expedition into Ireland, and so they were freed from that apprehension. The truth is, that counsel for his majesty's journey into Ireland was very suddenly taken, and communicated to very few, without consideration of the objections, that would naturally arise against it; and was rather resolved as a probable stratagem, to compose the two houses to a better temper and sobriety, upon the apprehension of the king's absence from them, and the inconveniences that might thence ensue, than sufficiently considered and digested for execution. For none were more violent against it than they who served the king most faithfully in the houses; who, in the king's absence, and after such a grant of the militia, as was then offered, looked upon themselves as sacrificed to the pride and fury of those, whose inclinations and temper had begot the confusions they complained of. But if it had been so duly weighed and consulted, and men so disposed, that it might have

been executed, and the king [had] taken a fit council and retinue about him, it would at that time have been no hard matter speedily to have reduced Ireland; and, by the reputation and authority of that, the other two kingdoms might have been contained within their proper bounds. But, as it fell out, the overture proved disadvantageous to the king, and gave the other party new cause of triumph, that they had plainly threatened him out of what he pretended to have firmly resolved to do; which disadvantage was improved by the other proposition, that attended it, concerning the militia. For the bill, sent by the king upon that argument, brought the business again into debate; and, though nothing was concluded upon it, the king was a loser by the proposition, though not so much as he feared he should have been, when he saw his journey into Ireland desperate; upon the supposition of which, he had only made that tender.

The bill sent by the king, and preferred to the house of peers, by the attorney general, granted the militia, for one year, to the persons first nominated by the houses in their ordinance to his majesty; and made those persons, in the execution of that trust, subject to the authority of his majesty and the two houses jointly, whilst his majesty was within the kingdom; and, in his absence, of the two houses only. What alterations and amendments they made in it before they returned it again for the royal assent, will best appear by the king's answer, which he sent to them at the time of his refusal to pass it; which was,

“ That he had, with great deliberation and patience, weighed and considered (as it concerned him much to weigh the consequences of every law before he passed it) their bill lately sent to him for the settling the militia; and though it had not been usual to give any reason for the refusal to pass any bill, it being absolutely in his power to pass, or not pass, any act sent to him, if he conceived it prejudicial to himself, or inconvenient to his subjects, for whom he was trusted, and must one day give an account; yet, in that business of the militia, which, being misunderstood amongst his good subjects, had been used as an argument, as if he were not vigilant enough for the public safety, and lest he should be thought less constant in his resolutions, and that bill to be the same he had sent to them, he thought fit to give them, and all the world, particular satisfaction, why he could not, ought not, must not pass that bill, being the first public bill he had refused this parliament: and therefore, he told them, he must complain, that having expressed himself so clearly and particularly to them in that point, they should press any thing upon him, which they could not but foresee that he must refuse; except he departed from those resolutions, grounded upon so much reason, he had so earnestly before acquainted them with, and against which they had not given one argument to satisfy his judgment.

“ He told them, he was pleased they had declined the unwarrantable course of their ordinance, (to the which, he was confident, his good subjects would never have yielded their consent,) and chosen that only right way of imposing upon the people, which he would have allowed but for the reasons following:

“ He said, he had refused to consent to their

“ ordinance, as for other things, so for that the
 “ power was put into the persons nominated therein
 “ by direction of both houses of parliament, ex-
 “ cluding his majesty from any power in the dis-
 “ position or execution of it together with them:
 “ he had then advised them, for many reasons,
 “ that a bill should be prepared; and after, in his
 “ answer of the 26th of March to the petition of
 “ both houses, he had told them, if such a bill
 “ should be prepared with that due regard to his
 “ majesty, and care of his people, in the limitation
 “ of the power, and other circumstances, he should
 “ recede from nothing he formerly expressed.

“ What passed (enough to have discouraged
 “ him from being further solicitous in that argu-
 “ ment) after his full and gracious answers, he
 “ was content to forget. When he resolved [on]
 “ his journey into Ireland, so that, by reason of
 “ his absence, there might be no want of settling
 “ that power; besides complying with their fears,
 “ he sent, together with a message of that his pur-
 “ pose, a bill for the settling the power for a year;
 “ hoping in that time to return to them, and being
 “ sure that, in much less time, they might do the
 “ business, for which at first they seemed to desire
 “ this; which was, that they might securely con-
 “ sider his message of the 20th of January last.
 “ By that bill, which he sent, he consented to
 “ those names they proposed in their ordinance,
 “ and in the limitation of the power; provided,
 “ that himself should not be able to execute any
 “ thing but by their advice; and, when he should
 “ be out of the kingdom, the sole execution to be
 “ in them; with many other things, of so arbitrary
 “ and uncircumscribed a power, that he should
 “ not have consented to, but with reference to the
 “ absence of his own person out of the kingdom;
 “ and thought it the more sufferable, in respect
 “ the time was but for a year. Whether that bill,
 “ they had sent to him to pass, were the same,
 “ the world would judge.

“ He said, they had, by that bill tendered to his
 “ majesty, without taking notice of him, put the
 “ power of the whole kingdom, the life and liber-
 “ ties of the subjects of all degrees and qualities,
 “ into the hands of particular men, for two years.
 “ He asked them, if they could imagine he would
 “ trust such an absolute power in the hands of
 “ particular persons, which he had refused to com-
 “ mit to both houses of parliament? Nay, if the
 “ power itself were not too absolute, too unlimited,
 “ to be committed into any private hands? Whe-
 “ ther sir John Hotham's high insolence shewed
 “ him not, what he might expect from an ex-
 “ orbitant legal power, when he, by a power not
 “ warranted by law, durst venture upon a treason-
 “ able disobedience? But his majesty would will-
 “ ingly know, and indeed such an account in ordi-
 “ nary civility, he said, he might have expected,
 “ why he was, by that act, absolutely excluded
 “ from any power, or authority, in the execution
 “ of the militia. He said, sure their fears and
 “ jealousies were not of such a nature, as were
 “ capable of no other remedy, than by leaving him
 “ no power in a point of the greatest importance;
 “ in which God, and the law, had trusted him
 “ solely, and which he had been contented to share
 “ with them by his own bill, by putting it, and a
 “ greater, into the hands of particular subjects.
 “ He asked them, what all Christian princes would
 “ think of him after he had passed such a bill?

“ How they would value his sovereignty? And
 “ yet, he said, sure his reputation with foreign
 “ princes was some ground of their security. Nay,
 “ he was confident, by that time they had throughly
 “ considered the possible consequence of that
 “ bill, upon themselves, and the rest of his good
 “ subjects, they would all give him thanks for not
 “ consenting to it; finding their condition, if it
 “ should have passed, would not have been so
 “ pleasing to them. He told them, he hoped that
 “ animadversion would be no breach of their pri-
 “ vileges. In that throng of business and dis-
 “ temper of affections, it was possible, second
 “ thoughts might present somewhat to their con-
 “ siderations, which escaped them before.

“ He remembered them, that he had passed a
 “ bill this parliament, at their entreaty, concerning
 “ the captives of Algiers, and waved many objec-
 “ tions of his own to the contrary, upon informa-
 “ tion that the business had been many months
 “ considered by them; whether it proved suitable
 “ to their intentions, or whether they had not, by
 “ some private orders, suspended that act of par-
 “ liament upon view of the mistakes, themselves
 “ best knew; as likewise, what other alterations
 “ they had made upon other bills, passed this ses-
 “ sion. He told them, he could not pass over
 “ the putting their names out of that bill, whom
 “ before they had recommended to him in their
 “ ordinance, not thinking fit, it seemed, to trust
 “ those who would obey no guide but the law of
 “ the land, (he imagined they would not wish he
 “ should in his estimation of others follow that
 “ their rule,) and the leaving out, by special pro-
 “ vision, the present lord mayor of London, as a
 “ person in their disfavour; whereas, he said, he
 “ must tell them, his demeanour had been such,
 “ that the city, and the whole kingdom, was be-
 “ holding to him for his example.

“ To conclude, he said, he did not find himself
 “ possessed of such an excess of power, that it
 “ was fit to transfer, or consent it should be in
 “ other persons, as was directed by that bill; and
 “ therefore he should rely upon that royal right
 “ and jurisdiction, which God and the law had
 “ given him, for the suppressing of rebellion, and
 “ resisting foreign invasion; which had preserved
 “ the kingdom in the time of all his ancestors,
 “ and which he doubted not but he should be
 “ able to execute. And, not more for his own
 “ honour and right, than for the liberty and safety
 “ of his people, he could not consent to pass that
 “ bill.”

Though no sober man could deny the reason-
 ableness of that answer, and that there was indeed
 so great a difference between the bill sent by his
 majesty, and that presented to him from the two
 houses, that it could not soberly be imagined he
 would consent to it; yet, it had been better for
 his majesty, that that overture had never been
 made; it giving new life, spirit, and hopes to
 them; and they making the people believe (who
 understood not the difference, and knew not that
 the king's pleasure, signified by both houses of
 parliament, was the pleasure of both houses with-
 out the king) that his majesty now refused to con-
 sent to what himself had offered and proposed;
 whilst his own party (for so those began now to
 be called, who preserved their duty and allegiance
 entire) was as much troubled to find so sovereign
 a power of the crown offered to be parted with to

the two houses, as was tendered to them by the king's own bill; and that it was possible for his majesty to recede from his firmest resolves, even in a point that would not naturally admit of the least division or diminution.

The king, being well pleased that he had gone through one of his resolutions, and not much troubled at the anger and trouble it had produced, and finding his court full of persons of quality of the country, who made all expressions of affection and duty, which they thought would be most acceptable to him, he resolved to undertake another enterprise, which was of more importance, and which in truth was the sole motive of his journey into those parts. The great magazine of arms and ammunition, which was left upon the disbanding the army, remained still at Hull, and was a nobler proportion than remained in the Tower of London, or all other his majesty's stores; and there had been formerly a purpose to have secured the same by the earl of Newcastle's presence there, which had been disappointed, as hath been before mentioned, and sir John Hotham sent thither to look to it; who was now there only with one of the companies of the trained bands: and so the king resolved that he would himself make a journey thither, with his own usual train; and being there, that he would stay there, till he had secured the place to him. This was his purpose; which he concealed to that degree, that very few about him knew any thing of it.

As soon as it was known that his majesty meant to reside in York, it was easily suspected, that he had an eye upon the magazine; and therefore they made an order in both houses, "That the magazine should be removed from Hull to the Tower;" and ships were making ready for the transportation; so that his majesty could no longer defer the execution of what he designed. And, being persuaded, by some who believed themselves, that, if he went thither, it would neither be in sir John Hotham's will, or his power, to keep him out of that town; and that, being possessed of so considerable a port, and of the magazine there, (which the houses had ordered to be speedily sent to London,) he should find a better temper towards a modest and dutiful treaty; his majesty took the opportunity of a petition presented to him by the gentlemen of Yorkshire, (who in truth were much troubled at the order for removing the magazine from Hull; and were ready to appear in any thing for his service,) by which "they desired him to cast his eyes and thoughts upon the safety of his own person, and his princely issue, and that whole county; a great means whereof, they said, did consist in the arms and ammunition at Hull, placed there by his princely care and charge; and since, upon general apprehensions of dangers from foreign parts, thought fit to be continued: and they did very earnestly beseech him, that he would take such course, that it might still remain there, for the better securing those, and the rest of the northern parts." Hereupon he resolved to go thither himself; and, the night before, he sent his son the duke of York, who was lately arrived from Richmond, accompanied with the prince elector, thither, with some other persons of honour; who knew no more, than that it was a journey given to the pleasure and curiosity of the duke. Sir John Hotham received them with that duty and civility that became him. The next

morning early, the king took horse from York; and, attended with two or three hundred of his servants, and gentlemen of the country, rode thither; and, when he came within a mile of the town, sent a gentleman to sir John Hotham, "to let him know that the king would that day dine with him;" with which he was strangely surprised, or seemed to be so.

It was then reported, and was afterwards averred by himself to some friends, that he had received the night before advertisement, from a person very near to, and very much trusted by his majesty, of the king's purpose of coming thither, and that there was a resolution of hanging him, or cutting his throat as soon as he was in the town.

The man was of a fearful nature, and perplexed understanding, and could better resolve upon deliberation than on a sudden; and many were of opinion, that if he had been prepared dexterously beforehand, and in confidence, he would have conformed to the king's pleasure; for he was master of a noble fortune in land, and rich in money; of a very ancient family, and well allied; his affections to the government very good; and no man less desired to see the nation involved in a civil war, than he: and, when he accepted this employment from the parliament, he never imagined it would engage him in rebellion; but believed, that the king would find it necessary to comply with the advice of his two houses; and that the preserving that magazine from being possessed by him, would likewise prevent any possible rupture into arms. He was now in great confusion; and calling some of the chief magistrates, and other officers, together to consult, they persuaded him, not to suffer the king to enter into the town. And his majesty coming within an hour after his messenger, found the gates shut, and the bridges drawn, and the walls manned; all things being in a readiness for the reception of an enemy. Sir John Hotham himself from the walls, with several professions of duty, and many expressions of fear, telling his majesty, "that he durst not open the gates, being trusted by the parliament;" the king told him, "that he believed he had no order from the parliament to shut the gates against him, or to keep him out of the town." He replied, "that his train was so great, that if it were admitted, he should not be able to give a good account of the town." Whereupon the king offered "to enter with twenty horse only, and that the rest should stay without." The which the other refusing, the king desired him "to come to him, that he might confer with him, upon his princely word of safety, and liberty to return." And when he excused himself likewise from that, his majesty told him, "that as this act of his was unparalleled, so it would produce some notable effect; that it was not possible for him to sit down by such an indignity, but that he would immediately proclaim him traitor, and proceed against him as such; that this disobedience of his would probably bring many miseries upon the kingdom, and much loss of blood; all which might be prevented, if he performed the duty of a subject; and therefore advised him to think sadly of it, and to prevent the necessary growth of so many calamities, which must lie all upon his conscience." The gentleman, with much distraction in his looks, talked confusedly of "the

"trust he had from the parliament;" then fell on his knees, and wished, "that God would bring confusion upon him, and his, if he were not a loyal and faithful subject to his majesty;" but, in conclusion, plainly denied to suffer his majesty to come into the town. Whereupon, the king caused him immediately to be proclaimed a traitor; which the other received with some expressions of undutifulness and contempt. And so the king, after the duke of York, and prince elector, with their retinue, were come out of the town, where they were kept some hours, was forced to retire that night to Beverly, four miles from that place; and so the next day returned to York, full of trouble and indignation for the affront he had received; which he foresaw would produce a world of mischief.

The king sent an express to the two houses, with a message, declaring what had passed; and, "that sir John Hotham had justified his treason and disloyalty, by pretence of an order and trust from them; which as he could not produce, so, his majesty was confident, they would not own; but would be highly sensible of the scandal he had laid upon them, as well as of his disloyalty to his majesty. And therefore he demanded justice of them against him, according to law." The houses had heard before of the king's going out of York thither, and were in terrible apprehension that he had possessed himself of the town; and that sir John Hotham, (for they were not confident of him, as of a man of their own faith,) by promises or menaces, had given up the place to him; and, with this apprehension, they were exceedingly dejected: but when they heard the truth, and found that Hull was still in their hands, they were equally exalted, magnifying their trusty governor's faith, and fidelity against the king. In the mean time, the gentlemen of the north expressed a marvellous sense and passion on his majesty's behalf; and offered to raise the force of the county to take the town by force. But the king chose, for many reasons, to send again to the houses another message, in which he told them,

"That he was so much concerned in the undutiful affront (an indignity all his good subjects must disdain in his behalf) he had received from sir John Hotham at Hull, that he was impatient till he received justice from them; and was compelled to call again for an answer, being confident, however they had been so careful, though without his consent, to put a garrison into that his town, to secure it and his magazine against any attempt of the papists, that they never intended to dispose and maintain it against him, their sovereign. Therefore he required them forthwith (for the business would admit no delay) that they took some speedy course, that his said town and magazine might be immediately delivered up unto him; and that such severe exemplary proceedings, should be against those persons, who had offered that insupportable affront and injury to him, as by the law was provided; and, till that should be done, he would intend no business whatsoever, other than the business of Ireland. For, he said, if he were brought into a condition so much worse than any of his subjects, that, whilst they all enjoyed their privileges, and might not have their possessions disturbed, or their titles questioned, he only might be spoiled, thrown out of his towns,

"and his goods taken from him, it was time to examine how he had lost those privileges; and to try all possible ways, by the help of God, the law of the land, and the affection of his good subjects, to recover them, and to vindicate himself from those injuries; and, if he should miscarry therein, he should be the first prince of this kingdom that had done so, having no other end but to defend the true protestant religion, the law of the land, and the liberty of the subject; and he desired God so to deal with him, as he continued in those resolutions."

Instead of any answer to his majesty upon these two messages, or sadly considering how this breach might be made up, they immediately publish (together with a declaration of their former jealousies of the papists; of the malignant party; of the lord Digby's letter intercepted; of the earl of Newcastle's being sent thither, upon which they had first sent down a governor, and put a garrison into Hull) several votes and resolutions, by which they declared,

"That sir John Hotham had done nothing but in obedience to the command of both houses of parliament, and that the declaring of him a traitor, being a member of the house of commons, was a high breach of the privilege of parliament, and, being without due process of law, was against the liberty of the subject, and against the law of the land."

And hearing at the same time, that a letter, coming from Hull to them the night after the king's being there, had been intercepted by some of his majesty's servants, they declared, "that all such intercepting of any letters sent to them, was a high breach of the privilege of parliament, which by the laws of the kingdom, and the protestation, they were bound to defend with their lives, and their fortunes, and to bring the violator thereof to condign punishment." Then they ordered, that the sheriffs and justices of the peace of the counties of York and Lincoln, and all others his majesty's officers, should suppress all forces, that should be raised or gathered together in those counties, either to force the town of Hull, or stop the passages to and from the same, or in any other way to disturb the peace of the kingdom. All which votes, orders, and declarations, being printed, and diligently dispersed throughout the kingdom before any address made to his majesty in answer of his messages, and coming to his view, the king published an answer to those votes and declarations, in which he said:

"Since his gracious messages to both houses of parliament, demanding justice for the high and unheard of affront offered unto him, at the gates of Hull, by sir John Hotham, was not thought worthy of an answer; but that, instead thereof, they had thought fit, by their printed votes, to own and avow that unparalleled act to be done in obedience to the command of both houses of parliament, (though at that time he could produce no such command,) and, with other resolutions against his proceedings there, to publish a declaration concerning that business, as an appeal to the people, and as if their intercourse with his majesty, and for his satisfaction, were now to no more purpose; though he knew that course of theirs to be very unagreeable to the modesty and duty of former times, and unwarrantable by any precedents, but what themselves had made; yet,

“ he was not unwilling to join issue with them in
“ that way, and to let all the world know, how
“ necessary, just, and lawful all his proceedings
“ had been in that point, and that the defence of
“ those proceedings was the defence of the law of
“ the land, of the liberty, and property of the sub-
“ ject; and that by the same rule of justice, which
“ was now offered to him, all the private interest
“ and title of all his good subjects to all their lands
“ and goods was confounded and destroyed. He
“ remembered them, that Mr. Pym had said in his
“ speech against the earl of Strafford, (which was
“ published by order of the commons’ house,) the
“ law is the safeguard, the custody of all private
“ interest; your honours, your lives, your liberties,
“ and estates are all in the keeping of the law;
“ without this every man hath a like right to any
“ thing. And he said, he would fain be answered
“ what title any subject of his kingdom had to his
“ house or land, that he had not to his town of
“ Hull? or what right any subject had to his
“ money, plate, or jewels, that his majesty had not
“ to his magazine or munition there? If he had
“ ever such a title, he said he would know when
“ he lost it? And if that magazine and munition,
“ bought with his own money, were ever his, when
“ and how that property went out of him? He
“ very well knew the great and unlimited power of
“ a parliament; but he knew as well, that it was
“ only in that sense, as he was a part of that par-
“ liament; without him, and against his consent,
“ the votes of either or both houses together must
“ not, could not, should not (if he could help it,
“ for his subjects’ sake, as well as his own) forbid
“ any thing that was enjoined by the law, or en-
“ join any thing that was forbidden by the law.
“ But in any such alteration, which might be for
“ the peace and happiness of the kingdom, he had
“ not, should not refuse to consent. And he
“ doubted not, but that all his good subjects would
“ easily discern, in what a miserable insecurity and
“ confusion they must necessarily and inevitably be,
“ if descents might be altered; purchases avoided;
“ assurances and conveyances cancelled; the sove-
“ reign legal authority despised, and resisted by
“ votes, or orders of either or both houses. And
“ this, he said, he was sure, was his case at Hull;
“ and as it was his this day, by the same rule, it
“ might be theirs to-morrow.

“ Against any desperate design of the papists, of
“ which they discoursed so much, he had suffi-
“ ciently expressed his zeal and intentions; and
“ should be as forward to adventure his own life
“ and fortune, to oppose any such designs, as the
“ meanest subject in his kingdom.

“ For the malignant party, he said, as the law
“ had not, to [his] knowledge, defined their con-
“ dition, so neither house had presented them to
“ his majesty, under such a notion, as he might
“ well understand, whom they intended; and he
“ should therefore only inquire after and avoid the
“ malignant party, under the character of persons
“ disaffected to the peace and government of the
“ kingdom, and such who, neglecting and despis-
“ ing the law of the land, had given themselves
“ other rules to walk by, and so dispensed with
“ their obedience to authority; of those persons, as
“ destructive to the commonwealth, he should take
“ all possible caution.

“ Why any letters intercepted from the lord
“ Digby, wherein he mentioned a retreat to a place

“ of safety, should hinder him from visiting his own
“ fort, and how he had opposed any ways of ac-
“ commodation with his parliament, and what ways
“ and overtures had been offered in any way, or
“ like any desire of such accommodation; or whe-
“ ther his message of the twentieth of January
“ last, so often in vain pressed by him, had not
“ sufficiently expressed his earnest desire of it, he
“ said, all the world should judge; neither was it
“ in the power of any persons to incline him to
“ take arms against his parliament and his good
“ subjects, and miserably to embroil the kingdom
“ in civil wars. He had given sufficient evidence
“ to the world how much his affections abhorred,
“ and how much his heart did bleed at, the appre-
“ hension of a civil war. And, he said, God and
“ the world must judge, if his care and industry
“ were [not], only to defend and protect the
“ liberty of the subject, the law of the kingdom,
“ his own just rights, (part of that law,) and his
“ honour, much more precious than his life: and
“ if, in opposition to these, any civil war should
“ arise, upon whose account the blood, and de-
“ struction that must follow, must be cast: God,
“ and his own conscience, told him, that he was
“ clear.

“ For captain Leg’s being sent heretofore to
“ Hull, or for the earl of Newcastle’s being sent
“ thither by his warrant and authority, he said, he
“ had asked a question long ago, in his answer to
“ both houses concerning the magazine at Hull,
“ which, he had cause to think, was not easy to be
“ answered; why the general rumour of the de-
“ sign of papists, in the northern parts, should not
“ be thought sufficient ground for his majesty to
“ put in such a person of honour, fortune, and un-
“ blemished reputation, as the earl of Newcastle was
“ known to be, into a town and fort of his own,
“ where his own magazine lay; and yet the same
“ rumour be warrant enough to commit the same
“ town and fort, without his consent, to the hands
“ of sir John Hotham, with such a power as was
“ now too well known, and understood? How his
“ refusal to have that magazine removed, upon the
“ petition of both houses, could give any advan-
“ tage against him, to have it taken from him, and
“ whether it was a refusal, all men would easily
“ understand, who read his answer to that peti-
“ tion; to which it had not been yet thought fit to
“ make any reply.

“ For the condition of those persons, who pre-
“ sented the petition to him at York (whom that
“ declaration called, some few ill-affected persons
“ about the city of York) to continue the magazine
“ at Hull; he said, he made no doubt, but that
“ petition would appear to be attested, both in
“ number and weight, by persons of honour and
“ integrity, and much more conversant with the
“ affections of the whole country, than most of
“ those petitions, which had been received with so
“ much consent and approbation. And for their
“ presumption of interposing their advice, his ma-
“ jesty the more wondered at that exception, when
“ such encouragement had been given, and thanks
“ declared to multitudes of mean, unknown people,
“ apprentices, and porters, who had accompanied
“ petitions of very strange natures.

“ For the manner of his going to Hull, he said,
“ he had clearly set forth the same, in his message
“ to both houses of that business; and for any in-
“ telligence given to sir John Hotham of an inten-

“tion to deprive him of his life, as he knew there
 “was no such intention in him, having given him
 “all possible assurance of the same, at his being
 “there, so he was confident, no such intelligence
 “was given, or if it were, it was by some villain,
 “who had nothing but malice or design to fright
 “him from his due obedience, to warrant him;
 “and sir John Hotham had all the reason to as-
 “sure himself, that his life would be in much more
 “danger by refusing to admit his king into his
 “own town and fort, than by yielding him that
 “obedience, which he owed by his oaths of alle-
 “giance and supremacy, and the protestation,
 “which he knew was due and warrantable, by the
 “laws of the land. For the number of his at-
 “tendants, though that could be no warrant for
 “such a disobedience in a subject, he said, it was
 “well known (as his majesty had expressed in his
 “message to both houses, to which credit ought
 “to have been given) that he offered to go into
 “the town with twenty horse only, his whole train
 “being unarmed; and whosoever thought that too
 “great an attendance for his majesty and his two
 “sons, had sure an intention to bring him to a
 “meaner retinue, than they would yet avow.

“Here then, he said, was his case, of which all
 “the world should judge: his majesty endeavoured
 “to visit a town and fort of his own, wherein his
 “own magazine lay: a subject, in defiance of him,
 “shuts the gates against him; with armed men
 “resists, denies, and opposes his entrance; tells
 “him, in plain terms, he should not come in. He
 “said, he did not pretend to understand much
 “law, yet, in the point of treason, he had had
 “much learning taught him this parliament; and
 “if the sense of the statute of the 25th year of
 “Edward III. chap. 2. were not very differing
 “from the letter, sir John Hotham's act was no
 “less than plain high treason: and he had been
 “contemptibly stupid, if he had, after all those
 “circumstances of grace and favour then shewed
 “to him, made any scruple to proclaim him traitor.
 “And whether he were so, or no, if he would ren-
 “der himself, his majesty would require no other
 “trial, than that which the law had appointed to
 “every subject, and which he was confident he
 “had not, in the least degree, violated in those
 “proceedings; no more than he had done the
 “privilege of parliament, by endeavouring, in a
 “just way, to challenge his own unquestionable
 “privileges. For that, in such case, the declaring
 “him traitor, being a member of the house of
 “commons, without process of law, should be a
 “breach of privilege of parliament, (of which he
 “was sure none extended to treason, felony, or
 “breach of peace,) against the liberty of the sub-
 “ject, or against the law of the land, he must
 “have other reasons than bare votes. He said,
 “he would know if sir John Hotham had, with
 “the forces by which he kept him out of his town
 “of Hull, pursued him to the gates of York,
 “which he might as legally have done, whether
 “his majesty must have staid from declaring him
 “traitor till process of law might have issued
 “against him? Would fears and jealousies dis-
 “pense with necessary and real forms? And
 “must his majesty, when actual war is levied
 “upon him, observe forms which the law itself
 “doth not enjoin? The case, he said, was truly
 “stated, let all the world judge (unless the mere
 “sitting of a parliament did suspend all laws, and

“his majesty was the only person in England
 “against whom treason could not be committed)
 “where the fault was; and whatsoever course he
 “should be driven to for the vindication of that
 “his privilege, and for the recovery and mainte-
 “nance of his known undoubted rights, he doth
 “promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and
 “as he hopes for his blessing in his success, that
 “he would, to the utmost of his powers, defend
 “and maintain the true protestant profession, the
 “law of the land, the liberty of the subject, and
 “the just privilege and freedom of parliament.

“For the order of assistance given to the com-
 “mittee of both houses, concerning their going to
 “Hull, he said, he should say no more, but that
 “those persons, named in that order, he presumed,
 “would give no commands, or his good subjects
 “obey other, than what were warranted by the
 “law, (how large the directions are, or the in-
 “structions might be,) for to that rule he should
 “apply his own actions, and by it require an ac-
 “count from other men; and that all his good
 “subjects might the better know their duty in
 “matters of this nature, he wished them carefully
 “to peruse the statute of the eleventh year of king
 “Henry VII. ch. 1. He said, he would conclude
 “with Mr. Pym's own words: If the prerogative
 “of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people,
 “it will be turned to tyranny; if liberty un-
 “dermine the prerogative, it would grow into
 “anarchy.”

Besides their declaration, votes, and orders in
 the justification of sir John Hotham, for his better
 encouragement, and for a ground of his son's resi-
 dence at Hull, in whom they had in truth a firmer
 confidence than in the father, they ordered, “That
 “if, by any force or accident, sir John Hotham
 “should lose his life, or otherwise die in that ser-
 “vice, that his son should succeed him in the go-
 “vernment;” and having thus declared them-
 selves, they thought fit at last to send some parti-
 cular answer to the king upon that business;
 which they were the rather inclined to do, that
 under that pretence they might send down a com-
 mittee of their own to reside at York: whereby
 they might receive constant animadversions of what
 happened, and what was designed, and their friends
 and dependents in that large, populous, and rich
 county, be the better confirmed in their affections
 and devotions to them; and, to that purpose, they
 sent down the lord Howard of Escrick, the lord
 Fairfax, sir Hugh Cholmely, (a fast friend to sir
 John Hotham,) sir Philip Stapleton, who had
 likewise married Hotham's daughter, and sir Harry
 Cholmely, who presented their answer in writing to
 his majesty; the which, being of a mould unusual,
 and a dialect higher and rougher than even them-
 selves had yet used, I have thought fit to insert in
 the same words it was delivered; thus:

*The most humble answer of the lords and commons
 in parliament to two messages from your sacred
 majesty concerning sir John Hotham's refusal to
 give your majesty entrance into the town of
 Hull.*

“Your majesty may be pleased to understand,
 “that we, your great council, finding manifold
 “evidences of the wicked counsels and practices of
 “some in near trust and authority about you, to
 “put the kingdom into a combustion, by drawing
 “your majesty into places of strength, remote from

"your parliament, and by exciting your people to commotions, under pretence of serving your majesty against your parliament, lest this malignant party, by the advantage of the town and magazine of Hull, should be enabled to go through with their mischievous intentions, did, in discharge of the great trust that lies upon us, and by that power which in cases of this nature resides in us, command the town of Hull to be secured by a garrison of the adjoining trained band, under the government of sir John Hotham; requiring him to keep the same for the service of your majesty and the kingdom: wherein we have done nothing contrary to your royal sovereignty in that town, or legal propriety in the magazine.

"Upon consideration of sir John Hotham's proceeding at your majesty's being there, we have upon very good grounds adjudged, that he could not discharge the trust, upon which, nor make good the end, for which he was placed in the guard of that town and magazine, if he had let in your majesty with such counsellors and company as were then about you.

"Wherefore, upon full resolution of both houses, we have declared sir John Hotham to be clear from that odious crime of treason; and have avowed, that he hath therein done nothing but in obedience to the command of both houses of parliament; assuring ourselves, that, upon mature deliberation, your majesty will not interpret his obedience to such authority to be an affront to your majesty, or to be of that nature, as to require any justice to be done upon him, or satisfaction to be made to your majesty: but that you will see just cause of joining with your parliament, in preserving and securing the peace of the kingdom; suppressing this wicked and malignant party; who, by false colours, and pretensions of maintaining your majesty's prerogative against the parliament, (wherein they fully agree with the rebels of Ireland,) have been the causes of all our distempers and dangers.

"For prevention whereof we know no better remedy, than settling the militia of the kingdom, according to the bill, which we have sent your majesty, without any intention of deserting, or declining the validity, or observance of that ordinance, which passed both houses, upon your majesty's former refusal: but we still hold that ordinance to be effectual by the laws of this kingdom. And we shall be exceeding glad, if your majesty, by approving these our just, dutiful, and necessary proceedings, shall be pleased to entertain such counsel, as we assure ourselves, by God's blessing, will prove very advantageous for the honour and greatness of your majesty; the safety and peace of your people; amongst which we know none more likely to produce such good effects, than a declaration from your majesty of your purpose to lay aside all thoughts of going into Ireland, and to make a speedy return into these parts, to be near your parliament. Which, as it is our most humble desire, and earnest petition, so shall it be seconded with our most dutiful care for the safety of your royal person, and constant prayers, that it may prove honourable and successful, in the happiness of your majesty, and all your kingdoms."

To this answer, with all formality delivered to his majesty by the committee, the king returned a quick reply:

"That he had been in good hope, that the reason, why they had so long deferred their answer to his messages concerning Hull, had been; that they might the better have given him satisfaction therein, which now added the more astonishment, finding their answer, after so long advisement, to be of that nature, which could not but rather increase than diminish the present distractions, if constantly adhered to by the parliament. He asked them, whether it was not too much, that his town of Hull had a garrison put into it, to the great charge of the country, and inconvenience to the poor inhabitants, without his consent and approbation, under colour at that time of foreign invasion, and apprehensions of the popish party; but that now the reasons thereof should be enlarged with a scandal to his majesty, and his faithful servants, only to bring in the more specious pretext for the avowing sir John Hotham's insolence and treason?

"He said, he had often heard of the great trust, that, by the law of God and man, was committed to the king for the defence and safety of his people; but as yet he never understood, what trust or power was committed to either or both houses of parliament, without the king; they being summoned to counsel and advise the king. But by what law or authority they possess themselves of his majesty's proper right and inheritance, he was confident, that as they had not, so they could not shew. He told them, that he had not hitherto given the least interruption to public justice; but they, rather than suffer one of their members to come so much as to a legal trial for the highest crime, would make use of an order of parliament to countenance treason, by declaring him free from that guilt, which all former ages never accounted other; and that without so much as inquiring the opinion of the judges; for he was confident, they would have mentioned their opinion, if they had asked it.

"Therefore he expected, that upon further and better consideration of the great and necessary consequence of the business of Hull, and seriously weighing, how much it did concern the peace and quiet of the kingdom, they would, without further instance from his majesty, give him full and speedy justice against sir John Hotham. And he said, he would leave all his good people to think, what hope of justice there was left for them, when they refused, or delayed, to give their own sovereign satisfaction. And, as he had already said, till that should be done, he would intend no business whatsoever, other than that of Ireland.

"And he said, he likewise expected that they would not put the militia in execution, until they could shew him by what law they had authority to do the same, without his consent; or if they did, he was confident, that he should find much more obedience according to law, than they would do against law. And he should esteem all those, who should obey them therein, to be disturbers of the peace of the kingdom; and would, in due season, call them to a legal account for the same.

"Concerning his return, he told them, he never heard that the slandering of a king's government, and his faithful servants, the refusing of him justice, and in a case of treason, and the seeking to take away his undoubted and legal authority,

“under the pretence of putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, were arguments to induce a king to come near, or hearken to his parliament.”

The king despatched this answer the sooner, that the country might be freed from the impression, the presence and activity of the committee made in them: but when he delivered it to them, and required them to make all convenient haste with it to the houses, they told him, “they would send it by an express, but that themselves were required and appointed to reside still at York.” The king told them, “that he liked not to have such supervisors near him, and wished them to be very careful in their carriage; that the country was visibly then very well affected; and if he found any declension, he well knew to whom to impute it; and should be compelled to proceed in another manner against them, than, with reference to their persons,” (for they were all then reputed moderate men, and had not been thought disaffected to the government of the church or state,) “he should be willing to do.” They answered with a sullen confidence, “that they should demean themselves according to their instructions; and would perform the trust reposed in them by the two houses of parliament.” Yet such was the ticklishness of the king’s condition, that, though it was most evident that their coming, and staying there, was to pervert and corrupt the loyalty and affections of those parts, and to infuse into them inclinations contrary to their allegiance, it was not thought counsellable at that time, either to commit them to prison, or to expel them from that city, or to inhibit them the freedom of his own court and presence; and so they continued for the space of above a month, in York, even in defiance of the king.

The militia was the argument, which they found made deepest impression in the people, being totally ignorant what it was, or what the consequence of it might be; and so believing whatsoever they told them concerning it. And therefore they resolved to drive that nail home; and though, for want of their imminent danger, and during the time of the king’s treaty, and overture of a bill, they had forbore the execution of their ordinance; yet the frequent musters of volunteers without order, almost in all countries, by the bare authority of their votes, gave them sufficient evidence how open the people were to their commands; at least, how unprepared authority was to resist and oppose them: and therefore, after the king had displaced their favourites, and refused to pass the bill for the militia, and sir John Hotham had refused to let the king come into the town of Hull, and they had justified him for so doing, they prepared a declaration concerning the whole state of the militia, as the resolution of the lords and commons upon that matter; in which they said,

“That holding it necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom, to settle the militia thereof, they had, for that purpose, prepared an ordinance of parliament, and with all humility had presented the same to his majesty for his royal assent. Who, notwithstanding the faithful advice of his parliament, and the several reasons offered by them, of the necessity thereof for the securing of his majesty’s person, and the peace and safety of his people, did refuse to give his consent; and thereupon they were necessitated, in discharge of

“the trust reposed in them, as the representative body of the kingdom, to make an ordinance, by the authority of both houses, to settle the militia, warranted thereunto by the fundamental laws of the land: that his majesty, taking notice thereof, did, by several messages, invite them to settle the same by act of parliament; affirming in his message sent in answer to the petition of both houses, presented to his majesty at York, March 26, that he always thought it necessary the same should be settled, and that he never denied the thing, only denied the way; and for the matter of it, took exceptions only to the preface, as a thing not standing with his honour to consent to; and that himself was excluded in the execution, and for a time unlimited: whereupon the lords and commons, being desirous to give his majesty all satisfaction that might be, even to the least tittle of form and circumstances, and when his majesty had pleased to offer them a bill ready drawn, had, for no other cause, than to manifest their hearty affection to comply with his majesty’s desires, and obtain his consent, entertained the same, and in the mean time no way declining their ordinance; and, to express their earnest zeal to correspond with his majesty’s desire, (in all things that might consist with the peace and safety of the kingdom, and the trust reposed in them,) did pass that bill, and therein omitted the preamble inserted before the ordinance; limited the time to less than two years; and confined the authority of the lieutenants to these three particulars; namely, rebellion, insurrection, and foreign invasion; and returned the same to his majesty for his royal assent: but all these expressions of affection and loyalty, all those desires and earnest endeavours to comply with his majesty, had, to their great grief and sorrow, produced no better effects than an absolute denial, even of that which his majesty, by his former messages, as they conceived, had promised: the advice of evil and wicked counsels receiving still more credit with him, than that of his great council of parliament, in a matter of so high importance, that the safety of his kingdom, and peace of his people, depended upon it.

“But now, what must be the exceptions to that bill? Not any sure that [were] to the ordinance; for a care had been taken to give satisfaction in all those particulars. Then the exception was, because that the disposing and execution thereof was referred to both houses of parliament, and his majesty excluded; and now that, by the bill, the power and execution was ascertained, and reduced to particulars, and the law of the realm made the rule thereof, his majesty would not trust the persons. The power was too great, too unlimited, to trust them with. But what was that power? Was it any other, but, in express terms, to suppress rebellion, insurrection, and foreign invasion? And who were those persons? Were not they such as were nominated by the great council of the kingdom, and assented to by his majesty? And was it too great a power, to trust those persons with the suppression of rebellion, insurrection, and foreign invasion? Surely, they said, the most wicked of them who advised his majesty to that answer, could not suggest, but that it was necessary for the safety of his majesty’s royal person, and the peace of the kingdom, such a power should be put in some

“hands; and there was no pretence for exception to the persons. They said, his majesty had, for the space of above fifteen years together, not thought a power, far exceeding that, to be too great to intrust particular persons with, to whose will the lives and liberties of his people, by martial laws, were made subject; for such was the power given to lord lieutenants, and deputy lieutenants, in every county of this kingdom, and that without the consent of the people, or authority of law. But now in case of extreme necessity, upon the advice of both houses of parliament, for no longer space than two years, a lesser power, and that for the safety of king and people, was thought too great to trust particular persons with, though named by both houses of parliament, and approved by his majesty himself: and surely, if there were a necessity to settle the militia, (which his majesty was pleased to confess,) the persons could not be intrusted with less power than that, to have it effectual. And the precedents of former ages, when there happened a necessity to raise such a power, never straitened that power to a narrower compass; witness the commissions of array in several kings' reigns, and often issued out by the consent and authority of parliament.

“The lords and commons therefore, intrusted with the safety of the kingdom, and peace of the people, (which, they called God to witness, was their only aim,) finding themselves denied those their so necessary and just demands, and that they could never be discharged before God or man, if they should suffer the safety of the kingdom, and peace of the people, to be exposed to the malice of the malignant party at home, or the fury of enemies from abroad: and knowing no other way to encounter the imminent and approaching danger, but by putting the people into a fit posture of defence, did resolve to put their said ordinance in present execution; and did require all persons in authority, by virtue of the said ordinance, forthwith to put the same in execution, and all others to obey it, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom in such cases, as they tendered the upholding of the true protestant religion, the safety of his majesty's person, and his royal posterity, the peace of the kingdom, and the being of this commonwealth.” This declaration (being in answer to a message from his majesty) was printed, and, with the usual care and dexterity, dispersed throughout the kingdom, without so much as sending it to the king; and, thereupon, warrants and directions issued into all parts, for the exercising the militia.

This being the first declaration they had in plain terms published against the king, without ever communicating it, or presenting it to him, as they had done all the rest, his majesty was the more troubled how to take notice of it; but conceiving it necessary to apply some antidote to this poison, the violent operation whereof he had reason to apprehend, he published a declaration by way of answer to that declaration, in which he said,

“That he very well understood, how much it was below the high and royal dignity (wherein God had placed him) to take notice of, much more to trouble himself with answering, those many scandalous, seditious pamphlets, and print-

“ed papers, which were scattered, with such great license, throughout the kingdom, (notwithstanding his majesty's earnest desire, so often in vain pressed, for a reformation,) though he found it evident, that the minds of many of his weak subjects had been, and still were, poisoned by those means; and that so general a terror had possessed the minds and hearts of all men, that whilst the presses swarmed [with], and every day produced, new tracts against the established government of the church and state, most men wanted the courage, or the conscience, to write, or the opportunity and encouragement to publish, such composed, sober animadversions, as might either preserve the minds of his good subjects from such infection, or restore and recover them, when they were so infected: but, his majesty said, he was contented to let himself fall to any office, that might undeceive his people, and to take more pains that way by his own pen, than ever king had done, when he found any thing that seemed to carry the reputation and authority of either or both houses of parliament, and would not have the same refuted, or disputed by vulgar and common pens, till he should be thoroughly informed whether those acts had in truth that countenance and warrant they pretend: which regard of his, his majesty doubted not but, in time, would recover that due reverence (the absence whereof he had too much reason to complain [of]) to his person and his messages, which in all ages had been paid, and, no doubt, was due to the crown of England.

“He said, he had therefore taken notice of a printed paper, entitled, a Declaration of both Houses, in answer to his last message concerning the militia, published by command; the which he was unwilling to believe (both for the matter of it, the expressions in it, and the manner of publishing it) could result from the consent of both houses; neither did his majesty know by what lawful command, such uncomely, irreverent mention of him could be published to the world: and, though declarations of that kind had of late, with too much boldness, broken in upon his majesty and the whole kingdom, when one or both houses had thought fit to communicate their counsels and resolutions to the people; yet, he said, he was unwilling to believe, that such a declaration as that could be published in answer to his message, without vouchsafing at least to send it to his majesty as their answer: their business, for which they were met by his writ and authority, being to counsel him for the good of his people, not to write against him to his people; nor had any consent of his majesty for their long continuing together enabled them to do any thing, but what they were first summoned by his writ to do. At least he would believe, though misunderstanding and jealousy (the justice of God, he said, would overtake the fomenters of that jealousy, and the promoters and contrivers of that misunderstanding) might produce, to say no worse, those very untoward expressions, that if those houses had contrived that declaration as an answer to his message, they would have vouchsafed some answer to the questions proposed in his, which, he professed, did, and must evidently prevail over his understanding; and, in their wisdom and gravity, they would

“ have been sure to have stated the matters of fact, as (at least to ordinary understandings) might be unquestionable; neither of which was done by that declaration.

“ His majesty had desired to know, why he was by that act absolutely excluded from any power or authority in the execution of the militia: and, he said, he must appeal to all the world, whether such an attempt were not a greater and juster ground for fear and jealousy in him, than any one that was avowed for those destructive fears and jealousies which were so publicly owned, almost, to the ruin of the kingdom. But his majesty had been told, that he must not be jealous of his great council of both houses of parliament. He said, he was not, no more than they were of his majesty, their king; and hitherto they had not avowed any jealousy of, or disaffection to, his person; but imputed all to his evil counsellors, to a malignant party, that was not of their minds; so his majesty did (and, he said, he did it from his soul) profess no jealousy of his parliament, but of some turbulent, seditious, and ambitious natures; which, being not so clearly discerned, might have an influence even upon the actions of both houses: and if that declaration had passed by that consent, (which he was not willing to believe,) he said, it was not impossible, but that the apprehension of such tumults, which had driven his majesty from his city of London, for the safety of his person, might make such an impression upon other men, not able to remove from the danger, to make them consent, or not to own a dissent, in matters not agreeable to their conscience or understanding.

“ He said, he had mentioned, in that his answer, his dislike of putting their names out of the bill, whom before they recommended to his majesty, in their pretended ordinance, and the leaving out, by special provision, the present lord mayor of London: to all which the declaration afforded no answer; and therefore he could not suppose it was intended for an answer to that his message, which whosoever looked upon, would find to be in no degree answered by that declaration; but it informed all his majesty's subjects, after the mention with what humility the ordinance was prepared, and presented to his majesty, (a matter very evident in the petitions, and messages concerning it,) and his refusal to give his consent, notwithstanding the several reasons offered, of the necessity thereof for the securing of his person, and the peace and safety of his people, (whether any such reasons were given, the weight of them, and whether they were not clearly and candidly answered by his majesty, the world would easily judge,) that they were at last necessitated to make an ordinance by authority of both houses, to settle the militia, warranted thereunto by the fundamental laws of the land. But, his majesty said, if that declaration had indeed intended to have answered him, it would have told his good subjects what those fundamental laws of the land were, and where to be found; and would, at least, have mentioned one ordinance, from the first beginning of parliaments to this present parliament, which endeavoured to impose any thing upon the subject without the king's consent; for of such, he said, all the inquiry he could make could never produce him one instance. And if there were such a secret of

“ the law, which had lain hid from the beginning of the world to that time, and now was discovered to take away the just, legal power of the king, he wished there were not some other secret (to be discovered when they pleased) for the ruin and destruction of the liberty of the subject. For, he said, there was no doubt if the votes of both houses had any such authority to make a new law, it had the same authority to repeal the old; and then, what would become of the long established rights of the king and subject, and particularly of Magna Charta, would be easily discerned by the most ordinary understanding.

“ He said, it was true, that he had (out of tenderness of the constitution of the kingdom, and care of the law, which he was bound to defend, and being most assured of the unjustifiableness of the pretended ordinance) invited, and desired both houses of parliament to settle whatsoever should be fit of that nature by act of parliament. But was he therefore obliged to pass whatsoever should be brought to him of that kind? He did say in his answer to the petition of both houses, presented to him at York the 26th of March last, (and he had said the same in other messages before,) that he always thought it necessary that the business of the militia should be settled, and that he never denied the thing, only denied the way; and he said the same still; and that since the many disputes and votes, upon lords lieutenants and their commissions, (which had not been begun by his majesty, nor his father,) had so discountenanced that authority, which for many years together was looked upon with reverence and obedience by the people, his majesty did think it very necessary, that some wholesome law should be provided for that business; but he had declared in his answer to the pretended ordinance, that he expected, that that necessary power should be first invested in his majesty, before he consented to transfer it to other men; neither could it ever be imagined that he would consent that a greater power should be in the hands of a subject, than he was thought worthy to be trusted with himself. And if it should not be thought fit to make a new act or declaration in the point of the militia, he doubted not but he should be able to grant such commissions as should very legally enable those he trusted, to do all offices for the peace and quiet of the kingdom, if any disturbance should happen.

“ But it was said, he had been pleased to offer them a bill ready drawn, and that they, to express their earnest zeal to correspond with his desire, did pass that bill; and yet all that expression of affection and loyalty, all that earnest desire of theirs to comply with his majesty, produced no better effect than an absolute denial, even of what by his former messages his majesty had promised; and so that declaration, he said, proceeded, under the pretence of mentioning evil and wicked councils, to censure and reproach his majesty in a dialect, that, he was confident, his good subjects would read, on his behalf, with much indignation. But, his majesty said, sure if that declaration had passed the examination of both houses of parliament, they would never have affirmed, that the bill he had refused to pass was the same he had sent to them, or have thought that his message, wherein the difference and con-

“trariety between the two bills was so particularly
 “set down, would be answered with the bare aver-
 “ring them to be one and the same bill: nor would
 “they have declared, when his exceptions to the
 “ordinance, and the bill, were so notoriously known
 “to all, that care being taken to give satisfaction
 “in all the particulars he had excepted against in
 “the ordinance, he had found new exceptions to
 “the bill; and yet that very declaration confessed,
 “that his exception to the ordinance was, that,
 “in the disposing and execution thereof, his ma-
 “jesty was excluded: and was not that an express
 “reason, in his answer, for his refusal of the bill;
 “which that declaration would needs confute?”

“But the power was no other than to suppress
 “rebellion, insurrection, and foreign invasion; and
 “the persons trusted, no other than such as were
 “nominated by the great council of the kingdom,
 “and assented to by his majesty: and they asked,
 “if that were too great a power to trust those
 “persons with? Indeed, his majesty said, whilst
 “so great liberty was used in voting, and declaring
 “men to be enemies to the commonwealth, (a
 “phrase his majesty scarce understood,) and in
 “censuring men for their service, and attendance
 “upon his majesty’s person, and in his lawful
 “commands, great heed must be taken into what
 “hands he committed such a power to suppress
 “insurrection and rebellion; and if insurrection
 “and rebellion had found other definitions than
 “what the law had given, his majesty must be
 “sure, that no lawful power should justify those
 “definitions: and if there were learning found
 “out to make sir John Hotham’s taking arms
 “against him, and keeping his majesty’s town and
 “fort from him, to be no treason or rebellion, he
 “knew not whether a new discovery might not
 “find it rebellion in his majesty to defend himself
 “from such arms, and to endeavour to recover
 “what was so taken from him; and therefore, he
 “said, it concerned him, till the known laws of
 “the land were allowed to be judge between them,
 “to take heed into what hands he committed such
 “power.

“Besides, he asked, whether it could be thought,
 “that because he was willing to trust certain per-
 “sons, that he was obliged to trust them in what-
 “soever they were willing to be trusted? He said,
 “no private hands were fit for such a trust; nei-
 “ther had he departed from any thing, in the least
 “degree, he had offered or promised before;
 “though he might with as much reason have with-
 “drawn his trust from some persons, whom before
 “he had accepted, as they had done from others,
 “whom they had recommended. For the power
 “which he was charged to have committed to
 “particular persons, for the space of fifteen years,
 “by his commissions of lieutenancy, it was notori-
 “ously known, that it was not a power created by
 “his majesty, but continued very many years,
 “and in the most happy times this kingdom had
 “enjoyed, even those of his renowned predecessors,
 “queen Elizabeth, and his father of happy memory;
 “and whatever authority had been granted by
 “those commissions, which had been kept in the
 “old forms, the same was determinable at his ma-
 “jesty’s pleasure; and he knew not, that they pro-
 “duced any of those calamities, which might give
 “his good subjects cause to be so weary of them, as
 “to run the hazard of so much mischief, as that

“bill, which he had refused, might possibly have
 “produced.

“For the precedents of former ages in the com-
 “missions of array, his majesty doubted not, but
 “when any such had issued out, that the king’s
 “consent was always obtained, and the commis-
 “sions determinable at his pleasure; and then
 “what the extent of power was, would be nothing
 “applicable to that case of the ordinance.

“But whether that declaration had refuted his
 “majesty’s reasons for his refusal to pass the bill,
 “or no, it resolved, and required all persons in
 “authority thereby to put the ordinance in pre-
 “sent execution; and all others to obey it ac-
 “cording to the fundamental laws of the land.
 “But, his majesty said, he, whom God had trusted
 “to maintain and defend those fundamental laws,
 “which, he hoped, God would bless to secure him,
 “did declare, that there was no legal power in
 “either, or both houses, upon any pretence what-
 “soever, without his majesty’s consent, to com-
 “mand any part of the militia of the kingdom;
 “nor had the like ever been commanded by
 “either, or both houses, since the first foundation
 “of the laws of the land; and that the execution
 “of, or the obedience to, that pretended ordinance,
 “was against the fundamental laws of the land,
 “against the liberty of the subject, and the right
 “of parliaments, and a high crime in any that
 “should execute the same: and his majesty did
 “therefore charge and command all his loving
 “subjects, of what degree or quality soever, upon
 “their allegiance, and as they tendered the peace
 “of the kingdom, from thenceforth not to muster,
 “levy, or array, or summon, or warn any of the
 “trained bands to rise, muster, or march, by
 “virtue, or under colour, of that pretended ordi-
 “nance: and to that declaration and command of
 “his majesty’s, he said, he expected and required
 “a full submission and obedience from all his
 “loving subjects, upon their allegiance, as they
 “would answer the contrary at their perils, and
 “as they tendered the upholding of the true pro-
 “testant religion, the safety of his person, and
 “his royal posterity, the peace, and being of the
 “kingdom.”

Notwithstanding these sharp declarations, (infallible symptoms of sharper actions,) which were with equal diligence dispersed by either side amongst the people, save that the agents for the parliament took as much care to suppress the king’s, as to publish their own, whereas the king’s desire was that they might be both impartially read and examined, and to that purpose always caused those from the parliament to be printed with his own, they had the power and skill to persuade men, who, but by that persuasion, could not have been seduced, and without seducing of whom they could have made a very sorry progress in mischief, “that all would be well; that they were well assured that the king would, in the end, yield to what they desired; at least, that they should prevail for a good part, if not for all, and that there should be no war:” though themselves well knew, that the fire was too much kindled to be extinguished without a flame, and made preparations accordingly. For the raising and procuring of money (besides the vast sums collected and contributed for Ireland, which they disbursed very leisurely, the supplies for that kingdom, notwithstanding the importunity and com-

plaint from thence, being not despatched thither, both in quantity and quality, with that expedition as was pretended) they sent out very strict warrants for the gathering all those sums of money, which had been granted by any bills of subsidy, or poll-bill; in the collection of all which there had been great negligence, probably that they might have it the more at their own disposal in their need; by which they now recovered great sums into their hands. For the raising of men, (though it was not yet time for them to avow the raising an army,) besides the disposing the whole kingdom to subject themselves to their ordinance of the militia, and, by that, listing in all places companies of volunteers, who would be ready when they [were] called, they made more haste than they had done in the levies of men, both horse and foot, for the relief of Ireland, under officers chosen or approved by themselves; and proposed the raising an army apart, of six or eight thousand, under the command of the lord Wharton, (a man very fast to them,) for Munster, under the style of the adventurers' army, and to have no dependence upon, nor be subject to, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, but only to receive orders from the two houses, and from a committee to be appointed by them, which should be always with that army: but the king, easily discerning the consequence of that design, refused to grant such a commission as they desired; so that they were forced to be content, only with the advantage of new exclamations against the king, "for hindering the supplies for Ireland," upon the occasion of his denial of that unreasonable commission, and to proceed in their levies the ordinary way; which they did with great expedition. To confirm and encourage the factious and schismatical party of the kingdom, which thought the pace towards the reformation was not brisk and furious enough, and was with great difficulty contained in so slow a march, they had, a little before, published a declaration:

"That they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what should be evil, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary, and burdensome: and, for the better effecting thereof, speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines: and, because that would never of itself attain the end sought therein, they would therefore use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers, with a good and sufficient maintenance throughout the whole kingdom; wherein many dark corners were miserably destitute of the means of salvation, and many poor ministers wanted necessary provision."

This declaration, printed, and appointed to be published by the sheriffs in their several counties, in all the market-towns within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, was not more intended to the heartening of those who were impatient for a reformation, (who in truth had so implicit a faith in their leaders, that they expected another manner of reformation than was publicly promised,) than to the lulling those asleep, who began to be awake with the apprehension of that confusion, they apprehended from the practice and license, they saw practised against the received government, and doctrine of the church; and to

be persuaded, that it was time to oppose that current. And in this project they were not disappointed: for though this warily worded declaration was evidence enough to wise men, what they intended, and logically comprehended, an alteration as great as hath been since attempted and made; yet to lazy and quiet men, who could not discern consequences, and were not willing to antedate their miseries, by suspecting worse was to come than they felt, or saw in their view, their fears were much abated, and the intentions of the parliament seemed not so bad as they had been told by some that they were: and as this very declaration of a due reformation to be made of the government of the church, and the liturgy, would, a year before, have given great umbrage and scandal to the people, when, generally, there was a due submission to the government, and a singular reverence of the liturgy of the church of England; so now, when there was a general fear and apprehension inculcated into them, of a purpose utterly to subvert the government, and utterly to abolish the liturgy, they thought the taking away nothing in the one or the other, but what should be evil, and justly offensive, or, at least, unnecessary and burdensome, was an easy composition; and so, by degrees, they suffered themselves to be still prevailed on towards ends they extremely abhorred; and what at first seemed profane and impious to them, in a little time appeared only inconvenient; and what, in the beginning, they thought matter of conscience and religion, shortly after they looked upon as somewhat rather to be wished than positively insisted on; and consequently not to be laid in the balance with the public peace, which they would imagine to be endangered by opposing the sense that then prevailed; and so, by undervaluing many particulars, (which they truly esteemed,) as rather to be consented to, than that the general should suffer, they brought, or suffered the public to be brought to all the sufferings it since underwent.

And now they shewed what consultation they meant to have with godly and learned divines, and what reformation they intended, by appointing the knights and burgesses to bring in the names of such divines for the several counties, as they thought fit to constitute an assembly for the framing a new model for the government of the church, which was done accordingly; those who were true sons of the church, not so much as endeavouring the nomination of sober and learned men, abhorring such a reformation, as begun with the invasion and suppression of the church's rights in calling a synod, as well known as Magna Charta: and if any well affected member, not enough considering the scandal and the consequence of that violation, did name an orthodox and well reputed divine, to assist in that assembly, it was argument enough against him, that he was nominated by a person in whom they had no confidence; and they only had reputation enough to commend to this consultation, who were known to desire the utter demolishing of the whole fabric of the church: so that of about one hundred and twenty, of which that assembly was to consist, (though, by the recommendation of two or three members of the commons, whom they were not willing to displease, and by the authority of the lords, who added a small number to those named by the house of commons, a few very reverend and worthy men were inserted; yet of the whole num-

ber) they were not above twenty, who were not declared and avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England; many of them infamous in their lives and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation, than of malice to the church of England; so that that convention hath not since produced any thing, that might not then reasonably have been expected from it.

But that which gave greatest power and strength to their growing faction, was the severity they used against all those, of what quality or degree soever, who opposed their counsels and proceedings. If any lord, who had any place of honour or trust from the king, concurred not with them, they made an inquisition into the whole passages of his life; and if they could find no fault, or no folly (for any levity, or indiscretion, served for a charge) to reproach him with, it was enough, "that they could not confide in him:" so they threatened the earl of Portland, who with extraordinary vivacity crossed their consultations, "that they would remove him from his charge and government of the Isle of Wight," (which, at last, they did *de facto*, by committing him to prison, without so much as assigning a cause,) and to that purpose objected all the acts of good fellowship; all the waste of powder, and all the waste of wine, in the drinking of healths; and other acts of jollity, whenever he had been at his government, from the first hour of his entering upon it: so that the least inconvenience a man in their disfavour was to expect, was to have his name and reputation used, for two or three hours, in the house of commons, with what license and virulency they pleased. None were persecuted with more rigour than the clergy; whereof whosoever publicly, or privately, censured their actions, or suspected their intentions, was either committed to prison, or compelled to a chargeable and long attendance, as inconvenient as imprisonment. And this measure of proceeding was equally, if not with more animosity, applied to those, who, in former times, had been looked upon by that party with most reverence. On the contrary, whoever concurred, voted, and sided with them, in their extravagant conclusions, let the infamy of his former life, or present practice, be what it would, his injustice and oppression never so scandalous and notorious, he was received, countenanced, and protected, with marvellous demonstrations of affection: so that, between those that loved them, and those that feared them, those that did not love the church, and those that did not love some churchmen; those whom the court had oppressed, and those who had helped the court to oppress others; those who feared their power, and those who feared their justice; their party was grown over the kingdom, but especially in the city, justly formidable.

In the mean time, the king omitted no opportunity to provide against the storm he saw was coming; and, though he might not yet own the apprehension of that danger he really found himself in, he neglected not the provision of what he thought most necessary for his defence; he caused all his declarations, messages, and answers, to be industriously communicated throughout his dominions; of which he found good effects; and, by their reception, discovered that the people universally were not so irrecoverably poisoned, as he

before had cause to fear: he caused private intimations to be given, and insinuations to be made to the gentry, "that their presence would be acceptable to him;" and to those, who came to him, he used much gracious freedom, and expressed all possible demonstrations, that he was glad of their attendance: so that, in a short time, the resort to York was very great; and, at least, a good face of a court there.

Beyond the seas, the queen was as intent to do her part; and to provide that so good company, as she heard was daily gathered together about the king, should not be dissolved for want of weapons to defend one another: and therefore, with as much secrecy as could be used in those cases, and in those places where she had so many spies upon her, she caused, by the sale or pawning of her own, and some of the crown jewels, a good quantity of powder and arms to be in a readiness in Holland, against the time that it should be found necessary to transport it to his majesty: so that both sides, whilst they entertained each other with discourses of peace, (which always carried a sharpness with them, that whetted their appetite to war,) provided for that war, which they saw would not be prevented.

Hitherto the greatest acts of hostility, saving that at Hull, were performed by votes and orders; for there was yet no visible, formal execution of the ordinance for the militia, in any one county of England: for the appearance of volunteers in some factious corporations [was] rather countenanced than positively directed and enjoined by the houses; and most places pretended an authority, granted by the king in the charters, by which those corporations were erected, or constituted: but now they thought it time to satisfy the king, and the people, that they were in earnest, (who were hardly persuaded, that they had in truth the courage to execute their own ordinance,) and resolved, "that, on the tenth of May, they would have all the trained bands of London mustered in the fields, where that exercise usually was performed;" and accordingly, on that day, their own new officer, sergeant-major-general Skippon, appeared in Finsbury fields, with all the trained bands of London, consisting of above eight thousand soldiers, disposed into six regiments, and under such captains and colonels, as they had cause to confide in. At this first triumphant muster, the members of both houses appeared in gross, their being a tent purposely set up for them, and an entertainment at the charge of the city to the value of near a thousand pounds; all men presuming that this example of London, with such ceremony and solemnity, would be easily followed throughout the kingdom; and many believing they had made no small progress towards the end they aimed at, by having engaged the very body of the city in a guilt equal to their own: for though they had before sufficient evidence of the inclinations of the mean and common people to them, and reasonable assurance, that those in authority would hardly be able to contain them; yet, till this day, they had no instance of the concurrence of the city in an act expressly unlawful. But now they presumed all difficulties were over; and so sent their directions to the counties adjacent, speedily to execute the same ordinance: and appointed all the magazines of the several counties of England and Wales, to such custody, as their lord lieutenants, or their

deputy lieutenants, should appoint; and that not only the counties should increase those magazines to what proportion soever they thought convenient, but that any private persons, that were well affected, should supply themselves with what arms and ammunition they pleased. By which means, besides the king's magazines, all which were in their possession, they caused great quantities of all sorts of arms to be provided, and disposed to such places and persons, as they thought fittest to be trusted; especially in those factious corporations, which had listed most volunteers for their service.

The king now saw the storm coming apace upon him; that (notwithstanding his proclamations published against the ordinance of the militia, in which he set down the laws and statutes, which were infringed thereby, and by which the execution of that ordinance would be no less than high treason) the votes and declaration of both houses, "that those proclamations were illegal, and that those acts of parliament could not control the acts and orders of both houses, (which the subjects were, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to obey,)" prevailed so far, that obedience was given to them; that he was so far from being like to have Hull restored to him, that the garrison there daily increased, and forced the country to submit to such commands they pleased to lay on them; and that sir John Hotham was more likely to be able to take York, than his majesty to recover Hull; he thought it, therefore, high time, by their example, to put himself into a posture of defence; the danger being much more imminent to his majesty, than to those who had begot that ordinance. Hereupon, at a public meeting of the country, his majesty declared, "that he was resolved, in regard of the public distempers, and the neighbourhood of Hull, to have a guard for his person; but of such persons, and with such circumstances, as should administer no occasion of jealousy to the most suspicious; and wished the gentlemen of quality, who attended, to consider, and advise of the way:" who shortly after (notwithstanding the opposition given by the committee, which still resided there; and the factious party of the county, which was inflamed, and governed by them) expressed a great alacrity to comply with his majesty's desire, in whatsoever should be proposed to them; and a sense, "that they thought a sufficient guard was very necessary for the security of his majesty's person." Hereupon, the king appointed such gentlemen as were willing to list themselves into a troop of horse, and made the prince of Wales their captain; and made choice of one regiment of the trained bands, consisting of about six hundred, whom he caused, every Saturday, to be paid at his own charge; when he had little more in his coffers than would defray the weekly expense of his table: and this troop, with this regiment, was the guard of his person; it being first declared by his majesty, "that no person should be suffered, either in the troop, or the regiment, who did not, before his admission into the service, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy;" that so he might be free from the scandal of entertaining papists for his security.

But this caution would not serve; the fears and jealousies were capable of no other remedies, than such as were prescribed by those physicians, who

were practised in the disease. As soon as the intelligence was arrived at London, that the king actually had a guard, (though the circumstances were as well known that were used in the raising it,) both houses published these three votes, and dispersed them:

1. "That it appeared, that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war against the parliament; who, in all their consultations and actions, had proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person.

2. "That whensoever the king maketh war upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people; contrary to his oath; and tending to the dissolution of the government.

3. "That whosoever should serve him, or assist him in such wars, are traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV. and ought to suffer as traitors."

These lusty votes they sent to the king to York, together with a short petition, in which they told him,

"That his loyal subjects, the lords and commons in parliament, did humbly represent unto his majesty, that notwithstanding his frequent professions to his parliament and the kingdom, that his desire and intention was only the preserving the true protestant profession, the laws of the land, the liberty of his people, and the peace of the kingdom; nevertheless, they perceived with great grief, by his speech of the twelfth of May, and the paper printed in his majesty's name, in the form of a proclamation, bearing date the fourteenth of May, and other evidences, that, under colour of raising a guard to secure his person, of which guard (considering the fidelity and care of his parliament) there could be no use, his majesty did command troops, both of horse and foot, to assemble at York; the very beginnings whereof were apprehended by the inhabitants of that county to be an affrightment and disturbance of his liege people, as appeared by their petition presented to him; the continuing and increasing of which forces was to his parliament, and must needs be, a just cause of great jealousy, and danger to his whole kingdom.

"Therefore they did humbly beseech his majesty to disband all such forces, as, by his command, were assembled, and relying for his security (as his predecessors had done) upon the laws, and affections of his people, he would be pleased to desist from any further designs of that nature, contenting himself with his usual and ordinary guards; otherwise, they should hold themselves bound in duty towards God, and the trust reposed in them by the people, and the fundamental laws and constitutions of the kingdom, to employ their care and utmost power to secure the parliament, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom."

To this petition, delivered publicly, and read with an equal confidence, by their lieger committee, his majesty answered,

"That he could not but extremely wonder, that the causeless jealousies concerning his majesty, raised and fomented by a malignant party in the kingdom, which desired nothing more than to

“snatch to themselves particular advantages out of
 “a general combustion, (which means of advantage was never ministered to them by his fault, or seeking,) should not only be able to seduce a weak party in the kingdom, but seem to find so much countenance even from both houses, as that his raising of a guard, without further design than for the safety of his person, an action so legal, in a manner so peaceable, upon causes so evident and necessary, should not only be looked upon, and petitioned against by them, as a cause of jealousy; but declared to be raising of a war against them, contrary to his former professions of his care of religion and law: and he no less wondered, that that action of his should be said to be apprehended by the inhabitants of that county, as an affrightment and disturbance to his people, having been as well received there, as it was every where to be justified; and (he spake of the general, not of a few seduced particulars) assisted and sped by that county with that loyal affection and alacrity, as was a most excellent example, set to the rest of the kingdom, of their care of his safety upon all occasions; and should never be forgotten by him, nor, he hoped, by his posterity; but should be ever paid to them, in that, which is the proper expression of a prince's gratitude, a perpetual, vigilant care to govern them justly, and to preserve the only rule, by which they can be so governed, the law of the land: and, he said, he was confident, that if they were themselves eye-witnesses, they would so see the contrary, as to give little present thanks, and, hereafter, little credit to their informers; and, if they had no better information and intelligence of the inclinations and affections of the rest of the kingdom, certainly the minds of his people (which to some ends and purposes they did represent) were but ill represented unto them.

“He asked them, when they had so many months together not contented themselves to rely for security, as their predecessors had done, upon the affection of the people, but by their own single authority had raised to themselves a guard, (and that sometimes of no ordinary numbers, and in no ordinary way,) and yet all those pikes and protestations, that army, on one side, and that navy, on the other, had not persuaded his majesty [to command them] to disband their forces, and to content themselves with their ordinary, that was, no guard; or work in him an opinion, that they appeared to levy war against him, or had any further design; how it was possible, that the same persons should be so apt to suspect and condemn his majesty, who had been so unapt, in the same matter, upon much more ground, to tax or suspect them? This, he said, was his case, notwithstanding the care and fidelity of his parliament: his fort was kept by armed men against him; his proper goods first detained from him, and then, contrary to his command, by strong hand offered to be carried away; in which, at once, all his property as a private person, all his authority as a king, was wrested from him: and yet for him to secure himself in a legal way, that sir John Hotham might not by the same forces, or by more, raised by pretence of the same authority, (for he daily raised some, and it was no new thing for him to pretend orders, which he could not shew,) con-

“tinue the war that he had levied against his majesty; and as well imprison his person, as detain his goods; and as well shut him up in York, as shut him out of Hull; was now said to be esteemed a cause of great jealousy to the parliament, a raising war against them, and of danger to the whole kingdom: whilst these injustices, and indignities offered to him, were countenanced by them, who ought to be most forward in his vindication, and their punishment, in observation of their oaths, and trust reposed in them by the people, and to avoid the dissolution of the present government. Upon which case, he said, the whole world was to judge, whether his majesty had not reason, not wholly to rely upon the care and fidelity of his parliament, being so strangely blinded by malignant spirits, as not to perceive his injuries; but to take some care of his own person, and, in order to that, to make use of that authority, which the laws declared to be in his majesty: and, whether that petition, with such a threatening conclusion, accompanied with more threatening votes, gave him not cause, rather to increase, than to diminish his guards; especially, since he had seen, before the petition, a printed paper, dated the seventeenth of May, underwritten by the clerk of the house of commons, commanding, in the name of both lords and commons, the sheriffs of all counties to raise the power of all those counties, to suppress such of his subjects, as, by any of his majesty's commands, should be drawn together, and put (as that paper called it) in a posture of war; charging all his majesty's officers and subjects to assist them in it, at their perils. For though, he said, he could not suspect, that that paper, or any bare votes, not grounded upon law or reason, or quotations of repealed statutes, as those were of the 2 Rich. II. and 1 Hen. IV. should have any ill influence upon his good people, who knew their duties too well not to know, that to take up arms against those, who, upon a legal command of his majesty, came together to a most legal end, (that was, his majesty's security and preservation,) was to levy war against his majesty; yet, if that paper were really the act of both houses, he could not but look upon it as the highest of scorns and indignities; first, to issue commands of force against him; and, after those had appeared useless, to offer, by petition, to persuade him to that, which that force should have effected.

“He said, he concluded his answer to their petition with his counsel to them, that they would join with him in exacting satisfaction for that unparalleled, and yet unpunished, action of sir John Hotham; and that they would command his fort and goods to be returned to his own hands: that they would lay down all pretences (under pretence of necessity, or declaring what is law) to make laws without his majesty, and, by consequence, but a cipher of his majesty: that they would declare effectually against tumults, and call in such pamphlets, (punishing the authors and publishers of them,) as seditiously endeavour to disable his majesty from protecting his people, by weakening, by false assertions, and new false doctrines, his authority with them, and their confidence in him: the particulars of which tumults and pamphlets, he

“said, he would long since have taken care his learned council should have been enabled to give in evidence, if, upon his former offer, his majesty had received any return of encouragement from them in it: and, he said, if they did that, they would then, and hardly till then, persuade the world, that they had discharged their duty to God, the trust reposed in them by the people, and the fundamental laws and constitutions of the kingdom; and employed their care, and utmost power, to secure the parliament, (for, he said, he was still a part of the parliament, and should be, till this well-tempered monarchy was turned to a democracy,) and to preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom; which, together with the defence of the protestant religion, the laws of the land, and his own just prerogative,) as a part of, and a defence to, those laws,) had been the main end, which, in his consultations and actions, he had proposed to himself.”

It will be wondered at hereafter, that in a judging and discerning state, where men had, or seemed to have, their faculties of reason and understanding at the height; in a kingdom then unapt, and generally uninclined to war, (how wantonly soever it hath since seemed to throw away its peace,) those men who had the skill and cunning, out of froward and peevish humours and indispositions, to compound fears and jealousies, and to animate and inflame those fears and jealousies into the most prodigious and the boldest rebellion, that any age or country ever brought forth; who very well saw and felt, that the king had not only, to a degree, wound himself out of that labyrinth, in which, four months before, they had involved him, with their privileges, fears, and jealousies; but had even so well informed the people, that they began to question both their logic and their law, and to suspect and censure the improvement and gradation of their fears, and the extent and latitude of their privileges; and that they were not only denied by the king, what they required, but that the king's reasons of his denial made very many conclude the unreasonableness of their demands: I say, it may seem strange, that these men could entertain the hope and confidence to obtrude such a declaration and vote upon the people, “that the king did intend to make war against the parliament;” when they were so far from apprehending, that he would be able to get an army to disturb them, that they were most assured, he would not be able to get bread to sustain himself three months, without submitting all his counsels to their conduct and control; and that the offering to impose it did not awaken the people to an indignation, which might have confounded them: for, besides their presumption in endeavouring to search what the scripture itself told them was unsearchable, the heart of the king; the very law of the land, whose defence they pretended, makes no conclusion of the intention of the meanest subject, in a matter of the highest and tenderest consideration, even treason itself against the life of the king, without some overt, unlawful act, from whence, and other circumstances, the ill intention may be reasonably made appear; and therefore, to declare that the king intended to make war against his parliament, when he had neither ship, harbour, arms, nor money, and knew not how to get either, and when he offered to grant any thing to them, which they

could pretend a justifiable reason for asking, was an undertaking of that nature, that even the almightiness of a parliament might have despaired to succeed in.

But, notwithstanding all this, they very well knew what they did, and understood what infinite advantage that vote would (as it did) bring to them; and that a natural way would never bring them to their unnatural end. The power and reputation of parliament, they believed, would implicitly prevail over many; and amaze and terrify others from disputing or censuring what they did, and upon what grounds they did it. The difficulty was, to procure the judgment of parliament; and to incline those different constitutions, and different affections, to such a concurrence, as the judgment might not be discredited, by the number of the dissenters; nor wounded, or prejudged, by the reasons and arguments given against it: and then, their judgments of the cure being to be grounded upon the nature and information of the disease, it was necessary to confine and contract their fancies and opinions within some bounds and limits: the mystery of rebellion challenging the same encouragement with other sciences, to grow by; that there may be certain postulata, some principles and foundations, upon which the main building may subsist. So, in the case of the militia, an imminent danger must be first supposed, by which the kingdom is in an apparent danger, and then the king's refusal to apply any remedy against that danger, before the two houses would pretend to the power of disposing that militia; it being too ridiculous to have pretended the natural and ordinary jurisdiction over it: but, in case of danger, and danger so imminent, that the usual recourse would not serve the turn, and for the saving of a kingdom, which must otherwise be lost, many good men thought it was reasonable to apply a very extraordinary prevention, without imagining such a supposition might possibly engage them in any action, contrary to their own inclinations; and, without doubt, very many, who frankly voted that imminent necessity, were induced to it, as an argument, that the king should be therefore importuned to consent to the settlement; which would not have appeared so necessary a request, if the occasion had not been important; never suspecting, that it would have proved an argument to them, to adventure the doing it without the king's consent. And it is not here unseasonable, (how merry soever it may seem to be,) as an instance of the incogitancy and inadvertency of those kind of votes and transactions, to remember, that the first resolution of the power of the militia being grounded upon a supposition of an imminent necessity, the ordinance first sent up from the commons to the lords, for the execution of the militia, expressed an *eminent* necessity; whereupon, some lords, who understood the difference of the words, and that an eminent necessity might be supplied by the ordinary provision, which, possibly, an *imminent* necessity might not safely attend, desired a conference with the commons for the amendment; which, I remember, was at last, with great difficulty, consented to: many (who, I presume, are not yet grown up to conceive the difference) supposing it an unnecessary contention for a word, and so yielding to them, for saving of time, rather than of the great moment of the thing.

They, who contrived this scene, never doubted

that, after a resolution what was to be done upon a supposititious necessity, they should easily, when they found it convenient, make that necessity real. It was no hard matter to make the fearful, apprehensive of dangers; and the jealous, of designs; and they wanted not evidence of all kinds; [of] letters from abroad, and discoveries at home, to make those apprehensions formidable enough; and then, though, before the resolution, there was a great latitude in law and reason, what was lawfully to be done, they had now forejudged themselves, and resolved of the proper remedy, except they would argue against the evidence; which usually would have been to discountenance or undervalue some person of notable reputation, or his correspondence; and always to have opposed that that was of such an allay, as, in truth, did operate upon the major part. So, in the case upon which we now discourse, if they had, in the most advantageous article of their fury, professed the raising an army against the king, there was yet that reverence to majesty, and that spirit of subjection and allegiance in most men, that they would have looked upon it with opposition and horror: but defensive arms were more plausible divinity, and if the king should commit such an outrage, as to levy war against his parliament, to destroy the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, good men were persuaded, that such a resistance might be made, as might preserve the whole; and he that would have argued against this thesis, besides the impertinency of arguing against a supposition, that was not like to be real, and in which the corrupt consideration of safety seemed to bribe most men, could never escape the censure of promoting tyranny and lawless dominion. Then to incline men to concur in the declaration "of the king's intention to make war against the parliament," they were persuaded it might have a good, could have no ill, effect: the remedies, that were to be applied upon an actual levying of war, were not justifiable upon the intention; and the declaring this intention, and the dangers it carried with it to the king himself, and to all those who should assist him, would be a probable means of reforming such intention, and preventing the execution: inconvenience it could produce none, (for the disquieting or displeasing the king was not thought inconvenient,) if there were no progress in the supposed intention; if there were, it were fit the whole kingdom should stand upon its guard, and not be surprised to its confusion.

By these false and fallacious mediums, the clearness of men's understandings were dazzled; and, upon the matter, all their opinions, and judgments for the future, captivated and preengaged by their own votes and determinations. For, how easy a matter was it to make it appear to that man, who consented that the king intended to make war against the parliament, that when he should do it, he had broken his oath, and dissolved his government; and, that whosoever should assist him were traitors; I say, how easy was it to persuade that man, that he was obliged to defend the parliament; to endeavour to uphold that government; and to resist those traitors? and, whosoever considers that the nature of men, especially of men in authority, is inclined rather to commit two errors, than to retract one, will not marvel, that from this root of unadvisedness, so many and tall branches of mischief have proceeded. And therefore it were to be wished, that those, who have the honour to be

trusted in public consultations, were endued with so much natural logic, to discern the consequences of every public act and conclusion; and with so much conscience and courage, to watch the first impressions upon [their] understanding and compliance: and, neither out of the impertinency of the thing, which men are too apt to conclude out of impatience of despatch; or out of stratagem to make men odious, (as in this parliament many forbore to oppose unreasonable resolutions, out of an opinion, that they would make the contrivers odious,) or upon any other (though seeming never so politic) considerations, [they] consent to any propositions, by which truth or justice are invaded. And I am confident, with very good warrant, that many men have, from their souls, abhorred every article of this rebellion; and heartily deprecated the miseries and desolation we have suffered by it, who have themselves, with great alacrity and some industry, contributed to, if not contrived, those very votes and conclusions, from whence the evils they abhor have most naturally and regularly flowed, and been deduced; and which they could not reasonably, upon their own concessions, contradict and oppose.

But to conclude, a man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of God's justice, (a method terribly remarkable in many passages, and upon many persons, which we shall be compelled to remember in this discourse,) that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power, and a bare averment of that necessity, to beget a practice to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship-money never before known; and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, is as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the crown from the use of any power, by an ordinance never before heard of; and the same maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to the infringing the liberties of the one, made use of for the destroying the rights of the other: only that of the psalmist is yet inverted; for many of those, who were the principal makers of the first pit, are so far from falling into it, that they have been the chiefest diggers of the second ditch, in which so many have been confounded.

Though they had yet no real apprehension, that the king would be able, in the least degree, to raise a force against them, yet they were heartily enraged to find that he lived more like a king, than they wished he should; that there was so great resort to him from all parts; and that whereas, little more than two months before, his own servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him, now the chief gentlemen of all counties travelled to him, to tender their service; which implied a disapprobation, at least, if not a contempt of their carriage towards him. Therefore, to prevent this mischief, they easily found exception to, and information against, some persons, who had resorted to York; whom they sent the sergeant of the house of commons to apprehend, and bring

them before the house as delinquents, to answer such matters as should be objected against them. In this number there was one Beckwith, a gentleman of Yorkshire, who, as sir John Hotham had sent them word, had endeavoured to corrupt some officers of the garrison to deliver Hull up to the king; this they declared to be a very heinous crime, and little less than high treason; and therefore concluded him a delinquent, and to be sent for to attend them: it was thought strangely ridiculous by standers by, that sir John Hotham should be justified for keeping the town against the king, and another gentleman be voted a delinquent for designing to recover it to its allegiance; and that they, who, but few days before, when the king had sent a warrant to require serjeant-major Skippon to attend his majesty at York, resolved, and published their resolutions in print, (as they did all things, which they conceived might diminish the reputation of the king, or his authority,) "that such command from his majesty was against the law of the land, and the liberty of the subject, and likewise (the person being employed by them to attend their service) against the privilege of parliament; and therefore, that their serjeant-major-general of the forces of London (that was his style) should continue to attend the service of both houses according to their former commands;" should expect that their warrant should be submitted to by those, who were waiting on the king, whose known legal authority, severed from any thing that might be understood to relate to the parliament, or its privileges, they had so flatly contradicted and contemned, that the same day on which they redeemed their officer Skippon from his allegiance, and duty of going to the king, being informed, that the king had sent a writ to adjourn the term (Midsummer term) to York from Westminster, which was as much in his power legally to do as to make a knight, they declared, "that the king's removing of the term to York from Westminster, sitting the parliament, was illegal;" and ordered, "that the lord keeper should not issue out any writs, or seal any proclamation, to that purpose;" which was by him observed accordingly, notwithstanding the king's command for the adjournment.

When their officer came to York for the apprehension of the delinquents, he found the same neglect there of the parliament, as he found above of the king; and was so ill intreated by those, whom he looked upon as his prisoners, that, if the king's extraordinary provision had not been interposed, the messenger would scarce have returned to have reported how uncurrent such warrants were like to be in York, and how perilous such voyages might prove to the adventurers: but how amazed or surprised soever they seemed to be with this new contradiction, it was no more than they looked for; for their dilemma was, if their messenger returned with his prize, all the resort to, and all the glory of York was determined; for no man would repair thither, from whence the bare voting him a delinquent would remove him with those other inconvenient circumstances of censure and imprisonment: if he returned neglected and affronted, as they presumed he would, they had a new reproach for the king, "of protecting delinquents against the justice of parliament;" which would be a new breach of their privileges, as heinous and unpopular, as had yet been made,

and for the vindication whereof their protestation would no less oblige them, than it had done on the behalf of the five members. And such votes they passed upon the return of their officer; and had in readiness prepared two voluminous declarations to the people, which they published about the same time; in the one filled with all the reiterated complaints, and envenomed repetitions, of what had been done, or been thought to have been done amiss in the whole reign of the king, to render his person odious, or unacceptable; and in the other by undervaluing his royal power, and declaring against it, to make his authority despised, at least not feared.

The first was of the nineteenth of May, in which they declared,

"That the infinite mercy and providence of the Almighty God had been abundantly manifested, since the beginning of this parliament, in great variety of protections and blessings; whereby he had not only delivered them from many wicked plots and designs, which, if they had taken effect, would have brought ruin and destruction upon the kingdom; but, out of those attempts, had produced divers evident and remarkable advantages, to the furtherance of those services, which they had been desirous to perform to their sovereign lord the king, and to the church and state, in providing for the public peace, and prosperity of his majesty, and all his realms; which, in the presence of the same all-seeing Deity, they protested to have been, and still to be, the only end of all their counsels and endeavours; wherein they had resolved to continue freed and enlarged from all private aims, personal respects, or passions whatsoever.

"In which resolution, they said, they were nothing discouraged, although the heads of the malignant party disappointed of their prey, the religion and liberty of the kingdom, which they were ready to seize upon and devour before the beginning of this parliament, had still persisted, by new practices, both of force and subtilty, to recover the same again; for which purpose they had made several attempts for bringing up the army; they afterwards projected the false accusation of the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the house of commons, which being in itself of an odious nature, they had yet so far prevailed with his majesty, as to procure him to take it upon himself; but when the unchangeable duty and faithfulness of the parliament could not be wrought upon, by such a fact as that, to withdraw any part of their reverence and obedience from his majesty, they had, with much art and industry, advised his majesty to suffer divers unjust scandals and imputations upon the parliament, to be published in his name, whereby they might make it odious to the people, and, by their help, to destroy that, which hitherto had been the only means of their own preservation.

"For this purpose, they had drawn his majesty into the northern parts far from the parliament; that so false rumours might have time to get credit, and the just defences of the parliament find a more tedious, difficult, and disadvantageous access, after those false imputations and slanders had been first rooted in the apprehension of his majesty and his subjects; which the more speedily to effect, they had caused a press

“to be transported to York, from whence several
 “papers and writings of that kind were conveyed
 “to all parts of the kingdom, without the author-
 “ity of the great seal, in an unusual and illegal
 “manner, and without the advice of his majesty’s
 “privy-council; from the greater and better part
 “whereof having withdrawn himself, as well as
 “from his great council of parliament, he was
 “thereby exposed to the wicked and unfaithful
 “counsels of such, as had made the wisdom and
 “justice of the parliament dangerous to them-
 “selves; and that danger they laboured to pre-
 “vent by hiding their own guilt under the name
 “and shadow of the king; infusing into him their
 “own fears, and, as much as in them lay, aspers-
 “ing his royal person and honour with their own
 “infamy; from both which it had always been as
 “much the care, as it was the duty of the parlia-
 “ment to preserve his majesty, and to fix the guilt
 “of all evil actions and counsels upon those who
 “had been the authors of them.

“Amongst divers writings of that kind, they
 “said, they, the lords and commons in parliament,
 “had taken into their consideration two printed
 “papers; the first containing a declaration, which
 “they had received from his majesty, in answer to
 “that which had been presented to his majesty
 “from both houses at Newmarket, the ninth of
 “March, 1641; the other, his majesty’s answer
 “to the petition of both houses, presented to his
 “majesty the twenty-sixth of March, 1642. Both
 “which were filled with harsh censures, and cause-
 “less charges upon the parliament; concerning
 “which they held it necessary to give satisfaction
 “to the kingdom; seeing they found it very diffi-
 “cult to satisfy his majesty, whom, to their great
 “grief, they had found to be so engaged to, and
 “possessed by those misapprehensions, which evil
 “counsellors have wrought in him, that their most
 “humble and faithful remonstrances had rather
 “irritated and embittered, than any thing allayed,
 “or mitigated, the sharp expressions, which his
 “majesty had been pleased to make in answer to
 “them; for the manifestation whereof, and of their
 “own innocency, they desired that all his majesty’s
 “loving subjects might take notice of these
 “particulars:

“They knew no occasion given by them, which
 “might move his majesty to tell them, that in
 “their declaration, presented at Newmarket, there
 “were some expressions different from the usual
 “language to princes: neither did they tell his
 “majesty, either in words or in effect, that if he
 “did not join with them in an act, which he con-
 “ceived might prove prejudicial and dangerous to
 “himself and the whole kingdom, they would make
 “a law without him, and impose it upon the people.
 “That which they desired, they said, was, that, in
 “regard of the imminent danger of the kingdom,
 “the militia, for the security of his majesty and his
 “people, might be put under the command of such
 “noble and faithful persons, as they had all cause
 “to confide in: and such was the necessity of this
 “preservation, that they declared, that, if his ma-
 “jesty should refuse to join with them therein,
 “the two houses of parliament, being the supreme
 “court, and highest council of the kingdom, were
 “enabled, by their own authority, to provide for
 “the repulsing of such imminent and evident dan-
 “ger, not by any new law of their own making, as
 “had been untruly suggested to his majesty, but

“by the most ancient law of the kingdom, even
 “that which is fundamental and essential to the
 “constitution and subsistence of it.

“Although they never desired, they said, to
 “encourage his majesty to such replies as might
 “produce any contestation between him and his
 “parliament, of which they never found better
 “effect, than loss of time, and hinderance of the
 “public affairs; yet they had been far from telling
 “him of how little value his words would be with
 “them, much less when they were accompanied
 “with actions of love and justice. They said, he
 “had more reason to find fault with those wicked
 “counsellors, who had so often bereaved him of
 “the honour, and his people of the fruit of many
 “gracious speeches, which he had made to them,
 “such as those in the end of the last parliament;
 “that, in the word of a king, and as he was a
 “gentleman, he would redress the grievances of
 “his people, as well out of parliament as in it.
 “They asked, if the searching the studies and
 “chambers, yea, the pockets of some, both of the
 “nobility and commons, the very next day; the
 “commitment of Mr. Bellasis, sir John Hotham,
 “and Mr. Crew; the continued oppressions by
 “ship-money, coat and conduct money; with the
 “manifold imprisonments, and other vexations
 “thereupon, and other ensuing violations of the
 “laws and liberties of the kingdom, (all which
 “were the effects of evil counsel, and abundantly
 “declared in their remonstrance of the state of the
 “kingdom,) [were] actions of love and justice,
 “suitable to such words as those?

“As gracious was his majesty’s speech in the
 “beginning of this parliament; that he was re-
 “solved to put himself freely and clearly upon the
 “love and affection of his English subjects. They
 “asked whether his causeless complaints and jea-
 “lousies, the unjust imputations so often cast upon
 “his parliament, his denial of their necessary de-
 “fence by the ordinance of the militia, his dan-
 “gerous absenting himself from his great council,
 “like to produce such a mischievous division in
 “the kingdom, had not been more suitable to
 “other men’s evil counsels, than to his own words?
 “Neither, they said, had his latter speeches been
 “better used, and preserved by those evil and
 “wicked counsellors. Could any words be fuller
 “of love and justice, than those in his answer to
 “the message sent to the house of commons, the
 “thirty-first of December, 1641: We do engage
 “unto you solemnly the word of a king, that the
 “security of all and every one of you from violence
 “is, and ever shall be, as much our care, as the
 “preservation of us, and our children? And could
 “any actions be fuller of injustice and violence,
 “than that of the attorney general, in falsely
 “accusing the six members of parliament, and the
 “other proceedings thereupon, within three or four
 “days after that message? For the full view
 “whereof, they desired the declaration made of
 “those proceedings might be perused; and by
 “those instances (they could add many more) the
 “world might judge who deserved to be taxed
 “with disvaluing his majesty’s words, they who
 “had, as much as in them lay, stained and sullied
 “them with such foul counsels; or the parliament,
 “who had ever manifested, with joy and delight,
 “their humble thankfulness for those gracious
 “words, and actions of love and justice, which had
 “been conformable thereunto.

“ The king, they said, had been pleased to dis-
 “ avow the having any such evil counsel or coun-
 “ sellors, as were mentioned in their declaration, to
 “ his knowledge; and they held it their duty hum-
 “ bly to avow there were such; or else they must
 “ say, that all the ill things done of late in his ma-
 “ jesty’s name had been done by himself; wherein
 “ they should neither follow the direction of the
 “ law, nor the affection of their own hearts, which
 “ was, as much as might be, to clear his majesty
 “ from all imputation of misgovernment, and to lay
 “ the fault upon his ministers. The false accusing
 “ of six members of parliament; the justifying Mr.
 “ Attorney, in that false accusation; the violent
 “ coming to the house of commons; the denial of
 “ the militia; the sharp messages to both houses,
 “ contrary to the customs of former kings; the
 “ long and remote absence of his majesty from par-
 “ liament; the heavy and wrongful taxes upon
 “ both houses; the cherishing and countenancing
 “ a discontented party in the kingdom against
 “ them, were certainly the fruits of very evil
 “ counsels, apt to put the kingdom into a com-
 “ bustion, to hinder the supplies of Ireland, and to
 “ countenance the proceedings and pretensions of
 “ the rebels there: and the authors of these evil
 “ counsels, they conceived, must needs be known
 “ to his majesty; and they hoped their labouring
 “ with his majesty, to have those discovered, and
 “ brought to a just censure, would not so much
 “ wound his honour in the opinion of his good sub-
 “ jects, as his labouring to preserve and conceal
 “ them.

“ And whereas his majesty had said, he could
 “ wish that his own immediate actions, which he
 “ avowed, and his own honour, might not be so
 “ roughly censured under that common style of
 “ evil counsellors; they said, that they could also
 “ heartily wish that they had not cause to make
 “ that style so common; but how often and undu-
 “ tifully soever those wicked counsellors should fix
 “ their dishonour upon the king, by making his
 “ majesty the author of those evil actions, which
 “ were the effects of their own evil counsels, they,
 “ his majesty’s loyal and dutiful subjects, could use
 “ no other style, according to that maxim of the
 “ law, *the king can do no wrong*; but if any ill
 “ were committed in matter of state, the council;
 “ if in matter of justice, the judges must answer
 “ for it.

“ They said, they had laid no charge upon his
 “ majesty, which should put him upon that apology,
 “ concerning his faithful and jealous affection of
 “ the protestant profession: neither did his majesty
 “ endeavour to clear those in greatest authority
 “ about him, by whom they had said that design
 “ had been potently carried on for divers years;
 “ and they rather wished that the mercies of heaven,
 “ than the judgments, might be manifested upon
 “ them; but that there had been such, there were
 “ such plentiful and frequent evidences, that they
 “ believed there was none, either protestant or
 “ papist, who had had any reasonable view of the
 “ passages of latter times, but, either in fear or
 “ hope, did expect a sudden issue of that design.

“ They said, they had no way transgressed
 “ against the Act of Oblivion, by remembering the
 “ intended war against Scotland, as a branch of
 “ that design to alter religion by those wicked
 “ counsels, from which God did then deliver them,
 “ which they ought never to forget.

“ That the rebellion in Ireland was framed and
 “ cherished by the popish and malignant party in
 “ England, was not only affirmed by the rebels,
 “ but, they said, might be cleared by many other
 “ proofs: the same rebellious principles of pre-
 “ tended religion, the same politic ends were appa-
 “ rent in both, and their malicious designs and
 “ practices were masked and disguised with the
 “ same false colour of their earnest zeal to vindi-
 “ cate his majesty’s prerogative, from the supposed
 “ oppression of the parliament. How much those
 “ treacherous pretences had been countenanced, by
 “ some evil council about his majesty, might appear
 “ in this, that the proclamation, whereby they were
 “ declared traitors, was so long withheld, as to the
 “ second of January, though the rebellion brake
 “ forth in October before, and then no more than
 “ forty copies appointed to be printed; with a
 “ special command from his majesty not to exceed
 “ that number; and that none of them should be
 “ published, till his majesty’s pleasure was further
 “ signified, as by the warrant appears, a true copy
 “ whereof was annexed to this declaration; so that
 “ a few only could take notice of it; which was
 “ made more observable, by the late contrary pro-
 “ ceedings against the Scots, who were in a very
 “ quick and sharp manner proclaimed; and those
 “ proclamations forthwith dispersed, with as much
 “ diligence as might be, throughout all the king-
 “ dom, and ordered to be read in all churches,
 “ accompanied with public prayers and execrations.
 “ Another evidence of favour and countenance to
 “ the rebels in some of power about his majesty,
 “ was this, that they had put forth, in his majesty’s
 “ name, a causeless complaint against the parlia-
 “ ment, which speaks the same language of the
 “ parliament which the rebels do, thereby to raise
 “ a belief in men’s minds, that his majesty’s affec-
 “ tions were alienated, as well as his person was
 “ removed, from that his great council. All which,
 “ they said, did exceedingly retard the supplies of
 “ Ireland, and more advance the proceedings of
 “ the rebels, than any jealousy or misapprehension
 “ begotten in his subjects, by the declaration of
 “ the rebels, injunction of Rosetti, or information
 “ of Tristram Whetcomb; so that, considering the
 “ present state and temper of both kingdoms, his
 “ royal presence was far more necessary here, than
 “ it could be in Ireland, for redemption or protec-
 “ tion of his subjects there.

“ And whether there were cause of his majesty’s
 “ great indignation, for being reproached to have
 “ intended force or threatening to the parliament,
 “ they desired them to consider who should read
 “ their declaration, in which there was no word
 “ tending to any such reproach; and certainly,
 “ they said, they had been more tender of his ma-
 “ jesty’s honour in that point, than he, whosoever
 “ he was, that did write that declaration; where,
 “ in his majesty’s name, he did call God to witness,
 “ he never had any such thought, or knew of any
 “ such resolution of bringing up the army; which
 “ truly, they said, would seem strange to those,
 “ who should read the deposition of Mr. Goring,
 “ information of Mr. Percy, and divers other ex-
 “ aminations of Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Pollard, and
 “ others; the other examination of Captain Leg,
 “ sir Jacob Ashley, and sir John Conyers; and
 “ consider the condition and nature of the petition,
 “ which was sent unto sir Jacob Ashley, under the
 “ approbation of C. R. which his majesty had now

“acknowledged to be his own hand; and, being
“full of scandal to the parliament, might have
“proved dangerous to the whole kingdom, if the
“army should have interposed betwixt the king
“and them, as was desired.

“They did not affirm that his majesty’s warrant
“was granted for the passage of Mr. Jermyn, after
“the desire of both houses for restraint of his ser-
“vants; but only that he did pass over, after that
“restraint, by virtue of such a warrant. They
“knew the warrant bore date the day before their
“desire; yet, they said, it seemed strange to those,
“who knew how great respect and power Mr.
“Jermyn had in court, that he should begin his
“journey in such haste, and in apparel so unfit for
“travel, as a black satin suit, and white boots, if
“his going away was designed the day before.

“The accusation of the lord Kimbolton, and the
“five members of the house of commons, was
“called a breach of privilege; and truly so it was,
“and a very high one, far above any satisfaction
“that had been yet given: for, they asked, how it
“could be said to be largely satisfied, so long as
“his majesty laboured to preserve Mr. Attorney
“from punishment, who was the visible actor in it?
“So long as his majesty had not only justified
“him, but by his letter declared, that it was his
“duty to accuse them, and that he would have
“punished him, if he had not done it? So long as
“those members had not the means of clearing
“their innocency, and the authors of that mali-
“cious charge undiscovered, though both houses
“of parliament had several times petitioned his
“majesty to discover them, and that, not only upon
“grounds of common justice, but by act of parlia-
“ment, his majesty was bound to do it? So long
“as the king refused to pass a bill for their dis-
“charge, alleging that the narrative in that bill
“was against his honour; whereby he seemed still
“to avow the matter of that false and scandalous
“accusation, though he deserted the prosecution,
“offering to pass a bill for their acquittal; yet
“with intimation that they must desert the avow-
“ing their own innocency, which would more
“wound them in honour, than secure them in law?
“And in vindication of that great privilege of par-
“liament, they did not know that they had in-
“vaded any privilege belonging to his majesty, as
“had been alleged in that declaration.

“But, they said, they looked not upon that only
“in the notion of a breach of privilege, which
“might be, though the accusation were true or
“false; but under the notion of a heinous crime
“in the attorney, and all other subjects, who had
“a hand in it; a crime against the law of nature,
“against the rules of justice; that innocent men
“should be charged with so great an offence as
“treason, in the face of the highest judicatory of
“the kingdom, whereby their lives and estates,
“their blood and honour, were endangered, with-
“out witness, without evidence, without all possi-
“bility of reparation in a legal course; yet a crime
“of such a nature, that his majesty’s command can
“no more warrant, than it can any other act of
“injustice. These things, which were evil in their
“own nature, such as a false testimony, or false
“accusation, could not be the subject of any com-
“mand, or induce any obligation of obedience
“upon any man, by any authority whatsoever:
“therefore the attorney, in that case, was bound
“to have refused to execute such a command,

“unless he had some such evidence or testimony,
“as might have warranted him against the parties,
“and be liable to make satisfaction, if it should
“prove false; and it was sufficiently known to
“every man, and adjudged in parliament, that the
“king could be neither the relater, informer, or
“witness. If it should rest as it was, without
“further satisfaction, no future parliament could
“be safe, but that the members might be taken,
“and destroyed at pleasure; yea the very prin-
“ciples of government and justice would be in
“danger to be dissolved.

“They said, they did not conceive, that numbers
“did make an assembly unlawful, but when either
“the end, or manner of their carriage should be
“unlawful. Divers just occasions might draw the
“citizens to Westminster; where many public and
“private petitions, and other causes, were depend-
“ing in parliament; and why that should be found
“more faulty in the citizens, than the resort every
“day in the term of great numbers to the ordinary
“courts of justice, they knew not: that those citi-
“zens were notoriously provoked, and assaulted at
“Westminster by colonel Lunsford, captain Hyde,
“and others, and by some of the servants of the
“archbishop of York, was sufficiently proved;
“and that afterwards they were more violently
“wounded, and most barbarously mangled with
“swords, by the officers and soldiers near White-
“hall, many of them being without weapons, and
“giving no cause of distaste, was likewise proved
“by several testimonies; but of any scandalous
“or seditious misdemeanours of theirs, that might
“give his majesty good cause to suppose his own
“person, or those of his royal consort or children,
“to be in apparent danger, they had no proof ever
“offered to either house; and if there had been
“any complaint of that kind, it was no doubt the
“houses would have been as forward to join in
“an order, for the suppressing of such tumults,
“as they were, not long before, upon another
“occasion, when they made an order to that pur-
“pose; whereas those officers and soldiers, which
“committed that violence upon so many of the
“citizens at Whitehall, were cherished and fostered
“in his majesty’s house; and when, not long after,
“the common council of London presented a peti-
“tion to his majesty for reparation of those inju-
“ries, his majesty’s answer was, without hearing
“the proof of the complainants, that if any citizen
“were wounded, or ill entreated, his majesty was
“confidently assured, that it happened by their
“own evil and corrupt demeanours.

“They said, they hoped, it could not be thought
“contrary to the duty and wisdom of a parliament,
“if many concurring, and frequently reiterated
“and renewed advertisements from Rome, Venice,
“Paris, and other parts, if the solicitations of the
“pope’s nuncio, and their own discontented fugi-
“tives, did make them jealous and watchful for
“the safety of the state: and they had been very
“careful to make their expressions thereof so easy,
“and so plain to the capacity and understanding
“of the people, that nothing might justly stick
“with them, with reflection upon the person of his
“majesty: wherein they appealed to the judgment
“of any indifferent person, who should read and
“peruse their own words.

“They said, they must maintain the ground of
“their fears to be of that moment, that they could
“not discharge the trust and duty that lay upon

“ them, unless they did apply themselves to the use
 “ of those means, to which the law had enabled
 “ them in cases of that nature, for the necessary
 “ defence of the kingdom; and as his majesty did
 “ graciously declare, that the law should be the
 “ measure of his power; so did they most heartily
 “ profess, that they should always make it the rule
 “ of their obedience. Then they observed, that
 “ there were certain prudent omissions in his ma-
 “ jesty’s answer; and said, that the next point of
 “ their declaration was, with much caution, arti-
 “ ficially passed over by him who drew his ma-
 “ jesty’s answer; it being indeed the foundation
 “ of all their misery, and his majesty’s trouble,
 “ that he was pleased to hear general taxes upon
 “ his parliament, without any particular charge,
 “ to which they might give satisfaction; and that
 “ he had often conceived displeasure against par-
 “ ticular persons, upon misinformation; and al-
 “ though those informations had been clearly
 “ proved to be false, yet he would never bring
 “ the accusers to question; which did lay an im-
 “ possibility upon honest men of clearing them-
 “ selves, and gave an encouragement to false and
 “ unworthy persons to trouble him with untrue
 “ and groundless informations. Three particulars
 “ they had mentioned in their declaration, which
 “ the penner of his majesty’s answer had good
 “ cause to omit: the words supposed to be spoken
 “ at Kensington; the pretended articles against
 “ the queen; and the groundless accusation of
 “ the six members of the parliament; there being
 “ nothing to be said in defence, or denial of any
 “ of them.

“ Concerning his majesty’s desire to join with
 “ his parliament, and with his faithful subjects, in
 “ defence of religion, and public good of the king-
 “ dom, they said, they doubted not he would do it
 “ fully, when evil counsellors should be removed
 “ from about him; and until that should be, as
 “ they had shewed before of words, so must they
 “ also say of laws, that they could not secure
 “ them: witness the Petition of Right, which had
 “ been followed with such an inundation of illegal
 “ taxes, that they had just cause to think, that the
 “ payment of eight hundred and twenty thousand
 “ pounds, was an easy burden to the common-
 “ wealth in exchange of them; and they could not
 “ but justly think, that if there were a continuance
 “ of such ill counsellors, and favour to them, they
 “ would, by some wicked device or other, make
 “ the bill for the triennial parliament, and those
 “ other excellent laws mentioned in his majesty’s
 “ declaration, of less value than words. That ex-
 “ cellent bill for the continuance of this parliament,
 “ they said, was so necessary, that without it they
 “ could not have raised so great sums of money
 “ for the service of his majesty and the common-
 “ wealth, as they had done, and without which the
 “ ruin and destruction of the kingdom must needs
 “ have followed: and, they were resolved, the
 “ gracious favour of his majesty, expressed in that
 “ bill, and the advantage and security which thereby
 “ they had from being dissolved, should not encou-
 “ rage them to do any thing, which otherwise had
 “ not been fit to have been done. And they were
 “ ready to make it good before all the world, that
 “ although his majesty had passed many bills very
 “ advantageous for the subject, yet in none of
 “ them had they bereaved his majesty of any just,
 “ necessary, or profitable prerogative of the crown.

“ They said, they so earnestly desired his ma-
 “ jesty’s return to London, that upon it, they con-
 “ ceived, depended the very safety and being of
 “ both his kingdoms: and therefore they must
 “ protest, that, as for the time past, neither the
 “ government of London, nor any laws of the land,
 “ had lost their life and force for his security, so
 “ for the future they should be ready to do or say
 “ any thing, that might stand with the duty or
 “ honour of a parliament, which might raise a
 “ mutual confidence between his majesty and them,
 “ as they did wish, and as the affairs of the king-
 “ dom did require.

“ Thus far, they said, the answer to that, which
 “ was called his majesty’s declaration, had led
 “ them. Now they came to that, which was
 “ entitled his majesty’s answer to the petition of
 “ both houses, presented to him at York, the
 “ twenty-sixth of March, 1642. In the beginning
 “ whereof, his majesty wished, that their privileges
 “ on all parts were so stated, that that way of
 “ correspondency might be preserved with that
 “ freedom, which had been used of old. They said,
 “ they knew nothing introduced by them, that
 “ gave any impediment thereunto; neither had
 “ they affirmed their privileges to be broken, when
 “ his majesty denied them any thing, or gave a
 “ reason why he could not grant it; or that those,
 “ who advised such denial, were enemies to the
 “ peace of the kingdom, and favourers of the Irish
 “ rebellion; in which aspersion, that was turned to
 “ a general assertion, which, in their votes, was
 “ applied to a particular case; wherefore they must
 “ maintain their votes, that those who advised his
 “ majesty to contradict that, which both houses,
 “ in the question concerning the militia, had de-
 “ clared to be law, and command it should not
 “ be obeyed, is a high breach of privilege, and that
 “ those, who advised his majesty to absent himself
 “ from his parliament, were enemies to the peace
 “ of the kingdom, and justly to be suspected to be
 “ favourers of the rebellion in Ireland. The rea-
 “ sons of both were evident, because in the first
 “ there was as great a derogation from the trust
 “ and authority of parliament; and, in the second,
 “ as much advantage to the proceedings and hopes
 “ of the rebels, as might be; and they held it a
 “ very causeless imputation upon the parliament,
 “ that they had therein any way impeached, much
 “ less taken away the freedom of his majesty’s
 “ vote; which did not import a liberty in his ma-
 “ jesty, to deny any thing how necessary soever
 “ for the preservation of the kingdom, much less a
 “ license to evil counsellors, to advise any thing,
 “ though never so destructive to his majesty and
 “ his people.

“ By the message of the twentieth of January,
 “ his majesty had propounded to both houses of
 “ parliament, that they would, with all speed, fall
 “ into a serious consideration of all those particulars
 “ which they thought necessary, as well for the
 “ upholding and maintaining of his majesty’s just
 “ and regal authority, and for the settling his
 “ revenue, as for the present and future establishing
 “ their privileges; the free and quiet enjoying
 “ their estates; the liberties of their persons; the
 “ security of the true religion, professed in the
 “ church of England; and the settling of cere-
 “ monies, in such a manner, as might take away
 “ all just offence, and to digest it into one entire
 “ body.

“To that point of upholding and maintaining his royal authority, they said, nothing had been done to the prejudice of it, that should require any new provision: to the other of settling the revenue, the parliament had no way abridged or disordered his just revenue; but it was true, that much waste and confusion of his majesty’s estate had been made by those evil and unfaithful ministers, whom he had employed in the managing of it; whereby his own ordinary expenses would have been disappointed, and the safety of the kingdom more endangered, if the parliament had not, in some measure, provided for his household, and for some of the forts, more than they were bound to do; and they were still willing to settle such a revenue upon his majesty, as might make him live royally, plentifully, and safely; but they could not, in wisdom and fidelity to the commonwealth, do that, till he should choose such counsellors and officers, as might order and dispose it to the public good, and not apply it to the ruin and destruction of his people, as heretofore it had been. But that, and the other matters concerning themselves, being works of great importance, and full of intricacy, would require so long a time of deliberation, that the kingdom might be ruined before they could effect them: therefore they thought it necessary, first to be suitors to his majesty, so to order the militia, that, the kingdom being secured, they might, with more ease and safety, apply themselves to debate of that message, wherein they had been interrupted, by his majesty’s denial of the ordinance concerning the same; because it would have been in vain for them to labour in other things, and in the mean time to leave themselves naked to the malice of so many enemies, both at home and abroad; yet they had not been altogether negligent of those things, which his majesty had been pleased to propound in that message: they had agreed upon a book of rates in a larger proportion, than had been granted to any of his majesty’s predecessors, which was a considerable support of his majesty’s public charge; and had likewise prepared divers propositions, and bills, for preservation of their religion and liberties, which they intended shortly to present to his majesty; and to do whatsoever was fit for them, to make up that unpleasant breach between his majesty and the parliament.

“Whereas divers exceptions had been taken concerning the militia; first, that his majesty never denied the thing, but accepted the persons, (except for corporations,) only that he denied the way; to which they answered, that that exception took off London, and all other great towns and cities, which makes a great part of the kingdom; and for the way of ordinance, it is ancient, more speedy, more easily alterable, and, in all these and other respects, more proper, and more applicable to the present occasion, than a bill; which his majesty called the good old way of imposing upon the subjects. It should seem, that neither his majesty’s royal predecessors, nor their ancestors, had heretofore been of that opinion; 37 Edw. III. they said, they found this record: The chancellor made declaration of the challenge of the parliament; the king desires to know the griefs of his subjects, and to redress enormities. The last day

of the parliament, the king demanded of the whole estates, whether they would have such things as they agreed on, by way of ordinance, or statute? who answered, by way of ordinance, for that they might amend the same at their pleasures; and so it was.

“But his majesty objected further, that there was somewhat in the preface, to which he could not consent with justice to his honour and innocence; and that thereby he was excluded from any power in the disposing of it. These objections, they said, might seem somewhat, but indeed would appear nothing, when it should be considered, that nothing in the preamble laid any charge upon his majesty, or in the body of the ordinance, that excludes his royal authority in the disposing or execution of it: but only it was provided, that it should be signified by both houses of parliament, as that channel, through which it would be best derived, and most certainly to those ends for which it was intended; and let all the world judge whether they had not reason to insist upon it, that the strength of the kingdom should rather be ordered according to the advice or direction of the great council of the land, intrusted by the king, and by the kingdom, than that the safety of the king, parliament, and kingdom, should be left at the devotion of a few unknown counsellors, many of them not intrusted at all by the king in any public way, nor at all confided in by the kingdom.

“They wished the danger were not imminent, or not still continuing, but could not conceive, that the long time spent in that debate was evidence sufficient, that there was no such necessity or danger, but a bill might easily have been prepared; for, when many causes do concur to the danger of a state, the interruption of any one might hinder the execution of the rest, and yet the design be still kept on foot, for better opportunities. Who knew, whether the ill success of the rebels in Ireland had not hindered the insurrection of the papists here? Whether the preservation of the six members of the parliament, falsely accused, had not prevented that plot of the breaking the neck of this parliament, of which they were informed from France, not long before they were accused; yet since his majesty had been pleased to express his pleasure rather for a bill, than an ordinance, and that he sent in one for that purpose, they readily entertained it; and, with some small and necessary alterations, speedily passed the same. But contrary to the custom of parliament, and their expectation, grounded upon his majesty’s own invitation of them to that way, and the other reasons manifested in their declaration concerning the militia, of the fifth of May, instead of the royal assent, they met with an absolute refusal.

“For their votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth of March, they said, if the matter of those votes were according to law, they hoped his majesty would allow the subjects to be bound by them, because he had said, he would make the law the rule of his power; and if the question were, whether that were law, which the lords and commons had once declared to be so, who should be the judge? Not his majesty; for the king judgeth not of matters of law, but by his courts; and his courts, though sitting by his authority,

“expected not his assent in matters of law: not
 “any other courts; for they could not judge in
 “that case, because they were inferior, no appeal
 “lying to them from parliament, the judgment
 “whereof is, in the eye of the law, the king’s
 “judgment in his highest court, though the king
 “in his person be neither present, nor assenting
 “thereunto.

“*The votes at which his majesty took exception
 were these:*

1. “That the king’s absence so far remote from
 “his parliament, was not only an obstruction, but
 “might prove a destruction to the affairs of Ire-
 “land.

2. “That when the lords and commons shall
 “declare what the law of the land is, to have this
 “not only questioned and controverted, but con-
 “tradicted, and a command that it should not be
 “obeyed, was a high breach of the privilege of
 “parliament.

3. “That those persons, who advised his ma-
 “jesty to absent himself from the parliament, are
 “enemies to the peace of the kingdom, and justly
 “may be suspected to be favourers of the rebellion
 “in Ireland.

4. “That the kingdom had been of late, and
 “still was, in so eminent danger, both from ene-
 “mies abroad, and a popish and discontented party
 “at home, that there was an urgent and inevitable
 “necessity of putting his majesty’s subjects into a
 “posture of defence, for the safeguard both of his
 “majesty and his people.

5. “That the lords and commons, fully appre-
 “hending this danger, and being sensible of their
 “own duty, to provide a suitable prevention, had,
 “in several petitions, addressed themselves to his
 “majesty, for the ordering and disposing the mi-
 “litia of the kingdom in such a way, as was agreed,
 “by the wisdom of both houses, to be most effec-
 “tual, and proper for the present exigence of the
 “kingdom, yet could not obtain it; but his majesty
 “did, several times, refuse to give his royal assent
 “thereunto.

6. “That, in this case of extreme danger, and
 “his majesty’s refusal, the ordinance of parliament,
 “agreed upon by both houses, for the militia, doth
 “oblige the people, and ought to be obeyed, by the
 “fundamental laws of this kingdom.

“By all which, they said, it did appear, that there
 “had been no colour of that tax, that they went
 “about to introduce a new law, much less to exer-
 “cise an arbitrary power, but indeed to prevent
 “it: for this law was as old as the kingdom; that
 “the kingdom must not be without a means to pre-
 “serve itself; which that it might be done with-
 “out confusion, this nation had intrusted certain
 “hands with a power to provide, in an orderly and
 “regular way, for the good and safety of the whole;
 “which power, by the constitution of the king-
 “dom, was in his majesty, and in his parliament
 “together: yet since the prince, being but one
 “person, is more subject to accidents of nature
 “and chance, whereby the commonwealth may be
 “deprived of the fruit of that trust, which was, in
 “part, reposed in him; in cases of such necessity,
 “that the kingdom may not be enforced presently
 “to return to its first principles, and every man
 “left to do what is right in his own eyes, without
 “either guide or rule; the wisdom of this state

“hath intrusted the houses of parliament with a
 “power to supply what should be wanting on the
 “part of the prince, as is evident by the constant
 “custom and practice thereof, in cases of nonage,
 “natural disability, and captivity; and the like
 “reason doth and must hold for the exercise of
 “the same power in such cases, where the royal
 “trust cannot be, or is not discharged, and that
 “the kingdom runs an evident and imminent
 “danger thereby; which danger having been de-
 “clared by the lords and commons in parliament,
 “there needs not the authority of any person or
 “court to affirm, nor is it in the power of any
 “person or court to revoke that judgment.

“They said, they knew the king had ways
 “enough, in his ordinary courts of justice, to
 “punish such seditious pamphlets and sermons, as
 “were any ways prejudicial to his rights, honour,
 “and authority; and if any of them had been so
 “insolently violated and vilified, his majesty’s own
 “council and officers had been to blame, and not
 “the parliament: they never had restrained any
 “proceedings of that kind in other courts, nor re-
 “fused any fit complaint to them. The Protesta-
 “tion Protested had been referred by the commons’
 “house to a committee, and, the author being not
 “produced, the printer committed to prison, and
 “the book voted by that committee to be burned;
 “but sir Edward Deering, who was to make that
 “report of the votes of that committee, neglected
 “to make it. The Apprentices’ Protestation was
 “never complained of: but the other seditious
 “pamphlet, *To your tents, O Israel*, was once
 “questioned, and the full prosecution of it was
 “not interrupted by any fault of either house,
 “whose forwardness to do his majesty all right
 “therein might plainly appear, in that a committee
 “of lords and commons was purposely appointed,
 “to take such informations as the king’s council
 “should present concerning seditious words, prac-
 “tices, or tumults, pamphlets or sermons, tending
 “to the derogation of his majesty’s rights or pre-
 “rogative, and his council had been enjoined by
 “that committee, to inquire and present them;
 “who several times met thereupon, and received
 “this answer and declaration from the king’s
 “council, that they knew of no such thing as
 “yet.

“They said, if his majesty had used the service
 “of such a one in penning that answer, who un-
 “derstood the laws and government of this king-
 “dom, he would not have thought it legally in his
 “power to deny his parliament a guard, when
 “they stood in need of it; since every ordinary
 “court hath it: neither would his majesty, if he
 “had been well informed of the laws, have re-
 “fused such a guard as they desired, it being in
 “the power of inferior courts to command their
 “own guard; neither would he have imposed
 “upon them such a guard, under a commander
 “which they could not have confided in; which is
 “clearly against the privileges of parliament, and
 “of which they found very dangerous effects; and
 “therefore desired to have it discharged; but
 “such a guard, and so commanded, as the houses
 “of parliament desired, they could never obtain of
 “his majesty; and the placing a guard about them,
 “contrary to their desire, was not to grant a
 “guard to them, but in effect to set one upon
 “them: all which considered, they believed, in
 “the judgment of any indifferent persons, it would

“not be thought strange, if there were a more
“than ordinary resort of people at Westminster,
“of such as came willingly, of their own accord,
“to be witnesses and helpers of the safety of
“them, whom all his majesty’s good subjects are
“bound to defend from violence and danger; or
“that such a concourse as that (they carrying
“themselves quietly and peaceably, as they did)
“ought in his majesty’s apprehension, or could,
“in the interpretation of the law, be held tu-
“multuary and seditious.

“They said, when his majesty, in that question
“of violation of the laws, had expressed the obser-
“vation of them indefinitely, without any limita-
“tion of time, although they never said, or thought
“any thing, that might look like a reproach to his
“majesty, yet they had reason to remember that
“it had been otherwise, lest they should seem to
“desert their former complaints, and proceedings
“thereupon, as his majesty did seem but little to
“like or approve of them: for though he did ac-
“knowledge here that great mischief, that grew
“by that arbitrary power then complained of; yet
“such were continually preferred and counte-
“nanced, as were friends or favourers, or related
“unto the chief authors and actors of that arbi-
“trary power, and of those false colours, and
“suggestions of imminent danger and necessity,
“whereby they did make it plausible unto his
“majesty: and, on the other side, such as did ap-
“pear against them were daily discountenanced
“and disgraced: which whilst it should be so,
“they had no reason to believe the disease to be
“yet killed, and dead at root, and therefore no
“reason to bury it in oblivion; and, whilst they
“beheld the spawns of those mischievous princi-
“ples cherished and fostered in that new genera-
“tion of counsellors, friends, and abettors of the
“former, or at least concurring with them in their
“malignancy against the proceedings of this par-
“liament, they could not think themselves secure
“from the like, or a worse danger.

“They observed, the penner of his majesty’s
“answer bestowed here an admonition upon the
“parliament, bidding them take heed they fell not
“upon the same error, upon the same suggestions;
“but, they said, he might well have spared that,
“till he could have shewed wherein they had exer-
“cised any power, otherwise than by the rule of
“the law; or could have found a more authentic,
“or a higher judge in matters of law, than the
“high court of parliament.

“It was declared, in his majesty’s name, that
“he resolved to keep the rule himself, and, to his
“power, to require the same of all others. They
“said, they must needs acknowledge, that such a
“resolution was like to bring much happiness and
“blessing to his majesty, and all his kingdoms;
“yet, with humility, they must confess, they had
“not the fruit of it in that case of the lord Kim-
“bolton, and the other five members, accused con-
“trary to law, both common law and the statute
“law; and yet remained unsatisfied: which case
“had been remembered, in their declaration, as a
“strange and unheard of violation of their laws:
“but the penner of that answer thought fit to
“pass it over, hoping that many would read
“his majesty’s answer, which had been so care-
“fully dispersed, who would not read their de-
“claration.

“Whereas, after their ample thanks and ac-

“knowledge of his majesty’s favour in passing
“many good bills, they had said, that truth and
“necessity enforced them to add this, that in or
“about the time of passing those bills, some design
“or other had been on foot, which, if it had taken
“effect, would not only have deprived them of the
“fruit of those bills, but would have reduced them
“to a worse condition of confusion, than that
“wherein the parliament found them: it was now
“told them, that the king must be most sensible
“of what they cast upon him, for requital of those
“good bills; whereas, out of their usual tender-
“ness of his majesty’s honour, they did not men-
“tion him at all; but so injurious, they said, were
“those wicked counsellors to the name and honour
“of their master and sovereign, that, as much as
“they could, they laid their own infamy and guilt
“upon his shoulders.

“Here, they observed, God also was called to
“witness his majesty’s upright intentions at the
“passing of those laws; which, they said, they
“would not question, neither did they give any
“occasion of such a solemn asseveration as that
“was; the Devil was likewise defied to prove
“there was any design, with his majesty’s know-
“ledge or privity. That might well have been
“spared; for they spake nothing of his majesty:
“but since they were so far taxed, as to have it
“affirmed, that they had laid a false and notorious
“imputation upon his majesty, they thought it
“necessary, for the just defence of their own inno-
“cency, to cause the oaths and examinations,
“which had been taken, concerning the design, to
“be published in a full narration, for satisfaction
“of all his majesty’s subjects; out of which they
“would now offer some few particulars, whereby
“the world might judge, whether they could pro-
“ceed with more tenderness towards his majesty,
“than they had done. Mr. Goring confessed,
“that the king first asked him, whether he were
“engaged in any cabal concerning the army? and
“commanded him to join with Mr. Percy, and
“Mr. Jermyn, and some others whom they should
“find at Mr. Percy’s chamber; where they took
“the oath of secrecy, and then debated of a design
“proposed by Mr. Jermyn, to secure the Tower,
“and to consider of bringing up the army to
“London: and captain Leg confessed, he had re-
“ceived the draught of a petition, in the king’s
“presence; and his majesty acknowledgeth, it
“was from his own hand: and whosoever reads
“the sum of that petition, as it was proved by the
“testimony of sir Jacob Ashley, sir John Conyers,
“and captain Leg, will easily perceive some points
“in it, apt to beget in them some discontents
“against the parliament. And could any man
“believe there was no design in the accusation of
“the lord Kimbolton, and the rest, in which his
“majesty doth avow himself to be both a com-
“mander and an actor? These things being so,
“it would easily appear to be as much against the
“rules of prudence, that the penner of that answer
“should entangle his majesty in that unnecessary
“apology, as it was against the rules of justice,
“that any reparation from them should be either
“yielded or demanded.

“It was professed, in his majesty’s name, that
“he is truly sensible of the burdens of his people;
“which made them hope that he would take that
“course, which would be most effectual to ease
“them of those burdens; that was, to join with his

“parliament in preserving the peace of the kingdom, which, by his absence from them, had been much endangered; and which, by hindering the voluntary adventures for the recovery of Ireland, and disabling the subjects to discharge the great tax imposed on them, was like to make the war much more heavy to the kingdom. And for his majesty’s wants, the parliament had been no cause of them; they had not diminished his just revenue, but had much eased his public charge, and somewhat his private; and they should be ready, in a parliamentary way, to settle his revenue in such an honourable proportion, as might be answerable to both, when he should put himself into such a posture of government, that his subjects might be secure to enjoy his just protection for their religion, laws, and liberties.

“They said, they never refused his majesty’s gracious offer, of a free and general pardon; only they said, it could be no security to their present fears and jealousies: and they gave a reason for it; that those fears did not arise out of any guilt of their own actions, but out of the evil designs and attempts of others; and they left the world to judge, whether they therein had deserved so heavy a tax and exclamation? (That it was a strange world, when princes’ proffered favours were counted reproaches: such were the words of his majesty’s answer,) who did esteem that offer as an act of princely grace and bounty, which, since the parliament began, they had humbly desired they might obtain, and did still hold it very necessary and advantageous for the generality of the subject, upon whom the taxes and subsidies lie heaviest: but, they said, they saw, upon every occasion, how unhappy they were in his majesty’s misapprehensions of their words and actions.

“They said, they were fully of the king’s mind, as it was there declared, that he might rest so secure of the affections of his subjects, that he should not stand in need of foreign force to preserve him from oppression; and were confident, that he should never want an abundant evidence of the good wishes and assistance of his whole kingdom; especially if he would be pleased to hold to that gracious resolution of building upon that sure foundation, the law of the land: but why his majesty should take it ill, that they, having received informations so deeply concerning the safety of the kingdom, and should think them fit to be considered of, they could not conceive; for although the name of the person was unknown, yet that which was more substantial to the probability of the report was known, that is, that he was servant to the lord Digby; who, in his presumptuous letter to the queen’s majesty, and other letters to sir Lewis Dives, had intimated some wicked proposition, suitable to that information; but that this should require reparation, they held it as far from justice, as it was from truth, that they had mixed any malice with those rumours, thereby to feed the fears and jealousies of the people.

“It was affirmed, that his majesty was driven from them, but not by them; yet perchance, they said, hereafter, if there should be opportunity of gaining more credit, there would not be wanting who would suggest unto his majesty, that it was done by them: and if his majesty were driven from them, they hoped it was not

“by his own fears, but by the fears of the lord Digby, and his retinue of cavaliers; and that no fears of any tumultuary violence, but of their just punishment for their manifold insolence, and intended violence against the parliament: and this was expressed by the lord Digby himself, when he told those cavaliers, that the principal cause of his majesty’s going out of town, was to save them from being trampled in the dirt: but of his majesty’s person there was no cause of fear; in the greatest heat of the people’s indignation, after the accusation, and his majesty’s violent coming to the house, there was no show of any evil intention against his regal person; of which there could be no better evidence than this, that he came the next day without a guard into the city, where he heard nothing but prayers and petitions, no threatenings, or irreverent speeches, that might give him any just occasions of fear, that they had heard of, or that his majesty expressed; for he staid near a week after at Whitehall, in a secure and peaceable condition: whereby they were induced to believe, that there was no difficulty, or doubt at all, but his majesty’s residence near London might be as safe, as in any part of the kingdom. They said, they were most assured of the faithfulness of the city and suburbs; and for themselves, they should quicken the vigour of the laws, the industry of the magistrate, the authority of parliament, for the suppressing of all tumultuary insolencies whatsoever, and for the vindicating of his honour from all insupportable and insolent scandals, if any such shall be found to be raised upon him, as were mentioned in that answer: and therefore they thought it altogether unnecessary, and exceeding inconvenient, to adjourn the parliament to any other place.

“Where the desire of a good understanding betwixt the king and the parliament was on both sides so earnest, as was there professed by his majesty to be in him, and they had sufficiently testified to be in themselves, it seemed strange they should be, they said, so long asunder; it could be nothing else but evil and malicious counsel misrepresenting their carriage to his majesty, and in disposing his favour to them. And as it should be far from them to take any advantage of his majesty’s supposed straits, as to desire, much less to compel him to that, which his honour or interest might render unpleasant, or grievous to him; so, they hoped, his majesty would not make his own understanding or reason the rule of his government; but would suffer himself to be assisted with a wise and prudent council, that might deal faithfully betwixt him and his people: and that he would remember, that his resolutions did concern kingdoms; and therefore ought not to be moulded by his own, much less by any other private person, which was not alike proportionable to so great a trust: and therefore they still desired and hoped, that his majesty would not be guided by his own understanding, or to think those courses, straits and necessities, to which he should be advised by the wisdom of both houses of parliament, which are the eyes in this politic body, whereby his majesty was, by the constitution of the kingdom, to discern the differences of those things, which concern the public peace and safety thereof.

“They said, they had given his majesty no cause

“to say, that they did meanly value the discharge of his public duty; whatsoever acts of grace or justice had been done, they proceeded from his majesty by the advice and counsel of his parliament, yet they had and should always answer them with constant gratitude, obedience, and affection; and although many things had been done, since this parliament, of another nature, yet they should not cease to desire the continued protection of Almighty God upon his majesty, and most humbly petition him to cast from him all those evil and contrary counsels, which had, in many particulars formerly mentioned, much detracted from the honour of his government, the happiness of his own estate, and prosperity of his people.

“And having passed so many dangers from abroad, so many conspiracies at home, and brought on the public work so far, through the greatest difficulties that ever stood in opposition to a parliament, to such a degree of success, that nothing seemed to be left in the way able to hinder the full accomplishment of their desires, and endeavours for the public good, unless God in his justice did send such a grievous curse upon them, as to turn the strength of the kingdom against itself, and to effect that by their own folly and credulity, which the power and subtilty of their enemies could not attain, that was, to divide the people from the parliament, and to make them serviceable to the ends and aims of those who would destroy them: therefore they desired the kingdom to take notice of that last most desperate and mischievous plot of the malignant party, that was acted and prosecuted in many parts of the kingdom, under plausible notions of stirring them up to a care of preserving the king's prerogative; maintaining the discipline of the church; upholding and continuing the reverence and solemnity of God's service; [and] encouraging of learning: and, upon those grounds, divers mutinous petitions had been framed in London, Kent, and other counties; and sundry of his majesty's subjects had been solicited to declare themselves for the king against the parliament; and many false and foul aspersions had been cast upon their proceedings, as if they had been not only negligent, but averse in those points; whereas they desired nothing more, than to maintain the purity and power of religion, and to honour the king in all his just prerogatives; and for encouragement and advancement of piety and learning, they had very earnestly endeavoured, and still did, to the uttermost of their power, that all parishes might have learned, pious, and sufficient preachers, and all such preachers, competent livings.

“Other bills and propositions, they said, were in preparation, for the king's profit and honour, the people's safety and prosperity; in the proceedings whereof, they were much hindered by his majesty's absence from the parliament; which was altogether contrary to the use of his predecessors, and the privilege of parliament, whereby their time was consumed by a multitude of unnecessary messages, and their innocency wounded by causeless and sharp invectives; yet they doubted not but they should overcome all this at last, if the people suffer not themselves to be deluded with false and specious shows, and so drawn to betray them to their own un-

“doing, who had ever been willing to hazard the undoing of themselves, that they might not be betrayed, by their neglect of the trust reposed in them: but if it were possible they should prevail herein, yet they would not fail, through God's grace, still to persist in their duties, and to look beyond their own lives, estates, and advantages, as those who think nothing worth the enjoying without the liberty, peace, and safety of the kingdom; nor any thing too good to be hazarded in discharge of their consciences, for the obtaining of it: and should always repose themselves upon the protection of Almighty God, which, they were confident, should never be wanting to them, (while they sought his glory,) as they had found it, hitherto, wonderfully going along with them, in all their proceedings.”

With this declaration they published the examinations of Mr. Goring, Mr. Percy's letter to the earl of Northumberland; which were the great evidence they had of the plot of bringing up the army, to awe the parliament; and several other letters and depositions, or rather such parts of depositions, as contributed most to their purpose. For the truth is, as they never published, so much as to the houses which were to judge, many depositions of witnesses, whose testimonies, in a manner, vindicated the king from those aspersions, which they had a mind should stick upon him, (for many such there were,) so of those which they did publish, they left out many parts, which, being added, would either have obscured, or contradicted, or discredited much of that, out of which they made the people believe much to the king's disservice. And yet with all those ill arts and omissions, I presume many, who without passion do now read those depositions, (for they are in all hands to be read,) do much marvel how such conclusions could result to his majesty's disadvantage, out of the worst part of all that evidence; which could not naturally carry that sense to which it was wrested.

About this time (which I shall mention before the other declaration, because it intervened) there happened an accident that gave them much trouble, and the more, because unlooked for, by the lord keeper's quitting them, and resorting to York, by which the king got the possession of his own great seal; which by all parties was, at that time, thought a most considerable advantage. The king was very much unsatisfied with the lord keeper Littleton; who did not appear so useful for his service as he expected, and, from the time of the accusing the members, had lost all his vigour, and, instead of making any oppositions to any of their extravagant debates, he had silently suffered all things to be carried; and had not only declined the performing the office the king had enjoined him, with reference to the earls of Essex and Holland, (before mentioned,) but very much complied with and courted that party of both houses, which frequently resorted to him; and of late in a question, which had been put in the house of peers, in the point of the militia, he had given his vote both against the king and the law, to the infinite offence and scandal of all those who adhered to the king.

He was a man of great reputation in the profession of the law; for learning, and all other advantages, which attend the most eminent men; he was of a very good extraction in Shropshire, and inherited a fair fortune, and inheritance from his father; he was a handsome and a proper man, of a very

graceful presence, and notorious for courage, which, in his youth, he had manifested with his sword; he had taken great pains in the hardest and most knotty parts of the law, as well as that which was more customary; and was not only very ready and expert in the books, but exceedingly versed in records, in studying and examining whereof, he had kept Mr. Selden company, with whom he had great friendship, and who had much assisted him; so that he was looked upon as the best antiquary of the profession, who gave himself up to practice; and, upon the mere strength of his own abilities, he had raised himself into the first rank of the practisers in the common law courts, and was chosen recorder of London before he was called to the bench, and grew presently into the highest practice in all the other courts, as well as those of the law. When the king looked more narrowly into his business, and found that he should have much to do in Westminster-hall, he removed an old, useless, illiterate person, who had been put into that office by the favour of the duke of Buckingham, and made Littleton his solicitor general, much to his honour, but not to his profit; the obligation of attendance upon that office depriving him of much benefit he used to acquire by his practice, before he had that relation. Upon the death of the lord Coventry, and Finch being made keeper, he was made chief justice of the common pleas, then the best office of the law, and that which he was wont to say, in his highest ambition, in his own private wishes, he had most desired; and it was indeed the sphere in which he moved most gracefully, and with most advantage, being a master of all that learning and knowledge, which that place required, and an excellent judge, of great gravity, and above all suspicion of corruption.

Whilst he held this place, he was by the favour of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the earl of Strafford, who had a great esteem of him, recommended to the king to be called to the council table, where he kept up his good name; and, upon the lord Finch's leaving the kingdom, in the beginning of the parliament, he was thought, in many respects, to be the fittest to be intrusted in that office; and, upon the desire of the earl of Strafford, after he was in the Tower, was created a baron, out of expectation that, by his authority and knowledge of the law, he would have been of great use in restraining those extraordinary and unwarrantable proceedings: but, from the time he had the great seal, he seemed to be out of his element, and in some perplexity and irresolution in the chancery itself, though he had great experience in the practice and proceedings of that court; and made not that despatch, that was expected, at the council table; and in the parliament he did not preserve any dignity; and appeared so totally dispirited, that few men shewed any respect to him, but they who most opposed the king, who indeed did exceedingly apply themselves to him, and were with equal kindness received by him. This wonderful alteration in him, his friends believed to have proceeded from a great sickness, which had seized upon him very soon after he was created a baron, insomuch as every man believed he would die; and by this means, he did not attend the house in some months; and so performed none of those offices toward the earl of Strafford, the expectation whereof had been the sole motive to that promotion: from that time he never did appear the same

man; but sure there were other causes for it, and he was possessed with some melancholy apprehensions, which he could not master, and had no friend to whom he durst entirely communicate [them].

Mr. Hyde, one of those who was most trusted by the king in the house of commons, and had always had a great respect for the keeper, was as much troubled at his behaviour, as any man; and using frequently to go to him, went upon that occasion; and with great freedom and plainness told him, "how much he had lost the esteem of all good men, and that the king could not but be exceedingly dissatisfied with him;" and discoursed over the matter of that vote. Though he did not know, that the king did at that time put so great a secret trust in Mr. Hyde, yet he knew well, that the king had a very good opinion of him, and had heard his majesty often, from the beginning of the parliament, when the discourse happened to be of the lawyers of the house, take occasion from thence to mention Mr. Hyde, as a man of whom he heard very well; which the keeper had many times taken notice of to him: and then he knew the friendship that was between the lord Falkland and him [Mr. Hyde], and had heard the many jealousies which were contracted, upon the great communication he had with the two new counsellors; and so no doubt believed, that he knew much of the king's mind. And so as soon as he had entered upon this discourse, which he heard with all attention, (they being by themselves in his study at Exeter house,) he rose from his chair, and went to the door; and finding some persons in the next room, he bade them to withdraw; and so locking both the door of that room, and of his study, he sat down himself, and making Mr. Hyde sit down in another chair, he began "with giving him many thanks for his friendship to him, which, he said, he had ever esteemed, and he could not more manifest the esteem he had of it and him, than by using that freedom again with him, which he meant to do. Then he lamented his own condition; and that he had been preferred from the common pleas, where he knew both the business and the persons he had to deal with, to the other high office he now held, which obliged him to converse and transact with another sort of men, who were not known to him, and in affairs which he understood not, and had not one friend amongst them, with whom he could confer upon any doubt which occurred to him."

He spake then of the unhappy state and condition of the king's business; how much he had been, and was still, betrayed by persons who were about him; and with all possible indignation against the proceedings of the parliament; and said, "they would never do this, if they were not resolved to do more: that he knew the king too well, and observed the carriage of particular men too much, and the whole current of public transactions these last five or six months, not to foresee that it could not be long before there would be a war between the king and the two houses; and of the importance, in that season, that the great seal should be with the king." Then he fell into many expressions of his duty and affection to the king's person, as well as to his high degree: and "that no man should be more ready to perish with and for his majesty, than he would be;

"that the prospect he had of this necessity had made him carry himself towards that party with so much compliance, that he might be gracious with them, at least, that they might have no distrust of him; which, he knew, many had endeavoured to infuse into them; and that there had been a consultation within few days, whether, in regard he might be sent for by the king, or that the seal might be taken from him, it would not be best to appoint the seal to be kept in some such secure place, as that there might be no danger of losing it; and that the keeper should always receive it, for the execution of his office; they having no purpose to disoblige him. And the knowledge he had of this consultation, and fear he had of the execution of it, had been the reason, why, in the late debate upon the militia, he had given his vote in such a manner, as, he knew, would make very ill impressions with the king, and many others who did not know him very well; but that, if he had not, in that point, submitted to their opinion, the seal had been taken from him that night; whereas by this compliance in that vote, which could only prejudice himself, and not the king, he had gotten so much into their confidence, that he should be able to preserve the seal in his own hands, till the king required it; and then he would be as ready to attend upon his majesty with it."

Mr. Hyde was very well pleased with this discourse; and asked him, "whether he would give him leave, when there should be a fit occasion, that required it, to assure the king, that he would perform this service, when the king should require it?" He desired, "that he would do so, and pass his word for the performance of it, as soon as his majesty pleased:" and so they parted.

It was within very few days after, that the king, exceedingly displeased and provoked with the keeper's behaviour, sent an order to the lord Falkland, "to require the seal from him;" in which the king was very positive, though he was not resolved to what hand to commit it. His majesty wished them (for he always included the other two in such references) to consider, "whether he should give it to the lord chief justice Banks," (against whom he made some objection himself,) "or into the hands of Mr. Selden; and to send their opinion to him." The order was positive for the requiring it from the present officer, but they knew not how to advise for a successor. The lord [chief justice] Banks appeared to be as much afraid, as the other; and not thought equal to that charge, in a time of so much disorder; though, otherwise, he was a man of great abilities, and unblemished integrity: they did not doubt of Mr. Selden's affection to the king, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment; which he had never affected.

Being all the three of one mind, that it would not be fit to offer it to the one or the other; hereupon Mr. Hyde told them the conference he had had with the keeper, and the professions he had made; and was very confident, that he would very

punctually perform it; and therefore proposed, that "they might, with their opinions of the other persons, likewise advise his majesty to suspend his resolution concerning the lord keeper, and rather to write kindly to him, to bring the seal to his majesty, instead of sending for the seal itself, and to cast him off;" and offered to venture his own credit with the king, upon the keeper's complying with his majesty's command. Neither of them were of his opinion; and had both no esteem of the keeper, nor believed that he would go to his majesty, if he were sent for, but that he would find some trick to excuse himself; and therefore were not willing, that Mr. Hyde should venture his reputation upon it. He desired them then "to consider how absolutely necessary it was, that the king should first resolve into what hand to put the seal, before he removed it; for that it could not be unemployed one hour, but that the whole justice of the kingdom would be out of order, and draw a greater and a juster clamour than had been yet: that there was as much care to be taken, that it should not be in the power of any man to refuse it, which would be yet more prejudicial to his majesty. He desired them above all, to weigh well, that the business consisted only in having the great seal in the place, where his majesty resolved to be; and if the keeper would keep his promise, and desired to serve and please the king, it would be unquestionably the best way, that he and the seal were both there: if, on the other side, he were not an honest man, and cared not for offending the king, he would then refuse to deliver it; and inform the lords of it; who would justify him for his disobedience, and reward and cherish him; and he must then hereafter serve their turn; the mischief whereof would be greater than could be easily imagined: and his [majesty's] own great seal should be every day used against him, nor would it be possible in many months to procure a new one to be made."

These objections appeared of weight to them; and they resolved to give an account of the whole to the king, and to expect his order: and both the lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde writ to his majesty, and sent their letters away that very night. The king was satisfied with the reasons, and was very glad that Mr. Hyde was so confident of the keeper; though, he said, he remained still in doubt; and resolved, "that he would, such a day of the week following, send for the keeper, and the seal;" and that it should be, as had been advised, upon a Saturday afternoon, as soon as the house of lords should rise; because then no notice could be taken of it till Monday. Mr. Hyde, who had continued to see the keeper frequently, and was confirmed in his confidence of his integrity, went now to him; and finding him firm to his resolution, and of the opinion, in regard of the high proceedings of the houses, that it should not be long deferred; he told him, "that he might expect a messenger the next week, and that he should once more see him, when he would tell him the day; and that he would then go himself away before him to York;" with which he was much pleased, and it was agreed between the three, that it was now time, that he should be gone (the king having sent for him some time before) after a day or two; in which time the declaration of the nineteenth of May would be passed.

On the Saturday following, between two and three of the clock in the afternoon, Mr. Elliot, a groom of the bedchamber to the prince, came to the keeper, and found him alone in the room where he used to sit, and delivered him a letter from the king in his own hand; wherein he required him, with many expressions of kindness and esteem, "to make haste to him; and if his indisposition" (for he was often troubled with gravel and sharpness of urine) "would not suffer him to make such haste upon the journey, as the occasion required, that he should deliver the seal to the person who gave him the letter; who, being a strong young man, would make such haste as was necessary; and that he might make his own journey, by those degrees which his health required." The keeper was surprised with the messenger, whom he did not like; and more when he found that he knew the contents of the letter, which, he hoped, would not have been communicated to any man who should be sent: he answered him with much reservation; and when the other with bluntness, as he was no polite man, demanded the seal of him, which he had not thought of putting out of his own hands; he answered him, "that he would not deliver it into any hands, but the king's:" but presently recollecting himself, and looking over his letter again, he quickly considered, that it would be hazardous to carry the seal himself such a journey; and that if by any pursuit of him, which he could not but suspect, he should be seized upon, the king would be very unhappily disappointed of the seal, which he had reason so much to depend upon; and that his misfortune would be wholly imputed to his own fault and infidelity, (which, without doubt, he abhorred with his heart;) and the only way to prevent that mischief, or to appear innocent under it, was to deliver the seal to the person trusted by the king himself to receive it; and so, without telling him any thing of his own purpose, he delivered the seal into his hands; and he forthwith put himself on his horse, and with wonderful expedition presented the great seal into his majesty's own hands, who was infinitely pleased with it, and with the messenger.

The keeper, that evening, pretended to be indisposed, and that he would take his rest early, and therefore that nobody should be admitted to speak with him: and then he called sergeant Lee to him, who was the sergeant who waited upon the seal, and in whom he had great confidence, as he well might; and told him freely, "that he was resolved, the next morning, to go to the king, who had sent for him; that he knew well how much malice he should contract by it from the parliament, which would use all the means they could to apprehend him; and he himself knew not how he should perform the journey, therefore he put himself entirely into his hands; that he should cause his horses to be ready against the next morning, and only his own groom to attend them, and he to guide the best way, and that he would not impart it to any other person." The honest sergeant was very glad of the resolution, and cheerfully undertook all things for the journey; and so sending the horses out of the town, the keeper put himself in his coach very early the next morning, and as soon as they were out of the town, he and the sergeant, and one groom, took their horses, and made so great a journey that day, it being about the beginning of

June, that before the end of the third day he kissed the king's hands at York.

He had purposely procured the house of peers to be adjourned to a later hour in the morning for Monday, than it used to be. Sunday passed without any man's taking notice of the keeper's being absent; and many, who knew that he was not at his house, thought he had been gone to Cranford, his country house, whither he frequently went on Saturday nights, and was early enough at the parliament on the Monday mornings; and so the lords the more willingly consented to the later adjournments for those days. But on Monday morning, when it was known when, and in what manner, he had left his house, the confusion in both houses was very great; and they who had thought that their interest was so great in him, that they knew all his thoughts, and had valued themselves, and were valued by others, upon that account, hung down their heads, and were even distracted with shame: however they could not but conclude, that he was out of their reach before the lords met; yet to shew their indignation against him, and it may be in hope that his infirmities would detain him long in the journey, (as nobody indeed thought that he could have performed it with that expedition,) they issued out such a warrant for the apprehending him, as had been in the case of the foulest felon or murderer; and printed it, and caused it to be dispersed, by expresses, over all the kingdom, with great haste. All which circumstances, both before and after the keeper's journey to York, are the more particularly and at large set down, out of justice to the memory of that noble person; whose honour suffered then much in the opinion of many, by the confident report of the person, who was sent for and received the seal, and who was a loud and a bold talker, and desired to have it believed, that his manhood had ravished the great seal from the keeper, even in spite of his teeth; which, how impossible soever in itself, found too much credit; and is therefore cleared by this very true and punctual relation, which in truth is but due to him.

But the trouble and distraction, which at this time possessed them, was visibly very great; and their dejection such, that the same day the lord of Northumberland (who had been of another temper) moved, "that a committee might be appointed, to consider how there might be an accommodation between the king and his people, for the good, happiness, and safety of both king and kingdom;" which committee was appointed accordingly.

This temper of accommodation troubled them not long, new warmth and vigour being quickly infused into them by the unbroken or undaunted spirits of the house of commons; which, to shew how little they valued the power or authority of the king, though supported by having now his great seal by him, on the twenty-sixth of May agreed on a new remonstrance to the people; in which, the lords concurring, they informed them,

"That although the great affairs of the kingdom, and the miserable bleeding condition of the kingdom of Ireland, afforded them little leisure to spend their time in declarations, and in answers, and replies, yet the malignant party about his majesty taking all occasions to multiply calumnies upon the houses of parliament, and to pub-

lish sharp invectives, under his majesty's name, against them, and their proceedings, (a new engine they had invented to heighten the distractions of this kingdom, and to beget and increase distrust and disaffection between the king, and his parliament, and the people,) they could not be so much wanting to their own innocency, or to the duty of their trust, as not to clear themselves from those false aspersions, and (which was their chiefest care) to disabuse the people's minds, and open their eyes, that, under the false shows, and pretexts of the law of the land, and of their own rights and liberties, they may not be carried into the road way, that leadeth to the utter ruin and subversion thereof. A late occasion that those wicked spirits of division had taken to defame, and indeed to arraign the proceedings of both houses of parliament, had been from their votes of the twenty-eighth of April, and their declaration concerning the business of Hull, which because they put forth, before they could send their answer concerning that matter unto his majesty, those mischievous instruments of dissension, between the king, and the parliament, and the people, whose chief labour and study was to misrepresent their actions to his majesty, and to the kingdom, would needs interpret this as an appeal to the people, and a declining of all intercourse between his majesty and them; as if they thought it to no purpose, to endeavour any more to give his majesty satisfaction; and, without expecting any longer their answer, under the name of a message from his majesty to both houses, they themselves had indeed made an appeal to the people, as the message itself did in a manner grant it to be, offering to join issue with them in that way, and in the nature thereof did clearly shew itself to be no other; therefore they would likewise address their answer to the kingdom, not by way of appeal, (as they were charged,) but to prevent them from being their own executioners, and from being persuaded under false colours of defending the law, and their own liberties, to destroy both with their own hands, by taking their lives, liberties, and estates out of their hands, whom they had chosen, and intrusted therewith, and resigning them up unto some evil counsellors, about his majesty, who could lay no other foundation of their own greatness, but upon the ruin of this, and, in it, of all parliaments; and, in them, of the true religion, and the freedom of this nation. And these, they said, were the men that would persuade the people, that both houses of parliament, containing all the peers and representing all the commons of England, would destroy the laws of the land, and liberties of the people; wherein, besides the trust of the whole, they themselves, in their own particulars, had so great an interest of honour and estate, that they hoped it would gain little credit with any, that had the least use of reason, that such, as must have so great a share in the misery, should take so much pains in the procuring thereof; and spend so much time, and run so many hazards to make themselves slaves, and to destroy the property of their estates. But that they might give particular satisfaction to the several imputations cast upon them, they would take them in order, as they were laid upon them in that message.

First, they were charged for the avowing that act of sir John Hotham; which was termed unparalleled, and an high and unheard of affront unto his majesty, and as if they needed not to have done it; he being able, as was alleged, to produce no such command of the houses of parliament. They said, although sir John Hotham had not an order, that did express every circumstance of that case, yet he might have produced an order of both houses, which did comprehend this case, not only in the clear intention, but in the very words thereof; which they knowing in their consciences to be so, and to be most necessary for the safety of the kingdom, they could not but in honour and justice avow that act of his; which, they were confident, would appear to all the world to be so far from being an affront to the king, that it would be found to have been an act of great loyalty to his majesty, and to his kingdom.

The next charge upon them was, that, instead of giving his majesty satisfaction, they published a declaration concerning that business, as an appeal to the people, and as if their intercourse with his majesty, and for his satisfaction, were now to no more purpose; which course was alleged to be very unagreeable to the modesty and duty of former times, and not warrantable by any precedents, but what themselves had made. They said, if the penner of that message had expected a while, or had not expected that two houses of parliament (especially burdened, as they were at that time, with so many pressing and urgent affairs) should have moved as fast as himself, he would not have said, that declaration was instead of an answer to his majesty; which they did despatch with all the speed and diligence they could, and had sent it to his majesty by a committee of both houses; whereby it appeared, that they did it not upon that ground, that they thought it was no more to any purpose, to endeavour to give his majesty satisfaction.

And as for the duty and modesty of former times, from which they were said to have varied, and to want the warrant of any precedents therein, but what themselves had made: if they had made any precedents this parliament, they had made them for posterity, upon the same, or better grounds of reason and law, than those were upon, which their predecessors first made for them: and as some precedents ought not to be rules for them to follow, so none could be limits to bound their proceedings; which might and must vary, according to the different condition of times. And for that particular, of setting forth declarations for the satisfaction of the people, who had chosen, and intrusted them with all that was dearest to them: if there were no example for it, it was because there were never any such monsters before, that ever attempted to disaffect the people from a parliament, or could ever harbour a thought that it might be effected. Were there ever such practices to poison the people with an ill apprehension of the parliament? Were there ever such imputations and scandals laid upon the proceedings of both houses? Were there ever so many and so great breaches of privilege of parliament? Were there ever so many and so desperate designs of force and violence against the parliament, and the members thereof? If

“ they had done more than ever their ancestors
 “ had done, they said, they had suffered more than
 “ ever they had suffered ; and yet, in point of mo-
 “ desty and duty, they would not yield to the best
 “ of former times ; and they would put that in
 “ issue, whether the highest and most unwarrant-
 “ able precedents of any of his majesty’s predeces-
 “ sors did not fall short, and much below, what
 “ had been done to them this parliament ? And, on
 “ the other side, whether, if they should make the
 “ highest precedents of other parliaments their
 “ patterns, there would be cause to complain of
 “ want of modesty and duty in them ; when they
 “ had not so much as suffered such things to enter
 “ into their thoughts, which all the world knew
 “ they had put in act ?

“ Another charge which was laid very high upon
 “ them, and which were indeed a very great crime
 “ if they were found guilty thereof, was, that, by
 “ avowing that act of sir John Hotham, they did,
 “ in consequence, confound and destroy the title
 “ and interest of all his majesty’s good subjects to
 “ their lands and goods ; and that upon this
 “ ground ; that his majesty had the same title to
 “ his town of Hull, which any of his subjects had
 “ to their houses or lands, and the same to his
 “ magazine and munition there, that any man had
 “ to his money, plate, or jewels : and, therefore,
 “ that they ought not to have been disposed of,
 “ without or against his consent, no more than
 “ the house, land, money, plate, or jewels, of
 “ any subject ought to be, without or against
 “ his will.

“ Here, they said, that was laid down for a prin-
 “ ciple, which would indeed pull up the very found-
 “ ation of the liberty, property, and interest of
 “ every subject in particular, and of all the subjects
 “ in general, if they should admit it for a truth,
 “ that his majesty had the same right and title to
 “ his towns, and to his magazines, (bought with
 “ the public monies, as they conceived that at
 “ Hull to have been,) that every particular man
 “ hath to his house, lands, and goods. For his
 “ majesty’s towns were no more his own, than his
 “ kingdom was his own ; and his kingdom was no
 “ more his own, than his people are his own ; and
 “ if the king had a propriety in all his towns, what
 “ would become of the subjects’ propriety in their
 “ houses therein ? and if he had a propriety in his
 “ kingdom, what would become of the subjects’
 “ propriety in their lands throughout the kingdom ?
 “ or of their liberties, if his majesty had the same
 “ right in their persons, that every subject hath in
 “ his lands and goods ? and what would become of
 “ all the subjects’ interests in the towns and forts
 “ of the kingdom, and in the kingdom itself, if his
 “ majesty might sell, or give them away, or dis-
 “ pose of them at his pleasure, as a particular man
 “ might do with his lands and with his goods ?
 “ This erroneous maxim being infused into princes,
 “ that their kingdoms are their own, and that they
 “ may do with them what they will, as if their
 “ kingdoms were for them, and not they for their
 “ kingdoms, was, they said, the root of all the
 “ subjects’ misery, and of the invading of their just
 “ rights and liberties ; whereas, indeed, they are
 “ only intrusted with their kingdoms, and with
 “ their towns, and with their people, and with the
 “ public treasure of the commonwealth, and what-
 “ soever is bought therewith ; and, by the known
 “ law of this kingdom, the very jewels of the crown

“ are not the king’s proper goods, but are only in-
 “ trusted to him for the use and ornament thereof :
 “ as the towns, forts, treasure, magazines, offices,
 “ and the people of the kingdom, and the whole
 “ kingdom itself is intrusted unto him, for the good,
 “ and safety, and best advantage thereof : and as
 “ this trust is for the use of the kingdom, so ought
 “ it to be managed by the advice of the houses of
 “ parliament, whom the kingdom hath trusted for
 “ that purpose ; it being their duty to see it dis-
 “ charged according to the condition and true in-
 “ tent thereof ; and as much as in them lies, by all
 “ possible means, to prevent the contrary ; which,
 “ if it had been their chief care, and only aim, in
 “ the disposing of the town and magazine of Hull
 “ in such manner as they had done, they hoped it
 “ would appear clearly to all the world, that they
 “ had discharged their own trust, and not invaded
 “ that of his majesty’s, much less his property ;
 “ which, in that case, they could not do.

“ But admitting his majesty had indeed had a
 “ property in the town and magazine of Hull ; who
 “ doubted but that a parliament may dispose of any
 “ thing, wherein his majesty, or any subject, hath
 “ a right, in such a way, as that the kingdom may
 “ not be exposed to hazard or danger thereby ?
 “ which was their case, in the disposing of the
 “ town and magazine of Hull. And whereas his
 “ majesty did allow this, and a greater power to a
 “ parliament, but in that sense only, as he himself
 “ was a part thereof ; they appealed to every man’s
 “ conscience, that had observed their proceedings,
 “ whether they disjoined his majesty from his par-
 “ liament, who had in all humble ways sought his
 “ concurrence with them, as in that particular about
 “ Hull, and for the removal of the magazine there,
 “ so also in all other things ; or whether those evil
 “ councils about him had not separated him from
 “ his parliament ; not only in distance of place, but
 “ also in the discharge of the joint trust with them,
 “ for the peace and safety of the kingdom in that,
 “ and some other particulars.

“ They had given no occasion to his majesty,
 “ they said, to declare with so much earnestness
 “ his resolution, that he would not suffer either, or
 “ both houses by their votes, without or against
 “ his consent, to enjoin any thing that was forbid-
 “ den by the law, or to forbid any thing that was
 “ enjoined by the law ; for their votes had done no
 “ such thing : and as they should be very tender
 “ of the law, (which they did acknowledge to be
 “ the safeguard and custody of all public and pri-
 “ vate interests,) so they would never allow a few
 “ private persons about the king, nor his majesty
 “ himself in his own person, and out of his courts,
 “ to be judge of the law, and that contrary to the
 “ judgment of the highest court of judicature. In
 “ like manner, that his majesty had not refused to
 “ consent to any thing, that might be for the peace
 “ and happiness of the kingdom, they could not
 “ admit it in any other sense, but as his majesty
 “ taketh the measure of what will be for the peace
 “ and happiness of his kingdom, from some few ill
 “ affected persons about him, contrary to the advice
 “ and judgment of his great council of parliament.
 “ And because the advice of both houses of parlia-
 “ ment had, through the suggestions of evil coun-
 “ sellors, been so much undervalued of late, and so
 “ absolutely rejected and refused, they said, they
 “ held it fit to declare unto the kingdom, whose
 “ honour and interest was so much concerned in it,

" what was the privilege of the great council of
 " parliament herein ; and what was the obligation
 " that lay upon the kings of this realm, to pass
 " such bills, as are offered to them by both houses
 " of parliament, in the name, and for the good, of
 " the whole kingdom, whereunto they stand en-
 " gaged, both in conscience and in justice, to give
 " their royal assent : in conscience, in regard of the
 " oath, that is or ought to be taken by the kings
 " of this realm at their coronation, as well to con-
 " firm by their royal assent such good laws, as the
 " people shall choose, and to remedy by law such
 " inconveniences, as the kingdom may suffer ; as to
 " keep and protect the laws already in being ; as
 " may appear both by the form of the oath upon
 " record, and in books of good authority, and by
 " the statute of the 25 of Edward III. entitled, the
 " Statute of Provisors of Benefices ; the form of
 " which oath, and the clause of the statute that
 " concerneth it, are as followeth :

Rot. Parliament. H. IV. N. 17.

*Forma juramenti soliti, et consueti præstari
 per reges Angliæ in eorum coronatione.*

Servabis ecclesiæ Dei, cleroque, et populo, pacem
 ex integro, et concordiam in Deo, secundum vires
 tuas ?

Respondedit, Servabo.

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam, et
 rectam justitiam, et discretionem in misericordia et
 veritate, secundum vires tuas ?

Respondedit, Faciam.

Concedis justas leges, et consuetudines esse te-
 nendas ; et promittis per te eas esse protegendas,
 et ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus ele-
 gerit, secundum vires tuas ?

Respondedit, Concedo et promitto.

Adjicianturque prædictis interrogationibus quæ
 justa fuerint, prænunciatisque omnibus, confirmet
 rex se omnia servaturum, sacramento super altare
 præstito, coram cunctis.

*A clause in the preamble of a statute made the
 25 Edw. III. entitled, the Statute of Provisors of
 Benefices.*

Whereupon the said commons have prayed our
 said lord the king, that sith the right of the crown
 of England, and the law of the said realm is such,
 that upon the mischiefs and damages, which happen
 to this realm, he ought, and is bound by his oath,
 with the accord of his people in his parliament,
 thereof to make remedy and law, and in removing
 the mischiefs and damages which thereof ensue,
 that it may please him thereupon to ordain
 remedy.

Our lord the king seeing the mischiefs and
 damages before mentioned, and having regard to
 the statute made in the time of his said grandfather,
 and to the causes contained in the same, which
 statute holdeth always his force, and was never
 defeated, repealed, nor annulled in any point, and
 by so much he is bounden by his oath to cause the
 same to be kept as the law of his realm, though
 that, by sufferance and negligence, it hath been
 sithence attempted to the contrary : also having

regard to the grievous complaints made to him by
 his people, in divers his parliaments holden hereto-
 fore, willing to ordain remedy for the great damages
 and mischiefs, which have happened, and daily do
 happen, to the church of England by the said
 cause :

" Here, they said, the lords and commons claim
 " it directly as the right of the crown of England,
 " and of the law of the land, and that the king is
 " bound by his oath, with the accord of his people
 " in parliament, to make remedy, and law, upon
 " the mischiefs and damages, which happen to this
 " realm ; and the king doth not deny it, although
 " he take occasion from a statute formerly made
 " by his grandfather, which was laid as part of the
 " grounds of this petition, to fix his answer upon
 " another branch of his oath, and pretermits that
 " which is claimed by the lords and commons ;
 " which he would not have done, if it might have
 " been excepted against.

" In justice, they said, they are obliged there-
 " unto, in respect of the trust reposed in them ;
 " which is as well to preserve the kingdom by the
 " making new laws, where there shall be need, as
 " by observing of laws already made ; a kingdom
 " being, many times, as much exposed to ruin for
 " the want of a new law, as by the violation of
 " those that are in being : and this is so clear a
 " right, that, no doubt, his majesty would acknow-
 " ledge it to be as due to his people, as his protec-
 " tion. But how far forth he was obliged to follow
 " the judgment of his parliament therein, that is
 " the question. And certainly, besides the words
 " in the king's oath, referring unto such laws as
 " the people shall choose, as in such things which
 " concern the public weal and good of the kingdom,
 " they are the most proper judges, who are sent
 " from the whole kingdom for that very purpose ;
 " so they did not find, that since laws have passed
 " by way of bills, (which are read thrice in both
 " houses, and committed ; and every part and cir-
 " cumstance of them fully weighed, and debated
 " upon the commitment, and afterwards passed in
 " both houses,) that ever the kings of this realm
 " did deny them, otherwise than is expressed in
 " that usual answer, *Le roy s'avisera* ; which sig-
 " nifies rather a suspension, than a refusal of the
 " royal assent. And in those other laws, which
 " are framed by way of petitions of right, the
 " houses of parliament have taken themselves to
 " be so far judges of the right claimed by them,
 " that when the king's answer hath not, in every
 " point, been fully according to their desire, they
 " have still insisted upon their claim, and never
 " rested satisfied, till such time as they had an
 " answer according to their demand ; as had been
 " done in the late Petition of Right, and in former
 " times upon the like occasion. And if the parlia-
 " ment be judge between the king and his people
 " in the question of right, (as by the manner in the
 " claim in petitions of right, and by judgments in
 " parliament, in cases of illegal impositions and
 " taxes, and the like, it appears to be,) why should
 " they not be so also, in the question of the common
 " good, and necessity of the kingdom ; wherein the
 " kingdom hath as clear a right also to have the
 " benefit and remedy of law, as in any thing what-
 " soever ? And yet they did not deny, but that in
 " private bills, and also in public acts of grace, as

"pardons, and the like grants of favour, his majesty might have a greater latitude of granting, or denying, as he should think fit.

"All this considered, they said, they could not but wonder, that the contriver of that message should conceive the people of this land to be so void of common sense, as to enter into so deep a mistrust of those, whom they have, and his majesty ought to repose so great a trust in, as to despair of any security in their private estates, by descents, purchases, assurances, or conveyances; unless his majesty should, by his vote, prevent the prejudice they might receive therein by the votes of both houses of parliament; as if they, who are especially chosen, and intrusted for that purpose, and who themselves must needs have so great a share in all grievances of the subject, had wholly cast off all care of the subject's good, and his majesty had solely taken it up; and as if it could be imagined, that they should, by their votes, overthrow the rights of descents, purchases, or of any conveyance or assurance, in whose judgment the whole kingdom hath placed all their particular interests, if any of them should be called in question, in any of those cases; and that (as not knowing where to place them with greater security) without any appeal from them to any other person or court whatsoever.

"But indeed they were very much to seek, how the case of Hull could concern descents and purchases, or conveyances and assurances; unless it were in procuring more security to men in their private interests, by the preservation of the whole from confusion and destruction; and much less did they understand how the sovereign power was resisted and despised therein. Certainly no command from his majesty, and his high court of parliament, (where the sovereign power resides,) was disobeyed by sir John Hotham; nor yet was his majesty's authority derived out of any other court, nor by any legal commission, or by any other way, wherein the law had appointed his majesty's commands to be derived to his subjects; and of what validity his verbal commands are, without any such stamp of his authority upon them, and against the order of both houses of parliament, and whether the not submitting thereunto be a resisting and despising of the sovereign authority, they would leave to all men to judge, that do at all understand the government of this kingdom.

"They acknowledged that his majesty had made many expressions of his zeal and intentions against the desperate designs of the papists; but yet it was also as true, that the counsels, which had prevailed of late with him, had been little suitable to those expressions and intentions. For what did more advance the open and bloody design of the papists in Ireland, (whereon the secret plots of the papists here did, in all likelihood, depend,) than his majesty's absenting himself, in that manner that he did, from his parliament; and setting forth such sharp invectives against them, notwithstanding all the humble petitions, and other means, which his parliament had addressed unto him, for his return, and for his satisfaction concerning their proceedings? And what was more likely to give a rise to the designs of the papists, (whereof there were so many in

"the north, near to the town of Hull,) and of other malignant and ill affected persons, (which were ready to join with them,) or to the attempts of foreigners from abroad, than the continuing of that great magazine at Hull, at this time, and contrary to the desire and advice of both houses of parliament? So that they had too much cause to believe, that the papists had still some way and means, whereby they had influence upon his majesty's counsels for their own advantage.

"For the malignant party, they said, his majesty needed not a definition of the law, nor yet a more full character of them from both houses of parliament, for to find them out, if he would please only to apply the character, that himself had made of them, to those, unto whom it doth properly and truly belong. Who are so much disaffected to the peace of the kingdom, as they that endeavour to disaffect his majesty from the houses of parliament, and persuade him to be at such a distance from them, both in place and affection? Who are more disaffected to the government of the kingdom, than such as lead his majesty away from hearkening to his parliament; which, by the constitution of the kingdom, is his greatest and best council; and persuade him to follow the malicious counsels of some private men, in opposing and contradicting the wholesome advices and just proceedings of that his most faithful council and highest court? Who are they, that not only neglect and despise, but labour to undermine the law, under colour of maintaining it, but they that endeavour to destroy the fountain and conservatory of the law, which is the parliament? And who are they that set up other rules for themselves to walk by, than such as are according to law, but they that will make other judges of the law than the law hath appointed; and so dispense with their obedience to that, which the law calleth authority, and to their determinations and resolutions, to whom the judgment doth appertain by law? For, when private persons shall make the law to be their rule according to their own understandings, contrary to the judgment of those that are the competent judges thereof, they set up unto themselves other rules than the law doth acknowledge. Who those persons were, none knew better than his majesty himself: and if he would please to take all possible caution of them, as destructive to the commonwealth and himself, and would remove them from about him, it would be the most effectual means to compose all the distractions, and to cure the distempers of the kingdom.

"For the lord Digby's letter, they said, they did not make mention of it as a ground to hinder his majesty from visiting his own fort; but they appealed to the judgment of any indifferent man, that should read that letter, and compare it with the posture that his majesty then did, and still doth, stand in towards the parliament, and with the circumstances of that late action of his majesty in going to Hull, whether the advisers of that journey intended only a visit of that fort and magazine?

"As to the ways and overtures of accommodation, and the message of the twentieth of January last, so often pressed, but still in vain, as was al-

leged: their answer was, that although so often as that message of the twentieth of January had been pressed, so often had their privileges been clearly infringed, that a way and method of proceeding should be prescribed to them, as well for the settling of his majesty's revenue, as for the presenting of their own desires, (a thing, which, in former parliaments, had always been excepted against, as a breach of privilege,) yet, in respect to the matter contained in that message, and out of their earnest desire to beget a good understanding between his majesty and them, they swallowed down all matters of circumstance; and had ere that time presented the chief of their desires to his majesty, had they not been interrupted with continual denials, even of those things that were necessary for their present security and subsistence; and had not those denials been followed with perpetual invectives against them and their proceedings; and had not those invectives been heaped upon them so thick one after another, (who were in a manner already taken up wholly with the pressing affairs of this kingdom, and of the kingdom of Ireland,) that as they had little encouragement from thence, to hope for any good answers to their desires, so they had not so much time left them to perfect them in such a manner, as to offer them to his majesty.

They confessed it a resolution most worthy of a prince, and of his majesty, to shut his ears against any that would incline him to a civil war; and to abhor the very apprehension of it. But they could not believe that mind to have been in them, that came with his majesty to the house of commons; or in them, that accompanied his majesty to Hampton-court, and appeared in a warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames; or in divers of them, who followed his majesty lately to Hull; or in them, who after drew their swords in York, demanding, *Who would be for the king?* nor in them, that advised his majesty to declare sir John Hotham a traitor, before the message was sent concerning that business to the parliament, or to make propositions to the gentlemen of the county of York to assist his majesty to proceed against him in a way of force, before he had, or possibly could receive an answer from the parliament, to whom he had sent to demand justice of them against sir John Hotham for that fact: and if those malignant spirits should ever force them to defend their religion, the kingdom, the privileges of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subjects, with their swords; the blood, and destruction that should ensue thereupon, must be wholly cast upon their account; God and their own consciences told them, that they were clear; and they doubted not, but God and the whole world would clear them therein.

For captain Leg, they had not said that he was accused, or that there was any charge against him, for the bringing up of the army; but that he was employed in that business. And for that concerning the earl of Newcastle, mentioned by his majesty, which was said to have been asked long since, and that it was not easy to be answered: they conceived it was a question of more difficulty, and harder to be answered, why, when his majesty held it necessary, upon the same grounds that first moved from the houses of parliament, that a governor should be placed in that

town, sir John Hotham, a gentleman of known fortune and integrity, and a person of whom both houses of parliament had expressed their confidence, should be refused by his majesty; and the earl of Newcastle, (who, by the way, was so far named in the business of bringing up the army, that although there was not ground enough for a judicial proceeding, yet there was ground of suspicion; at least his reputation was not left so unblemished thereby, as that he should be thought the fittest man in England for that employment of Hull) should be sent down, in a private way, from his majesty to take upon him that government? And why he should disguise himself under another name, when he came thither, as he did? But whosoever should consider, together with those circumstances, that of the time when sir John Hotham was appointed, by both houses of parliament, to take upon him that employment, which was presently after his majesty's coming to the house of commons, and upon the retiring himself to Hampton-court, and the lord Digby's assembling of cavaliers at Kingston upon Thames, would find reason enough, why that town of Hull should be committed rather to sir John Hotham, by the authority of both houses of parliament, than to the earl of Newcastle, sent from his majesty in that manner that he was. And for the power that sir John Hotham had from the two houses of parliament, the better it was known and understood, they were confident the more it would be approved and justified: and as they did not conceive, that his majesty's refusal to have that magazine removed could give any advantage against him to have it taken from him; and as no such thing was done, so they could not conceive, for what other reason any should counsel his majesty, not to suffer it to be removed, upon the desire of both houses of parliament; except it were, that they had an intention to make use of it against them.

They said, they did not except against those that presented a petition to his majesty at York, for the continuance of the magazine at Hull, in respect of their condition, or in respect of their number; because they were mean persons, or because they were few; but because they being but a few, and there being so many more in the county of as good quality as themselves, (who had, by their petition to his majesty, disavowed that act of theirs,) that they should take upon them the style of all the gentry, and inhabitants of that county; and, under that title, should presume to interpose their advice contrary to the votes of both houses of parliament: and, if it could be made to appear, that any of those petitions, that are said to have been presented to the houses of parliament, and to have been of a strange nature, were of such a nature as that, they were confident, that they were never received with their consent and approbation.

Whether there was an intention to deprive sir John Hotham of his life, if his majesty had been admitted into Hull; and whether the information were such, as that he had ground to believe it, they would not bring into question; for that was not, nor ought to have been, the ground for doing what he did: neither was the number of his majesty's attendants, for being more or fewer, much considerable in this case; for although it

“ were true, that if his majesty had entered with
 “ twenty horse only, he might happily have found
 “ means for to have forced the entrance of the rest
 “ of his train; who, being once in the town, would
 “ not have been long without arms; yet that was
 “ not the ground, upon which sir John Hotham
 “ was to proceed; but upon the admittance of the
 “ king into the town at all, so as to deliver up the
 “ town and magazine unto him, and to whomso-
 “ ever he should give the command thereof, with-
 “ out the knowledge and consent of both houses
 “ of parliament, by whom he was intrusted to the
 “ contrary: and his majesty having declared that
 “ to be his intention concerning the town, in a
 “ message that he sent to the parliament, not long
 “ before he went to Hull; saying, that he did not
 “ doubt, but that town should be delivered up to
 “ him, whensoever he pleased, as supposing it to
 “ be kept against him; and in like manner con-
 “ cerning his magazine, in his message of the
 “ twenty-fourth of April, wherein it is expressed,
 “ that his majesty went thither, with a purpose to
 “ take into his hands the magazine, and to dispose
 “ of it in such manner, as he should think fit:
 “ upon those terms, sir John Hotham could not
 “ have admitted his majesty, and have made good
 “ his trust to the parliament, though his majesty
 “ would have entered alone, without any attend-
 “ ants at all of his own, or of the prince or duke,
 “ his sons; which they did not wish to be less
 “ than they were in their number, but could
 “ heartily wish that they were generally better in
 “ their conditions.

“ In the close of that message, his majesty stated
 “ the case of Hull; and thereupon inferred, that
 “ the act of sir John Hotham was levying war
 “ against the king; and, consequently, that it was
 “ no less than high treason, by the letter of the
 “ statute of the 25 Edw. III. ch. 2, unless the sense
 “ of that statute were very far differing from the
 “ letter thereof.

“ In the stating of that case, they said, divers
 “ particulars might be observed, wherein it was not
 “ rightly stated: as,

1. “ That his majesty's going to Hull was only
 “ an endeavour to visit a town and fort of his:
 “ whereas it was indeed to possess himself of the
 “ town and magazine there, and to dispose of them,
 “ as he himself should think good, without, and
 “ contrary to the advice and orders of both houses
 “ of parliament; as did clearly appear by his ma-
 “ jesty's own declaration of his intentions therein,
 “ by his messages to both houses, immediately
 “ before and after that journey. Nor could they
 “ believe, that any man, who should consider the
 “ circumstances of that journey to Hull, could
 “ think, that his majesty would have gone thither
 “ at that time, and in that posture that he was
 “ pleased to put himself in towards the parliament,
 “ if he had intended only a visit of the town and
 “ magazine.

2. “ It was said to be his majesty's own town,
 “ and his own magazine, which being understood
 “ in that sense, as was before expressed, as if his
 “ majesty had a private interest of propriety there-
 “ in, they could not admit it to be so.

3. “ Which was the main point of all, sir John
 “ Hotham was said to have shut the gates against
 “ his majesty, and to have made resistance with
 “ armed men, in defiance of his majesty; whereas
 “ it was indeed in obedience to his majesty, and

“ his authority, and for his service, and the service
 “ of the kingdom; for which use only, all that in-
 “ terest is, that the king hath in the town; and it
 “ is no further his to dispose of, than he useth it
 “ for that end: and sir John Hotham being com-
 “ manded to keep the town and magazine, for his
 “ majesty and the kingdom, and not to deliver
 “ them up, but by his majesty's authority, signified
 “ by both houses of parliament, all that was to be
 “ understood by those expressions, of his denying
 “ and opposing his majesty's entrance, and telling
 “ him in plain terms, that he should not come in,
 “ was only this, that he humbly desired his ma-
 “ jesty to forbear his entrance, till he might acquaint
 “ the parliament; and that his authority might
 “ come signified to him by both houses of parlia-
 “ ment, according to the trust reposed in him. And
 “ certainly, if the letter of the statute of the 25
 “ Edw. III. ch. 2, be thought to import this; that
 “ no war can be levied against the king, but what
 “ is directed and intended against his person, or
 “ that every levying of forces, for the defence of
 “ the king's authority, and of his kingdom, against
 “ the personal commands of the king opposed
 “ thereunto, though accompanied with his pre-
 “ sence, is levying war against the king, it is very
 “ far from the sense of that statute; and so much
 “ the statute itself speaks, (besides the authority
 “ of book cases; precedents of divers traitors con-
 “ demned upon that interpretation thereof.) For
 “ if the clause of levying of war had been meant
 “ only against the king's person, what need had
 “ there been thereof after the other branch of
 “ treason, in the same statute, of compassing the
 “ king's death, which would necessarily have im-
 “ plied this? And because the former clause doth
 “ imply this, it seems not at all to be intended in
 “ this latter branch; but only the levying of war
 “ against the king, that is, against his laws and
 “ authority: and the levying of war against his
 “ laws and authority, though not against his
 “ person, is levying war against the king; but the
 “ levying of force against his personal commands,
 “ though accompanied with his presence, and not
 “ against his laws and authority, but in the main-
 “ tenance thereof, is no levying of war against the
 “ king, but for him.

“ Here was then, they said, their case: In a
 “ time of so many successive plots, and designs of
 “ force against the parliament and the kingdom;
 “ in a time of probable invasion from abroad, and
 “ that to begin at Hull, and to take the opportu-
 “ nity of seizing upon so great a magazine there;
 “ in a time of so great distance and alienation of
 “ his majesty's affection from his parliament, (and
 “ in them from his kingdom, which they represent,)
 “ by the wicked suggestions of a few malignant
 “ persons, by whose mischievous counsels he was
 “ wholly led away from his parliament, and their
 “ faithful advices and counsels: in such a time, the
 “ lords and commons in parliament command sir
 “ John Hotham to draw in some of the trained
 “ bands of the parts adjacent to the town of Hull,
 “ for the securing that town and magazine for the
 “ service of his majesty, and of the kingdom: of
 “ the safety whereof there is a higher trust reposed
 “ in them, than any where else; and they are the
 “ proper judges of the danger thereof.

“ This town and magazine being intrusted to sir
 “ John Hotham, with express order not to deliver
 “ them up, but by the king's authority, signified by

“both houses of parliament; his majesty, contrary
 “to the advice and direction of both houses of
 “parliament, without the authority of any court, or
 “any legal way, wherein the law appoints the king
 “to speak and command, accompanied with the
 “same evil council about him that he had before,
 “by a verbal command requires sir John Hotham
 “to admit him into the town, that he might dis-
 “pose of it, and of the magazine there, according
 “to his own, or rather according to the pleasure of
 “those evil counsellors, who are still in so much
 “credit about him; in like manner as the lord
 “Digby had continual recourse unto, and counte-
 “nance from, the queen’s majesty in Holland; by
 “which means he had opportunity still to commu-
 “nicate his traitorous conceptions and suggestions
 “to both their majesties; such as those were con-
 “cerning his majesty’s retiring to a place of
 “strength, and declaring himself, and his own ad-
 “vancing his majesty’s service in such a way be-
 “yond the seas, and after that resorting to his
 “majesty in such a place of strength; and divers
 “other things of that nature, contained in his
 “letter to the queen’s majesty, and to sir Lewis
 “Dives; a person that had not the least part in
 “this late business of Hull, and was presently des-
 “patched away into Holland, soon after his ma-
 “jesty’s return from Hull; for what purpose, they
 “left the world to judge.

“Upon the refusal of sir John Hotham to admit
 “his majesty into Hull, presently, without any due
 “process of law, before his majesty had sent up
 “the narration of his fact to the parliament, he
 “was proclaimed traitor; and yet it was said, that
 “therein was no violation of the subject’s right,
 “nor any breach of the law, nor of the privilege of
 “parliament, though sir John Hotham be a mem-
 “ber of the house of commons; and that his ma-
 “jesty must have better reason, than bare votes,
 “to believe the contrary; although the votes of
 “the lords and commons in parliament, being the
 “great council of the kingdom, are the reason of
 “the king, and of the kingdom: yet these votes,
 “they said, did not want clear and apparent reason
 “for them; for if the solemn proclaiming him a
 “traitor signify any thing, it puts a man, and all
 “those that any way aid, assist, or adhere unto
 “him, in the same condition of traitors; and
 “draws upon him all the consequences of treason:
 “and if that might be done by law, without due
 “process of law, the subject hath a very poor
 “defence of the law, and a very small, if any, pro-
 “portion of liberty thereby. And it is as little
 “satisfaction to a man, that shall be exposed to
 “such penalties, by that declaration of him to be
 “a traitor, to say, he shall have a legal trial af-
 “terwards, as it is to condemn a man first, and try him
 “afterwards. And if there could be a necessity for
 “any such proclaiming a man a traitor, without due
 “process of law, yet there was none in this case;
 “for his majesty might as well have expected the
 “judgment of parliament, (which was the right
 “way,) as he had leisure to send to them to
 “demand justice against sir John Hotham. And
 “the breach of privilege of parliament was as clear
 “in this case, as the subversion of the subject’s
 “common right: for, though the privileges of par-
 “liament do not extend to those cases, mentioned
 “in the declaration, of treason, felony, and breach
 “of peace, so as to exempt the members of par-
 “liament from punishment, nor from all manner of

“process and trial, as it doth in other cases; yet
 “it doth privilege them in the way and method of
 “their trial and punishment; and that the parlia-
 “ment should have the cause first brought before
 “them, that they may judge of the fact, and of
 “the grounds of the accusation, and how far forth
 “the manner of their trial may concern, or not
 “concern, the privilege of parliament. Otherwise
 “it would be in the power, not only of his ma-
 “jesty, but of every private man, under preten-
 “sions of treasons, or those other crimes, to take
 “any man from his service in parliament; and so
 “as many one after another as he pleaseth; and,
 “consequently, to make a parliament what he will,
 “when he will; which would be a breach of so es-
 “sential a privilege of parliament, as that the very
 “being thereof depends upon it. And therefore
 “they no ways doubted but every one, that had
 “taken the protestation, would, according to his
 “solemn vow and oath, defend it with his life and
 “fortune. Neither did the sitting of a parliament
 “suspend all, or any law, in maintaining that law,
 “which upholds the privilege of parliament; which
 “upholds the parliament; which upholds the king-
 “dom. And they were so far from believing, that
 “his majesty was the only person against whom
 “treason could not be committed, that, in some
 “sense, they acknowledged he was the only person
 “against whom it could be committed; that is, as
 “he is king: and that treason, which is against
 “the kingdom, is more against the king, than that
 “which is against his person; because he is king:
 “for that very treason is not treason, as it is against
 “him as a man, but as a man that is a king; and
 “as he hath relation to the kingdom, and stands
 “as a person intrusted with the kingdom, and dis-
 “charging that trust.

“Now, they said, the case was truly stated, and
 “all the world might judge where the fault was;
 “although they must avow, that there could be no
 “competent judge of this, or any the like case,
 “but a parliament. And they were as confident,
 “that his majesty should never have cause to
 “resort to any other court, or course, for the
 “vindication of his just privileges, and for the
 “recovery and maintenance of his known and un-
 “doubted rights, if there should be any invasion
 “or violation thereof, than to his high court of
 “parliament: and, in case those wicked counsel-
 “lors about him should drive him into any other
 “course from and against his parliament, whatever
 “his majesty’s expressions and intentions were,
 “they should appeal to all men’s consciences; and
 “desire, that they would lay their hands upon
 “their hearts, and think with themselves, whether
 “such persons, as had of late, and still did resort
 “unto his majesty, and had his ear and favour
 “most, either had been or were more zealous
 “assertors of the true protestant profession, (al-
 “though they believed they were more earnest in
 “the protestant profession than in the protestant
 “religion,) or the law of the land, the liberty of
 “the subject, and the privileges of the parliament,
 “than the members of both houses of parliament;
 “who were insinuated to be the deserters, if not the
 “destroyers of them: and whether, if they could
 “master this parliament by force, they would not
 “hold up the same power to deprive us of all par-
 “liaments; which are the ground and pillar of the
 “subject’s liberty, and that which only maketh
 “England a free monarchy.

“ For the order of assistance to the committee
 “ of both houses, as they had no directions or
 “ instructions, but what had the law for their
 “ limits, and the safety of the land for their ends,
 “ so they doubted not but all persons mentioned in
 “ that order, and all his majesty's good subjects,
 “ would yield obedience to his majesty's authority,
 “ signified therein by both houses of parliament.
 “ And that all men might the better know their
 “ duty in matters of that nature, and upon how
 “ sure a ground they go, that follow the judgment
 “ of parliament for their guide, they wished them
 “ judiciously to consider the true meaning and
 “ ground of that statute made in the eleventh year
 “ of king Hen. VII. ch. 1. which was printed at
 “ large in the end of his majesty's message of the
 “ fourth of May: that statute provides, that none
 “ who shall attend upon the king, and do him true
 “ service, should be attainted, or forfeit any thing.
 “ What was the scope of that statute? To provide
 “ that men should not suffer as traitors, for serving
 “ the king in his wars according to the duty of
 “ their allegiance? If this had been all, it had
 “ been a very needless and ridiculous statute.
 “ Was it then intended, (as they seemed to take
 “ the meaning of it to be, that caused it to be
 “ printed after his majesty's message,) that they
 “ should be free from all crime and penalty, that
 “ should follow the king, and serve him in war in
 “ any case whatsoever; whether it were for or
 “ against the kingdom, and the laws thereof?
 “ That could not be; for that could not stand
 “ with the duty of their allegiance; which, in the
 “ beginning of the statute, was expressed to be to
 “ serve the king for the time being in his wars,
 “ for the defence of him and the land; and there-
 “ fore if it be against the land, (as it cannot be
 “ understood to be otherwise, if it be against the
 “ parliament, the representative body of the king-
 “ dom,) it is a declining from the duty of alle-
 “ giance; which this statute supposeth may be
 “ done, though men should follow the king's per-
 “ son in the war: otherwise there had been no
 “ need of such a proviso in the end of the statute,
 “ that none should take the benefit thereby, that
 “ should decline from their allegiance. That there-
 “ fore which is the principal verb in this statute is,
 “ the serving of the king for the time being;
 “ which could not be meant of a Perkin Warbeck,
 “ or any that should call himself king; but such a
 “ one, as, whatever his title might prove, either in
 “ himself or in his ancestors, should be received
 “ and acknowledged for such by the kingdom;
 “ the consent whereof cannot be discerned but by
 “ parliament; the act whereof is the act of the
 “ whole kingdom, by the personal suffrage of the
 “ peers, and the delegate consent of all the com-
 “ mons of England.

“ And Henry VII. a wise king, considering that
 “ what was the case of Rich. III. his predecessor,
 “ might, by chance of battle, be his own; and that
 “ he might at once, by such a statute as this,
 “ satisfy such as had served his predecessor in his
 “ wars, and also secure those which should serve
 “ him, who might otherwise fear to serve him in
 “ the wars; lest, by chance of battle, that might
 “ happen to him also, (if a duke of York had set
 “ up a title against him,) which had happened to
 “ his predecessor, he procured this statute to be
 “ made; that no man should be accounted a traitor
 “ for serving the king, in his wars, for the time

“ being, that is, which was for the present allowed
 “ and received by the parliament in behalf of the
 “ kingdom: and, as it is truly suggested in the
 “ preamble of the statute, it is not agreeable to
 “ reason or conscience, that it should be other-
 “ wise; seeing men should be put upon an im-
 “ possibility of knowing their duty, if the judg-
 “ ment of the highest court should not be a rule
 “ and guide to them. And if the judgment thereof
 “ should not be followed, where the question is,
 “ who is king? much more, what is the best
 “ service of the king and kingdom? And there-
 “ fore those, who should guide themselves by
 “ the judgment of parliament, ought, whatever
 “ happen, to be secure and free from all account
 “ and penalties, upon the grounds and equity of
 “ this very statute.

“ They said, they would conclude, that although
 “ those wicked counsellors about his majesty had
 “ presumed, under his majesty's name, to put that
 “ dishonour and affront upon both houses of par-
 “ liament; and to make them the countenancers
 “ of treason, enough to have dissolved all the
 “ bands and sinews of confidence between his
 “ majesty and his parliament, (of whom the maxim
 “ of the law is, that a dishonourable thing ought
 “ not to be imagined of them,) yet they doubted
 “ not, but it should, in the end, appear to all the
 “ world, that their endeavours had been most
 “ hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of the
 “ true protestant religion; the king's just pre-
 “ rogative; the laws and liberties of the land;
 “ and the privileges of parliament: in which en-
 “ deavours, by the grace of God, they would still
 “ persist, though they should perish in the work;
 “ which if it should be, it was much to be feared,
 “ that religion, laws, liberties, and parliaments,
 “ would not be long lived after them.”

This declaration wrought more upon the minds
 of men, than all that they had done; for the busi-
 ness at Hull was, by very many, thought to be
 done before projected; and the argument of the
 militia to be entered upon at first in passion, and
 afterwards pursued with that vehemence, insen-
 sibly, by being engaged; and that both extrava-
 gances had so much weighed down the king's
 trespasses, in coming to the house and accusing
 the members, that a reasonable agreement would
 have been the sooner consented to on all hands.
 But when, by this declaration, they saw founda-
 tions laid, upon which not only what had been
 already done would be well justified, but whatso-
 ever they should, hereafter, find convenient to
 second what was already done; and that not only
 the king, but the regal power, was either sup-
 pressed, or deposited in other hands; the irregu-
 larity and monstrousness of which principles found
 little opposition or resistance, even for the irregu-
 larity and monstrousness: very many thought it
 as unsafe to be present at those consultations, as
 to consent to the conclusions; and so great num-
 bers of the members of both houses absented
 themselves; and many, especially of the house of
 peers, resorted to his majesty at York. So that,
 in the debates of the highest consequence, there
 were not usually present, in the house of com-
 mons, the fifth part of their just numbers; and,
 very often, not above a dozen or thirteen in the
 house of peers. In the mean time the king had a
 full court, and received all comers with great cle-
 mency and grace; calling always all the peers to

council, and communicating with them all such declarations he thought fit to publish in answer to those of the parliament; and all messages, and whatever else was necessary to be done for the improvement of his condition: and, having now the great seal with him, issued such proclamations, as were seasonable for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom. First he published a declaration in answer to that of the nineteenth of May, in which his majesty said:

"That if he could be weary of taking any pains for the satisfaction of his people, and to undeceive them of those specious, mischievous insinuations, which were daily instilled into them, to shake and corrupt their loyalty and affection to his majesty and his government, after so full and ample declaration of himself and intentions, and so fair and satisfactory answers to all such matters as had been objected to him, by a major part present of both houses of parliament, he might well give over that labour of his pen; and sit still, till it should please God to enlighten the affections and understandings of his good subjects on his behalf, (which he doubted not, but that, in his good time, he would do,) that they might see his sufferings were their sufferings: but since, instead of applying themselves to the method, proposed by his majesty, of making such solid particular propositions, as might establish a good understanding between them, or of following the advice of his council of Scotland, (with whom they communicated their affairs,) in forbearing all means that might make the breach wider, and the wound deeper; they had chosen to pursue his majesty with new reproaches, or rather to continue and improve the old, by adding, and varying little circumstances and language, in matters formerly urged by them, and fully answered by his majesty, he had prevailed with himself, upon very mature and particular consideration of it, to answer the late printed book, entitled a Declaration or Remonstrance of the Lords and Commons, which was ordered, the nineteenth of May last, to be printed and published; hoping then, that they would put his majesty to no more of that trouble, but that that should have been the last of such a nature they would have communicated to his people; and that they would not, as they had done since, have thought fit to assault him with a newer declaration, indeed of a very new nature and learning; which should have another answer: and he doubted not, but that his good subjects would, in short time, be so well instructed in the differences and mistakings between them, that they would plainly discern, without resigning their reason and understanding to his prerogative, or the infallibility of a now major part of both houses of parliament, (infected by a few malignant spirits,) where the fault was.

"His majesty said, though he should, with all humility and alacrity, be always forward to acknowledge the infinite mercy and providence of Almighty God, vouchsafed, so many several ways, to himself and this nation; yet, since God himself doth not allow, that we should fancy and create dangers to ourselves, that we might manifest and publish his mercy in our deliverance; he must profess, that he did not know those deliverances, mentioned in the beginning of that declaration, from so many wicked plots and de-

signs, since the beginning of this parliament, which, if they had taken effect, would have brought ruin and destruction upon this kingdom. His majesty well knew the great labour and skill, which had been used to amuse and affright his good subjects with fears and apprehensions of plots and conspiracies; the several pamphlets published, and letters scattered up and down, full of such ridiculous, contemptible animadversions to that purpose, as (though they found, for what end God knows, very unusual countenance) no sober man would be moved with them. But, he must confess, he had never been able to inform himself of any such pernicious, formed design against the peace of the kingdom, since the beginning of this parliament, as was mentioned in that declaration, or which might be any warrant to those great fears, both houses of parliament seemed to be transported with; but he had great reason to believe, that more mischief and danger had been raised and begotten, to the disturbance of the kingdom, than cured or prevented, by those fears and jealousies. And therefore, however the rumour and discourse of plots and conspiracies might have been necessary to the designs of particular men, they should do well not to pay any false devotions to Almighty God, who discerns whether our dangers are real or pretended.

"For the bringing up of the army to London, as his majesty had heretofore, by no other direction than the testimony of a good conscience, called God to witness, that he never had, or knew of, any such resolution; so he said, upon the view of the depositions now published with that declaration, it was not evident to his majesty, that there was ever such a design; unless every loose discourse, or argument, be evidence enough of a design: and it was apparent, that what had been said of it, was near three months before the discovery to both houses of parliament; so that if there were any danger threatened that way, it vanished without any resistance, or prevention, by the wisdom, power, or authority of them.

"It seemed the intention of that declaration, whatsoever other end it had, was to answer a declaration they had received from his majesty, in answer to that which was presented to his majesty at Newmarket, the ninth of March last; and likewise to his answer to the petition of both houses, presented to him at York, the twenty-sixth of March: but, before it fell upon any particular of his majesty's declaration or answer, it complained that the heads of the malignant party had, with much art and industry, advised him to suffer divers unjust scandals and imputations upon the parliament, to be published in his name, whereby they might make it odious to the people, and, by their help, destroy it: but not instancing in any one scandal, or imputation, so published by his majesty, he was, he said, still to seek for the heads of that malignant party. But his good subjects would easily understand, that if he were guilty of that aspersion, he must not only be active in raising the scandal, but passive in the mischief begotten by that scandal, his majesty being an essential part of the parliament; and he hoped the just defence of himself and his authority, and the necessary vindication of his innocence and justice, from the imputations laid on him, by a major part then present

“ of either or both houses, should no more be
 “ called a scandal upon the parliament, than the
 “ opinion of such a part be reputed an act of par-
 “ liament: and he hoped his good subjects would
 “ not be long misled, by that common expression
 “ in all the declarations, wherein they usurp the
 “ word parliament, and apply it to countenance
 “ any resolution or vote some few had a mind to
 “ make, by calling it the resolution of parliament;
 “ which could never be without his majesty's con-
 “ sent; neither could the vote of either or both
 “ houses make a greater alteration in the laws of
 “ the kingdom, (so solemnly made by the advice
 “ of their predecessors, with the concurrence of
 “ his majesty and his ancestors,) either by com-
 “ manding or inhibiting any thing, (besides the
 “ known rule of the law,) than his single direction
 “ or mandate could do, to which he did not ascribe
 “ that authority.

“ But that declaration informed the people, that
 “ the malignant party had drawn his majesty into
 “ the northern parts, far from his parliament. It
 “ might, his majesty said, more truly and properly
 “ have said, that it had driven, than drawn him
 “ thither; for, he confessed, his journey thither (for
 “ which he had no other reason to be sorry, than
 “ with reference to the cause of it) was only forced
 “ upon him, by the true malignant party; which
 “ contrived and countenanced those barbarous tu-
 “ mults, and other seditious circumstances, of which
 “ he had so often complained, and hereafter should
 “ say more; and which indeed threatened so much
 “ danger to his person, and laid so much scandal
 “ upon the privilege and dignity of parliament,
 “ that he wondered it could be mentioned without
 “ blushes or indignation: but of that anon: but
 “ why the malignant party should be charged with
 “ causing a press to be transported to York, his
 “ majesty said, he could not imagine; neither had
 “ any papers or writings issued from thence, to his
 “ knowledge, but what had been extorted from him
 “ by such provocations, as had not been before
 “ offered to a king. And, no doubt, it would
 “ appear a most trivial and fond exception, when
 “ all presses were open to vent whatsoever they
 “ thought fit to say to the people, (a thing unwar-
 “ ranted by former custom,) that his majesty should
 “ not make use of all lawful means, to publish his
 “ just and necessary answers thereunto. As for
 “ the authority of the great seal, (though he did
 “ not know that it had been necessary to things
 “ of that nature,) the same should be more fre-
 “ quently used hereafter, as occasion should require;
 “ to which he made no doubt, but the greater
 “ and better part of his privy council would concur;
 “ and whose advice he was resolved to follow, as
 “ far as it should be agreeable to the good and
 “ welfare of the kingdom.

“ Before that declaration vouchsafed to insist on
 “ any particulars, it was pleased to censure both
 “ his majesty's declaration and answer to be filled
 “ with harsh censures, and causeless charges upon
 “ the parliament, (still misapplying the word par-
 “ liament to the vote of both houses,) concerning
 “ which they resolve to give satisfaction to the
 “ kingdom, since they found it very difficult to
 “ satisfy his majesty. If, as in the usage of the
 “ word parliament, they had left his majesty out of
 “ their thoughts; so by the word kingdom, they
 “ intended to exclude all his people who were not
 “ within their walls, (for that was grown another

“ phrase of the time, the vote of the major part of
 “ both houses, and sometimes of one, was now
 “ called the resolution of the whole kingdom,) his
 “ majesty believed, it might not be hard to give
 “ satisfaction to themselves; otherwise he was
 “ confident, (and, he said, his confidence proceeded
 “ from the uprightness of his own conscience,)
 “ they would never be able so to sever the affections
 “ of his majesty and his kingdom, that what could
 “ not be satisfaction to the one, should be to the
 “ other: neither would the style of humble, and
 “ faithful, and telling his majesty that they will
 “ make him a great and glorious king, in their
 “ petitions and remonstrances, so deceive his good
 “ subjects, that they would pass over the re-
 “ proaches, threats, and menaces they were stuffed
 “ with; which surely could not be more gently
 “ reprehended by his majesty, than by saying,
 “ their expressions were different from the usual
 “ language to princes; which that declaration told
 “ him he had no occasion to say: but he believed,
 “ whosoever looked over that declaration, pre-
 “ sented to him at Newmarket, to which his was
 “ an answer, would find the language throughout
 “ it to be so unusual, that, before this parliament, it
 “ could never be paralleled; whilst, under pretence
 “ of justifying their fears, they gave so much coun-
 “ tenance to the discourse of the rebels of Ireland,
 “ as if they had a mind his good subjects should
 “ give credit to it: otherwise, being warranted by
 “ the same evidence, which they have since pub-
 “ lished, they would have as well declared, that
 “ those rebels publicly threaten the rooting out
 “ the name of the English, and that they will have
 “ a king of their own, and no longer be governed
 “ by his majesty, as that they say, that they do
 “ nothing, but by his majesty's authority; and
 “ that they call themselves the queen's army. And
 “ therefore he had great reason to complain of
 “ the absence of justice and integrity in that
 “ declaration; besides the unfitness of other ex-
 “ pressions.

“ Neither did his majesty mistake the substance,
 “ or logic of their message to him, at Theobalds,
 “ concerning the militia; which was no other,
 “ and was stated to be no other, even by that de-
 “ claration that reproved him, than a plain threat,
 “ that if his majesty refused to join with them,
 “ they would make a law without him: nor had
 “ the practice since that time been other; which
 “ would never be justified to the most ordinary (if
 “ not partial) understandings, by the mere averring
 “ it to be according to the fundamental laws of
 “ this kingdom, without giving any directions, that
 “ the most cunning and learned men in the laws
 “ might be able to find those foundations. And
 “ he would appeal unto all the world, whether they
 “ might not, with as much justice, and by as much
 “ law, have seized upon the estate of every mem-
 “ ber of both houses, who dissented from that pre-
 “ tended ordinance, (which much the major part
 “ of the house of peers did, two or three several
 “ times,) as they had invaded that power of his
 “ over the militia, because he, upon reasons they
 “ had not so much as pretended to answer, refused
 “ to consent to that proposition.

“ And if no better effects, than loss of time, and
 “ hinderance of the public affairs, had been found
 “ by his answers and replies, all good men might
 “ judge by whose default, and whose want of duty,
 “ such effects had been; for as his end, indeed his

“ only end, in those answers and replies, had been
 “ the settlement and composure of public affairs;
 “ so, he was assured, and most men did believe,
 “ that if that due regard and reverence had been
 “ given to his words, and that consent and obedience
 “ to his counsels, which he expected, there had
 “ been, before that time, a cheerful calm upon the
 “ face of the whole kingdom; every man enjoying
 “ his own, with all possible peace and security that
 “ can be imagined; which surely those men did
 “ not desire, who (after all those acts of justice and
 “ favour passed by him this parliament; all those
 “ sufferings and affronts endured and undergone
 “ by him) thought fit still to reproach him with
 “ ship-money, coat and conduct-money, and other
 “ things so abundantly declared, as that declaration
 “ itself confessed, in the general remonstrance of
 “ the state of the kingdom, published in November
 “ last; which his majesty wondered to find now
 “ avowed to be the remonstrance of both houses;
 “ and which, he was sure, was presented to him
 “ only by the house of commons; and did never,
 “ and, he was confident, in that time could never
 “ have passed the house of peers; the concurrence
 “ and authority of which was not then thought
 “ necessary. Should his majesty believe those
 “ reproaches to be the voice of the kingdom of Eng-
 “ land, that all his loving subjects eased, refreshed,
 “ strengthened, and abundantly satisfied with his
 “ acts of grace and favour towards them, were will-
 “ ing to be involved in those unthankful expres-
 “ sions? He would appeal to the thanks and ac-
 “ knowledgments published in the petitions of most
 “ of the counties of England; to the testimony and
 “ thanks he had received from both houses of par-
 “ liament; how seasonable, how agreeable that
 “ usage was to his majesty's merit, or their former
 “ expressions.

“ His majesty said, he had not at all swerved or
 “ departed from his resolutions, or words, in the
 “ beginning of this parliament; he had said, he
 “ was resolved to put himself freely and clearly
 “ upon the love and affection of his English sub-
 “ jects; and he said so still, as far as concerns
 “ England. And he called Almighty God to wit-
 “ ness, all his complaints and jealousies, which
 “ had never been causeless, nor of his houses of
 “ parliament, (but of some few schismatical, fac-
 “ tious, and ambitious spirits; and upon grounds,
 “ as he feared, a short time would justify to the
 “ world,) his denial of the militia, his absenting
 “ himself from London, had been the effects of an
 “ upright and faithful affection to his English sub-
 “ jects; that he might be able, through all the in-
 “ conveniences he might be compelled to wrestle
 “ with, at last to preserve and restore their reli-
 “ gion, laws, and liberties unto them.

“ Since the proceeding against the lord Kim-
 “ bolton, and the five members, was still looked
 “ upon, and so often pressed, as so great an ad-
 “ vantage against his majesty, that no retractation
 “ made by him, nor no action, since that time
 “ committed against him, and the law of the land,
 “ under the pretence of vindication of privilege,
 “ could satisfy the contrivers of that declaration,
 “ but that they would have his good subjects be-
 “ lieve, the accusation of those six members must
 “ be a plot for the breaking the neck of the parlia-
 “ ment, (a strange arrogance, if any of those mem-
 “ bers had the penning of that declaration,) and
 “ that it was so often urged against him, as if

“ by that single, casual mistake of his, in form
 “ only, he had forfeited all duty, credit, and alle-
 “ giance from his people, he said, he would, with-
 “ out endeavouring to excuse that, which in truth
 “ was an error, (his going to the house of com-
 “ mons,) give his people a full and clear narration
 “ of the matter of fact; assuring himself, that his
 “ good subjects would not find his carriage, in that
 “ business, such as had been reported.

“ His majesty said, that when he resolved, upon
 “ such grounds, as, when they should be published,
 “ would satisfy the world, that it was fit for his
 “ own safety and honour, and the peace of the
 “ kingdom, to proceed against those persons;
 “ though, he well knew, there was no degree of
 “ privilege in that case; yet, to shew his desire of
 “ correspondence with the two houses of parlia-
 “ ment, he chose rather than to apprehend their
 “ persons by the ordinary ministers of justice,
 “ (which, according to the opinion and practice of
 “ former times, he might have done,) to command
 “ his attorney general, to acquaint his house of
 “ peers with his intention, and the general matters
 “ of his charge, (which was yet more particular,
 “ than a mere accusation,) and to proceed accord-
 “ ingly; and at the same time sent a sworn servant,
 “ a sergeant at arms, to the house of commons, to
 “ acquaint them, that his majesty did accuse, and
 “ intended to prosecute, the five members of that
 “ house for high treason; and did require, that
 “ their persons might be secured in custody. This
 “ he did, not only to shew that he intended not to
 “ violate or invade their privileges, but to use
 “ more ceremony towards them, than he then con-
 “ ceived in justice might be required of him; and
 “ expected at least such an answer, as might in-
 “ form him, if he were out of the way; but he
 “ received none at all; only, in the instant, with-
 “ out offering any thing of their privileges to his
 “ consideration, an order was made, and the same
 “ night published in print, that if any person
 “ whatsoever should offer to arrest the person of
 “ any member of that house, without first acquaint-
 “ ing that house therewith, and receiving further
 “ order from that house, that it should be lawful
 “ for such member, or any person, to assist them,
 “ and to stand upon his or their guard or defence;
 “ and to make resistance, according to the protest-
 “ ation taken to defend the privileges of parlia-
 “ ment: and this was the first time that he heard
 “ the protestation might be wrested to such a sense,
 “ or that in any case, though of the most un-
 “ doubted and unquestionable privilege, it might
 “ be lawful for any person to resist, and use vio-
 “ lence against a public minister of justice, armed
 “ with lawful authority; though his majesty well
 “ knew, that even such a minister might be pun-
 “ ished for executing such authority.

“ Upon viewing that order, his majesty con-
 “ fessed, he was somewhat amazed, having never
 “ seen or heard of the like; though he had known
 “ members of either house committed, without so
 “ much formality as he had used, and upon crimes
 “ of a far inferior nature to those he had sug-
 “ gested; and having no course proposed him for
 “ his proceeding, he was, upon the matter, only
 “ told, that against those persons he was not to
 “ proceed at all; that they were above his reach,
 “ or the reach of the law. It was not easy for
 “ him to resolve what to do: if he employed his
 “ ministers of justice in the usual way for their

“ apprehension, who without doubt would not
 “ have refused to have executed his lawful com-
 “ mands, he saw what opposition, and resistance,
 “ was like to be made; which, very probably,
 “ might have cost some blood: if he sat still, and
 “ desisted upon that terror, he should, at the best,
 “ have confessed his own want of power, and the
 “ weakness of the law. In that strait, he put on
 “ a sudden resolution, to try whether his own
 “ presence, and a clear discovery of his intentions,
 “ which haply might not have been so well under-
 “ stood, could remove those doubts, and prevent
 “ those inconveniences, which seemed to have been
 “ threatened; and thereupon he resolved to go,
 “ in his own person, to the house of commons;
 “ which he discovered not, till the very minute of
 “ his going; when he sent out, that his servants,
 “ and such gentlemen as were then in his court,
 “ should attend him to Westminster; but giving
 “ them express command, as he had expressed in
 “ his answer to the ordinance, that no accidents, or
 “ provocation, should draw them to any such ac-
 “ tion, as might imply a purpose of force in his
 “ majesty; and himself, requiring those of his
 “ train not to come within the door, went into
 “ the house of commons; the bare doing of which,
 “ he did not then conceive, would have been
 “ thought more a breach of privilege, than if he
 “ had gone to the house of peers, and sent for
 “ them to come to him: which was the usual
 “ custom.

“ He used the best expressions he could, to as-
 “ sure them how far he was from any intention of
 “ violating their privileges; that he intended to
 “ proceed legally and speedily against the persons
 “ he had accused; and desired therefore, if they
 “ were in the house, that they might be delivered
 “ to him; or if absent, that such course might be
 “ taken for their forthcoming, as might satisfy his
 “ just demands; and so he departed, having no
 “ other purpose of force, if they had been in the
 “ house, than he had before protested, before God,
 “ in his answer to the ordinance. They had an ac-
 “ count now of his part of that story fully; his
 “ people might judge freely of it. What followed
 “ on their part, (though that declaration said, it
 “ could not withdraw any part of their reverence
 “ and obedience from his majesty; it might be any
 “ part of theirs it did not,) he should have too
 “ much cause hereafter to inform the world.

“ His majesty said, there would be no end of the
 “ discourse, and upbraiding him with evil coun-
 “ sellors, if, upon his constant denial of knowing
 “ any, they would not vouchsafe to inform him of
 “ them; and after eight months amusing the king-
 “ dom with the expectation of the discovery of a
 “ malignant party, and of evil counsellors, they
 “ would not at last name any, nor describe them.
 “ Let the actions and lives of men be examined,
 “ who had contrived, counselled, actually consent-
 “ ed to grieve and burden his people; and if such
 “ were now about his majesty, or any against
 “ whom any notorious, malicious crime could be
 “ proved, if he sheltered and protected any such,
 “ let his injustice be published to the world: but
 “ till that were done, particularly, and manifestly,
 “ (for he should never conclude any man upon a
 “ bare, general vote of the major part of either, or
 “ both houses, till it were evident, that that major
 “ part was without passion or affection,) he must
 “ look upon the charge that declaration put on him,

“ of cherishing and countenancing a discontented
 “ party of the kingdom against them, as a heavier
 “ and unjust tax upon his justice and honour,
 “ than any he had, or could lay, upon the framers
 “ of that declaration. And now, to countenance
 “ those unhandsome expressions, whereby usually
 “ they had implied his majesty's connivance at, or
 “ want of zeal against, the rebellion of Ireland,
 “ (so odious to all good men,) they had found a
 “ new way of exprobration: that the proclamation
 “ against those bloody traitors came not out, till
 “ the beginning of January, though that rebellion
 “ broke out in October, and then, by special com-
 “ mand from his majesty, but forty copies were
 “ appointed to be printed. His majesty said, it
 “ was well known where he was at that time,
 “ when that rebellion brake forth; in Scotland:
 “ that he immediately, from thence, recommended
 “ the care of that business to both houses of par-
 “ liament here, after he had provided for all fitting
 “ supplies from his kingdom of Scotland: that,
 “ after his return hither, he observed all those
 “ forms for that service, which he was advised to
 “ by his council of Ireland, or both houses of par-
 “ liament here; and if no proclamation issued out
 “ sooner, (of which, for the present, he was not
 “ certain; but thought that others, by his direc-
 “ tions, were issued before that time,) it was,
 “ because the lords justices of the kingdom de-
 “ sired them no sooner; and when they did, the
 “ number they desired was but twenty; which
 “ they advised might be signed by his majesty;
 “ which he, for expedition of the service, com-
 “ manded to be printed; a circumstance not re-
 “ quired by them; thereupon he signed more of
 “ them, than his justices desired; all which was
 “ very well known to some members of one, or
 “ both houses of parliament; who had the more to
 “ answer, if they forbore to express it at the pass-
 “ ing of that declaration; and if they did express
 “ it, he had the greater reason to complain, that
 “ so envious an aspersion should be cast on his
 “ majesty to his people, when they knew well how
 “ to answer their own objection.

“ What that complaint was against the parlia-
 “ ment, put forth in his name, which was such
 “ an evidence and countenance to the rebels, and
 “ spoke the same language of the parliament which
 “ the rebels did; he said he could not understand.
 “ All his answers and declarations had been, and
 “ were, owned by himself; and had been attested
 “ under his own hand: if any other had been
 “ published in his name, and without his authority,
 “ it would be easy for both houses of parliament
 “ to discover and apprehend the authors: and he
 “ wished, that whosoever was trusted with the
 “ drawing and penning that declaration, had no
 “ more authority, or cunning to impose upon, or
 “ deceive a major part of those votes, by which it
 “ passed, than any man had to prevail with his
 “ majesty to publish in his name any thing, but
 “ the sense and resolution of his own heart; or
 “ that the contriver of that declaration could, with
 “ as good a conscience, call God to witness, that
 “ all his counsels and endeavours had been free
 “ from all private aims, personal respects or
 “ passions whatsoever, as his majesty had done,
 “ and did, that he never had, or knew of such
 “ resolution of bringing up the army to Lon-
 “ don.

“ And since that new device was found out, in-

“stead of answering his reasons, or satisfying his just demands, to blast his declarations and answers, as if they were not his own; a bold, senseless imputation; he said he was sure, that every answer and declaration, published by his majesty, was much more his own, than any one of those bold, threatening, and reproachful petitions and remonstrances, were the acts of either, or both houses. And if the penner of that declaration had been careful of the trust reposed in him, he would never have denied, (and thereupon found fault with his majesty's just indignation,) in the text or margent, that his majesty had never been charged with the intention of any force; and that in their whole declaration, there was no one word tending to any such reproach; the contrary whereof was so evident, that his majesty was, in express terms, charged in that declaration, that he had sent them gracious messages, when, with his privy, bringing up the army was in agitation; and, even in that declaration, they sought to make the people believe some such thing to be proved, in the depositions therewith published; wherein, his majesty doubted not, they would as much fail, as they did in their censure of that petition, shewed formerly to his majesty by captain Leg, and subscribed by him with C. R. which, notwithstanding his majesty's full and particular narration of the substance of that petition, the circumstances of his seeing and approving it, that declaration was pleased to say, was full of scandal to the parliament, and might have proved dangerous to the whole kingdom. If they had that dangerous petition in their hands, his majesty said, he had no reason to believe any tenderness towards him had kept them from communicating it; if they had it not, his majesty ought to have been believed: but that all good people might compute their other pretended dangers by their clear understanding of that, the noise whereof had not been inferior to any of the rest, his majesty said, he had recovered a true copy of the very petition he had signed with C. R. which should, in fit time, be published; and which, he hoped, would open the eyes of his good people.

“Concerning his warrant for Mr. Jermyn's passage, his answer was true, and full; but for his black satin suit, and white boots, he could give no account.

“His majesty had complained in his declaration, and, as often as he should have occasion to mention his return, and residence near London, he should complain, of the barbarous and seditious tumults at Whitehall and Westminster; which indeed had been so full of scandal to his government, and danger to his person, that he should never think of his return thither, till he had justice for what was past, and security for the time to come: and if there were so great a necessity, or desire of his return, as was pretended, in all this time, upon so often pressing his desires, and upon causes so notorious, he should at least have procured some order for the future. But that declaration told his majesty he was, upon the matter, mistaken; the resort of the citizens to Westminster was as lawful, as the resort of great numbers every day in the term to the ordinary courts of justice; they knew no tumults. Strange! was the disorderly appear-

“ance of so many thousand people, with staves and swords, crying through the streets, Westminster-hall, the passage between both houses, (insomuch as the members could hardly pass to and fro,) *No bishops, down with the bishops*, no tumults? What member was there of either house, that saw not those numbers, and heard not those cries? And yet lawful assemblies! Were not several members of either house assaulted, threatened, and evilly entreated? And yet no tumults! Why made the house of peers a declaration, and sent it down to the house of commons, for the suppressing of tumults, if there were no tumults? And if there were any, why was not such a declaration consented to, and published? When the attempts were so visible, and threats so loud to pull down the abbey at Westminster, had not his majesty just cause to apprehend, that such people might continue their work to Whitehall? Yet no tumults! What a strange time are we in, that a few impudent, malicious (to give them no worse term) men should cast such a mist of error before the eyes of both houses of parliament, as that they either could not, or would not, see how manifestly they injured themselves, by maintaining those visible untruths. His majesty said, he would say no more: by the help of God and the law, he would have justice for those tumults.

“From excepting, how weightily every man might judge, to what his majesty had said, that declaration proceeded to censure him for what he had not said; for the prudent omissions in his answer: his majesty had forborne to say any thing of the words spoken at Kensington; or the articles against his dearest consort, and the accusation of the six members: of the last, his majesty said, he had spoken often; and he thought, enough of the other two; but having never accused any, (though God knew what truth there might be in either,) he had no reason to give any particular answer.

“He said, he did not reckon himself bereaved of any part of his prerogative; which he was pleased freely, for a time, to part with by bill; yet he must say, he expressed a great trust in his two houses of parliament, when he divested himself of the power of dissolving this parliament; which was a just, necessary, and proper prerogative. But he was glad to hear their resolution, that it should not encourage them to do any thing which otherwise had not been fit to have been done: if it did, it would be such a breach of trust, God would require an account for at their hands.

“For the militia, he had said so much in it before, and the point was so well understood by all men, that he would waste time no more in that dispute. He never had said, there was no such thing as an ordinance, though he knew that they had been long disused, but that there was never any ordinance, or could be any, without the king's consent; and that was true: and the unnecessary precedent, cited in that declaration, did not offer to prove the contrary. But enough of that; God and the law must determine that business.

“Neither had that declaration given his majesty any satisfaction concerning the votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth of March last; which he must declare, and appeal to all the world in the point, to be the greatest violation of his majesty's

“ privilege, the law of the land, the liberty of the
 “ subject, and the right of parliament, that could
 “ be imagined. One of those votes was, and there
 “ would need no other to destroy the king and
 “ people, that when the lords and commons (it is
 “ well the commons are admitted to their part in
 “ judicature) shall declare what the law of the land
 “ is, the same must be assented to, and obeyed;
 “ that is the sense in few words. Where is every
 “ man's property; every man's liberty? If the
 “ major part of both houses declare, that the law
 “ is, that the younger brother shall inherit; what
 “ is become of all the families and estates in the
 “ kingdom? If they declare, that, by the funda-
 “ mental law of the land, such a rash action, such
 “ an unadvised word, ought to be punished by
 “ perpetual imprisonment, is not the liberty of the
 “ subject, *durante beneplacito*, remediless? That
 “ declaration confesses, they pretend not to a
 “ power of making new laws; that, without his
 “ majesty, they could not do that: they needed no
 “ such power, if their declaration could suspend
 “ this statute from being obeyed, and executed.
 “ If they had power to declare the lord Digby's
 “ waiting on his majesty to Hampton-court, and
 “ thence visiting some officers at Kingston, with a
 “ coach and six horses, to be levying of war, and
 “ high treason; and sir John Hotham's defying
 “ his majesty to his face, keeping his majesty's
 “ town, fort, and goods against him, by force of
 “ arms, to be an act of affection and loyalty; what
 “ needed a power of making new laws? or would
 “ there be such a thing as law left?

“ He desired his good subjects to mark the rea-
 “ son and consequence of those votes; the pro-
 “ gress they had already made, and how infinite
 “ that progress might be. First, they voted the
 “ kingdom was in imminent danger (it was now
 “ above three months since they discerned it) from
 “ enemies abroad, and a popish and discontented
 “ party at home; that is matter of fact; the law
 “ follows: this vote had given them authority by
 “ law, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, to
 “ order and dispose of the militia of the kingdom;
 “ and, with this power, and to prevent that danger,
 “ to enter into his majesty's towns, seize upon his
 “ magazine, and, by force, keep both from him.
 “ Was not that his majesty's case? First, they vote
 “ he had an intention to levy war against his par-
 “ liament; that is matter of fact: then they de-
 “ clare such as shall assist him, to be guilty of
 “ high treason; that is the law, and proved by two
 “ statutes themselves knew to be repealed. No
 “ matter for that; they declare it. Upon this
 “ ground they exercise the militia; and so actually
 “ do that upon his majesty, which they had voted
 “ he intended to do upon them. Who could not
 “ see the confusion that must follow upon such a
 “ power of declaring? If they should now vote
 “ that his majesty did not write this declaration,
 “ but that such a one did it, which was still matter
 “ of fact; and then declare, that, for so doing, he
 “ was an enemy to the commonwealth; what was
 “ become of the law that man was born to? And
 “ if all their zeal for the defence of the law were
 “ but to defend that which they declared to be
 “ law, their own votes; it would not be in their
 “ power to satisfy any man of their good intentions
 “ to the public peace, but such who were willing
 “ to relinquish his title to Magna Charta, and
 “ hold his life, and fortune, by a vote of a major

“ part of both houses. In a word, his majesty
 “ denied not, but they might have power to declare
 “ in a particular, doubtful case, regularly brought
 “ before them, what law is: but to make a general
 “ declaration, whereby the known rule of the law
 “ might be crossed, or altered, they had no power;
 “ nor could exercise any, without bringing the life
 “ and liberty of the subject to a lawless and arbi-
 “ trary subjection.

“ His majesty had complained (and the world
 “ might judge of the justice and necessity of that
 “ complaint) of the multitude of seditious pamphlets
 “ and sermons; and that declaration told him, they
 “ knew he had ways enough in his ordinary courts
 “ of justice to punish those; so, his majesty said,
 “ he had to punish tumults and riots; and yet they
 “ would not serve his turn to keep his towns, his
 “ forests, and parks from violence. And it might
 “ be, though those courts had still the power to
 “ punish, they might have lost the skill to define,
 “ what tumults and riots are; otherwise a jury in
 “ Southwark, legally empanneled to examine a riot
 “ there, would not have been superseded, and the
 “ sheriff enjoined not to proceed, by virtue of an
 “ order of the house of commons; which, it seemed,
 “ at that time had the sole power of declaring.
 “ But it was no wonder that they, who could not
 “ see the tumults, did not consider the pamphlets
 “ and sermons; though the author of the *Protest-
 “ ation protested* were well known to be Burton,
 “ (that infamous disturber of the peace of the
 “ church and state,) and that he preached it at
 “ Westminster, in the hearing of divers members
 “ of the house of commons. But of such pamphlets
 “ and seditious preachers (divers whereof had
 “ been recommended, if not imposed upon several
 “ parishes, by some members of both houses, by
 “ what authority his majesty knew not) he would
 “ hereafter take a further account.

“ His majesty said, he confessed he had little
 “ skill in the laws; and those that had had most,
 “ he found now were much to seek: yet he could
 “ not understand or believe, that every ordinary
 “ court, or any court, had power to raise what
 “ guard they pleased, and under what command
 “ they pleased. Neither could he imagine, what
 “ dangerous effects they found by the guard he ap-
 “ pointed them; or indeed any the least occasion,
 “ why they needed a guard at all.

“ But of all the imputations, so causelessly and
 “ unjustly laid upon his majesty by that declara-
 “ tion, he said, he must wonder at that charge so
 “ apparently and evidently untrue; that such were
 “ continually preferred and countenanced by him,
 “ who were friends or favourers, or related unto
 “ the chief authors and actors of that arbitrary
 “ power heretofore practised, and complained of:
 “ and, on the other side, that such as did appear
 “ against it were daily discountenanced and dis-
 “ graced. He said, he would know one person
 “ that contributed to the ills of those times, or
 “ had dependence upon those that did, whom he
 “ did, or lately had countenanced, or preferred;
 “ nay he was confident, (and he looked for no
 “ other at their hands,) as they had been always
 “ most eminent assertors of the public liberties;
 “ so, if they found his majesty inclined to any
 “ thing not agreeable to honour and justice, they
 “ would leave him to-morrow. Whether different
 “ persons had not, and did not receive countenance
 “ elsewhere, and upon what grounds, all men

"might judge; and whether his majesty had not
 "been forward enough to honour and prefer those
 "of the most contrary opinion, how little comfort
 "soever he had of those preferments, in bestowing
 "of which, hereafter, he would be more guided
 "by men's actions than opinions. And therefore
 "he had good cause to bestow that admonition
 "(for his majesty assured them, it was an admo-
 "nition of his own) upon both his houses of par-
 "liament, to take heed of inclining, under the
 "specious shows of necessity and danger, to the
 "exercise of such an arbitrary power, they before
 "complained of: the advice would do no harm,
 "and he should be glad to see it followed.

"His majesty asked, if all the specious promises,
 "and loud professions, of making him a great and
 "a glorious king; of settling a greater revenue
 "upon his majesty, than any of his ancestors had
 "enjoyed; of making him to be honoured at home,
 "and feared abroad; were resolved into this; that
 "they would be ready to settle his revenue in an
 "honourable proportion, when he should put him-
 "self in such a posture of government, that his
 "subjects might be secure to enjoy his just protec-
 "tion for their religion, laws, and liberties? What
 "posture of government they intended, he knew
 "not; nor could he imagine what security his good
 "subjects could desire for their religion, laws, and
 "liberties, which he had not offered, or fully given.
 "And was it suitable to the duty and dignity of
 "both houses of parliament to answer his parti-
 "cular, weighty expressions of the causes of his
 "remove from London, so generally known to the
 "kingdom, with a scoff; that they hoped he was
 "driven from thence, not by his own fears, but by
 "the fears of the lord Digby, and his retinue of
 "cavaliers? Sure, his majesty said, the penner of
 "that declaration inserted that ungrave and in-
 "solent expression, as he had done divers others,
 "without the consent or examination of both
 "houses; who would not so lightly have departed
 "from their former professions of duty to his
 "majesty.

"Whether the way to a good understanding
 "between his majesty and his people had been as
 "zealously pressed by them, as it had been pro-
 "fessed and desired by him, would be easily dis-
 "cerned by them who observed that he had left
 "no public act undone on his part, which, in the
 "least degree, might be necessary to the peace,
 "plenty, and security of his subjects: and that
 "they had not despatched one act, which had
 "given the least evidence of their particular affec-
 "tion and kindness to his majesty; but, on the
 "contrary, had discountenanced and hindered the
 "testimony other men would give to him of their
 "affections. Witness the stopping, and keeping
 "back, the bill of subsidies, granted by the clergy
 "almost a year since; which, though his personal
 "wants were so notoriously known, they would
 "not, to that time, pass; so not only forbearing
 "to supply his majesty themselves, but keeping
 "the love and bounty of other men from him;
 "and afforded no other answers to all his desires,
 "all his reasons, (indeed not to be answered,) than
 "that he must not make his understanding, or
 "reason, the rule of his government; but suffer
 "himself to be assisted (which his majesty never
 "denied) by his great council. He said, he re-
 "quired no other liberty to his will, than the
 "meanest of them did, (he wished they would

"always use that liberty,) not to consent to any
 "thing evidently contrary to his conscience and
 "understanding: and he had, and should always
 "give as much estimation and regard to the advice
 "and counsel of both houses of parliament, as
 "ever prince had done: but he should never, and
 "he hoped his people would never, account the
 "contrivance of a few factious, seditious persons,
 "a malignant party, who would sacrifice the com-
 "monwealth to their own fury and ambition, the
 "wisdom of parliament; and that the justifying
 "and defending of such persons (of whom, and of
 "their particular, sinister ways, to compass their
 "own bad ends, his majesty would shortly inform
 "the world) was not the way to preserve parlia-
 "ments, but was the opposing, and preferring a
 "few unworthy persons, before their duty to their
 "king, or their care of the kingdom. They would
 "have his majesty remember, that his resolutions
 "did concern kingdoms, and therefore not to be
 "moulded by his own understanding: he said, he
 "did well remember it; but he would have them
 "remember, that when their consultations endea-
 "voured to lessen the office and dignity of a king,
 "they meddled with that which is not within
 "their determination, and of which his majesty
 "must give an account to God, and his other king-
 "doms, and must maintain with the sacrifice of his
 "life.

"Lastly, that declaration told the people of a
 "present, desperate, and malicious plot the malig-
 "nant party was then acting, under the plausible
 "notions of stirring men up to a care of preserv-
 "ing the king's prerogative; maintaining the dis-
 "cipline of the church, upholding and continuing
 "the reverence and solemnity of God's service;
 "and encouraging learning, (indeed plausible and
 "honourable notions to act any thing upon,) and
 "that upon those grounds divers mutinous peti-
 "tions had been framed in London, Kent, and
 "other places: his majesty asked upon what
 "grounds these men would have petitions framed?
 "Had so many petitions, even against the form
 "and constitution of the kingdom, and the laws
 "established, been joyfully received and accepted?
 "And should petitions framed upon those grounds
 "be called mutinous? Had a multitude of mean,
 "unknown, inconsiderable, contemptible persons,
 "about the city and suburbs of London, had
 "liberty to petition against the government of the
 "church; against the Book of Common-Prayer;
 "against the freedom and privilege of parliament;
 "and been thanked for it; and should it be called
 "mutiny, in the gravest and best citizens of Lon-
 "don, in the gentry and commonalty of Kent, to
 "frame petitions upon those grounds; and to de-
 "sire to be governed by the known laws of the
 "land, not by orders and votes of either, or both
 "houses? Could this be thought the wisdom and
 "justice of both houses of parliament? Was it
 "not evidently the work of a faction, within or
 "without both houses, who deceived the trust re-
 "posed in them; and had now told his majesty
 "what mutiny was? To stir men up to a care of
 "preserving his prerogative, maintaining the dis-
 "cipline of the church, upholding and continuing
 "the reverence and solemnity of God's service,
 "encouraging of learning, was mutiny. Let hea-
 "ven and earth, God and man, judge between his
 "majesty and these men: and however such peti-
 "tions were there called mutinous; and the peti-

tioners threatened, discountenanced, censured, and imprisoned; if they brought such petitions to his majesty, he would graciously receive them; and defend them, and their rights, against what power soever, with the uttermost hazard of his being.

His majesty said, he had been the longer, to his very great pain, in this answer, that he might give the world satisfaction, even in the most trivial particulars, which had been objected against him; and that he might not be again reproached, with any more prudent omissions. If he had been compelled to sharper language than his majesty affected, it might be considered, how vile, how insufferable his provocations had been: and, except to repel force were to assault, and to give punctual and necessary answers to rough and insolent demands, were to make invectives, he was confident the world would accuse his majesty of too much mildness; and all his good subjects would think, he was not well dealt with; and would judge of his majesty, and of their own happiness, and security in him, by his actions; which he desired might no longer prosper, or have a blessing from God upon them, and his majesty, than they should be directed to the glory of God, in the maintenance of the true protestant profession, to the preservation of the property and liberty of the subject, in the observation of the laws; and to the maintenance of the rights and freedom of parliament, in the allowance and protection of all their just privileges."

This declaration was no sooner published, but his majesty likewise set forth an answer to that other declaration, of the twenty-sixth of May; in which he said, "that whosoever looked over the late remonstrance, entitled, *A Declaration of the Lords and Commons*, of the twenty-sixth of May, would not think that his majesty had great reason to be pleased with it; yet he could not but commend the plaindealing and ingenuity of the framers and contrivers of that declaration, (which had been wrought in a hotter and quicker forge than any of the rest,) who would no longer suffer his majesty to be affronted by being told, they would make him a great and glorious king, whilst they used all possible skill to reduce him to extreme want and indigency; and that they would make him to be loved at home, and feared abroad, whilst they endeavoured, by all possible ways, to render him odious to his good subjects, and contemptible to all foreign princes; but, like round dealing men, told him, in plain English, that they had done him no wrong, because he was not capable of receiving any; and that they had taken nothing from him, because he had never any thing of his own to lose. If that doctrine were true, and that indeed he ought to be of no other consideration, than they had informed his people in that declaration, that gentleman was much more excusable, that said publicly, unreprieved, that the happiness of the kingdom did not depend on his majesty, or upon any of the royal branches of that root: and the other, who said, his majesty was not worthy to be king of England: language very monstrous to be allowed by either house of parliament; and of which, by the help of God, and the law, he must have some examination. But, he doubted not, all his good subjects did now plainly discern, through the

mask and vizard of their hypocrisy, what their design was; and would no more look upon the framers and contrivers of that declaration, as upon both houses of parliament, (whose freedom and just privileges he would always maintain; and in whose behalf, he was as much scandalized as for himself,) but as a faction of malignant, schismatical, and ambitious persons; whose design was, and always had been, to alter the whole frame of government, both of church and state; and to subject both king and people to their own lawless, arbitrary power and government: of whose persons, and of whose design, his majesty said, he would, within a very short time, give his good subjects, and the world, a full, and, he hoped, a satisfactory narration.

The contrivers and penners of that declaration (of whom his majesty would be only understood to speak, when he mentioned any of their undutiful acts against him) said, that the great affairs of the kingdom, and the miserable bleeding condition of the kingdom of Ireland, would afford them little leisure to spend their time in declarations, answers, and replies. Indeed, his majesty said, the miserable and deplorable condition of both kingdoms would require somewhat else at their hands: but he would gladly know how they had spent their time since the recess, (then almost eight months,) but in declarations, remonstrances, and invectives against his majesty and his government; or in preparing matter for them. Had his majesty invited them to any such expense of time, by beginning arguments of that nature? Their leisure, or their inclination, was not as they pretended: and what was their printing and publishing their petitions to him; their declarations and remonstrances of him; their odious votes and resolutions, sometimes of one, sometimes of both houses, against his majesty, (never in that manner communicated before this parliament,) but an appeal to the people? And, in God's name, let them judge of the persons they had trusted.

Their first quarrel was (as it was always, to let them into their frank expressions of his majesty, and his actions) against the malignant party; whom they were pleased still to call, and never to prove to be, his evil counsellors. But indeed nothing was more evident, by their whole proceedings, than that, by the malignant party, they intended all the members of both houses who agreed not with them in their opinion, (thence had come their distinction of good and bad lords; of persons ill affected of the house of commons; who had been proscribed, and their names listed, and read in tumults,) and all the persons of the kingdom who approve not of their actions. So that, if in truth they would be ingenuous, and name the persons they intended; who would be the men, upon whom the imputation of malignity would be cast, but they who had stood stoutly and immutably for the religion, the liberties, the laws, for all public interest; (so long as there was any to be stood for;) they, who had always been, and still were, as zealous professors, and some of them as able, and earnest defenders of the protestant doctrine against the church of Rome, as any were; who had often and earnestly besought his majesty to consent, that no indif-

“ferent and unnecessary ceremony might be
 “pressed upon weak and tender consciences, and
 “that he would agree to a bill for that purpose?
 “They to whose wisdom, courage, and counsel,
 “the kingdom owed as much as it could to sub-
 “jects; and upon whose unblemished lives, envy
 “itself could lay no imputation; nor endeavoured
 “to lay any, until their virtues brought them to
 “his majesty's knowledge and favour? His ma-
 “jesty said, if the contrivers of that declaration
 “would be faithful to themselves, and consider all
 “those persons of both houses, whom they, in
 “their own consciences, knew to dissent from
 “them in the matter and language of that decla-
 “ration, and in all those undutiful actions, of
 “which he complained, they would be found in
 “honour, fortune, wisdom, reputation, and weight,
 “if not in number, much superior to them. So
 “much for the evil counsellors.

“Then what was the evil counsel itself? His
 “majesty's coming from London (where he, and
 “many, whose affections to him were very eminent,
 “were in danger every day to be torn in pieces)
 “to York; where his majesty, and all such as
 “would put themselves under his protection, might
 “live, he thanked God and the loyalty and affec-
 “tion of that good people, very securely: his not
 “submitting himself absolutely (and renouncing
 “his own understanding) to the votes and resolu-
 “tions of the contrivers of that declaration, when
 “they told his majesty, that they were above him;
 “and might, by his own authority, do with his
 “majesty what they pleased: and his not being
 “contented, that all his good subjects' lives and
 “fortunes should be disposed of by their votes;
 “but by the known law of the land. This was the
 “evil counsel given, and taken: and would not all
 “men believe, there needed much power and skill
 “of the malignant party, to infuse that counsel
 “into him? And then, to apply the argument
 “the contrivers of that declaration made for them-
 “selves, was it probable, or possible, that such
 “men, whom his majesty had mentioned, (who
 “must have so great a share in the misery,)
 “should take such pains in the procuring thereof;
 “and spend so much time, and run so many
 “hazards, to make themselves slaves, and to ruin
 “the freedom of this nation?

“His majesty said, (with a clear and upright
 “conscience to God Almighty,) whosoever har-
 “boured the least thought in his breast, of ruining
 “or violating the public liberty, or religion of the
 “kingdom, or the just freedom and privilege of
 “parliament, let him be accursed; and he should
 “be no counsellor of his, that would not say *Amen*.
 “For the contrivers of that declaration, he had not
 “said any thing, which might imply any inclination
 “in them to be slaves. That which he had charged
 “them, was with invading the public liberty; and
 “his presumption might be very strong and vehe-
 “ment, that, though they had no mind to be slaves,
 “they were not unwilling to be tyrants: what is
 “tyranny, but to admit no rules to govern by, but
 “their own wills? And they knew the misery of
 “Athens was at the highest, when it suffered under
 “the thirty tyrants.

“His majesty said, if that declaration had told
 “him, (as indeed it might, and as in justice it ought
 “to have done,) that the precedents of any of his
 “ancestors did fall short, and much below what
 “had been done by him, this parliament, in point

“of grace and favour to his people; he should not
 “otherwise have wondered at it, than at such a
 “truth, in such a place. But when, to justify their
 “having done more than ever their predecessors
 “did, it told his good subjects, (as most injuriously
 “and insolently it did,) that the highest and most
 “unwarrantable precedents of any of his predeces-
 “sors did fall short, and much below what had
 “been done to them this parliament by him, he
 “must confess himself amazed, and not able to
 “understand them; and he must tell those un-
 “grateful men, (who durst tell their king, that they
 “might, without want of modesty and duty, depose
 “him,) that the condition of his subjects, when, by
 “whatsoever accidents and conjunctures of time, it
 “was at worst under his power, unto which, by no
 “default of his, they should be ever again reduced,
 “was, by many degrees, more pleasant and happy,
 “than that to which their furious pretence of refor-
 “mation had brought them. Neither was his
 “majesty afraid of the highest precedents of other
 “parliaments, which those men boldly (his good
 “subjects would call it worse) told him they might,
 “without want of modesty or duty, make their
 “patterns. If he had no other security against
 “those precedents, but their modesty and duty, he
 “was in a miserable condition, as all persons would
 “be who depended upon them.

“That declaration would not allow his inference,
 “that, by avowing the act of sir John Hotham,
 “they did destroy the title and interest of all his
 “subjects to their lands and goods; but confessed,
 “if they were found guilty of that charge, it were
 “indeed a very great crime. And did they not,
 “in that declaration, admit themselves guilty of
 “that very crime? Did they not say, Who doubts
 “but that a parliament may dispose of any thing,
 “wherein his majesty, or his subjects, had a right,
 “in such a way as that the kingdom might not be
 “in danger thereby? Did they not then call
 “themselves this parliament, and challenge that
 “power without his consent? Did they not extend
 “that power to all cases, where the necessity or
 “common good of the kingdom was concerned?
 “And did they not arrogate to themselves alone,
 “the judgment of that danger, that necessity, and
 “that common good of the kingdom? What was,
 “if that were not, to unsettle the security of all
 “men's estates; and to expose them to an arbitrary
 “power of their own? If a faction should at any
 “time by cunning, or force, or absence, or accident,
 “prevail over a major part of both houses; and
 “pretend that there were evil counsellors, a malig-
 “nant party about the king; by whom the religion
 “and liberty of the kingdom were both in danger,
 “(this they might do, they had done it then,) they
 “might take away, be it from the king, or people,
 “whatsoever they in their judgments should think
 “fit. This was lawful; they had declared it so:
 “let the world judge, whether his majesty had
 “charged them unjustly; and whether they were
 “not guilty of the crime, which themselves con-
 “fessed (being proved) was a great one; and how
 “safely his majesty might commit the power, those
 “people desired, into their hands; who, in all pro-
 “bability, would be no sooner possessed of it, than
 “they would revive that tragedy, which Mr. Hooker
 “related of the anabaptists in Germany; who,
 “talking of nothing but faith, and of the true fear
 “of God, and that riches and honour were vanity;
 “at first, upon the great opinion of their humility,

“zeal, and devotion, procured much reverence and estimation with the people; after, finding how many persons they had ensnared with their hypocrisy, they begun to propose to themselves to reform both the ecclesiastical and civil government of the state: then, because possibly they might meet with some opposition, they secretly entered into a league of association; and shortly after, finding the power they had gotten with the credulous people, enriched themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; and justified themselves upon our Saviour's promise, *The meek shall inherit the earth*; and declared their title was the same which the righteous Israelites had to the goods of the wicked Egyptians: his majesty said, this story was worth the reading at large, and needed no application.

“But his majesty might by no means say, that he had the same title to his town of Hull, and the ammunition there, as any of his subjects had to their land or money: that was a principle, that pulled up the foundation of the liberty and property of every subject. Why? because the king's property in his towns, and in his goods bought with the public money, as they conceive his magazine at Hull to be, was inconsistent with the subjects' property in their lands, goods, and liberty. Did those men think, that as they assumed a power of declaring law, (and whatsoever contradicted that declaration broke their privileges,) so that they had a power of declaring sense and reason, and imposing logic and syllogisms on the schools, as well as law upon the people? Did not all mankind know that several men might have several rights and interests in the selfsame house and land, and yet neither destroy the other? Was not the interest of the lord paramount consistent with that of the mesne lord; and his with that of the tenant; and yet their properties or interests not at all confounded? And why might not his majesty then have a full, lawful interest and property in his town of Hull, and yet his subjects have a property in their houses too? But he could not sell, or give away, at his pleasure, this town and fort, as a private man might do his lands or goods. What then? Many men have no authority to let or set their leases, or sell their land; have they therefore no title to them, or interest in them? May they be taken from them, because they cannot sell them? He said, the purpose of his journey to Hull was neither to sell, or give it away.

“But for the magazine, the munition there, that he bought with his own money, he might surely have sold that, lent, or given it away. No; he bought it with the public money, and the proof is, they conceive it so; and, upon that conceit, had voted, that it should be taken from him. Excellent justice! Suppose his majesty had kept that money by him, and not bought arms with it, would they have taken it from him upon that conceit: nay, might they not, wheresoever that money was, (for through how many hands soever it hath passed, it is the public money still, if ever it were,) seize it, and take it from the owners? But the towns, forts, magazine, and kingdom, is intrusted to his majesty; and he is a person trusted. His majesty said, he was so; God, and the law, had trusted him; and he had taken an oath to discharge that trust, for the good and safety of the people. What oaths they had taken,

“he knew not, unless those, which, in that violence, they had manifestly, maliciously violated. Might any thing be taken from a man, because he is trusted with it? Nay, may the person himself take away the thing he trusts, when he will, and in what manner he will? The law had been otherwise, and, he believed, would be so held, notwithstanding their declarations.

“But that trust ought to be managed by their advice, and the kingdom had trusted them for that purpose. Impossible, that the same trust should be irrecoverably committed to his majesty, and his heirs for ever, and the same trust, and a power above that trust, (for so was the power they pretended,) be committed to others. Did not the people, that sent them, look upon them as a body but temporary, and dissoluble at his majesty's pleasure? And could it be believed, that they intended them for his guardians and controllers in the managing of that trust, which God, and the law, had granted to him, and to his posterity for ever? What the extent of the commission and trust was, nothing could better teach them than the writ, whereby they are met. His majesty said, he called them (and without that call they could not have come together) to be his counsellors, not commanders, (for, however they frequently confounded them, the offices were several,) and counsellors not in all things, but in some things, *de quibusdam arduis*, &c. And they would easily find among their precedents, that queen Elizabeth, upon whose time all good men looked with reverence, committed one Wentworth, a member of the house of commons, to the Tower, sitting the house, but for proposing that they might advise the queen in a matter she thought they had nothing to do to meddle in. But his majesty is trusted: and is he the only person trusted? And might they do what their own inclination and fury led them to? Were they not trusted by his majesty, when he first sent for them; and were they not trusted by him, when he passed them his promise, that he would not dissolve them? Could it be presumed, (and presumptions go far with them,) that he trusted them with a power to destroy himself, and to dissolve his government and authority? If the people might be allowed to make an equitable construction of the laws and statutes, a doctrine avowed by them, would not all his good subjects swear, he never intended by that act of continuance, that they should do what they have since done? Were they not trusted by those that sent them? And were they trusted to alter the government of church and state; and to make themselves perpetual dictators over the king and people? Did they intend, that the law itself should be subject to their votes; and that whatsoever they said, or did, should be lawful, because they declared it so? The oaths they had taken who sent them, and without taking which, themselves were not capable of their place in parliament, made the one incapable of giving, and the other of receiving such a trust; unless they could persuade his good subjects, that his majesty is the only supreme head and governor in all causes, and over all persons, within his dominions; and yet that they had a power over him to constrain him to manage his trust, and govern his power, according to their discretion.

"The contrivers of that declaration told his majesty, that they would never allow him (an humble and dutiful expression) to be judge of the law; that belonged only to them; they might, and must, judge and declare. His majesty said, they all knew what power the pope, under pretence of interpreting scriptures, and declaring articles of faith, though he decline the making the one or the other, had usurped over men's consciences; and that, under colour of having power of ordering all things for the good of men's souls, he entitles himself to all the kingdoms of the world: he would not accuse the framers of that declaration, (how bold soever they were with his majesty,) that they inclined to popery, of which another maxim was, that all men must submit their reason and understanding, and the scripture itself, to that declaring power of his: neither would he tell them, though they had told him so, that they use the very language of the rebels of Ireland: and yet they say those rebels declare, that whatsoever they do is for the good of the king and kingdom. But his good subjects would easily put the case to themselves, whether if the papists in Ireland in truth were, or, by art or accident, had made themselves the major part of both houses of parliament there; and had pretended the trust in that declaration from the kingdom of Ireland; thereupon had voted their religion and liberty to be in danger of extirpation from a malignant party of protestants and puritans; and therefore, that they would put themselves into a posture of defence; that the forts and the militia of that kingdom were to be put into the hands of such persons, as they could confide in; that his majesty was indeed trusted with the towns, forts, magazines, treasures, offices, and people of the kingdom, for the good, safety, and best advantage thereof; but as his trust is for the use of the kingdom, so it ought to be managed by the advice of both houses of parliament, whom the kingdom had trusted for that purpose, it being their duty to see it discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof, and by all possible means to prevent the contrary: his majesty said, let all his good subjects consider, if that rebellion had been plotted with all that formality, and those circumstances declared to be legal, at least, according to the equitable sense of the law, and to be for the public good, and justifiable by necessity, of which they were the only judges, whether, though they might have thought their design to be more cunning, they would believe it the more justifiable.

"Nay, let the framers of that declaration ask themselves, if the evil counsellors, the malignant party, the persons ill affected, the popish lords, and their adherents, should prove now, or hereafter, to be a major part of both houses, (for it had been declared, that a great part of both houses had been such, and so might have been the greater; nay, the greater part of the house of peers was still declared to be such, and his majesty had not heard of any of their conversion; and thereupon it had been earnestly pressed, that the major part of the lords might join with the major part of the house of commons,) would his majesty be bound to consent to all such alterations, as those men should propose to him, and resolve to be for the public good: and should

"the liberty, property, and security of all his subjects, depend on what such votes should declare to be law? Was the order of the militia unfit, and unlawful, whilst the major part of the lords refused to join in it, (as they had done two or three several times, and it was never heard, before this parliament, that they should be so, and so often pressed after a dissent declared,) and did it grow immediately necessary for the public safety, and lawful by the law of the land, as soon as so many of the dissenting peers were driven away, (after their names had been required at the bar, contrary to the freedom and foundation of parliament,) that the other opinion prevailed? Did the life and liberty of the subject depend upon such accidents of days, and hours, that it was impossible for him to know his right in either? God forbid.

"But now, to justify their invasion of his majesty's ancient, unquestioned, undoubted right, settled and established on his majesty and his posterity by God himself; confirmed and strengthened by all possible titles of compact, laws, oaths, perpetual and uncontradicted custom, by his people; what had they alleged to declare to the kingdom, as they say, the obligation that lieth upon the kings of this realm to pass all such bills, as are offered unto them by both houses of parliament? A thing never heard of till that day: an oath, (authority enough for them to break all theirs,) that is, or ought to be, taken by the kings of this realm, which is as well to remedy by law such inconveniences the king may suffer, as to keep and protect the laws already in being: and the form of this oath, they said, did appear upon a record there cited; and by a clause in the preamble of a statute, made in the 25th year of Edw. III.

"His majesty said, he was not enough acquainted with records to know whether that were fully and ingenuously cited; and when, and how, and why, the several clauses had been inserted, or taken out of the oaths formerly administered to the kings of this realm: yet he could not possibly imagine the assertion that declaration made, could be deduced from the words or the matter of that oath: for unless they had a power of declaring Latin, as well as law, sure, *elegerit*, signified *hath* chosen, as well as *will* choose; and that it signified so there, (besides the authority of the perpetual practice of all succeeding ages; a better interpreter than their votes,) it was evident, by the reference it had to customs, *consuetudines quas vulgus elegerit*: and could that be a custom, which the people should choose after this oath taken? And should a king be sworn to defend such customs? Besides, could it be imagined, that he should be bound by oath to pass such laws, (and such a law was the bill they brought to him of the militia,) as should put the power, wherewith he was trusted, out of himself, into the hands of other men; and divert and disable himself of all possible power to perform the great business of the oath; which was to protect them? If his majesty gave away all his power, or if it were taken from him, he could not protect any man: and what discharge would it be for his majesty, either before God or man, when his good subjects, whom God, and the law, had committed to his charge, should be worried and spoiled, to say that he trusted others to pro-

“ tect them? That is, to do that duty for him,
 “ which was essentially and inseparably his own.
 “ But that all his good subjects might see how
 “ faithfully these men, who assumed this trust
 “ from them, desired to discharge their trust; he
 “ would be contented to publish, for their satisfac-
 “ tion, (a matter notorious enough, but what he
 “ himself never thought to have been put to pub-
 “ lish, and of which the framers of that declara-
 “ tion might as well have made use, as of a Latin
 “ record they knew many of his good subjects
 “ could not, and many of themselves did not un-
 “ derstand,) the oath itself he took at his corona-
 “ tion, warranted and enjoined to it by the cus-
 “ toms and directions of his predecessors; and
 “ the ceremony of theirs, and his taking it; they
 “ might find it in the records of the exchequer;
 “ this it is :

The sermon being done, the archbishop goeth to the king, and asks his willingness to take the oath usually taken by his predecessors :

The king sheweth himself willing, ariseth and goeth to the altar; the archbishop administereth these questions, and the king answers them severally :

Episcopus. Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your oath confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs to them granted by the kings of England, your lawful and religious predecessors: and namely the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the clergy, by the glorious king saint Edward, your predecessor, according to the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel established in this kingdom, and agreeable to the prerogative of the kings thereof, and the ancient customs of this realm?

Rex. I grant, and promise to keep them.

Episc. Sir, will you keep peace, and godly agreement entirely, (according to your power,) both to God, the holy church, the clergy, and the people?

Rex. I will keep it.

Episc. Sir, will you, (to your power,) cause law, justice, and discretion, in mercy and truth, to be executed in all your judgments?

Rex. I will.

Episc. Sir, will you grant to hold, and keep the laws, and rightful customs, which the commonalty of this your kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, so much as in you lieth?

Rex. I grant, and promise so to do.

Then one of the bishops reads this admonition to the king, before the people, with a loud voice.

Our lord and king, we beseech you to pardon, and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law, and justice; and that you would protect and defend us, as every good king, in his kingdom, ought to be protector and defender of the bishops, and the churches under their government.

The king answereth :

With a willing and devout heart I promise, and grant my pardon; and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law, and justice; and that I will be your protector and defender, to my power, by the assistance of God, as every good king, in his kingdom, in right ought to protect and defend the bishops, and churches under their government.

Then the king ariseth, and is led to the communion table: where he makes a solemn oath, in sight of all the people, to observe the premises; and, laying his hand upon the book, saith :

THE OATH.

The things which I have before promised, I shall perform, and keep: so help me God, and the contents of this book.

His majesty said, “ all the world might judge, “ whether such doctrine, or such conclusions, as “ those men brought, could follow, or have the “ least pretence, from that oath: for the preamble “ of the statute they cited, that told his majesty, “ that the king was bound to remedy, by law, the “ mischiefs and damages which happen to his “ people: his majesty said, he was so; but asked, “ whether the king were bound, by the preamble “ of that statute, to renounce his own judgment, “ his own understanding in those mischiefs, and of “ these remedies? How far forth he was obliged “ to follow the judgment of his parliament, that “ declaration still confessed to be a question. “ Without question, he said, none could take upon “ them to remedy even mischiefs, but by law, for “ fear of greater mischiefs than those they go “ about to remedy.

“ But his majesty was bound in justice to con- “ sent to their proposals, because there was a trust “ reposed in his majesty to preserve the kingdom, “ by making new laws: he said, he was glad there “ was so; then he was sure no new law could be “ made without his consent; and that the gentle- “ ness of his answer, *Le roy s'avisera*, if it be no “ denial, it is no consent; and then the matter “ was not great. They would yet allow his majesty “ a greater latitude of granting, or denying, as he “ should think fit, in public acts of grace, as par- “ dons, or the like grants of favour: why did they “ so? If those pardons, and public acts of grace, “ were for the public good, (which they might “ vote them to be,) they would then be absolutely “ in their own disposal; but had they left that “ power to his majesty? They had sure, at least, “ shared it with him; how else had they got the “ power to pardon sergeant-major-general Skippon, “ (a new officer of state, and a subject his majesty “ had no authority to send to speak with,) and all “ other persons employed by them, and such as “ had employed themselves for them, not only for “ what they had done, but for what they should “ do? If they had power to declare such actions “ to be no treason, which his majesty would not “ pardon; such actions to be treason, which need no “ pardon; the latitude they allowed his majesty of “ granting, or denying of pardons, was a jewel “ they might still be content to suffer his majesty “ to wear in his crown, and never think themselves “ the more in danger.

"All this considered, the contriver of that message, (since they would afford his majesty no better title,) whom they were angry with, did not conceive the people of this land to be so void of common sense, as to believe his majesty, who had denied no one thing for the ease and benefit of them, which in justice or prudence could be asked, or in honour and conscience could be granted, to have cast off all care of the subject's good; and the framers and devisers of that declaration (who had endeavoured to render his majesty odious to his subjects, and them disloyal to him, from pretending such a trust in them) to have only taken it up: neither, he was confident, would they be satisfied, when they felt the misery and the burdens, which the fury and the malice of those people would bring upon them, with being told that calamity proceeded from evil counsellors, whom nobody could name; from plots and conspiracies, which no man could discover; and from fears and jealousies, which no man understood: and therefore, that the consideration of it should be left to the conscience, reason, affection, and loyalty of his good subjects, who do understand the government of this kingdom, his majesty said, he was well content.

"His majesty asked, where the folly and madness of those people would end, who would have his people believe, that his absenting himself from London, where, with his safety, he could not stay, and the continuing his magazine at Hull, proceeded from the secret plots of the papists here, and to advance the design of the papists in Ireland? But it was no wonder that they, who could believe sir John Hotham's shutting his majesty out of Hull, to be an act of affection and loyalty, would believe that the papists, or the Turk, persuaded him to go thither.

"And could any sober man think that declaration to be the consent of either, or both houses of parliament, unawed either by fraud or force; which (after so many thanks, and humble acknowledgments of his gracious favour in his message of the twentieth of January, so often, and so unanimously presented to his majesty from both houses of parliament) now told him, that the message at first was, and, as often as it had been since mentioned by him, had been a breach of privilege, (of which they had not used to have been so negligent, as in four months not to have complained, if such a breach had been,) and that their own method of proceeding should not be proposed to them: as if his majesty had only authority to call them together, not to tell them what they were to do, not so much as with reference to his own affairs. What their own method had been, and whither it had led them, and brought the kingdom, all men see; what his would have been, if seasonably and timely applied unto, all men might judge; his majesty would speak no more of it.

"But see now what excellent instances they had found out, to prove an inclination, if not in his majesty, in some about him, to civil war: their going with his majesty to the house of commons, (so often urged, and so fully answered,) their attending on him to Hampton-court, and appearing in a warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames; his going to Hull; their drawing their swords at York, demanding, who would be for

"the king? the declaring sir John Hotham traitor, before the message sent to the parliament; the propositions to the gentry in Yorkshire, to assist his majesty against sir John Hotham, before he had received an answer from the parliament: all desperate instances of an inclination to a civil war. Examine them again: the manner and intent of his going to the house of commons, he had set forth at large, in his answer to their declaration of the nineteenth of May; all men might judge of it. Next, did they themselves believe, to what purpose soever that rumour had served their turn, that there was an appearance in warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames? Did they not know, that whensoever his majesty had been at Hampton-court, since his first coming to the crown, there was never a less appearance, or in a less warlike manner, than at the time they meant? He said, he would say no more, but that his appearance in a warlike manner at Kingston upon Thames, and theirs at Kingston upon Hull, was very different. What was meant by the drawing of swords at York, and demanding, who would be for the king, must be inquired at London; for, his majesty believed, very few in York understood the meaning of it. For his going to Hull, which they would by no means endure should be called a visit, whether it were not the way to prevent, rather than to make a civil war, was very obvious: and the declaring him a traitor in the very act of his treason, would never be thought unseasonable, but by those who believed him to be a loving and loyal subject; no more than the endeavouring to make the gentlemen of that county sensible of that treason, (which they were in an honourable and dutiful degree,) before he received the answer from both houses of parliament: for, if they had been, as his majesty expected they should have been, sensible of that intolerable injury offered to him, might he not have had occasion to have used the affection of these gentlemen? Was he sure that sir John Hotham, who had kept him out without their order, (he spake of a public order,) would have let him in, when they had forbidden him? And if they had not such a sense of him, (as the case falls out to be,) had he not more reason to make propositions to those gentlemen, whose readiness and affection he, or his posterity, would never forget?

"But this business of Hull sticks still with them; and finding his questions hard, they are pleased to answer his majesty, by asking other questions of him: no matter for the exceptions against the earl of Newcastle, (which have been so often urged, as one of the principal grounds of their fears and jealousies; and which drew that question from him,) they asked his majesty, why, when he held it necessary that a governor should be placed in Hull, sir John Hotham should be refused by him, and the earl of Newcastle sent down? His majesty answered, because he had a better opinion of the earl of Newcastle than of sir John Hotham; and desired to have such a governor over his towns, if he must have any, as should keep them for, and not against him: and if his going down were in a more private way than sir John Hotham's, it was because he had not that authority to make a noise, by levying and billeting of soldiers, in a

“ peaceable time, upon his good subjects, as it
 “ seemed sir John Hotham carried down with him.
 “ And the imputation which is cast by the way
 “ upon that earl, to make his reputation not so un-
 “ blemished, as he conceived, and the world be-
 “ lieves it to be; and which, though it was not
 “ ground enough for judicial proceeding, (it is
 “ wonder it was not,) was yet ground enough
 “ of suspicion, must be the case of every subject
 “ in England, (and he wished it went no higher,)
 “ if every vile aspersion, contrived by unknown
 “ hands, upon unknown or unimaginable grounds,
 “ which is the way practised to bring any vir-
 “ tuous and deserving men into obloquy, should re-
 “ ceive the least credit or countenance in the world.

“ They tell him, their exception to those gentle-
 “ men, who delivered their petition to him at York,
 “ was, that they presumed to take the style upon
 “ them of all the gentry and inhabitants of that
 “ county; whereas, they say, so many more of as
 “ good quality as themselves, of that county, were
 “ of another opinion; and have since, by their pe-
 “ tition to his majesty, disavowed that act. Their
 “ information in that point, his majesty said, was
 “ no better than it useth to be; and they would
 “ find, that neither the number or the quality of
 “ those who have, or will disavow that petition,
 “ was as they imagine; though too many weak
 “ persons were misled (which they did, and would
 “ every day more and more understand) by the
 “ faction, skill, and industry of that true malig-
 “ nant party, of which he did, and had reason
 “ to complain. They said, they had received no
 “ petition of so strange a nature: what nature?
 “ Contrary to the votes of both houses: that is,
 “ they had received no petition they had no mind to
 “ receive. But his majesty had told them again,
 “ and all his good subjects would tell them, that
 “ they had received petitions, with joy and appro-
 “ bation, against the votes of both houses of their
 “ predecessors, confirmed and established into laws
 “ by the consent of his majesty, and his ancestors;
 “ and allowed those petitions to carry the style,
 “ and to seem to carry the desires of cities, towns,
 “ and counties, when, of either city, town, or
 “ county, very few known or considerable persons
 “ had been privy to such petitions: whereas, in
 “ truth, the petitions delivered to his majesty,
 “ against which they except, carried not the style
 “ of all, but some of the gentry and inhabitants;
 “ and implied no other consent, than such as went
 “ visibly along with it.

“ But his majesty was all this while in a mis-
 “ take; the magazine at Hull was not taken from
 “ him. Who told them so? They who assure
 “ them, (and whom without breaking their privi-
 “ leges they must believe,) that sir John Hotham's
 “ shutting the gates against his majesty, and re-
 “ sisting his entrance with armed men, (though he
 “ thought it in defiance of him,) was indeed in
 “ obedience to him, and his authority; and for his
 “ service, and the service of the kingdom. He
 “ was to let none in, but such as came with his
 “ majesty's authority, signified by both houses of
 “ parliament: himself and they had ordered it so.
 “ And therefore he kept his majesty out, only till
 “ his majesty, or he himself, might send for their
 “ directions. His majesty said, he knew not whe-
 “ ther the contrivers of that declaration meant,
 “ that his good subjects should so soon under-
 “ stand, though it was plain enough to be under-

“ stood, the meaning of the king's authority, sig-
 “ nified by both houses of parliament: but sure
 “ the world would now easily discern in what mi-
 “ serable case he had, by this time, been, (it is bad
 “ enough as it is,) if he had consented to their bill,
 “ or to their ordinance of the militia, and given
 “ those men power to have raised all the arms of
 “ the kingdom against him, for the common good,
 “ by his own authority: would they not, as they
 “ had kept him from Hull, by this time have
 “ beaten him from York, and pursued him out of
 “ the kingdom, in his own behalf? Nay, might
 “ not this munition, which is not taken from him,
 “ be employed against him; not against his au-
 “ thority, signified by both houses of parliament,
 “ but only to kill those ill counsellors, the ma-
 “ lignant party, which is about him, and yet for
 “ his good, for the public good, (they would
 “ declare it so,) and so no treason within the
 “ statute of 25 Ed. III.? which, “ by their in-
 “ terpretation, had left his majesty, the king of
 “ England, absolutely less provided for, in point
 “ of safety, than the meanest subject of the king-
 “ dom: and every subject of this land (for whose
 “ security that law was made, that they may
 “ know their duty, and their danger in break-
 “ ing of it) may be made a traitor when these
 “ men please to say, he is so. But did they think
 “ that, upon such an interpretation, (upon pretence
 “ of authority of book cases and precedents, which,
 “ without doubt, they would have cited, if they
 “ had been to their purpose,) out of which nothing
 “ can result, but confusion to king and people,
 “ would find any credit with his good subjects?
 “ And that so excellent a law, made both for secu-
 “ rity of king and people, shall be so eluded, by
 “ an interpretation no learned lawyer in England
 “ would at this hour, he believed, set under his
 “ hand, notwithstanding the authority of that de-
 “ claration; which, he hoped, shall bring nothing
 “ but infamy upon the contrivers of it?

“ Now to their privileges: though it be true,
 “ they say, that their privileges do not extend to
 “ treason, felony, or breach of the peace, so as to
 “ exempt the members from all manner of process
 “ and trial; yet it doth privilege them in the way
 “ or method of their trial: the cause must be first
 “ brought before them, and their consent asked,
 “ before you can proceed. Why then their privi-
 “ leges extend as far in these cases, as in any that
 “ are most unquestioned; for no privilege what-
 “ soever exempts them from all manner of process
 “ and trial, if you first acquaint the house with
 “ it, and they give you leave to proceed by those
 “ processes, or to that trial: but, by this rule, if a
 “ member of either house commit a murder, you
 “ must by no means meddle with him, till you
 “ have acquainted that house of which he is a
 “ member, and received their direction for your
 “ proceeding, assuring yourself, he will not stir
 “ from that place where you left him, till you re-
 “ turn with their consent; should it be otherwise,
 “ it would be in the power of every man, under
 “ the pretence of murder, to take one after an-
 “ other, and as many as he pleaseth; and so, con-
 “ sequently, bring a parliament to what he pleaseth,
 “ when he pleaseth. If a member of either house
 “ shall take a purse at York, (he may as probably
 “ take a purse from a subject, as arms against the
 “ king,) you must ride to London, to know what
 “ to do, and he may ride with you, and take a new

“purse every stage, and must not be apprehended, or declared a felon, till you have asked that house, of which he is a member; should it be otherwise, it might be in every man's power to accuse as many members as he would of taking purses; and so bring a parliament, and so all parliaments, to nothing. Would these men be believed? And yet they make no doubt but every one, who hath taken the protestation, would defend this doctrine with his life and fortune. Would not his subjects believe, that they had imposed a pretty protestation upon them; and that they had a very good end in the doing of it, if it obligeth them to such hazards, to such undertakings? Must they forget or neglect his majesty's person, honour, and estate, which, by that protestation, they are bound to defend; and, in some degree, do understand? And must they only venture their lives and fortunes to justify privileges they know not, or ever heard of before? Or are they bound by that protestation to believe, that the framers of that declaration have power to extend their own privileges, as far as they think fit; and to contract his majesty's rights, as much as they please; and that they are bound to believe them in either, and to venture their lives and fortunes in that quarrel?

“From declaring how mean a person his majesty is, and how much the kingdom hath been mistaken in the understanding of the statute of the 25 E. III. concerning treason, and that all men need not fear levying war against him, so they have their order to warrant them; they proceed, in the spirit of declaring, to certify his subjects in the mistakings, which, near one hundred and fifty years, have been received concerning the statute of the eleventh year of Hen. VII. ch. 1. (a statute all good subjects will read with comfort,) and tell them, that the serving of the king for the time being cannot be meant of Perkin Warbeck, or of any that should call himself king; but such a one as is allowed and received by the parliament in the behalf of the kingdom: and was not his majesty so allowed? However, through a dark mist of words, and urging their old privileges, (which, he hoped, he had sufficiently answered, and will be every day more confuted by the actions of his good subjects,) they conclude, that those that shall guide themselves by the judgment of parliament, which they say is their own, ought, whatsoever happen, to be secure, and free from all account and penalties, upon the ground and equity of that very statute: how far their own chancellors may help them in that equity, his majesty knew not; but by the help of God, and that good law, he would allow no such equity: so then, here is the doctrine of that declaration; and these are the positions of the contrivers of it.

1. That they have an absolute power of declaring the law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so, ought not to be questioned by his majesty, or any subject: so that all right and safety of him and his people must depend upon their pleasure.

2. That no precedents can be limits to bound their proceedings: so they may do what they please.

3. That a parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein the king or subject hath a right, for the public good; that they, without the king, are this parliament, and judge of this public good; and

that his majesty's consent is not necessary: so the life and liberty of the subject, and all the good laws made for the security of them, may be disposed of, and repealed by the major part of both houses at any time present, and by any ways and means procured so to be; and his majesty had no power to protect them.

4. That no member of either house ought to be troubled or meddled with for treason, felony, or any other crime, without the cause first brought before them, that they may judge of the fact, and their leave obtained to proceed.

5. That the sovereign power resides in both houses of parliament; and that his majesty had no negative voice: so then his majesty himself must be subject to their commands.

6. That the levying of forces against the personal commands of the king, (though accompanied with his presence,) is not levying war against the king; but the levying war against his laws and authority, (which they have power to declare, and signify,) though not against his person, is levying war against the king: and that treason cannot be committed against his person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the kingdom, and discharging that trust; and that they have a power to judge, whether he discharges this trust or no.

7. That if they should make the highest precedents of other parliaments their patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of modesty or duty in them; that is, they may depose his majesty when they will, and are not to be blamed for so doing.

“And now, as if the mere publishing of their resolutions would not only prevail with the people, but, in the instant, destroy all spirit and courage in his majesty to preserve his own right and honour,) they had since taken the boldness to assault him with certain propositions; which they call the most necessary effectual means for the removing those jealousies and differences between his majesty and his people; that is, that he would be content to divest himself of all his regal rights and dignities; be content with the title of a king, and suffer them, according to their discretion, to govern him and the kingdom, and to dispose of his children. How suitable and agreeable this doctrine and these demands were to the affection of his loving subjects, under whose trust these men pretend to say and do these monstrous things; and to design not only the ruin of his person, but of monarchy itself, (which, he might justly say, was more than ever was offered in any of his predecessors' times; for though the person of the king hath been sometimes unjustly deposed, yet the regal power was never, before this time, struck at,) he believes his good subjects would find some way to let them and the world know: and, from this time, such who had been misled, by their ill counsels, to have any hand in the execution of the militia, would see to what ends their service was designed; and therefore, if they should presume hereafter to meddle in it, they must expect, that he would immediately proceed against them as actual raisers of sedition, and as enemies to his sovereign power.

“His majesty said, he had done: and should now expect the worst actions these men had power to commit against him; worse words they could

“not give him: and he doubted not, but the major part of both houses of parliament, when they might come together with their honour and safety, (as well those who were surprised at the passing of it, and understood not the malice in it, and the confusion that must grow by it, if believed; as those who were absent; or involved,) would so far resent the indignity offered to his majesty, the dishonour to themselves, and the mischief to the whole kingdom, by that declaration; that they would speedily make the foul contrivers of it instances of their exemplary justice; and brand them, and their doctrine, with the marks of their perpetual scorn and indignation.”

Whilst this answer and declaration of his majesty was preparing and publishing, which was done with all imaginable haste, and to which they made no reply till many months after the war was begun, they proceeded in all their counsels towards the lessening his majesty, both in reputation and power; and towards the improving their own interests: for the first, upon the advantage of their former vote, of the king's intention to levy war against his parliament, in the end of May they published orders, “That the sheriffs of the adjacent counties should hinder, and make stay of all arms and ammunition carrying towards York, until they had given notice thereof unto the lords and commons; and should have received their further direction; and that they should prevent the coming together of any soldiers, horse or foot, by any warrant of his majesty, without their advice or consent:” which they did, not upon any opinion that there would be any arms or ammunition carrying to his majesty, they having entirely possessed themselves of all his stores; or that they indeed believed, there was any commission or warrant to raise soldiers, which they well knew there was not; but that, by this means, their agents in the country (which many sheriffs and justices of peace were; and most constables, and inferior officers) might, upon this pretence, hinder the resorting to his majesty, which they did with that industry, that few, who, foreseeing the design of those orders, did not decline the great roads, and made not pretences of travelling to some other place, [and] travelled in any equipage towards his majesty, escaped without being stayed by such watches: and most that were so stayed, finding it no boot to attend the resolution or justice of the houses, who always commended the vigilance of their ministers, and did not expect they should be bound up by the letter of their orders, made shift to escape with their own persons, and were contented to leave their horses behind them; they who attended to be repaired by the justice of the houses, finding so many delays, and those delays to be so chargeable, and themselves exposed to so many questions, and such an inquisition, that they thought their liberty a great prize, whatever they left behind them.

For the improving their interest and dependence, though they had as much evidence of the affections of the city as could reasonably be expected; and, by their exercise of the militia, had united them in a firm bond, the communication of guilt; yet they well understood their true strength consisted in the rabble of the people; for the greatest part of the substantial and wealthy citizens, being not of their party, and except some expe-

dient were found out, whereby they might be involved, and concerned in their prosperity or ruin, they thought themselves not so much in truth possessed of that city, as they seemed to be. They had heard it said, that Edward IV. of England recovered the city of London, and by that the kingdom, by the vast debts that he owed there; men looking upon the helping of him to the crown, as the helping themselves to their money, which was else desperate. Upon this ground, they had taken the first opportunity of borrowing great sums of them, in the beginning of this parliament; when the richest and best affected men, upon a presumption that hereby the Scots' army would suddenly march into their own country, and the English as soon be disbanded, cheerfully furnished that money. Upon this ground they still forbore to repay those sums, disposing what was brought in upon the bills of subsidy, and other public bills, to other purposes. And now, to make themselves more sure of them, they borrowed another sum of 100,000*l.* of them, upon pretence of the great exigences of Ireland; which was their twoedged sword, to lead them into the liberty of laying what imputations they thought most convenient for their purposes, upon the king and queen; and to draw what money they thought fit from the city; and served them now to another important end, to raise soldiers; but that service itself, in order to suppressing the rebellion there, was not, in any degree, advanced. Having, by these means, thus provided for their main ends, they made the people believe they were preparing propositions to send to the king; and the people were yet so innocent as to believe, that they would never send propositions that were not reasonable: for though the unusual acts which had been done by the king, as the going to the house of commons, and demanding the members there, had put them into as unusual apprehensions; and those, by the warmth and heat of declarations and answers, had drawn from them, by degrees, another kind of language, than had before been used; yet most men believed, when those passions were digested, and that any propositions should be made by them, (which the king had long called for and invited,) that they could not but be such, as would open a door for that affection, confidence, duty, and trust, upon which the peace of the kingdom might be reasonably founded. And propositions they did send to the king, in the beginning of June; which were presented to his majesty, with great solemnity, by their committee resident there; which, in this place, are very necessary to be inserted in the very terms in which they were presented, as followeth:

The humble petition and advice of both houses of parliament, with nineteen propositions and the conclusion, sent unto his majesty the second of June, 1642.

“Your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and desires, more precious and of higher esteem, next to the honour and immediate service of God, than the just and faithful performance of their duty to your majesty and this kingdom: and being very sensible of the great distractions and distempers, and of the imminent dangers and calamities, which those distractions and distempers are like

“to bring upon your majesty, and your subjects;
 “(all which have proceeded from the subtle in-
 “formations, mischievous practices, and evil coun-
 “sels of men disaffected to God’s true religion;
 “your majesty’s honour and safety; and the pub-
 “lic peace, and prosperity of your people;) after
 “a serious observation of the causes of those mis-
 “chiefs, do, in all humility and sincerity, present
 “to your majesty their most dutiful petition and
 “advice: that, out of your princely wisdom for the
 “establishing your own honour and safety, and
 “gracious tenderness of the welfare and security
 “of your subjects and dominions, you will be
 “pleased to grant and accept these their humble
 “desires and propositions, as the most necessary
 “and effectual means, through God’s blessing, of
 “removing those jealousies and differences, which
 “have unhappily fallen betwixt you and your
 “people, and procuring both your majesty and
 “them a constant course of honour, peace, and
 “happiness.

The propositions.

1. “That the lords and others of your majesty’s
 “privy-council, and such great officers and
 “ministers of state, either at home or beyond
 “the seas, may be put from your privy-coun-
 “cil, and from those offices and employments,
 “excepting such as shall be approved by both
 “houses of parliament: and that the persons,
 “put into the places and employments of those
 “that are removed, may be approved of by
 “both houses of parliament: and that privy-
 “counsellors shall take an oath, for the due
 “execution of their places, in such form as
 “shall be agreed upon by both houses of par-
 “liament.
2. “That the great affairs of the kingdom may not
 “be concluded, or transacted, by the advice of
 “private men, or by any unknown, or unsworn
 “counsellors; but that such matters as con-
 “cern the public, and are proper for the high
 “court of parliament, which is your majesty’s
 “great and supreme council, may be debated,
 “resolved, and transacted only in parliament,
 “and not elsewhere: and such as shall pre-
 “sume to do any thing to the contrary shall be
 “reserved to the censure and judgment of par-
 “liament: and such other matters of state, as
 “are proper for your majesty’s privy-council,
 “shall be debated and concluded by such
 “of the nobility, and others, as shall, from
 “time to time, be chosen for that place, by
 “approbation of both houses of parliament:
 “and that no public act concerning the affairs
 “of the kingdom, which are proper for your
 “privy-council, may be esteemed of any valid-
 “ity, as proceeding from the royal authority,
 “unless it be done by the advice and consent
 “of the major part of the council, attested
 “under their hands: and that your council
 “may be limited to a certain number, not ex-
 “ceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen: and
 “if any counsellor’s place happen to be void in
 “the interval of parliament, it shall not be sup-
 “plied without the assent of the major part of
 “the council; which choice shall be confirmed
 “at the next sitting of parliament, or else to
 “be void.
3. “That the lord high steward of England, lord
 “high constable, lord chancellor, or lord keeper
 “of the great seal, lord treasurer, lord privy

- “seal, earl marshal, lord admiral, warden of
 “the cinque ports, chief governor of Ireland,
 “chancellor of the exchequer, master of the
 “wards, secretaries of state, two chief justices
 “and chief baron, may always be chosen with
 “the approbation of both houses of parliament;
 “and, in the intervals of parliaments, by assent
 “of the major part of the council, in such
 “manner as is before expressed in the choice
 “of counsellors.
4. “That he, or they, unto whom the government
 “and education of the king’s children shall be
 “committed, shall be approved of by both
 “houses of parliament; and, in the intervals
 “of parliaments, by the assent of the major
 “part of the council, in such manner as is
 “before expressed in the choice of counsellors;
 “and that all such servants as are now about
 “them, against whom both houses shall have
 “any just exceptions, shall be removed.
 5. “That no marriage shall be concluded, or
 “treated, for any of the king’s children, with
 “any foreign prince, or other person whatso-
 “ever, abroad or at home, without the consent
 “of parliament, under the penalty of a præmu-
 “nire, unto such as shall conclude or treat
 “any marriage as aforesaid: and that the said
 “penalty shall not be pardoned, or dispensed
 “with, but by the consent of both houses of
 “parliament.
 6. “That the laws in force against Jesuits, priests,
 “and popish recusants, be strictly put in exe-
 “cution, without any toleration, or dispensa-
 “tion to the contrary: and that some more
 “effectual course may be enacted, by authority
 “of parliament, to disable them from making
 “any disturbance in the state; or eluding the
 “laws by trusts, or otherwise.
 7. “That the votes of popish lords in the house of
 “peers may be taken away, so long as they
 “continue papists: and that your majesty will
 “consent to such a bill, as shall be drawn, for
 “the education of the children of papists, by
 “protestants, in the protestant religion.
 8. “That your majesty will be pleased to consent,
 “that such a reformation be made of the
 “church-government and liturgy, as both
 “houses of parliament shall advise; wherein
 “they intend to have consultations with di-
 “vines, as is expressed in their declaration
 “to that purpose: and that your majesty will
 “contribute your best assistance to them, for
 “the raising of a sufficient maintenance for
 “preaching ministers through the kingdom:
 “and that your majesty will be pleased to give
 “your consent to laws for the taking away of
 “innovations, and superstition, and of plurali-
 “ties, and against scandalous ministers.
 9. “That your majesty will be pleased to rest
 “satisfied with that course, that the lords and
 “commons have appointed, for ordering of the
 “militia, until the same shall be further settled
 “by a bill: and that your majesty will recall
 “your declarations and proclamations against
 “the ordinance made by the lords and com-
 “mons concerning it.
 10. “That such members of either house of parlia-
 “ment, as have, during this present parliament,
 “been put out of any place and office, may
 “either be restored to that place and office, or
 “otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon

- “ the petition of that house, whereof he or they
“ are members.
11. “ That all privy-counsellors and judges may
“ take an oath, the form whereof to be agreed
“ on and settled by act of parliament, for the
“ maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of
“ certain statutes made by this parliament,
“ which shall be mentioned by both houses of
“ parliament; and that an inquiry of all breaches
“ and violations of those laws may be given in
“ charge by the justices of the king’s bench
“ every term, and by the judges of assize in
“ their circuits, and justices of the peace at
“ the sessions, to be presented and punished
“ according to law.
 12. “ That all the judges, and all the officers, placed
“ by approbation of both houses of parliament,
“ may hold their places *quamdiu bene se gesserint*.
 13. “ That the justice of parliament may pass upon
“ all delinquents, whether they be within the
“ kingdom, or fled out of it: and that all per-
“ sons cited by either house of parliament may
“ appear, and abide the censure of parliament.
 14. “ That the general pardon, offered by your ma-
“ jesty, may be granted with such exceptions,
“ as shall be advised by both houses of parlia-
“ ment.
 15. “ That the forts and castles of this kingdom
“ may be put under the command and custody
“ of such persons, as your majesty shall ap-
“ point, with the approbation of your parlia-
“ ment; and, in the intervals of parliament,
“ with approbation of the major part of the
“ council, in such manner as is before expressed
“ in the choice of counsellors.
 16. “ That the extraordinary guards, and military
“ forces now attending your majesty, may be
“ removed and discharged: and that, for the
“ future, you will raise no such guards or ex-
“ traordinary forces, but, according to the law,
“ in case of actual rebellion, or invasion.
 17. “ That your majesty will be pleased to enter
“ into a more strict alliance with the states of
“ the United Provinces, and other neighbour
“ princes and states of the protestant religion,
“ for the defence and maintenance thereof,
“ against all designs and attempts of the pope,
“ and his adherents, to subvert and suppress
“ it; whereby your majesty will obtain great
“ access of strength and reputation, and your
“ subjects be much encouraged and enabled, in
“ a parliamentary way, for your aid, and assist-
“ ance, in restoring your royal sister, and her
“ princely issue, to those dignities and do-
“ minions, which belong unto them; and re-
“ lieving the other distressed protestant princes,
“ who have suffered in the same cause.
 18. “ That your majesty will be pleased by act of
“ parliament to clear the lord Kimbolton, and
“ the five members of the house of commons,
“ in such manner that future parliaments may
“ be secured from the consequence of that evil
“ precedent.
 19. “ That your majesty will be graciously pleased
“ to pass a bill for restraining peers made here-
“ after, from sitting or voting in parliament,
“ unless they be admitted thereunto with the
“ consent of both houses of parliament.

“ And these our humble desires being granted

“ by your majesty, we shall forthwith apply our-
“ selves to regulate your present revenue, in such
“ sort as may be for your best advantage; and
“ likewise to settle such an ordinary and constant
“ increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support
“ your royal dignity in honour, and plenty, beyond
“ the proportion of any former grants of the sub-
“ jects of this kingdom to your majesty’s royal
“ predecessors: we shall likewise put the town of
“ Hull into such hands, as your majesty shall
“ appoint with the consent and approbation of par-
“ liament; and deliver up a just account of all the
“ magazine; and cheerfully employ the uttermost
“ of our power and endeavours, in the real ex-
“ pression, and performance of our most dutiful
“ and loyal affections, to the preserving and main-
“ taining the royal honour, greatness, and safety of
“ your majesty, and your posterity.”

The same day that these articles of deposition were passed the houses, that his majesty might see how unable he was like to be to contend with them, they declared by an order the same day, printed, and carefully dispersed, “ that they had received
“ information,” (and indeed their informations were wonderful particular, from all parts beyond sea, of whatsoever was agitated on the king’s behalf; as well as from his court, of whatsoever was designed, or almost but thought of to himself: besides they could pretend to receive information of whatsoever would any way conduce to their purpose, true or false,) “ that the jewels of the crown (which, they said, by the law of the land ought not to be aliened) were either pawned or sold in Amsterdam, or some other parts beyond the seas; and thereby great sums of money provided to be re-
“ turned to York, or to some of his majesty’s servants or agents, for his majesty’s use: and because, they said, it was more than probable, that great provision of monies, in such an extraordinary way, was to maintain the intended war against the parliament, and thereby to bring the whole kingdom into utter ruin, and combustion; it was therefore declared, by the lords and commons in parliament, that whosoever had been, or should be, an actor in the selling or pawning of any jewels of the crown; or had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring any money in specie into this kingdom, for or upon any of those jewels; or whosoever had, or should accept of any bill from beyond the seas for the payment of any sum of money, for or upon any of those jewels, and should pay any sum according to such bill, after notice of that order, without acquainting that house with the receipt of that bill, before he accept the same; or if he had already accepted any such bill, then with the acceptance thereof, before the payment of the money, every such person should be held and accounted a promoter of that intended war, an enemy to the state, and ought to give satisfaction for the public damage out of his own estate.”

Upon this confident assumption, “ that it was not in the king’s power to dispose the jewels of the crown; that whatsoever jewels were offered to be pawned or sold, by any of the king’s ministers beyond the seas, were the jewels of the crown, and no other; and that all money, returned from thence for his majesty’s service, was money so raised and procured;” they so

much terrified men of all conditions, that the queen, having, by the sale of some of her own jewels, and by her other dexterity, procured some money for the king's supply, she could not, in a long time, find any means to transmit it. However, this made no impression upon the king's resolutions; and though it might have some influence upon merchantly men, yet it stirred up most generous minds to an indignation on the king's behalf; and was new evidence, if there had wanted any, what kind of greatness he was to expect from complying with such immodest and extravagant proposers.

The king was once resolved to have returned no answer to them upon those propositions; but to let the people alone to judge of the unreasonableness of them, and of the indignity offered to him in the delivery of them; and that was the reason of the short mention he made of them, in the close of his declaration to theirs of the twenty-sixth of May: but he was afterwards persuaded to vouchsafe a further notice of them, there being some particulars popular enough, and others, that, at the first view, seemed not altogether so derogatory to him, and so inconvenient to the people, as in truth they were; and that therefore it was necessary to let all the people know, that whatsoever was reasonable, and might be beneficial to the kingdom, had been for the most part before offered by his majesty; and should all be readily granted by him; and so to unfold the rest to them, that they might discern their own welfare, and security, to be as much endangered by those demands, as the king's rights, honour, and dignity: so that, in a short time after he received them, he sent to the two houses, and published to the kingdom, his answer to those nineteen propositions.

"In which he first remembered them of their method, they had observed in their proceedings towards him: that they had first totally suppressed the known law of the land, and denied his power to be necessary to the making new, reducing the whole to their own declarations, and single votes: that they had possessed themselves of his magazines, forts, and militia: that they had so awed his subjects with pursuivants, long chargeable attendance; heavy censures; and illegal imprisonments; that few of them durst offer to present their tenderness of his majesty's sufferings, their own just grievances, and their sense of those violations of the law, (the birth-right of every subject of the kingdom,) though in an humble petition to both houses: and if any did, it was stifled in the birth; called sedition; and burned by the common hangman: that they had restrained the attendance of his ordinary and necessary household servants; and seized upon those small sums of money, which his credit had provided to buy him bread; with injunctions, that none should be suffered to be conveyed, or returned to his majesty to York, or to any of his peers, or servants with him; so that, in effect, they had blocked him up in that county: that they had filled the ears of his people with fears and jealousies, (though taken up upon trust,) tales of skippers, salt fleets, and such like; by which alarms they might prepare them to receive such impressions, as might best advance their design, when it should be ripe. And now, it seemed, they thought his majesty sufficiently prepared for those bitter pills; that he was in

"a handsome posture to receive those humble desires; which, probably, were intended to make way for a superfœtation of a yet higher nature; for they did not tell him, this was all. He said, he must observe, that those contrivers, (the better to advance their true ends,) in those propositions, disguised, as much as they could, their intents with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest man; others, specious and popular; and some which were already granted by his majesty: all which were cunningly twisted and mixed with those other things of their main design, of ambition and private interest, in hope that, at the first view, every eye might not so clearly discern them in their proper colours.

"His majesty said, if the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19, demands had been writ, and printed, in a tongue unknown to his majesty and his people, it might have been possible, that he and they might have charitably believed the propositions to be such, as might have been in order to the ends pretended in the petition; to wit, the establishment of his honour and safety; the welfare and security of his subjects and dominions; and the removing those jealousies and differences, which were said to have unhappily fallen betwixt his majesty and his people; and procuring both his majesty and them a constant course of honour, peace, and happiness: but being read and understood by all, he could not but assure himself, that that profession, joined to those propositions, would rather appear a mockery, and a scorn; the demands being such, that he were unworthy of the trust reposed in him by the law, and of his descent from so many great and famous ancestors, if he could be brought to abandon that power, which only could enable him to perform what he was sworn to, in protecting his people, and the laws; and so assume others into it, as to divest himself of it, although not only his present condition were more necessitous than it was, (which it could hardly be,) and he were both vanquished, and a prisoner, and in a worse condition than ever the most unfortunate of his predecessors had been reduced to, by the most criminal of their subjects; and though the bait laid to draw him to it, and to keep his subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promises of a plentiful and unparalleled revenue, were reduced from generals (which signify nothing) to clear and certain particulars; since such a bargain would have but too great a resemblance of that of Esau's, if he would part with such flowers of his crown, as were worth all the rest of the garland, and had been transmitted to him from so many ancestors, and had been found so useful and necessary for the welfare and security of his subjects, for any present necessity, or for any low and sordid considerations of wealth and gain. And therefore, all men knowing that those accommodations are most easily made, and most exactly observed, that are grounded upon reasonable and equal conditions, his majesty had great cause to believe, that the contrivers of those propositions had no intention of settling any firm accommodation; but to increase those jealousies, and widen that division, which, not by his majesty's fault, was now unhappily fallen between him and both houses.

“ It was asked, that all lords and others of his privy-council, and such great officers and ministers of state, either at home or beyond the seas, (for, he said, care was taken to leave out no person or place, that his dishonour might be sure not to be bounded within this kingdom,) should be put from his privy-council, and from those offices and employments, unless they should be approved by both houses of parliament, how faithful soever his majesty had found them to him, and the public; and how far soever they had been from offending against any law, the only rule they had, or any others ought to have, to walk by. His majesty therefore to that part of that demand returned this answer; That he was willing to grant, that they should take a larger oath, than they themselves desired in their eleventh demand, for maintaining not of any part, but of the whole law. And, he said, he had, and did assure them, that he would be careful to make election of such persons in those places of trust, as had given good testimonies of their abilities and integrities, and against whom there could be no just cause of exception, whereon reasonably to ground a diffidence: that if he had, or should be mistaken in his election, he had, and did assure them, that there was no man so near to him, in place or affection, whom he would not leave to the justice of the law, if they should bring a particular charge and sufficient proof against him: that he had given them a triennial parliament, (the best pledge of the effects of such a promise on his part, and the best security for the performance of their duty on theirs,) the apprehension of whose justice would, in all probability, make them wary how they provoked it, and his majesty wary, how he chose such as, by the discovery of their faults, might in any degree seem to discredit his election; but that without any shadow of a fault objected, only perhaps because they follow their consciences, and preserve the established laws, and agree not in such votes, or assent not to such bills, as some persons, who had then too great an influence even upon both houses, judged, or seemed to judge, to be for the public good, and as were agreeable to that new Utopia of religion and government, into which they endeavoured to transform this kingdom, (for, he said, he remembered what names, and for what reasons, they left out in the bill offered him concerning the militia, which they had themselves recommended in the ordinance,) he would never consent to the displacing of any, whom for their former merits from, and affection to his majesty and the public, he had intrusted; since, he conceived, that to do so would take away both from the affection of his servants, the care of his service, and the honour of his justice: and, he said, he the more wondered that it should be asked by them, since it appears by the twelfth demand, that themselves counted it reasonable, after the present turn was served, that the judges and officers, who were then placed, might hold their places, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*: and he was resolved to be as careful of those whom he had chosen, as they were of those they would choose; and to remove none, till they appeared to him to have otherwise behaved themselves, or should be evicted, by legal proceedings, to have done so.

“ But, his majesty said, that demand, as unrea-

sonable as it was, was but one link of a great chain, and but the first round of that ladder, by which his majesty's just, ancient, regal power was endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground; for it appeared plainly that it was not with the persons now chosen, but with his majesty's choosing, that they were displeased: for they demanded, that the persons put into the places and employments of those, who should be removed, might be approved by both houses; which was so far from being less than the power of nomination, that of two things, of which he would never grant either, he would sooner be content, that they should nominate, and he approve, than they approve, and his majesty nominate; the mere nomination being so far from being any thing, that if he could do no more, he would never take the pains to do that; when he should only hazard those whom he esteemed to the scorn of a refusal, if they happened not to be agreeable not only to the judgment, but to the passion, interest, or humour of the present major part of either house: not to speak of the great factions, animosities, and divisions, which that power would introduce in both houses, between both houses, and in the several counties for the choice of persons to be sent to that place, where that power was; and between the persons that were so chosen. Neither was that strange potion prescribed to him only for once, for the cure of a present, pressing, desperate disease; but for a diet to him, and his posterity. It was demanded, that his counsellors, all chief officers both of law and state, commanders of forts and castles, and all peers hereafter made, be approved of, that is chosen, by them from time to time: and rather than it should ever be left to the crown, (to whom it only did and should belong,) if any place fall void in the intermission of parliament, the major part of the approved council was to approve them. Neither was it only demanded that his majesty should quit the power and right his predecessors had had of appointing persons in those places; but for counsellors, he was to be restrained, as well in the number as in the persons; and a power must be annexed to those places, which their predecessors had not. And, indeed, if that power were passed to them, he said, it would not be fit he should be trusted to choose those, who were to be trusted as much as himself.

“ He told them, to grant their demands in the manner they proposed them, that all matters that concerned the public, &c. should be resolved, and transacted only in parliament, and such other matters of state, &c. by the privy-council so chosen, was in effect at once to depose himself, and his posterity. He said, many expressions in their demands had a greater latitude of signification, than they seemed to have; and that it concerned his majesty therefore the more, that they should speak out; that both he and his people might either know the bottom of their demands, or know them to be bottomless. Nothing more concerned the public, and was indeed more proper for the high court of parliament, than the making of laws; which not only ought there to be transacted, but could be transacted nowhere else. But then they must admit his majesty to be a part of the parliament; they must not (as the sense was of that part of that

“demand, if it had any) deny the freedom of his answer, when he had as much right to reject what he thought unreasonable, as they had to propose what they thought convenient, or necessary. Nor was it possible his answers, either to bills, or any other propositions, should be wholly free, if he might not use the liberty, that every one of them, and every subject took, to receive advice (without their danger who should give it) from any person known or unknown, sworn or unsworn, in those matters in which the manage of his vote is trusted, by the law, to his own judgment and conscience; which how best to inform was, and ever should be, left likewise to him. He said, he would always, with due consideration, weigh the advices both of his great, and privy-council: yet he should likewise look on their advices, as advices, not as commands, or impositions; upon them, as his counsellors, not as his tutors, or guardians; and upon himself, as their king, not as their pupil, or ward: for, he said, whatsoever of regality was, by the modesty of interpretation, left in his majesty, in the first part of the second demand, as to the parliament, was taken from him in the second part of the same, and placed in that newfangled kind of counsellors, whose power was such, and so expressed by it, that in all public acts concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which are proper for the privy-council, (for whose advice all public acts are sometimes proper, though never necessary,) they were desired to be admitted joint patentees with his majesty in the regality. And it was not plainly expressed, whether they meant his majesty so much as a single vote in those affairs; but it was plain they meant him no more, at most, than a single vote in them; and no more power, than every one of the rest of his fellow-counsellors.”

And so after a sharp discourse, and explanation of the unreasonableness of the several demands, or the greatest part of them, and the confusion that, by consenting thereunto, would redound to the subject in general, as well as the dishonour to his majesty, (which may be read at large by itself,) he told them, “to all those unreasonable demands, his answer was, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*: but renewed his promise to them, for a very punctual and strict observation of the known laws established; to which purpose he was willing an oath should be framed by them, and taken by all his privy-counsellors. And for any alteration in the government of the church, that a national synod should be called, to propose what should be found necessary or convenient: and that, for the advancement of the protestant religion against the papists, they had not proposed so much to his majesty, as he was willing to grant, or as he had himself offered before. He concluded with conjuring them, and all men, to rest satisfied with the truth of his majesty's professions, and the reality of his intentions; and not to ask such things as denied themselves: that they would declare against tumults, and punish the authors: that they would allow his majesty his property in his towns, arms, and goods; and his share in the legislative power; which would be counted in him not only breach of privilege, but tyranny, and subversion of parliaments, to deny to them: and, when they should have given him satisfaction upon those

persons, who had taken away the one, and recalled those declarations, (particularly that of the twenty-sixth of May; and those in the point of the militia, his just rights wherein he would no more part with, than with his crown, lest he enabled others by them to take that from him,) which would take away the other; and declined the beginnings of a war against his majesty, under pretence of his intention of making one against them; as he had never opposed the first part of the thirteenth demand, so he would be ready to concur with them in the latter; and being then confident that the credit of those men, who desire a general combustion, would be so weakened with them, that they would not be able to do this kingdom any more hurt, he would be willing to grant his general pardon, with such exceptions as should be thought fit; and should receive much more joy in the hope of a full and constant happiness of his people in the true religion, and under the protection of the law, by a blessed union between his majesty and his parliament, than in any such increase of his own revenue, how much soever beyond former grants, as (when his subjects were wealthiest) his parliament could have settled upon his majesty.”

Though the king now lived at York in a much more princely condition, than he could have hoped to have done near London; and had so great a train and resort of the nobility and gentry, that there was not left a fifth part of the house of peers at Westminster; and truly I do not believe, that there was near a moiety of the house of commons who continued there; yet he made no other use, for the present, of their presence with him, and of their absence from the two houses, than to have so many the more, and the more credible witnesses of his majesty's counsels and carriage; and to undeceive the people by his clear answers to all the scandals and reproaches which were laid on him, and by his ample professions and protestations of his sincere zeal to religion and justice; and to make it appear to them, how far the quality and the number of those who thought, or seemed to think, otherwise, was, from what they might imagine it to be. And it cannot be denied, but the people were every day visibly reformed in their understandings, from the superstitious reverence they had paid the two houses; and grew sensible of their duty to the king, and of those invasions which were offered to his regal dignity.

On the other side, the two houses slackened not their pace a jot, proceeded with great and unusual sharpness against those members who were gone to the king; proclaiming some of them by name “to be enemies to the kingdom,” and, by a formal judgment, sentencing nine peers together, “to be incapable of sitting again in parliament, whilst this should continue:” the house of commons having carried up an impeachment of misdemeanours against them, (which was as illegal in point of justice, and as extravagant in point of privilege, as any thing they could do,) “for being absent, and refusing to attend, upon a summons from the house of peers:” and upon their own members they imposed a fine of 100*l.* apiece, on every one who was gone to the king, and upon those, who being in other places, they thought were well affected to his service: yet, lest they should upon this proceeding return again, to disturb and cross their counsels, they provided, “that no man,

“ upon whom that sentence fell, should sit again in
 “ the house (though he paid his fine) till he had
 “ been examined by a committee, and so given the
 “ house satisfaction in the cause of his absence.”

And, by those means, they thought both to remove the scandal, that so many members were absent, and to prevent any inconvenience too, that might befall them by their return. For they well knew, if the members of both houses were obliged to a constant and strict attendance, it would not be possible that they could compass their mischievous designs.

Then they prosecuted their great business of the militia, not only near London, where they were in no danger of opposition, but in those northern counties near his majesty, as Leicestershire, Cheshire, Lincolnshire, where whosoever refused to give obedience to them, or published the king's proclamation against their proceedings, (for the king had yet practised no expedient to prevent the growth of that mischief, but the publishing his proclamation against it,) were sent for as delinquents; and not satisfied herewith, that they might be as well able to pay an army, as they found they should be to raise one, on the tenth of June (for the time will be very necessary to be remembered, that it may be the better stated, who took up the defensive arms) they published propositions, “ for the bringing in of money or plate to maintain horse, horsemen, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, and for the defence of the king and both houses of parliament; the reasons and grounds whereof they declared to be the king's intention to make war against his parliament; that, under pretence of a guard for his person, he had actually begun to levy forces, both of horse and foot; and sent out summons throughout the county of York, for the calling together of greater numbers; and some ill affected persons, in other parts, had been employed to raise troops, under the colour of his majesty's service; making large offers of reward and preferment to such as would come in: that his majesty did, with a high and forcible hand, protect and keep away delinquents, not permitting them to make their appearance to answer such affronts and injuries, as had been by them offered to the parliament; and those messengers, which had been sent from the houses for them, had been abused, beaten, and imprisoned, so as the orders of parliament, the highest court of justice in the realm, were not obeyed; and the authority of it was altogether scorned and vilified; and such persons as stood well affected to it, and declared themselves sensible of those public calamities, and of the violations of the privileges of parliament, and common liberty of the subject, were baffled, and injured by several sorts of malignant men, who were about the king; some whereof, under the name of cavaliers, without having respect to the laws of the land, or any fear either of God or man, were ready to commit all manner of outrage and violence; which must needs tend to the dissolution of the government; the destruction of their religion, laws, liberty, and property; all which would be exposed to the malice and violence of such desperate persons, as must be employed in so horrid and unnatural an act, as the overthrowing a parliament by force; which was the support and preservation of them. Those particulars,

“ they said, being duly considered by the lords
 “ and commons, and how great an obligation lay
 “ upon them, in honour, conscience, and duty,
 “ according to the high trust reposed in them to
 “ use all possible means, in such cases, to prevent so great and irrecoverable evils, they had
 “ thought fit to publish their sense and apprehension of that imminent danger; thereby to
 “ excite all well affected persons to contribute
 “ their best assistance, according to their solemn
 “ vow and protestation, to the preparations necessary for the opposing and suppressing of the
 “ traitorous attempts of those wicked and malignant counsellors, who sought to engage the king
 “ in so dangerous and destructive an enterprise,
 “ and the whole kingdom in a civil war; and
 “ destroy the privileges and being of parliaments.

“ This recourse to the good affections of those,
 “ that tender their religion and just liberties, and
 “ the enjoyment of the blessed fruits of this present parliament, which were almost ready to be
 “ reaped, and were now as ready to be ruined by
 “ those wicked hands, being, they said, the only
 “ remedy left them under God; and without which
 “ they were no longer able to preserve themselves,
 “ or those by whom they were intrusted: therefore they declared, that whosoever would bring
 “ in any proportion of ready money or plate, or
 “ would underwrite to furnish and maintain any
 “ number of horse, horsemen, and arms, for the
 “ preservation of the public peace, and for the
 “ defence of the king, and both houses of parliament, from force and violence, and to uphold the
 “ power and privileges of parliament, according to
 “ his protestation; it should be held a good and
 “ acceptable service to the commonwealth, and a
 “ testimony of his good affection to the protestant
 “ religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of the
 “ kingdom; and to the parliament, and privileges
 “ thereof. And they further declared, that whosoever brought in money or plate, or furnished
 “ and maintained horse, horsemen, and arms, upon
 “ these propositions, and to those purposes, should
 “ be repaid their money with interest of eight
 “ per cent.; for which they did engage the public
 “ faith, and they appointed the guildhall in London for the place whither this money or plate
 “ should be brought; and four aldermen of London to be their treasurers for the receiving the
 “ same; and likewise other confiding men to receive and prize such horses and arms, as should
 “ be brought in for their service. And, lastly,
 “ for their better encouragement, the members of
 “ both houses appointed a solemn day to set down
 “ their own subscriptions;” which they performed liberally.

Most of those who abhorred their impious designs, not thinking it lawful for them to be present at such consultations, withdrew before the day came, or absented themselves then. But many had the courage to be present, and stoutly to refuse what they thought they could not honestly consent to. Sir Henry Killigrew, who was notoriously an enemy to all their devices, being called upon, told them, “ if there were occasion, he would provide a
 “ good horse, and a good sword; and made no
 “ question but he should find a good cause.” But, within very few days, both he, and all those who were taken notice of for refusing, found it safest for them to leave the town; there being very visibly great animosity against them both within and with-

out the walls. And a gentleman of good quality assured me afterwards, that, within few days after he had refused to subscribe, he was privately advised by one of the other faction, who yet retained some kindness to him, "to leave the town, lest his brains were beaten out by the boys in the streets." And many of those who too impotently desired not to be looked upon as refractory persons, and had pleased themselves with subscribing more articulately for the defence of the king's person, found it afterwards necessary to supply whatsoever they had subscribed, to be employed that way as was declared to be for the defence of the king's person, whatsoever their intention was at first, or their opinion after. And it is hardly credible, what a vast proportion of plate was brought in to their treasurers within ten days; there being hardly men enough to receive it, or room to lay it in; and the throng being so great of the bringers, that, in two days' attendance, many could not be discharged of their seditious offerings. And, the very next day after these propositions, they further ordered, "that there should be a strict search and examination made by the justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and constables, near all the northern roads, for the seizing all horses for service in the wars, or great saddles, that should be carried towards the north parts of England, without the privity or direction of one or both houses of parliament;" which was a great improvement of their former order, which extended only to arms and ammunition; though, the truth is, the dexterity and spirit of their ministers, who knew their meaning, made the former almost as inconvenient and dangerous to passengers, as the latter.

It was by many impatiently wondered at then, and, no doubt, will be more censured hereafter, that, notwithstanding all these invasions, and breaches upon the regal power, and all these vast preparations to destroy him, the king, hitherto, put not himself into a posture of safety; or provided for the resistance of that power which threatened him; and which, he could not but know, intended whatsoever it hath since done: and though they had not yet formed an army, and chosen a general, yet, he well knew, they had materials abundantly ready for the first, and particular, digested resolutions in the second; which they could reduce to public acts, whensoever they pleased. It is very true, he did know all this, and the unspeakable hazards he run, in not preparing against it. But the hazards, which presented themselves unto him on the other side, were not less prodigious: he had a very great appearance of the nobility; and not only of those, who had from the beginning walked and governed themselves by the rules the law prescribed, and, in that respect, were unblameable to king and people; but of others, who had passionately and peevishly (to say no worse) concurred in all the most violent votes and actions, which had been done from the beginning: for, besides the lord Spencer, (who had been chosen their lieutenant of Northamptonshire, but was recovered to a right understanding, of which he was very capable, by his uncle the earl of Southampton,) the lord Paget likewise, who had contributed all his faculties to their service, and to the prejudice of the king's, from before the beginning of the parliament; [had] been one of their teasers to broach those bold high overtures soberer men

were not willing at first to be seen in; and had been, as a man most worthy to be confided in, chosen lord lieutenant of one of the most confiding counties, the county of Buckingham, (where he had, with great solemnity and pomp, executed their ordinance in defiance of the king's proclamation,) and had subscribed a greater number of horses for their service, upon their propositions, than any other of the same quality; convinced in his conscience, fled from them, and besought the king's pardon: and, for the better manifesting of the tenderness of his compunction, and the horror he had of his former guilt, he lustily discovered whatsoever he had known of their counsels; and aggravated all the ill they had done, with declaring it to be done to worse and more horrid ends, than many good men believed to be possible for them to entertain.

Notwithstanding, this glorious convention was rather an ornament to his court, than any great advantage to his counsels; and the use of them more to discredit the small remainder at Westminster, and that the people might see the number and quality of the dissenters, than that they contributed any thing to the active improvement of his affairs; every man thinking it high merit in him, that he absented himself from the company and place, where all the mischief was done; and that the keeping himself negatively innocent, was as much as he owed his king and country. I am tender of laying any imputation of want of providence or courage upon that time, and upon so great a body of the nobility, which doubtless was the rise of much reputation and advantage to the king; and am willing to impute it to the drowsy and unactive genius of the kingdom, (contracted by long ease and quiet,) which so much abhorred the thoughts of a civil war, that it thought a lively and vigorous preparation against it, was to invite it. And they all (truly there did not appear four counsellors of another opinion) declared to the king, "that the parliament durst not in truth (whatever shows they made in hope to shake his majesty's constancy) make a war; and if they should attempt it, the people would unanimously rise for the king, who would be most safe by not intending his own safety. Whereas, if he raised forces, the parliament would procure themselves to be believed, that it was to overthrow religion, and suppress the laws and liberties of the people." They who were of another opinion, and could have spoken more reason, held it not safe to express themselves but in the king's own ear; there being in the great council of the peers, who, for state, were frequently assembled, and by whom in truth the king then desired to have transacted all things of moment, some who were not good counsel-keepers, and others who were looked upon, and believed to be spies upon the rest. But that which made the thought of raising forces (whatever arguments there were for it) absolutely unreasonable, was, that the king had no possibility to procure either arms, or munition, but from Holland; from whence he daily expected supply: and till that arrived, let his provocations and sufferings be what they could be, he was to submit, and bear it patiently.

In the mean time, for a ground of further proceeding upon occasion, the king desired the peers in council to set down in writing the affronts and violence, which had been offered to them at Lon-

don, by which their presence in the great council of the kingdom was rendered both unsafe and dishonourable; the which they the more willingly condescended to, for that the London pamphlets already aspersed them, as deserters of the parliament, and betrayers of the liberty of their country: an instrument being drawn up, and agreed upon between them, in which they set down "the tumults, and the violence offered to particular persons in those tumults; the threats and menaces of the rabble at the doors of the house, when they had a mind any exorbitant thing should pass; the breach and violation of the old orders and rules of parliament, whilst matters were in debate, and the resuming matters again in a thin house; and reversing, waving, or contradicting resolutions made in a full house: and, lastly, Mr. Hollis's coming to the bar, and demanding the names of those lords who refused to consent to the militia, when the multitude without menaced and threatened all those dissenters:" after which, they said, "they conceived they could not be present there with honour, freedom, or safety; and therefore forbore to be any more present; and so all those votes, conclusions, and declarations had passed, which had begot those distractions throughout the kingdom." And this they delivered to the king, signed under their hands. And yet, (which is a sufficient instance how unendued men were with that spirit and courage which was requisite,) the next day after the delivery, many lords came to his majesty, and besought him, "that he would by no means publish that paper, but keep it in his own hands;" some of them saying, "that, if it were published, they would disavow it:" so that material and weighty evidence, which then might have been of sovereign use to the king, was rendered utterly ineffectual to his service; his majesty finding it necessary to engage his princely word to them, "never to make it public without their consent;" which he performed most punctually; and so, to this day, it was never divulged.

To make some little amends for this want of mettle, (for it proceeded from nothing else, they being most shy in subscribing, and most passionate against publishing, who were of unquestionable affection to his majesty, and integrity to his cause,) and that the world might see there was a combination among good men, to assist his majesty in the defence of the law, as well as there was against both by others; upon the king's declaring himself fully in council, where all the peers were present, "that he would not require or exact any obedience from them, but what should be warranted by the known law of the land; so he did expect that they would not yield to any commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other: that he would defend every one of them, and all such as should refuse any such commands, whether they proceeded from votes and orders of both houses, or any other way, from all dangers and hazards whatsoever. That his majesty would defend the true protestant religion, established by the law of the land; the lawful liberties of the subjects of England; and just privileges of all the three estates of parliament; and would require no further obedience from them, than as accordingly he should perform the same: and his majesty did further declare, that he would not, as was falsely pretended, engage them, or

"any of them, in any war against the parliament; except it were for his necessary defence and safety, against such as did insolently invade or attempt against his majesty, or such as should adhere to his majesty:" all the peers engaged themselves, "not to obey any orders or commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known laws of the land; and to defend his majesty's person, crown, and dignity, together with his just and legal prerogative, against all persons and power whatsoever: that they would defend the true protestant religion, established by the law of the land; the lawful liberties of the subject of England; and just privileges of his majesty, and both his houses of parliament: and, lastly, they engaged themselves not to obey any rule, order, or ordinance whatsoever, concerning any militia, that had not the royal assent."

This being subscribed by their lordships was, with their consent, immediately printed, and carefully divulged over the kingdom, bearing date at York the thirteenth of June, 1642, with the names of the subscribers. Two days after, his majesty in council taking notice of the rumours spread, and informations given, which might induce many to believe, that his majesty intended to make war against his parliament, "professed before God, and said, he declared to all the world, that he always had, and did abhor all such designs, and desired all his nobility and council, who were there upon the place, to declare, whether they had not been witnesses of his frequent and earnest declarations and professions to that purpose: whether they saw any colour of preparations or counsels, that might reasonably beget a belief of any such design; and whether they were not fully persuaded, that his majesty had no such intention: but that all his endeavours, according to his many professions, tended to the firm and constant settlement of the true protestant religion; the just privileges of parliament; the liberty of the subject; the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom."

Whereupon all the lords and counsellors present unanimously agreed, and did sign a paper in these words:

"We, whose names are underwritten, in obedience to his majesty's desire, and out of the duty which we owe to his majesty's honour, and to truth, being here upon the place, and witnesses of his majesty's frequent and earnest declarations and professions of his abhorring all designs of making war upon his parliament; and not seeing any colour of preparations or counsels, that might reasonably beget the belief of any such designs, do profess before God, and testify to all the world, that we are fully persuaded that his majesty hath no such intention: but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true protestant religion; the just privileges of parliament; the liberty of the subject; the law, peace, and prosperity of this kingdom." Which testimony and declaration was subscribed by

Ld. Littleton, ld. keeper.	Earl of Bristol.
Marquis of Hertford.	Earl of Westmoreland.
Earl of Cumberland.	Earl of Monmouth.
Earl of Southampton.	Earl of Dover.
Earl of Salisbury.	Earl of Newport.
Earl of Devonshire.	Ld. Willoughby of Eresby.

Ld. Howard of Charleton.	Earl of Clare.
Lord Pawlett.	Earl of Berkshire.
Lord Rich.	Earl Rivers.
Lord Mohun.	Earl of Carnarvon.
Lord Dunsmore.	Ld. Mowbray and Martravers.
Lord Capel.	
Sir P. Wich, controller.	Ld. Grey of Ruthin.
Sir J. Colepepper, ch. ex.	Lord Newark.
Duke of Richmond.	Lord Lovelace.
Earl of Lindsay, ld. gr. chamberlain.	Lord Savile.
Earl of Bath.	Lord Coventry.
Earl of Dorset.	Lord Seymour.
Earl of Northampton.	Lord Falkland.
Earl of Cambridge.	Secretary Nicholas.
	Lord Chief Justice Banks.

This testimony of the lords and counsellors was immediately printed, and published, together with a declaration of his majesty's; in which he said,

"That though he had, in the last seven months, met with so many several encounters of strange and unusual declarations, under the name of both his houses of parliament, that he should not be amazed at any new prodigy of that kind; and though their last of the twenty-sixth of May gave him a fair warning that, the contrivers of it having spent all their stock of bitter and reproachful language upon him, he was now to expect they should break out into some bold and disloyal actions against him: and, having by that declaration, as far as in them lay, divested his majesty of that preeminence and authority, which God, the law, the custom and consent of this nation had placed in him, and assumed it to themselves, that they should likewise, with expedition, put forth the fruits of that supreme power, for the violating and suppressing the other which they despised, (an effect of which resolution, he said, their wild declaration against his proclamation concerning the pretended ordinance for the militia, and the punishing of the proclaimers appeared to be,) yet, he must confess, in their last attempt (he said, he spake of the last he knew; they might probably since, or at that present, have outdone that too) they had outdone what his majesty had conceived was their present intention. And whosoever heard of propositions, and orders, for bringing in of money or plate to maintain horse, horsemen, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, or for the defence of the king and both houses of parliament, (such was their declaration, or what they please to call it, of the tenth of June,) would surely believe the peace of the kingdom to be extremely shaken; and, at least, the king himself to be consulted with, and privy to those propositions. But, he said, he hoped, that when his good subjects should find, that that goodly pretence of defending the king, was but a specious bait to seduce weak and inconsiderate men into the highest acts of disobedience and disloyalty against his majesty, and of violence and destruction upon the laws and constitutions of the kingdom, they would no longer be captivated by an implicit reverence to the name of both houses of parliament; but would carefully examine and consider what number of persons were present; and what persons were prevalent in those consultations; and how the debates were probably managed, from whence such horrid and mon-

strous conclusions did result; and would at least weigh the reputation, wisdom, and affection of those, who were notoriously known, out of the very horror of their proceedings, to have withdrawn themselves; or, by their skill and violence to be driven from them, and their councils.

"His majesty [said], whilst their fears and jealousies did arise, or were infused into the people, from discourses of the rebels in Ireland, of skippers at Rotterdam, of forces from Denmark, France, or Spain, (how improbable and ridiculous soever that bundle of information appeared to all wise and knowing men,) it was no wonder if the easiness to deceive, and the willingness to be deceived, did prevail over many of his weak subjects to believe, that the dangers, which they did not see, might proceed from causes which they did not understand: but for them to declare to all the world, that his majesty intended to make war against his parliament, (whilst he sat still complaining to God Almighty of the injury offered to him, and to the very being of parliaments,) and that he had already begun actually to levy forces both of horse and foot, (whilst he had only, in a legal way, provided a smaller guard for the security of his own person so near a rebellion at Hull, than they had, without lawful authority, above these eight months, upon imaginary and impossible dangers,) to impose upon his people's sense, as well as their understanding, by telling them his majesty was doing that which they saw he was not doing, and intending that, they all knew, as much as intentions could be known, he was not intending, was a boldness agreeable to no power but the omnipotency of those votes, whose absolute supremacy had almost brought confusion upon king and people; and against which no knowledge in matter of fact, or consent and authority in matter of law, they would endure should be opposed.

"His majesty said, he had, upon all occasions, with all possible expressions, professed his fast and unshaken resolutions for peace. And, he said, he did again, in the presence of Almighty God, his maker and redeemer, assure the world, that he had no more thought of making a war against his parliament, than against his own children: that he would observe and maintain the acts assented to by him this parliament without violation; of which, that for the frequent assembling of parliaments was one: and that he had not, nor would have, any thought of using any force; unless he should be driven to it, for the security of his person, and for the defence of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, and the just rights and privileges of parliament: and therefore he hoped the malignant party, who had so much despised his person, and usurped his office, should not, by their specious fraudulent insinuations, prevail with his good subjects to give credit to their wicked assertions; and so to contribute their power and assistance for the ruin and destruction of themselves, and his majesty.

"For the guard about his person, (which, he said, not so much their example, as their provocation, had enforced him to take,) it was known it consisted of the prime gentry, in fortune and reputation, of that country; and of one regi-

“ment of trained bands; who had been so far
 “from offering any affronts, injuries, or disturb-
 “ance to any of his good subjects, that their
 “principal end was to prevent such; and so, might
 “be security, could be no grievance to his people.
 “That some ill affected persons, or any persons,
 “had been employed in other parts to raise troops,
 “under colour of his majesty's service; or that
 “such had made large, or any, offers of reward
 “and preferment to such as would come in, which
 “had been alleged by them; was, he said, for
 “aught he knew, or believed, an untruth, devised
 “by the contrivers of that false rumour. His ma-
 “jesty disavowed it, and said, he was, confident
 “there would be no need of such art, or industry,
 “to induce his loving subjects, when they should
 “see his majesty oppressed, and their liberties
 “and laws confounded, (and till then he would
 “not call on them,) to come in to him, and to
 “assist him.

“For the delinquents, whom his majesty was
 “said with a high and forcible hand to protect, he
 “wished they might be named, and their delin-
 “quency: and if his majesty gave not satisfaction
 “to justice, when he should have received satisfac-
 “tion concerning sir John Hotham by his legal
 “trial, then let him be blamed. But if the design
 “were, as it was well known to be, after his ma-
 “jesty had been driven by force from his city of
 “London, and kept by force from his town of Hull,
 “to protect all those who were delinquents against
 “him, and to make all those delinquents who at-
 “tended on him, or executed his lawful commands,
 “he said, he had great reason to be satisfied in the
 “truth and justice of such accusation, lest to be
 “his majesty's servant, and to be a delinquent,
 “grew to be terms so convertible, that, in a short
 “time, he were left as naked in attendance, as they
 “would have him in power; and so compel him to
 “be waited upon only by such whom they should
 “appoint and allow; and in whose presence he
 “should be more miserably alone, than in deso-
 “lation itself. And if the seditious contrivers and
 “fomenters of that scandal upon his majesty should
 “have, as they had had, the power to mislead the
 “major part present of either or both houses, to
 “make such orders, and send such messages and
 “messengers, as they had lately done, for the ap-
 “prehension of the great earls and barons of
 “England, as if they were rogues or felons; and
 “whereby persons of honour and quality were
 “made delinquents, merely for attending upon his
 “majesty, and upon his summons; whilst other
 “men were forbid to come near him, though
 “obliged by the duty of their place and oaths,
 “upon his lawful commands: it was no wonder if
 “such messengers were not very well intreated;
 “and such orders not well obeyed; neither could
 “there be a surer or a cunninger way found out to
 “render the authority of both houses scorned and
 “vilified, than to assume to themselves (merely
 “upon the authority of the name of parliament)
 “a power monstrous to all understandings; and
 “to do actions, and to make orders, evidently and
 “demonstrably contrary to all known law and
 “reason, (as to take up arms against his ma-
 “jesty, under colour of defending him; to cause
 “money to be brought in to them, and to forbid
 “his own money to be paid to his majesty, or
 “to his use, under colour that he would employ

“it ill; to beat him, and starve him for his own
 “good, and by his power and authority,) which
 “would in short time make the greatest court, and
 “greatest person, cheap and of no estimation.

“Who those sensible men were of the public
 “calamities, of the violations of the privileges of
 “parliament, and the common liberty of the sub-
 “ject, who had been baffled, and injured by ma-
 “lignant men, and cavaliers about his majesty, his
 “majesty said, he could not imagine. And if
 “those cavaliers were so much without the fear of
 “God and man, and so ready to commit all manner
 “of outrage and violence, as was pretended, his
 “majesty's government ought to be the more
 “esteemed, which had kept them from doing so;
 “insomuch as he believed, no person had cause to
 “complain of any injury, or of any damage, in the
 “least degree, by any man about his majesty, or
 “who had offered his service to him. All which
 “being, he said, duly considered, if the contrivers
 “of those propositions and orders had been truly
 “sensible of the obligations, which lay upon them
 “in honour, conscience, and duty, according to
 “the high trust reposed in them by his majesty,
 “and his people, they would not have published
 “such a sense and apprehension of imminent dan-
 “ger, when themselves, in their consciences, knew
 “that the greatest, and indeed only danger, which
 “threatened the church and state, the blessed
 “religion and liberty of his people, was in their
 “own desperate and seditious designs; and would
 “not have endeavoured, upon such weak and
 “groundless reasons, to seduce his good subjects
 “from their affection and loyalty to him, to run
 “themselves into actions unwarrantable, and de-
 “structive to the peace and foundation of the
 “commonwealth.

“And that all his loving subjects might see, how
 “causeless and groundless that scandalous rumour,
 “and imputation of his majesty's raising war upon
 “his parliament, was, he had, with that his de-
 “claration, caused to be printed the testimony of
 “those lords, and other persons of his council,
 “who were there with him; who, being upon
 “the place, could not but discover such his in-
 “tentions and preparations; and could not be
 “suspected for their honours and interests to
 “combine in such mischievous and horrid re-
 “solutions.

“And therefore, his majesty said, he straitly
 “charged and commanded all his loving subjects,
 “upon their allegiance, and as they would answer
 “the contrary at their perils, that they should yield
 “no obedience or consent to the said propositions
 “and orders; and that they presume not under any
 “such pretences, or by colour of any such orders,
 “to raise or levy any horse or men, or to bring in
 “any money, or plate, to such purpose. But, he
 “said, if, notwithstanding that clear declaration,
 “and evidence of his intentions, those men (whose
 “design it was to compel his majesty to raise war
 “upon his parliament; which all their skill and
 “malice should never be able to effect) should think
 “fit, by those alarms, to awaken him to a more
 “necessary care of the defence of himself, and his
 “people; and should themselves, under colour of
 “defence, in so unheard of a manner provide (and
 “seduce others to do so too) to offend his majesty,
 “having given him so lively a testimony of their
 “affections, what they were willing to do, when

“they should once have made themselves able; all his good subjects would think it necessary for his majesty to look to himself. And he did therefore excite all his well affected people, according to their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and according to their solemn vow and protestation, (whereby they were obliged to defend his person, honour, and estate,) to contribute their best assistance to the preparations necessary for the opposing and suppressing of the traitorous attempts of such wicked and malignant persons; who would destroy his person, honour, and estate, and engage the whole kingdom in a civil war, to satisfy their own lawless fury and ambition; and so rob his good subjects of the blessed fruit of this present parliament; which they already in some degree had, and might still reap, to the abundant satisfaction and joy of the whole kingdom, if such wicked hands were not ready to ruin all their possessions, and frustrate all their hopes. And, in that case, his majesty declared, that whosoever, of what degree or quality soever, should then, upon so urgent and visible necessity of his, and such apparent distraction of the kingdom, caused and begotten by the malice and contrivance of that malignant party, bring in to his majesty, and to his use, ready money, or plate; or should underwrite to furnish any number of horse, horsemen, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, and defence of his person, and the vindication of the privilege and freedom of parliament, he would receive it as a most acceptable service, and as a testimony of his singular affection to the protestant religion, the laws, liberties, and peace of the kingdom; and would no longer desire the continuance of that affection, than he would be ready to justify and maintain the other with the hazard of his life.”

And so concluded with the same overtures they had done, in their propositions for the loan of money at interest; “offering, for security thereof, an assurance of such his lands, forests, parks, and houses, as should be sufficient for the same; a more real security, he said, than the name of public faith, given without him, and against him; as if his majesty were no part of the public: and besides, he would always look upon it as a service most affectionately and seasonably performed for the preservation of his majesty, and the kingdom. But, he said, he should be much gladder that their submission to those his commands, and their desisting from any such attempt of raising horse or men, might ease all his good subjects of that charge, trouble, and vexation.”

It will be wondered at hereafter, when, by what hath been said, the number and quality of the peers is considered, who, by absenting themselves from the house, and their resort to his majesty, sufficiently declared, that they liked not those conclusions which begat those distractions; why both those peers, and likewise such members of the commons, who then, and afterwards, appeared in the king's service, and were indeed full, or very near one moiety of that house, did not rather, by their diligent and faithful attendance in the houses, according to their several trusts reposed in them, discountenance and resist those pernicious and fatal transactions, than, by withdrawing themselves from their proper stations, leave the other (whose

ruinous intentions were sufficiently discovered) possessed of the reputation, authority, and power of a parliament; by which, it was evident, the people would be easily, to a great degree, seduced. And though the observing reader may, upon the collection of the several passages here set down, be able to answer those objections to himself; I am the rather induced, in this place, to apply myself to the clearing that point, because not only many honest men, who, at a distance, have considered it, without being privy to the passages within the walls, and those breaches which totally destroyed and took away the liberty and freedom of those councils, have been really troubled or unsatisfied with that desertion, as they call it, of the service to which they were incumbent, and chosen; but that I have heard some, who were the chief, if not the sole promoters of those violations, and the most violent pursuers of the most violent designs, and have since (out of the ruptures which have proceeded from their own animosities) either been, or been thought to be, more moderately inclined, complain, “that the withdrawing of so many members from the two houses was the principal cause of all our calamities.” And they who have been the true authors of them, and still continue the same, have taken pains to make and declare the others, “deserters of their country, and betrayers of their trusts, by their voluntary withdrawing themselves from that council.”

In the doing whereof, I shall not, I cannot, make any excuse for those, (of whom somewhat is before spoken,) who, from the beginning of this parliament, and in the whole progress of it, either out of laziness, or negligence, or incogitancy, or weariness, forbore to give their attendance there, when the number of those who really intended these prodigious alterations was very considerable; and daily drew many to their opinions, upon no other ground than that the number of the dissenters appeared not equally diligent, and intent upon their assertions: neither can I excuse the peers, the moderate part whereof being four for one, suffered themselves to be cozened, and persuaded, and threatened out of their rights by a handful of men, whom they might, in the beginning, easily have crushed; whereas in the house of commons the great managers were men of notable parts, much reputation, admirable dexterity; pretenders to severe justice and regularity; and then the number of the weak, and the wilful, who naturally were to be guided by them, always made up a major part; so that, from the beginning, they were always able to carry whatsoever they set their hearts visibly upon; at least, to discredit or disgrace any particular man, against whom they thought necessary to proceed, albeit of the most unblemished reputation, and upon the most frivolous suggestions; so that they could not [but] be very formidable, in that house, to all but the most abstracted men from all vulgar considerations.

But, I am confident, whosoever diligently revolves the several passages in both houses, from the time of the publishing the first remonstrance, upon his majesty's return from Scotland, to the time of which we last spake, must be of opinion, that the resorting of so many members then to his majesty, (from whom all the lords, and some of the commons, received commands to that purpose,) or to such places, where they thought they might be

of greatest use to his majesty, in preservation of the peace of the kingdom, was not only an act of duty, but of such prudence and discretion, as sober and honest men were to be guided by. In the house of peers, the bishops, twenty-four in number, who had as much right to sit there, and were as much members of parliament, as any lord there, were first, by direct violence and force, driven and kept from thence, till the bill, for the total expulsion of them and their function from those seats, was passed; such of the peers, who were most notorious for adhering to the government of the church, being, in the mean time, threatened publicly by the rabble; and some of their persons assaulted. The business of the militia had been twice, upon solemn debate in a full house, rejected there; till such force and violence was brought to the very doors, such expostulations and threats delivered within the doors against those who refused to concur with them in that business, that no man had reason to believe his life out of danger from those rude hands, who was taken notice of for an opposer of their unreasonable desires; some of them having been declared enemies to their country, for having refused what was in their power lawfully to refuse; and others having been criminally accused by the commons, for words spoken by them in debate in the house of peers; after which many of them were sent for, by special letters, to attend his majesty, (which letters were always thought to be so good, and warrantable a ground to be absent, that no other was sufficient; nor had such summons, from the beginning of parliaments to this present, ever been neglected,) with whom they had not been many weeks, but two of them, as hath been mentioned before, upon an untrue and extravagant information, without further examination, were declared enemies to the kingdom: and nine others by solemn judgment, upon an impeachment brought up by the commons against them, only for being absent, and for what only concerned the privilege and jurisdiction of the peers, were disabled to sit in the house again during this session; so that, if they would have returned, they were actually excluded that council.

In the house of commons, the case was worse: first, they who had, with that liberty which is essential to parliaments, and according to their understandings, dissented, or declared a dislike of what the violent party so vehemently pursued, were, as hath been said before, declared enemies to their country; and their names posted up in paper, or parchment, at most eminent places, under some opprobrious character; which, though it was not avowed, and had no authority from the house by any public act, yet, being complained of, found neither redress, or such countenance, that it could be concluded the violation was unacceptable: so, though the tumults were not directly summoned or assembled, it is evident, by what hath been before set forth truly and at large, that they found there visible countenance and encouragement.

Then, what had been, upon full and solemn debates in a full house, rejected, was many times, in a thin house, and at unusual and unparliamentary hours, resumed, and determined contrary to the former conclusions: yet men satisfied themselves with doing what they thought their duty, and reasonably opposing what the major part ordered to be done; hoping that men's understandings would be shortly better informed; and that, though high

and irreverent expressions and words were sometimes used against the king, there would be abstaining from unlawful and dangerous actions; and that the house of peers, at least, would never be brought to join or concur in any act prejudicial to the sovereign power. But when they saw a new way found out by the dexterity of the major part in the house of commons, to make the minor part of the lords too hard for the major; and so, whilst all men were transported with jealousy of the breach of privilege of parliament by the king, that there was, by the houses themselves, an absolute rooting up of all privileges: that from metaphysical considerations, what *might* be done in case of necessity, the militia of the kingdom was actually seized on; and put under a command contrary to, and against, the king's command: that there was then a resolution taken, by those who could act their resolutions when they pleased, to make a general, and to oblige all the members to live and die with that general; which will be anon more particularly mentioned; (for that resolution was well known before the time, that those many members removed to York, and withdrew to other places; and was executed within three or four days after;) men thought it high time to look to their innocence, and (since, by the course and order of that house, they could leave no monument or evidence of their dissenting, as the lords might have, by their protestations upon any unlawful act, or resolution) to declare their dislike of what was done, by not being present at the doing: and it was reasonably thought, there being no other way peaceably and securely to do it, that the kingdom, understanding the number of those that were present at such new transactions, and weighing the quality, number, and reputation of those who were absent, would be best induced to prefer the old laws of the kingdom, before the new votes (destructive to those laws) of those few men, who called themselves the two houses of parliament; and that it would prove a good expedient to work upon the consciences and modesty of those who staid behind, to conclude it necessary, by some fair address to his majesty, to endeavour such a general good understanding, that a perfect union might be made; and the privilege, dignity, and security of parliament be established according to the true and just constitution of it.

It is true, how reasonably soever it might be expected, it produced not that ingenuity: but they who had been troubled with their company, and, by the opposition they made, could not make that expedition in the mischief they intended, were glad they were rid of them; yet, shortly, considering what influence indeed it might have upon understanding men, they found a way to cast a reproach upon those who were absent, and yet to prevent any inconvenience to themselves by their return; publishing an order, "that all the members absent should appear at such a day, under the penalty of paying 100*l.* fine for his absence; and who-soever did not appear at that day" (which gave not time enough to any who were at a distance) "should not presume to sit in the house, before he had paid his fine, or satisfied the house with the cause of his absence;" so that all those who were with the king, and very many more, who had really withdrawn themselves to refresh their minds, or upon necessary affairs of their own, with a purpose to return, clearly discerned themselves ex-

cluded from sitting any more there; it being sufficiently manifest, that the cause of their absence would never be approved, if their persons were disliked, and their opinions disapproved: which appeared quickly; for the day was no sooner past, but they, without the least warrant of precedent, or colour of right, expelled very many, sometimes twenty in a day, not only of those who were with the king, but of others who had given them equal distaste; and ordered new writs to issue out to choose other members in their rooms.

It cannot be denied but some very honest and entire men staid still there, and opposed all their unjustifiable proceedings with great courage, and much liberty of speech; which was more frankly permitted to them than had been before, when the number of the dissenters was greater; and it may be there are still some who satisfy themselves that they have performed their duty, by always having denied to give their consent to whatsoever hath been seditiously or illegally concluded. But I must appeal to the consciences of those very men, whether they have not been many times, by staying there, compelled or terrified to do, and submit to, many acts contrary to their conscience, in cases of conscience; and contrary to their judgment and knowledge, in matters of law and right; and contrary to their oaths and duties, in matters of allegiance; and whether, if they had refused so to do, they should not have been plundered, expelled, and committed to prison? And then they cannot be thought to have proceeded unreasonably, who, to preserve their innocence, and their liberty, chose to undergo all the other censures and difficulties which could befall them, and which have been since plentifully poured upon them. But to return.

The king had, at this time, called to him some judges, and lawyers of eminency; by whose advice he published a declaration concerning the militia, and asserted "the right of the crown in granting commissions of array, for the better ordering and governing thereof;" and, at the same time, issued out those commissions to all counties, "expressly forbidding any obedience to be given to the ordinance for the militia by both houses, under the penalty of high treason." This only improved the paper combat in declarations; either party insisting, "that the law was on their side;" and the people giving obedience to either, according to their conveniences: and many did believe, that if the king had resorted to the old known way of lord lieutenants, and deputy lieutenants, his service would have been better carried on; the commission of array being a thing they had not before heard of, though founded upon an ancient act of parliament in the reign of Hen. IV. and so was received with jealousy, and easily discredited by the glosses and suggestions of the houses.

Besides that some men of very good affections to the crown, and averse enough to the extravagant pretences and proceedings of the parliament, did not conceal their prejudice to the commission of array, as not warranted by law; which did very much work upon other men, and made the obedience less cheerful that was given to that service. Mr. Selden had, in the debate upon that subject in the house of commons, declared himself very positively, and with much sharpness, against the commission of array, as a thing expressly without any

authority of law; the statute upon which it was grounded being, as he said, repealed; and discoursed very much of the ill consequences which might result from submitting to it: he answered the arguments which had been used to support it; and easily prevailed with the house not to like a proceeding, which they knew was intended to do them hurt, and to lessen their authority. But his authority and reputation prevailed much further than the house, and begot a prejudice against it in many well affected men. When the king was informed of it, he was much troubled, having looked upon Mr. Selden as well disposed to his service. And the lord Falkland, with his majesty's leave, writ a friendly letter to Mr. Selden, "to know his reason, why, in such a conjuncture, whatever his opinion [were], he would oppose the submission to the commission of array, which nobody could deny to have had its original from law, and that many learned men still believed to be very legal, that the ordinance which had no manner of pretence to right might be the better established." He answered this letter very frankly; as a man who believed himself in the right upon the commission of array, and that the arguments he had used against it could not be answered; summing up some of those arguments in as few words as they could be comprehended [in]: but then he did as frankly inveigh against the ordinance for the militia, "which, he said, was without any shadow of law, or pretence of precedent, and most destructive to the government of the kingdom: and he did acknowledge, that he had been the more inclined to make that discourse in the house against the commission, that he might with the more freedom argue against the ordinance; which was to be considered upon a day then appointed: and he was most confident, that he should likewise overthrow the ordinance: which, he confessed, could be less supported; and he did believe, that it would be much better, if both were rejected, than if either of them should stand, and remain uncontrolled." But his confidence deceived him; and he quickly found, that they who suffered themselves to be entirely governed by his reason, when those conclusions resulted from it, which contributed to their own designs, would not be at all guided by it, or submit to it, when it persuaded that which contradicted and would disappoint those designs: and so, upon the day appointed for the debate of their ordinance, when he applied all his faculties to the convincing them of the illegality and monstrousness of it, by arguments at least as clear and demonstrable as his former had been, they made no impression upon them; but were easily answered by those who with most passion insisted upon their own sense. He had satisfied them very well, when he concurred with them in judgment; but his reasons were weak, when they crossed their resolutions. So most men are deceived in being too reasonable; and when they conclude that men will submit to what is right, who have no other consideration of right or justice, but as it advances their interest, or complies with their humour and passion. And so easy it hath always been to do harm, and to mislead men, and so hard to do good, and reduce them to reason.

These paper-skirmishes left neither side better inclined to the other; but, by sharpening each

other, drew the matter nearer to an issue. The king had written a letter to the mayor and aldermen of London, and to the masters and wardens of each several company; by which, "he assured them of his desire of the peace of the kingdom; and therefore required them, as they tendered their charter of the city, and their own particular welfares, not to bring in horses, money, or plate, upon the propositions of the houses; whereby, under pretence of raising a guard for the parliament, forces would be levied, and, in truth, employed against his majesty:" of which the houses taking notice, published a declaration to the city, "That they could not be secured by his majesty's protestations, that his desires and purposes were for the public peace; since it appeared, by divers expressions and proceedings of his majesty, that he intended to use force against those who submitted to the ordinance of the militia; and that he had likewise some intention of making an attempt upon Hull. In both which cases they did declare, that whatsoever violence should be used, either against those who exercise the militia, or against Hull, they could not but believe it as done against the parliament. They told them, that the dangerous and mischievous intentions of some about his majesty were such, that whatsoever was most precious to men of conscience and honour, as religion, liberty, and public safety, were like to be overwhelmed and lost in the general confusion and calamity of the kingdom; which would not only question, but overthrow the charter of the city of London; expose the citizens, their wives and children, to violence and villainy; and leave the wealth of that famous city as a prey to those desperate and necessitous persons: and therefore they forbade all the officers to publish that paper, as they would answer their contempt to the parliament; by the power and authority of which, they assured them, they should be protected, and secured in their persons, liberties, and estates, for whatsoever they should do by their advice or persuasion."

To this the king replied, "That he wondered, since they had usurped the supreme power to themselves, that they had not taken upon them the supreme style too; and directed their very new declaration to their trusty and well-beloved, their subjects of the city of London: for it was too great and palpable a scorn, to persuade them to take up arms against his person, under colour of being loving subjects to his office; and to destroy his person, that they might preserve the king: that he was beholding to them, that they had explained to all his good subjects the meaning of their charge against his majesty, that by his intention of making war against his parliament, no more was pretended to be meant, but his resolution not to submit to the high injustice and indignity of the ordinance for the militia, and the business of Hull. He said, he had never concealed his intentions in either of those particulars, (he wished they would deal as clearly with him,) but had always, and did now declare, that that pretended ordinance was against the law of the land; against the liberty and property of the subject; destructive to sovereignty; and therefore not consistent with the very constitution and essence of the kingdom, and to the right and privilege of parliament: that he

"was bound by his oath (and all his subjects were bound by theirs of allegiance and supremacy, and their own protestation lately taken, to assist his majesty) to oppose that ordinance, which was put already in execution against him, not only by training and arming his subjects, but by forcibly removing the magazine, from the places trusted by the counties, to their own houses, and guarding it there with armed men. Whither it would be next removed, and how used by such persons, he knew not.

"That the keeping his majesty out of Hull by sir John Hotham, was an act of high treason against his majesty; and the taking away his magazine and munition from him, was an act of violence upon his majesty, by what hands or by whose direction soever it was done: and, in both cases, by the help of God, and the law, his majesty said, he would have justice, or lose his life in the requiring it; the which he did not value at that rate, as to preserve it with the infamy of suffering himself to be robbed, and spoiled of that dignity he was born to. And if it were possible for his good subjects to believe, that such a defence of himself, with the utmost power and strength he could raise, was making a war against his parliament, he did not doubt, however it should please God to dispose of him in that contention, but the justice of his cause would, at the last, prevail against those few malignant spirits, who, for their own ends, and ambitious designs, had so misled and corrupted the understandings of his people. And since neither his own declaration, nor the testimony of so many of his lords, then with his majesty, could procure credit with those men, but that they proceeded to levy horse, and to raise money and arms against his majesty, he said, he was not to be blamed, if after so many gracious expostulations with them, upon undeniable principles of law and reason, (which they answered only by voting that which his majesty said, to be neither law, nor reason; and so proceeded actually to levy war upon his majesty, to justify that which could not be otherwise defended,) at last he made such provision, that as he had been driven from London, and kept from Hull, he might not be surprised at York; but in a condition to resist, and bring to justice those men, who would persuade his people that their religion was in danger, because his majesty would not consent it should be in their power to alter it by their votes; or their liberty in danger, because he would allow no judge of that liberty, but the known law of the land: yet, he said, whatever provision he should be compelled to make for his security, he would be ready to lay down, as soon as they should revoke the orders by which they had made levies, and submitted those persons, who had detained his towns, carried away his arms, and put the militia in execution, contrary to his proclamation, to that trial of their innocence, which the law had directed, and to which they were born: if that were not submitted to, he should, with a good conscience, proceed against those who should presume to exercise that pretended ordinance for the militia, and the other who should keep his town of Hull from him, as he would resist persons who came to take away his life or his crown from him.

"And therefore his majesty again remembered,

“and required his city of London to obey his former commands, and not to be misled by the orations of those men, who were made desperate by their fortunes, or their fortunes by them; who told them their religion, liberty, and property, was to be preserved no other way, but by their disloyalty to his majesty: that they were now at the brink of the river, and might draw their swords, (which was an expression used at a great convention of the city,) when nothing pursued them but their own evil consciences. He wished them to consider, whether their estates came to them, and were settled upon them, by orders of both houses, or by that law which his majesty defended: what security they could have to enjoy their own, when they had helped to rob his majesty; and what an happy conclusion that war was like to have, which was raised to oppress their sovereign: that the wealth and glory of their city was not like to be destroyed any other way, but by rebelling against his majesty; and that way inevitably it must; nor their wives and children to be exposed to violence and villainy, but by those who make their appetite and will the measure and guide to all their actions. He advised them not to fancy to themselves melancholy apprehensions, which were capable of no satisfaction; but seriously to consider what security they could have, that they had not under his majesty, or [had] been offered by him: and whether the doctrine those men taught, and would have them defend, did not destroy the foundations upon which their security was built?”

This great conflux, of men of all conditions, and qualities, and humours, could not continue long together at York, without some impatience and commotion; and most men wondered, that there appeared no provisions to be made towards a war, which they saw would be inevitable: and when the levies of soldiers under the earl of Essex were hastened with so much vigour, that the king should have no other preparation towards an army, than a single troop of guards made up of gentlemen volunteers; who, all men foresaw, would quit the troop when there should be an army: and many do yet believe, that the king too long deferred his recourse to arms; and that, if he had raised forces upon his first repulse at Hull, his service would have been very much advanced; and that the parliament would not have been able to have drawn an army together. And so they reproach the councils which were then about the king, as they were censured by many at that time: but neither they then, nor these now do understand the true reason thereof. The king had not, at that time, one barrel of powder, nor one musket, nor any other provision necessary for an army; and, which was worse, was not sure of any port, to which they might be securely assigned; nor had he money for the support of his own table for the term of one month. He expected, with impatience, the arrival of all those by the care and activity of the queen; who was then in Holland, and by the sale of her own, as well as of the crown jewels, and by the friendship of Henry prince of Orange, did all she could to provide all that was necessary; and the king had newly directed her to send all to Newcastle, which was but then secured to him by the diligence of that earl; [the earl of that name.] In the mean time, both the king

himself, and they who best knew the state of his affairs, seemed to be without any thoughts of making war; and to hope, that the parliament would at last incline to some accommodation; for which both his majesty and those persons were exposed to a thousand reproaches.

The queen had many difficulties to contend with; for though the prince of Orange had a very signal affection for the king's service, and did all he could to dispose the states to concern themselves in his majesty's quarrel; yet his authority and interest was much diminished with the vigour of his body and mind: and the states of Holland were so far from being inclined to the king, that they did him all the mischief they could. They had before assisted the rebellion in Scotland, with giving them credit for arms and ammunition, before they had money to buy any; and they did afterwards, several ways, discover their affections to the parliament; which had so many spies there, that the queen could do nothing they had not present notice of; so that it was no easy matter for the queen to provide arms and ammunition, but the parliament had present notice of it, and of the ways which were thought upon to transport them to the king: and then their fleet, under the command of the earl of Warwick, lay ready to obstruct and intercept that communication; nor was any remedy in view to remove this mischief; insomuch as it was no easy thing for the king to send to, or to receive letters from, the queen.

There was a small ship of 28 or 30 guns, that was part of the fleet that wafted her majesty into Holland from Dover, which was called the Providence, under the command of captain Straughan, when the fleet was commanded by sir John Pennington, and before the earl of Warwick was superinduced into that charge against the king's will. That ship, the captain whereof was known to be faithful to his majesty, was by the queen detained, and kept in Holland from the time of her majesty's arrival, under several pretences, of which the captain made use, when he afterwards received orders from the earl of Warwick, “to repair to the fleet in the Downs;” until, after many promises and excuses, it was at last discerned that he had other business and commands; and so was watched by the other ships as an enemy. This vessel the queen resolved to send to the king, principally to inform his majesty of the straits she was in; of the provisions she had made; and to return with such particular advice and directions from his majesty, that she might take further resolutions. And because the vessel was light, and drew not much water, and so could run into any creek, or open road, or harbour, and from thence easily send an express to the king; there was put into it about two hundred barrels of powder, and two or three thousand arms, with seven or eight field-pieces; which, they knew, would be very welcome to the king, and serve for a beginning and countenance to draw forces together. The captain was no sooner put to sea, but notice was sent to the commander of the fleet in the Downs; who immediately sent three or four ships to the north, which easily got the Providence in view, before it could reach that coast; and chased it with all their sails, till they saw it enter into the river of Humber; when, looking upon it as their own, they made less haste to follow it, being content to drive it before them into their own port of Hull; there being, as they

thought, no other way to escape them; until they plainly saw the ship entering into a narrow creek out of the Humber, which declined Hull, and led into the country some miles above it; which was a place well known to the captain, and designed by him from the beginning. It was in vain for them then to hasten their pursuit; for they quickly found that their great ships could not enter into that passage, and that the river was too shallow to follow him; and so, with shame and anger, they gave over the chase, whilst the captain continued his course; and having never thought of saving the ship, run it on shore near Burlington; and, with all expedition, gave notice to the king of his arrival; who, immediately, caused the persons of quality in the parts adjacent to draw the trained bands of the country together, to secure the incursions from Hull; and, by this means, the arms, ammunition, and artillery were quickly brought to York.

The king was well content that it should be generally believed, that this small ship, the size whereof was known to few, had brought a greater quantity and proportion of provisions for the war, than in truth it had; and therefore, though it had brought no money, which he expected, he forthwith granted commissions, to raise regiments of horse and foot, to such persons of quality and interest, as were able to comply with their obligations. He declared the earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain of England, his general of the army; a person of great honour and courage, and generally beloved; who had many years before had good command in Holland and Germany, and had been admiral at sea in several expeditions. Sir Jacob Ashley was declared major general of the foot, a command he was very equal to, and had exercised before, and executed after, with great approbation. The generalship of the horse his majesty preserved for his nephew prince Rupert; who was daily expected, and arrived soon after: and all levies were hastened with as much expedition as was possible in so great a scarcity, and notorious want of money; of which no more need be said, after it is remembered that all the lords, and council about the king, with several other persons of quality, voluntarily made a subscription for the payment of so many horse for three months; in which time they would needs believe, that the war should be at an end; every one paying down what the three months' pay would amount to, into the hands of a treasurer appointed to receive it; and this money was presently paid for the making those levies of horse which were designed; and which could not have been made but by those monies.

And now the king thought it time to execute a resolution he had long intended, and which many men wondered he neglected so long; which was, as much as in him lay, to take the admiralty into his own hands. He had long too much cause to be unsatisfied and displeased with the earl of Northumberland; whom he thought he had obliged above any man whatsoever. His delivering the fleet into the hands and command of the earl of Warwick, after his majesty had expressly refused it to the parliament, he resolved never to forgive; however, he thought it not then seasonable to resent it, because he had nothing to object against him, but his compliance with the command of the parliament, which would have made and owned it as their own quarrel; and must have obliged him

[that earl] to put his whole interest into their hands, and to have run their fortune; to which he was naturally too much inclined: and then his majesty foresaw, that there would have been no fleet at all set out that year, by their having the command of all the money, which was to be applied to that service. Whereas, by his majesty's concealing his resentment, there was a good fleet made ready, and set out; and many gentlemen settled in the command of ships, of whose affection and fidelity his majesty was assured, that no superior officer could corrupt it; but that they would, at all times, repair to his service, whenever he required it. And, indeed, his majesty had an opinion of the devotion of the whole body of the common seamen to his service, because he had, bountifully, so much mended their condition, and increased their pay, that he thought they would have thrown the earl of Warwick overboard, when he should command them; and so the respiting the doing of it would be of little importance. But now, that a ship of his own, in the execution of his commands, should be chased by his own fleet as an enemy, made such a noise in all places, even to his reproach and dishonour, that he could no longer defer the doing what he had so long thought of. He resolved, therefore, to revoke the earl of Northumberland's commission of the office of high admiral of England, and to send the revocation to him under the great seal of England: then, to send sir John Pennington, who was then at York, on board the fleet, and to take the charge of it: and letters were prepared, and signed by the king, to every one of the captains; whereby they were required "to observe the orders of sir John Pennington." And all this was carried with all possible secrecy, that none, but those few who were trusted, knew, or suspected any such alteration.

But the king thought fit, first to advise with sir John Pennington; of whose integrity he was confident, and whose judgment he always principally relied on in all his maritime actions; and thought him the only person fit immediately to take the fleet out of the earl of Warwick's possession; who had dispossessed him of the command that year, which he had usually exercised. Sir John Pennington, finding the matter full of difficulty, and the execution like to meet with some interruptions, expressed no alacrity to undertake it in his own person; alleging, "that himself stood in the parliament's disfavour and jealousy, (which was true,) and that therefore his motion, and journey towards the Downs, where the fleet then lay, would be immediately taken notice of; and his majesty's design be so much guessed at, that there would need no other discovery:" but propounded to his majesty, "that he would send a letter to sir Robert Mansel, who lived at Greenwich, speedily to go to the fleet, and to take charge of it; and that his authority, being vice-admiral of England, and his known and great reputation with the seamen, would be like to meet with the least resistance." His majesty, imparting this counsel to those whom he had made privy to his purpose, entered upon new considerations; and concluded, "that sir Robert Mansel's age, (though his courage and integrity were unquestionable,) and the accidents that depended upon that, would render that expedient most hazardous; and that, in truth, there needed no such absolute and supreme officer to be

"appointed in the first article; but rather, that his majesty should direct his special letter to the captain of every ship, requiring him immediately to weigh anchor, and to bring away his ship to such a place as his majesty might appoint, where he should receive further orders: and to that place he might send such an officer, as he thought fit to trust with the command of the whole navy so assembled." According to this resolution the whole despatch was prepared. First, a revocation of the earl of Northumberland's commission of admiral, under the great seal of England; of which there was a duplicate; the one to be sent to his lordship; the other to the earl of Warwick; whose commission was founded upon, and so determined by, the other. Then a several letter to each of the captains of his ships, informing them "of his majesty's revocation of the admiral's patent, and consequently of the determination of the earl of Warwick's commission," (to whom his majesty likewise writ, to "inhibit him from further meddling in that charge,") and therefore commanding them to yield no further obedience to either of their orders; but that, immediately upon the receipt of those his royal letters, he should weigh anchor; and, with what speed he might, repair to Burlington-bay upon the coast of Yorkshire; where he should receive his majesty's further pleasure: and so each commander, without relation to any other commands, had no more to look after but his own ship, and his own duty, by which the king might expect, at least, so many ships as were under the government of those, who had any affection or fidelity to his service.

Accordingly, all things being prepared, and signed by the king, and sealed, what immediately concerned the earl of Northumberland was delivered to Mr. May, his majesty's page, to be given to the earl of Northumberland at London; and the whole despatch to the fleet to Mr. Edward Villiers, whose diligence and dexterity his majesty found fit for any trust; the former being directed "not to make such haste, but that the other might be at least as soon at the Downs, as he at London;" and Mr. Villiers again being appointed what letters he should first deliver to the captains; "and that he should visit the earl of Warwick in the last place;" that his activity might have no influence upon the seamen, to prevent their obedience to his majesty. And surely if this resolution had been pursued, it is very probable that the king had been master of very many of his ships again. But, when the messengers were despatched and well-instructed, and he that was for London gone on his journey, there was a sudden and unexpected change of the whole direction to the fleet, by sir John Pennington's repair to his majesty; and, upon second thoughts, offering "to go himself to the Downs, and to take charge of the fleet:" which changed the forms of the letters to the several captains; and, instead of leaving every one to use his best expedition to bring away his own ship to Burlington, "required them only to observe such orders, as they should receive by sir John Pennington;" who thought not fit (for the reasons formerly given of his being taken notice of) to go with Mr. Villiers; but, by him, writ to sir Henry Palmer, to whom likewise his majesty sent a letter to that purpose, being an officer of the

navy, and who lived by the Downs, "immediately to go aboard the admiral; and [that he] himself would make all possible haste to him, setting out at the same time with Mr. Villiers; but journeying a further and more private way." Mr. Villiers, lest, by his stay for the alteration of his despatches, his companion's coming to London sooner than was expected at their parting might produce some inconvenience to the service, slept not till he came to sir Henry Palmer; who, being infirm in his health, and surprised with the command, could not make that expedition aboard, as might have been requisite; though he was loyally and zealously affected to his majesty's service. However, Mr. Villiers hastened to the ships which lay then at anchor, and, according to his instructions, delivered his several letters to the captains; the greatest part whereof received them with great expressions of duty and submission, expecting only to receive sir John Pennington's orders, for which they staid; and, without doubt, if either the first letters had been sent, or sir John Pennington been present, when these others were delivered, his majesty had been possessed of his whole fleet; the earl of Warwick being at that time, according to his usual licenses, with some officers, whose company he liked, on shore making merry; so that there was only his vice-admiral, captain Batten, on board, who was of eminent disaffection to his majesty; the rear-admiral, sir John Mennes, being of unquestionable integrity.

But after five or six hours, (in which time nothing could be acted, for want of advice and direction; enough being ready to obey, but none having authority to command,) the earl of Warwick came aboard his ship, to whom Mr. Villiers likewise gave his majesty's letters of discharge; who, without any declaration of disobeying it, applied himself to the confirming those whom he thought true to his party, and diligently to watch the rest; presuming, that he should speedily hear from those by whom he had been originally trusted.

In the mean time, the captains expected orders from sir John Pennington; who likewise privately expected such an account from sir Henry Palmer, as might encourage him to come to the ships. But this unfortunate delay lost all; for the other gentleman, according to his instructions, having reached London in the evening after the houses were risen, delivered the king's letter, and the discharge of his commission, to the earl of Northumberland; who, with all shows of duty and submission, expressed "his resolution to obey his majesty; and a hearty sorrow, that he had, by any misfortune, incurred his majesty's displeasure." How ingenuous soever this demeanour of his lordship's was, the business was quickly known to those who were more concerned in it; who were exceedingly perplexed with the apprehension of being dispossessed of so great a part of their strength, as the royal fleet; and earnestly pressed the earl of Northumberland, "that, notwithstanding such his majesty's revocation, he would still continue the execution of his office of lord high admiral; in which they would assist him with their utmost and full power and authority." But his lordship alleging, "that it would ill become him, who had received that charge from the king, with so notable circumstances of trust and favour, to continue the possession thereof against his express pleasure, there being a clause in his

“grant, that it should be only during such time as his majesty thought fit to use his service;” and so “utterly refusing to meddle further in it;” as soon as they could get the houses together the next morning, they easily agreed to pass an ordinance, as they call it, “to appoint the earl of Warwick to be admiral of that fleet, with as full and ample authority, as he had before had from the earl of Northumberland.” Which ordinance, together with letters, and votes of encouragement to his lordship, and to the officers and seamen, they speedily sent, by a member of their own; who arrived therewith, the next morning, after Mr. Villiers had delivered the king’s letters; sir John Pennington in the mean time neither coming, or sending any further advice.

The earl of Warwick, being thus armed, found himself master of his work; and immediately summoned all the captains, to attend him on board his ship in council; the which all but two did, (captain Slingsby and captain Wake,) who, being by his majesty’s letters, as the rest were, expressly charged to yield no further obedience to the earl of Warwick, refused to repair to him; making themselves ready to resist any violence, and putting their ships in order to go out to sea, that they might be at liberty to attend his majesty’s commands: but they were so encompassed by the whole fleet, and the dexterity of the earl’s ministers was such, and the devotion, generally, of the seamen so tainted, and corrupted to the king’s service, that, instead of carrying away the ships, the captains themselves were seized, taken, and carried by their own men to the earl; who immediately committed them to custody, and sent them up prisoners to the parliament. Then his lordship communicated the ordinance, letters, and votes from the two houses to the rest of the officers; of whom only two more refused to continue their charge against the signification they had received from the king, (sir John Mennes and captain Burly,) who were quickly discharged, and set on shore; and the rest, without any scruple or hesitation, “obliged themselves to obey the earl of Warwick, in the service of the parliament;” so that the storm was now over, and the parliament fully and entirely possessed of the whole royal navy, and militia by sea; for they quickly disposed of two other honest captains, Kettleby and Stradlin, (whom they could not corrupt,) who guarded the Irish seas; and got those ships likewise into their service. And thus his majesty was without one ship of his own, in his three kingdoms, at his devotion.

As this loss of the whole navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the king’s affairs, and made his condition much the less considered by his allies, and neighbour princes; who saw the sovereignty of the sea now in other hands, who were more imperious upon the apprehension of any discourtesies, than regular and lawful monarchs used to be; I cannot but observe some unhappy circumstances and accidents in this important business of the navy, which looked like the hand of Providence to take that strength, of which his majesty was most confident, out of his hands. When the resolution of the house of commons, and, after, the concurrence of the lords, was peremptory, and the earl of Northumberland’s compliance with them as obstinate, “for the sending the earl of Warwick admiral of that fleet, in the place of sir John

Pennington, upon whom the king depended;” it was resolved likewise, “that captain Carteret, controller of his majesty’s navy, a man of great eminency and reputation in naval command, should be vice-admiral;” he thinking it became his near relation to his majesty’s service, to receive his royal pleasure, before he engaged himself in any employment of that nature, addressed himself for his princely directions. The king thought his fleet upon the matter taken from him, when another, whose disaffection to his service was very notorious, was, contrary to his express pleasure, presumptuously put into the command of it, and his own minister displaced for no other reason (his sufficiency and ability for command being by all men confessed) but his zeal, and integrity to him, and therefore he would not countenance that fleet, and that admiral, with suffering an officer of his own to command in it under the other; and so wished captain Carteret to decline the employment, which he prudently, and without noise, did; and thereupon, another officer of the navy, even the surveyor general, captain Batten, a man of very different inclinations to his master, and his service, and furious in the new fancies of religion, was substituted in the place: whereas if captain Carteret had been suffered to have taken that charge, his interest and reputation in the navy was so great, and his diligence and dexterity in command so eminent, that I verily believe, he would, against whatsoever the earl of Warwick could have done, have preserved a major part of the fleet in their duty to the king. The misfortunes which happened after, and are mentioned before, are not in justice to be imputed to sir John Pennington; who, sure, was a very honest gentleman, and of unshaken faithfulness and integrity to the king; but to the little time he had to think of it: and the perplexity he was in (besides his true zeal to the service) to think that so great a service, as the recovery of the royal navy, should be done by his personal engagement, and to look so vigilantly to his own security, that, instead of taking the fleet from the earl of Warwick, he was not himself taken by the earl, and sent to the parliament; where the carrying over the lord Digby, and some other jealousies, had left a great arrear of displeasure against him.

The truth is, the king was so confident upon the general affections of the seamen, who were a tribe of people more particularly countenanced and obliged by him than other men, his majesty having increased their allowance, in provision and money, above the old establishment of the navy, that he did believe no activity of ill officers could have corrupted them; but that, when the parliament had set out and victualled the fleet, it would, upon any occasion, declare itself at his devotion. On the other side, they had been taught to believe, that all the king’s bounty and grace towards them had flowed from the mediation of those officers, who were now engaged against the king; and that, the parliament having seized the customs, and all other the revenues of the king, they had no other hope of pay or subsistence, but by absolutely devoting themselves to their service; so that a greater or more general defection of any one order of men was never known, than that, at this time, of the seamen; though many gentlemen, and some few of the common sort, to their lasting honour and reputation, either addressed themselves to the

active service of their sovereign, or suffered imprisonment, and the loss of all they had, for refusing to serve against him.

The news of this diminution of his majesty's power, and terrible addition of strength to his enemies, was a great alloy to the brisk hopes at York, upon the arrival of their ammunition, and wise men easily discerned the fatal consequence of it in opposition to the most hopeful designs; yet in a very short time, all visible sense of it so much vanished, that (as there was a marvellous alacrity at that time, in despising all advantages of the parliament) men publicly, and with great confidence, averred, "that the king was a gainer by the loss of his fleet, because he had no money to pay the seamen, or keep them together; and that one victory at land, of which there was no doubt, would restore him to his dominion at sea, and to whatsoever had been unjustly taken from his majesty."

But the king found it was now time to do more than write declarations, that they [parliament] were now entirely possessed of the militia by sea, and made such a progress in the attempt to resume the same at land, that though the people generally, (except in great towns and corporations, where, besides the natural malignity, the factious lecturers and emissaries from the parliament had poisoned their affections,) and especially those of quality, were loyally inclined; yet the terror of the house of commons was so great, which sent for and grievously punished those sheriffs and mayors, who published, according to their duties and express oaths, his majesty's proclamations, and those ministers, who, according to his injunctions, read and divulged his declarations, that all such, and indeed all others eminently affected to the king, were forced to fly to York for protection, or to hide themselves in corners from that inquisition which was made for them. And therefore his majesty, in the first place, that he might have one harbour to resort to in his kingdom, sent the earl of Newcastle, privately, with a commission to take the government of Newcastle; who against the little opposition, that was prepared by the schismatical party in the town, by his lordship's great interest in those parts, the ready compliance of the best of the gentry, and the general good inclinations of the place, speedily and dexterously assured that most important rich town and harbour to the king; which, if it had been omitted but very few days, had been seized on by the parliament, who had then given direction to that purpose. Then for the protection of the general parts of the kingdom, and keeping up their affections, his majesty appointed and sent many of the nobility and prime gentlemen of the several counties, who attended him, into their [respective] counties to execute the commission of array, making the marquis of Hertford, by commission under the great seal of England, (which he was to keep secret in reserve, till he found, either by the growth, or extraordinary practice of the parliament in raising forces, that the commission of array was not enough,) "his lieutenant general of all the western parts of the kingdom, with power to levy such a body of horse and foot, as he found necessary for his majesty's service, and the containing the people within the limits of their duty." With the marquis went the earl of Bath, (thought then to be of notable power and interest in Devonshire,) the

lord Pawlet, the lord Seymour, sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkley, sir Hugh Pollard, and other very good officers, to form an army if it should be found expedient. And so, much of the lustre of the court being abated by the remove of so many persons of honour and quality, though it was spread farther by their necessary absence, the king began to think of increasing and forming his train into a more useful posture, than it was yet; and, without any noise of raising an army, to make the scene of his first action to be the recovery of Hull (whither new forces were sent from London) by the ordinary forces and trained bands of that county; by colour whereof, he hoped to have such resort, that he should need no other industry to raise such an army as should be sufficient to preserve himself from the violence which threatened his safety; and accordingly, that the people might fully understand his intentions, he summoned some of the trained bands to attend him at Beverley, a town within four miles of Hull, whither he removed his court, and published a proclamation, briefly containing "the rebellion of sir John Hotham, in holding that town by a garrison against him; his demanding justice from the two houses without effect; the seizing his fleet at sea; and the hostile acts of sir John Hotham upon the inhabitants of that town, many of whom he turned out of their habitations; and upon the neighbour county, by imprisoning many, and driving others for fear from their houses: and therefore that he was resolved to reduce the same by force: inhibiting all commerce or traffic with the said town, whilst it continued in rebellion."

Which proclamation he likewise sent to both houses of parliament, with this further signification, "That, before he would use force to reduce that place to its due obedience, he had thought fit once more to require them, that it might be forthwith delivered to him; wherein if they should conform themselves, his majesty would be then willing to admit such addresses from them, and return such propositions to them, as might be proper to settle the peace of the kingdom, and compose the present distractions. He wished them to do their duty, and to be assured from him, on the word of a king, that nothing should be wanting on his part, that might prevent the calamities which threatened the nation, and might render his people truly happy; but if that his gracious invitation should be declined, God and all good men must judge between them:" and assigned a day, by which he would expect their answer at Beverley.

In the mean time, to encourage the good affections of Nottinghamshire, which seemed almost entirely to be devoted to his service, and to countenance and give some life to those in Lincolnshire, where, in contempt of his proclamations, the ordinance of the militia had been boldly executed by the lord Willoughby of Parham, and some members of the house of commons, his majesty took a short progress to Newark; and, after a day's stay, from thence to Lincoln; and so, by the day appointed, returned to Beverley; having, in both those places, been attended with such an appearance of the gentlemen and men of quality, and so full a course of the people, as one might reasonably have guessed the affections of both those counties would have seconded any just and regular service for the king.

They at London were not less active; but, upon their success in the business of the navy, proceeded to make themselves strong enough, at least, to keep what they had; and therefore, having, by their ordinance of the militia, many voluntary companies formed of men according to their own hearts; and, by their subscriptions, being supplied with a good stock of money, and a good number of horse; before the king's message from Beverley came to them, on the twelfth of July, being the same day the message went from the king, both houses voted and declared, "That an army should be forthwith raised for the safety of the king's person; defence of both houses of parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders and commands; and preserving of the true religion, the laws, liberty, and peace of the kingdom. That the earl of Essex should be their general, and that they would live and die with him." And, having put themselves into this posture of treating, the same day they agreed that a petition should be framed, "to move the king to a good accord with the parliament, to prevent a civil war;" the which was purposely then consented to, that the people might believe, the other talk of an army and a general was only to draw the king to the more reasonable concessions. And it is certain, the first was consented to by many, especially of the house of peers, (in hope the better to compass the other,) with the perfect horror of the thought of a war. Though the king's message came to them before their own was despatched, yet, without the least notice taken of it, and lest the contents of their petition might be known before the arrival of their own messengers, the earl of Holland, sir John Holland, and sir Philip Stapleton, being the committee appointed for the same, made a speedy and quick journey to Beverley; and arrived in the same minute that the king came thither from Lincoln: so that his majesty no sooner heard of the raising an army, and declaring a general against him, but he was encountered by the messengers for peace; who reported to all whom they met, and with whom they conversed, "that they had brought so absolute a submission from the parliament to the king, that there could be no doubt of a firm and happy peace:" and when the earl of Holland presented the petition, he first made a short speech to the king, telling him, "that the glorious motto of his blessed father, king James, was *Beati pacifici*, which he hoped his majesty would continue; that they presented him with the humble duty of his two houses of parliament, who desired nothing from him but his consent, and acceptance of peace; they aiming at nothing but his majesty's honour and happiness:" and then read their message aloud, in these words:

To the king's most excellent majesty, the humble petition of the lords and commons assembled in parliament.

"May it please your majesty:

"Although we, your majesty's most humble and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, have been very unhappy in many former petitions and supplications to your majesty; wherein we have represented our most dutiful affections in advising and desiring those things, which we held most necessary for the preservation of God's true religion, your majesty's safety and honour, and the peace of the kingdom:

"and, with much sorrow, do perceive that your majesty, incensed by many false calumnies and slanders, doth continue to raise forces against us, and your other peaceable and loyal subjects; and to make great preparations for war, both in the kingdom, and from beyond the seas; and, by arms and violence, to overrule the judgment and advice of your great council; and by force to determine the questions there depending, concerning the government and liberty of the kingdom: yet, such is our earnest desire of discharging our duty to your majesty and the kingdom, to preserve the peace thereof, and to prevent the miseries of civil war amongst your subjects, that, notwithstanding we hold ourselves bound to use all the means and power, which, by the laws and constitutions of this kingdom, we are trusted with for defence and protection thereof, and of the subjects from force and violence, we do, in this our humble and loyal petition, prostrate ourselves at your majesty's feet; beseeching your royal majesty, that you will be pleased to forbear and remove all preparations and actions of war; particularly the forces from about Hull, from Newcastle, Tinmouth, Lincoln, and Lincolnshire, and all other places. And that your majesty will recall the commissions of array, which are illegal; dismiss troops, and extraordinary guards by you raised: that your majesty will come nearer to your parliament, and hearken to their faithful advice and humble petitions; which shall only tend to the defence and advancement of religion, your own royal honour and safety, the preservation of our laws and liberties. And we have been, and ever shall be, careful to prevent and punish all tumults, and seditious actions, speeches, and writings, which may give your majesty just cause of distaste, or apprehension of danger. From which public aims and resolutions no sinister or private respect shall ever make us to decline. That your majesty will leave delinquents to the due course of justice; and that nothing done or spoken in parliament, or by any person in pursuance of the command and direction of both houses of parliament, be questioned any where but in parliament.

"And we, for our parts, shall be ready to lay down all those preparations, which we have been forced to make for our defence. And for the town of Hull, and the ordinance concerning the militia, as we have, in both these particulars, only sought the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and the defence of the parliament from force and violence; so we shall most willingly leave the town of Hull in the state it was, before sir John Hotham drew any forces into it; delivering your majesty's magazine into the tower of London, and supplying whatsoever hath been disposed by us for the service of the kingdom. We shall be ready to settle the militia by a bill, in such a way as shall be honourable and safe for your majesty, most agreeable to the duty of parliament, and effectual for the good of the kingdom; that the strength thereof be not employed against itself, and that which ought to be for our security, applied to our destruction; and desire still to preserve the protestant religion, that the parliament, and those who profess and both in this realm and in Ireland, may not be left naked, and indefensible to the mischievous

“ designs and cruel attempts of those, who are the
 “ professed and confederated enemies thereof in
 “ your majesty's dominions, and other neighbour
 “ nations. To which if your majesty's courses and
 “ counsels shall from henceforth concur, we doubt
 “ not but we shall quickly make it appear to the
 “ world, by the most eminent effects of love and
 “ duty, that your majesty's personal safety, your
 “ royal honour and greatness, are much dearer
 “ to us than our own lives and fortunes, which we
 “ do most heartily dedicate, and shall most will-
 “ ingly employ for the support and maintenance
 “ thereof.”

As soon as this petition was read by the earl of Holland, the king told them, “ that the reproaches
 “ cast upon him by it were not answerable to the
 “ expressions his lordship had made; and that he
 “ was sorry that they thought the exposing him
 “ and his honour to so much scandal, was the way
 “ to procure or preserve the peace of the kingdom :
 “ that they should speedily receive his answer ;
 “ by which the world would easily discern who
 “ desired peace most.” And accordingly, the second day, his majesty delivered them, in public, his answer to their petition, which was likewise read by one of his servants, in these words :

His majesty's answer to the petition of the lords and commons assembled in parliament.

“ Though his majesty had too great reason to
 “ believe that the directions sent to the earl of
 “ Warwick, to go to the river Humber, with as
 “ many ships as he should think fit, for all possible
 “ assistance to sir John Hotham, (whilst his ma-
 “ jesty expected the giving up of the town unto
 “ him,) and to carry away such arms from thence,
 “ as his discretion thought fit to spare out of his
 “ majesty's own magazine ; the choosing a general
 “ by both houses of parliament, for the defence of
 “ those who have obeyed their orders and com-
 “ mands, be they never so extravagant and illegal ;
 “ their declaration, that, in that case, they would
 “ live and die with the earl of Essex their general ;
 “ (all which were voted the same day with this peti-
 “ tion;) and the committing the lord mayor of
 “ London to prison, for executing his majesty's
 “ writs and lawful commands ; were but ill pro-
 “ logues to a petition, which might compose the
 “ miserable distractions of the kingdom ; yet his
 “ majesty's passionate desire of the peace of the
 “ kingdom, together with the preface of the pre-
 “ senters, That they had brought a petition full of
 “ duty and submission to his majesty ; and which
 “ desired nothing of him but his consent to peace,
 “ (which his majesty conceived to be the language
 “ of both houses too,) begot a greedy hope and
 “ expectation in him, that this petition would have
 “ been such an introduction to peace, that it would
 “ at least have satisfied his message of the eleventh
 “ of this month, by delivering up Hull unto his
 “ majesty. But, to his unspeakable grief, his ma-
 “ jesty hath too much cause to believe, that the
 “ end of some persons, by this petition, is not in
 “ truth to give any real satisfaction to his majesty ;
 “ but, by the specious pretences of making offers
 “ to him, to mislead and seduce his people, and
 “ lay some imputation upon him, of denying what is
 “ fit to be granted ; otherwise, it would not have
 “ thrown those unjust reproaches and scandals
 “ upon his majesty, for making necessary and just

“ defence for his own safety ; and so peremptorily
 “ justified such actions against him, as by no rule
 “ of law or justice can admit the least colour of
 “ defence : and, after so many free and unlimited
 “ acts of grace passed by his majesty without any
 “ condition, have proposed such things which, in
 “ justice, cannot be denied unto him, upon such
 “ conditions as, in honour, he cannot grant. How-
 “ ever, that all the world may see how willing
 “ his majesty would be to embrace any overture,
 “ that might beget a right understanding between
 “ him and his two houses of parliament, (with
 “ whom, he is sure, he shall have no contention,
 “ when the private practices and subtle insinuations
 “ of some few malignant persons shall be dis-
 “ covered, which his majesty will take care shall
 “ be speedily done,) he hath, with great care,
 “ weighed the particulars of this petition, and re-
 “ turns this answer :

“ That the petitioners were never unhappy in
 “ their petitions or supplications to his majesty,
 “ while they desired any thing which was necessary
 “ or convenient for the preservation of God's true
 “ religion, his majesty's safety and honour, and the
 “ peace of the kingdom : and therefore, when those
 “ general envious foundations are laid, his majesty
 “ could wish some particular instances had been
 “ applied. Let envy and malice object one par-
 “ ticular proposition for the preservation of God's
 “ true religion which his majesty hath refused to
 “ consent to ; what himself hath often made for
 “ the ease of tender consciences, and for the ad-
 “ vancement of the protestant religion, is notorious
 “ by many of his messages and declarations. What
 “ regard hath been to his honour and safety, when
 “ he hath been driven from some of his houses,
 “ and kept from other of his towns by force ; and
 “ what care there hath been of the peace of the
 “ kingdom, when endeavour hath been used to put
 “ all his subjects in arms against him, is so evident,
 “ that, his majesty is confident, he cannot suffer
 “ by those general imputations. It is enough that
 “ the world knows what he hath granted, and
 “ what he hath denied.

“ For his majesty's raising forces, and making
 “ preparations for war, (whatsoever the petitioners,
 “ by the evil arts of the enemies to his majesty's
 “ person and government, and by the calumnies
 “ and slanders raised against his majesty by them,
 “ are induced to believe,) all men may know what
 “ is done that way is but in order to his own de-
 “ fence. Let the petitioners remember, that (which
 “ all the world knows) his majesty was driven from
 “ his palace of Whitehall for safety of his life :
 “ that both houses of parliament, upon their own
 “ authority, raised a guard to themselves, (having
 “ gotten the command of all the trained bands of
 “ London to that purpose,) without the least colour
 “ or shadow of danger : that they usurped a power,
 “ by their pretended ordinance, against all prin-
 “ ciples and elements of law, over the whole militia
 “ of the kingdom, without and against his majesty's
 “ consent : that they took possession of his town,
 “ fort, and magazine of Hull, and committed the
 “ same to sir John Hotham ; who shut the gates
 “ against his majesty, and, by force of arms, denied
 “ entrance thither to his own person : that they
 “ justified this act which they had not directed,
 “ and took sir John Hotham into their protection
 “ for whatsoever he had done, or should do, against
 “ his majesty : and all this, whilst his majesty had

"no other attendance than his own menial servants.
 "Upon this, the duty and affection of this county
 "prompted his subjects here to provide a small
 "guard for his own person; which was no sooner
 "done, but a vote suddenly passed of his majesty's
 "intention to levy war against his parliament,
 "(which, God knows, his heart abhorreth;) and,
 "notwithstanding all his majesty's professions,
 "declarations, and protestations to the contrary,
 "seconded by the clear testimony of so great a
 "number of peers upon the place, propositions
 "and orders for levies of men, horse, and arms,
 "were sent throughout the kingdom; plate and
 "money brought in and received, horse and men
 "raised towards an army, mustered, and under
 "command; and all this contrary to the law,
 "and to his majesty's proclamation: and a decla-
 "ration published, that if he should use force for
 "the recovery of Hull, or suppressing the pre-
 "tended ordinance for the militia, it should be
 "held levying war against the parliament: and
 "all this done, before his majesty granted any
 "commission for the levying or raising a man.
 "His majesty's ships were taken from him, and
 "committed to the custody of the earl of Warwick;
 "who presumes, under that power, to usurp to
 "himself the sovereignty of the sea, to chase,
 "fright, and imprison such of his majesty's good
 "subjects, as desire to obey his lawful commands;
 "although he had notice of the legal revocation of
 "the earl of Northumberland's commission of
 "admiral, whereby all power derived from that
 "commission ceased.

"Let all the world now judge who began this
 "war, and upon whose account the miseries, which
 "may follow, must be cast; what his majesty could
 "have done less than he hath done; and whether
 "he were not compelled to make provision both
 "for the defence of himself, and recovery of what
 "is so violently and injuriously taken from him;
 "and whether these injuries and indignities are
 "not just grounds for his majesty's fears and appre-
 "hensions of further mischief and danger to him.
 "Whence the fears and jealousies of the petitioners
 "have proceeded, hath never been discovered; the
 "dangers they have brought upon his subjects are
 "too evident; what those are they have prevented,
 "no man knows. And therefore his majesty can-
 "not but look upon that charge as the boldest, and
 "the most scandalous, hath been yet laid upon
 "him; That this necessary provision, made for his
 "own safety and defence, is to overrule the judg-
 "ment and advice of his great council; and by
 "force to determine the questions there depending,
 "concerning the government and liberty of the
 "kingdom. If no other force had been raised to
 "determine those questions, than by his majesty,
 "this unhappy misunderstanding had not been:
 "and his majesty no longer desires the blessing
 "and protection of Almighty God upon himself
 "and his posterity, than he and they shall solemnly
 "observe the due execution of the laws, in the
 "defence of parliaments, and the just freedom
 "thereof.

"For the forces about Hull, his majesty will
 "remove them, when he hath obtained the end
 "for which they were brought thither. When
 "Hull shall be reduced again to his subjection, he
 "will no longer have an army before it. And
 "when he shall be assured, that the same neces-
 "sity and pretence of public good, which took

"Hull from him, may not put a garrison into New-
 "castle to keep the same against him, he will
 "remove his from thence, and from Tinnmouth;
 "till when, the example of Hull will not out of his
 "memory.

"For the commissions of array, which are legal,
 "and are so proved by a declaration now in the
 "press, his majesty wonders why they should, at
 "this time, be thought grievous, and fit to be re-
 "called: if the fears of invasion and rebellion be
 "so great, that, by an illegal, pretended ordinance,
 "it is necessary to put his subjects into a posture
 "of defence, to array, train, and muster them, he
 "knows not why the same should not be done in a
 "regular, known, lawful way. But if, in the ex-
 "ecution of that commission, any thing shall be
 "unlawfully imposed upon his good subjects, his
 "majesty will take all just and necessary care for
 "their redress.

"For his majesty's coming nearer to his parlia-
 "ment, his majesty hath expressed himself so fully
 "in his several messages, answers, and declara-
 "tions, and so particularly avowed a real fear of
 "his safety, upon such instances as cannot be
 "answered, that he hath reason to take himself
 "somewhat neglected, that, since upon so manifest
 "reasons it is not safe for his majesty to come to
 "them, both his houses of parliament will not
 "come nearer to his majesty, or to such a place
 "where the freedom and dignity of parliament
 "might be preserved. However, his majesty shall
 "be very glad to hear of some such example in
 "their punishing the tumults (which he knows
 "not how to expect, when they have declared that
 "they knew not of any tumults; though the
 "house of peers desired, both for the freedom and
 "dignity of parliament, that the house of commons
 "would join with them in a declaration against
 "tumults; which they refused, that is, neglected
 "to do,) and other seditious actions, speeches, and
 "writings, as may take that apprehension of
 "danger from him; though, when he remembers
 "the particular complaints himself hath made of
 "businesses of that nature, and that, instead of
 "inquiring out the authors, neglect of examination
 "hath been, when offer hath been made to both
 "houses to produce the authors; as in that trea-
 "sonable paper concerning the militia: and when
 "he sees every day pamphlets published against
 "his crown, and against monarchy itself; as the
 "observations upon his late messages, declarations,
 "and expresses; and some declarations of their
 "own, which give too great encouragement, in
 "that argument, to ill-affected persons; his ma-
 "jesty cannot, with confidence, entertain those
 "hopes which would be most welcome to him.

"For the leaving delinquents to the due course
 "of justice, his majesty is most assured he hath
 "been no shelter to any such. If the tediousness
 "and delay in prosecution, the vast charge in
 "officers' fees, the keeping men under a general
 "accusation, without trial, a whole year and more,
 "and so allowing them no way for their defence
 "and vindication, have frightened men away from
 "so chargeable and uncertain attendance, the
 "remedy is best provided where the disease grew.
 "If the law be the measure of delinquency, none
 "such are within his majesty's protection: but if
 "by delinquents such are understood, who are
 "made so by vote, without any trespass upon any
 "known or established law: if by delinquents those

" nine lords are understood, who are made delinquents for obeying his majesty's summons to come to him, after their stay there was neither safe nor honourable, by reason of the tumults, and other violences; and whose impeachment, he is confident, is the greatest breach of privilege, that, before this parliament, was ever offered to the house of peers: if by delinquents such are understood, who refuse to submit to the pretended ordinance of the militia; to that of the navy; or to any other, which his majesty hath not consented to; such who for the peace of the kingdom, in an humble manner, prepare petitions to him, or to both houses, as his good subjects of London and Kent did; whilst seditious ones, as that of Essex, and other places, are allowed and cherished: if by delinquents such are understood, who are called so for publishing his proclamations, as the lord mayor of London; or for reading his messages and declarations, as divers ministers about London and elsewhere; when those against him are dispersed with all care and industry, to poison and corrupt the loyalty and affection of his people: if by delinquents such are understood, who have, or shall lend his majesty money, in the universities, or in any other places; his majesty declares to all the world, that he will protect such with his utmost power and strength; and directs, that, in these cases, they submit not to any messengers, or warrant; it being no less his duty to protect those who are innocent, than to bring the guilty to condign punishment; of both which the law is to be judge. And if both houses do think fit to make a general, and to raise an army for defence of those who obey their orders and commands, his majesty must not sit still, and suffer such who submit to his just power, and are solicitous for the laws of the land, to perish and be undone, because they are called delinquents. And when they shall take upon them to dispense with the attendance of those who are called by his majesty's writ, whilst they send them to sea, to rob his majesty of his ships; or into the several counties, to put his subjects in arms against him; his majesty (who only hath it) will not lose the power to dispense with them to attend his own person; or to execute such offices, as are necessary for the preservation of himself and the kingdom; but must protect them, though they are called delinquents.

" For the manner of the proceeding against delinquents, his majesty will proceed against those who have no privilege of parliament, or in such cases where no privilege is to be allowed, as he shall be advised by his learned council, and according to the known and unquestionable rules of the law; it being unreasonable, that he should be compelled to proceed against those who have violated the known and undoubted law, only before them who have directed such violation.

" Having said thus much to the particulars of the petition, though his majesty hath reason to complain, that, since the sending this petition, they have beaten their drums for soldiers against him; armed their own general with a power destructive to the law, and liberty of the subjects; and chosen a general of their horse; his majesty, out of his princely love, tenderness, and compassion of his people, and desire to preserve the

" peace of the kingdom, that the whole force and strength of it may be united for the defence of itself, and the relief of Ireland, (in whose behalf he conjures both his houses of parliament, as they will answer the contrary to Almighty God, his majesty, to those who trust them, and to that bleeding, miserable kingdom, that they suffer not any monies, granted and collected by act of parliament, to be diverted or employed against his majesty; whilst his soldiers in that kingdom are ready to mutiny, or perish for want of pay; and the barbarous rebels prevail by that encouragement,) is graciously pleased once more to propose and require,

" That his town of Hull be immediately delivered up to him; which being done, (though his majesty hath been provoked by unheard of insolences of sir John Hotham's, since his burning and drowning the country, in seizing his wine, and other provisions for his house, and scornfully using his servant, whom he sent to require them; saying, it came to him by Providence, and he will keep it; and so refusing to deliver it, with threats if he, or any other of his fellow-servants, should again repair to Hull about it; and in taking and detaining prisoners, divers gentlemen, and others, in their passage over the Humber into Lincolnshire about their necessary occasions; and such other indignities, as all gentlemen must resent in his majesty's behalf,) his majesty, to shew his earnest desire of peace, for which he will dispense with his own honour, and how far he is from desire of revenge, will grant a free and general pardon to all persons within that town.

" That his majesty's magazine, taken from Hull, be forthwith put into such hands, as he shall appoint.

" That his navy be forthwith delivered into such hands, as he hath directed for the government thereof: the detaining thereof after his majesty's directions, published and received, to the contrary; and employing his ships against him in such manner as they are now used, being notorious high treason in the commanders of those ships.

" That all arms, levies, and provisions for a war, made by the consent of both houses, (by whose example his majesty hath been forced to make some preparations,) be immediately laid down; and the pretended ordinance for the militia, and all power of imposing laws upon the subject without his majesty's consent, be disavowed; without which, the same pretence will remain to produce the same mischief. All which his majesty may as lawfully demand as to live, and can with no more justice be denied him, than his life may be taken from him.

" These being done, and the parliament adjourned to a safe and secure place, his majesty promises, in the presence of God, and binds himself by all his confidence and assurance in the affection of his people, that he will instantly, and most cheerfully, lay down all the force he shall have raised, and discharge all his future and intended levies; that there may be a general face of peace over the whole kingdom; and will repair to them: and desires, that all differences may be freely debated in a parliamentary way; whereby the law may recover its due reverence, the subject his just liberty, and parliaments

“ themselves their full vigour and estimation ;
 “ and so the whole kingdom a blessed peace,
 “ quiet, and prosperity.

“ If these propositions shall be rejected, his ma-
 “ jesty doubts not of the protection and assistance
 “ of Almighty God, and the ready concurrence of
 “ his good subjects ; who can have no hope left
 “ them of enjoying their own long, if their king
 “ may be oppressed and spoiled, and must be re-
 “ mediless. And though his towns, his ships, his
 “ arms, and his money, be gotten, and taken from
 “ him, he hath a good cause left, and the hearts
 “ of his people ; which, with God’s blessing, he
 “ doubts not, will recover all the rest.

“ Lastly, if the preservation of the protestant
 “ religion, the defence of the liberty and law of the
 “ kingdom, the dignity and freedom of parliament,
 “ and the recovery and the relief of bleeding and
 “ miserable Ireland, be equally precious to the
 “ petitioners, as they are to his majesty, (who will
 “ have no quarrel but in defence of these,) there
 “ will be a cheerful and speedy consent to what
 “ his majesty hath now proposed and desired :
 “ and of this his majesty expects a full and posi-
 “ tive answer by Wednesday the 27th of this
 “ instant July ; till when he shall not make any
 “ attempt of force upon Hull, hoping in the affec-
 “ tion, duty, and loyalty of the petitioners : and,
 “ in the mean time, expects that no supply of men
 “ be put into Hull, or any of his majesty’s goods
 “ taken from thence.”

The whole court, upon the hearing that petition
 from the two houses read, expressed a marvellous
 indignation at the intolerable indignities offered
 to the king by it ; and seemed no better satisfied
 with the messengers ; who had professed, that they
 brought an absolute submission to his majesty ;
 when, in truth, what they brought appeared to be
 a full justification of whatsoever they had done
 before, and an implied threat of doing worse, and
 fixing all the scandals upon his majesty, which
 they had scattered abroad before : insomuch as
 all men expected and believed his majesty to be
 engaged, for the vindication of his princely dignity
 and honour, to return a much sharper answer to
 them than he had ever sent. So that, when this
 which is before set down (and which had before
 been consented to, and approved in the full as-
 sembly of the peers and counsellors) was read
 publicly, it was generally thought, that the king
 had not enough resented the insolence and usur-
 pation of the parliament, or appeared sensible
 enough of the provocations : yet the thought of a
 war, which wise men saw actually levied upon the
 king already, was so much abhorred, and men
 were so credulous of every expedient which was
 pretended for peace, that by the next morning
 (the answer being delivered in the evening) these
 active messengers for the parliament persuaded
 many “ that the king’s answer was too sharp, and
 “ would provoke the houses, who were naturally
 “ passionate, to proceed in the high ways they were
 “ in ; whereas, if the king would abate that severity
 “ of language, and would yet take off the preamble
 “ of his answer, they were confident, and the earl
 “ of Holland privately offered to undertake, that
 “ satisfaction should be given to all that his ma-
 “ jesty proposed.” And, by this means, some
 were so far wrought upon, as they earnestly im-
 portuned the king, “ that he would take his answer,
 “ which he had publicly delivered the night be-

“ fore, from the messengers ; and, instead thereof,
 “ return the sum matter of his own propositions
 “ only, in the most soft and gentle language ;
 “ without the preamble, or any mention of their un-
 “ justifiable and unreasonable demeanour towards
 “ him.”

But his majesty replied, “ that he had for a long
 “ time, even after great provocations, and their first
 “ general remonstrance to the people, treated with
 “ all imaginable compliance and lenity of words
 “ with them ; and discovered their unjustifiable and
 “ most extravagant proceedings with and against
 “ him, and the consequences that would inevitably
 “ attend their progress in them, with such tender
 “ expressions, as if he believed whatever was amiss
 “ to proceed from misinformation only, and un-
 “ skilful mistakes : that this gentleness and regard
 “ of his was so far from operating upon them, that
 “ their insolence and irregularities increased ; and
 “ it might be from that reason, [that] their mes-
 “ sages and declarations were written in so high a
 “ dialect, and with that sovereignty of language, as
 “ if he were subject to their jurisdiction ; and he
 “ did not know but it might have some influence
 “ upon his people to his disadvantage, that is, raise
 “ terror towards them, and lessen their reverence
 “ towards his majesty, when all their petitions and
 “ propositions were more imperative than his just
 “ and necessary refusals : which condescension his
 “ majesty had brought himself to, in hope, that his
 “ example, and their natural shame, would have
 “ reformed that new license of words : that this
 “ last address, under the name of a petition, (a few
 “ days after they had violently ravished his whole
 “ fleet from him ; and prepared the same day, that
 “ they had chosen a general, to whom they had
 “ sworn allegiance, to lead an army against him,)
 “ contained a peremptory justification of whatso-
 “ ever they had done, and as peremptory a threat-
 “ ening of whatsoever they could do : and there-
 “ fore, if he should now retract his answer, which
 “ had been solemnly considered in council, before
 “ all the peers, and which in truth implied rather
 “ a princely resentment of the indignities offered
 “ to him, than flowed with any sharp or bitter
 “ expressions, he should, by such yielding, give
 “ encouragement to new attempts ; and could not
 “ but much discourage those, upon whose affec-
 “ tions and loyalty he was principally to depend ;
 “ who could not think it safe to raise themselves
 “ to an indignation on his behalf, when he ex-
 “ pressed so tender or so little sense of his own
 “ sufferings : besides, that he was then upon an
 “ avowed hostile enterprise for the reduction of
 “ Hull ; towards which he was to use all possible
 “ means to draw a force together, equal to that
 “ design ; and by such a retractation as this pro-
 “ posed, and a seeming declension of his spirit,
 “ and depending upon their good natures, who
 “ had done all this mischief, he should not only
 “ be inevitably disappointed of the resort of new
 “ strength, but, probably, deserted by those few
 “ whom he had brought together : that he could
 “ not reasonably or excusably depend upon the
 “ undertaking of the earl of Holland ; who had
 “ so grossly deceived him in other undertakings,
 “ which were immediately in his own power to
 “ have performed : whereas neither he, or either
 “ of the other two gentlemen, who were joined
 “ with him in this employment, had so much
 “ interest with the active and prevailing party,

"as to know more of their intentions than was
"at present necessary to be discovered for their
"concurrence.

"He said, that he had never yet consented to
"any one particular, since the beginning of this
"parliament, by which he had received prejudice,
"at the doing whereof he had not the solemn un-
"dertakings and promises of those, who were
"much abler to justify their undertakings than
"the earl of Holland; and upon whom he only
"depended, that it should be no disservice to him,
"and would be an infallible means to compass all
"that his majesty reasonably desired: but he had
"always found those promisers and undertakers,
"though they could eminently carry on any
"counsel, or conclusion, that was against law,
"justice, or his right, had never power to reduce or
"restrain those agitations within any bounds of
"sobriety and moderation: and when they found
"that many would not be guided by them, that
"they might seem still to lead, themselves as
"furiously followed the other; and resorted again
"to his majesty with some new expedient, as
"destructive as the former. So that he was
"henceforward resolved to rely upon God Almighty,
"and not so much to depend upon what might
"possibly prevail upon the affections of those, from
"whom, reasonably, he could not expect any good,
"as upon such plain and avowed courses, as, let
"the success be what it would, must, to all judg-
"ing men, appear to be prudently and honourably
"to be relied on: and therefore he positively re-
"fused to make the least alteration in his answer."

And so the messengers departed, leaving the court
and country worse affected than they found it;
and branding some particular persons, whom they
found less inclined to be ruled by their professions
and promises, "as the authors of a civil war:"
and making them as odious as they could, wher-
ever they came.

And sure, from that time, the earl of Holland
was more transported from his natural temper and
gentleness of disposition, into passion and animosity
against the king and his ministers; and, having
been nothing pleased with his own condition at
London, finding the earl of Essex (whom he did
not secretly love, and indeed contemned) to draw
all men's eyes towards him, and to have the great-
est interest in their hearts, he had seriously in-
tended, under colour of this message to the king,
to discover if there were any sparks yet left in his
royal breast, which might be kindled into affection
or acceptance of his service; and hoped, if he
could get any credit, to redeem his former tres-
passes: but when he found his majesty not only
cold towards him, but easily enough discerned, by
his reception, that all former inclinations were
dead, and more than ordinary prejudices grown
up towards him in their places, and that his ad-
vices were rejected, he returned with rancour equal
to the most furious he went to; and heartily joined
and concurred towards the suppressing that power,
in the administration whereof he was not like to
bear any part.

His majesty having, by his answer, obliged him-
self not to make any forcible attempt upon Hull
till the 27th of July, by which time he might rea-
sonably expect an answer to his propositions, in
the mean time resolved to make some short pro-
gress into the neighbour counties; and accordingly,
the same day the messengers departed, the king

went to Doncaster; and the next day to Notting-
ham; and so to Leicester; where he heard the
earl of Stamford, and some other parliament men,
were executing the ordinance of the militia: but,
before his majesty came thither, they removed
themselves to Northampton; a town so true to
them, as, if they had been pursued, would have
shut their gates against the king himself, as Hull
had done.

At Leicester the king was received with great
expressions of duty and loyalty, by the appearance
of the trained bands, and full acclamations of the
people; yet there were two accidents that happened
there, which, if they be at all remembered, will
manifest, that if the king were loved there as he
ought to be, that the parliament was more feared
than he. It happened to be at the time of the
general assizes, and justice Reeve (a man of a good
reputation for learning and integrity; and who, in
good times, would have been a good judge) sat
there as judge; and Mr. Henry Hastings, younger
son to the earl of Huntingdon, was purposely made
high sheriff, to contain the county within the limits
of their duty by the power of that office, as well as
by the interest and relation of his family. The earl
of Stamford, and his assistants, had departed the
town but few hours before his majesty's entrance,
and had left their magazine, which was indeed the
magazine of the county, in a little storehouse at the
end of the town, guarded by some inferior officers,
whom they had brought down to train and exercise
the militia, and other zealous and devoted men of
the county, in all to the number of about twenty-
five, who had barricadoed the door of the house;
and professed "to keep it against all demanders;"
having provisions within it of all sorts. The king
was very unwilling (coming in so peaceable a man-
ner, at so peaceable a time) to take any notice of
it. On the other hand, it was an act of too great
insolence to be suffered; and, upon the matter, to
leave a garrison of the rebels in possession of the
town; and therefore he sent word to the judge,
"that if he took not some legal way to remove
"such a force so near his majesty, his majesty
"would do it in an extraordinary course;" which,
upon the sudden, would have puzzled him to have
done; having neither soldier, cannon, or powder
to effect it; the want of which as much troubled
the sheriff. In the end, the gentlemen of the
country, who had not yet otherwise declared them-
selves on either side, than by waiting on his ma-
jesty, finding that the king would not go from the
town till that nuisance was removed; and that it
might bring inconveniences, charge, and mischief
to the county of a high nature; so prevailed, that,
as his majesty was contented to take no notice of
it, so they within the house, in the night, upon
assurance of safety and liberty to go whither they
would, removed and left the house; and so that
matter was quieted.

The other [accident] was, or was like to have
proved, more ridiculous: Some of the king's ser-
vants, hearing that the earl of Stamford, and the
other militia men, were newly gone out of the town,
had of themselves, coming thither before the king,
galloped after them; intending to have appre-
hended them, and brought them before the king;
and, though the other were too fleet for them, had,
in the way, overtaken Dr. Bastwick, a man well
known, who had been a principal officer with them
at Leicester, and fled at the same time, but could

not keep pace with his commanders: him they brought to the town, where, by the sheriff, he was committed to prison; having confessed enough treason, and justifying it, as would have justly hanged any subject. The king thought once to have had him indicted then at the assizes, upon the plain statute of 25 Edw. III. But the judge besought his majesty not to put a matter of so great moment, upon which the power of the two houses of parliament, and a parliament sitting, must be determined, before one single judge, whose reputation was not enough to bear so great a burden: however, he declared his own opinion fully to his majesty, "that it was treason; which, he believed, all the other judges must acknowledge; and, being convened together by his majesty to that purpose, he thought a joint declaration and resolution of all together might be of great use to the king; whereas the publishing of his particular opinion could only destroy himself, and nothing advance his majesty's service: besides, he had no reason to be so confident of the country, as to conclude, that a jury, then suddenly summoned, would have courage to find the bill; and then their not doing it, if it were attempted, would prove a greater countenance to the ordinance, than the vote of the two houses had yet given it." This last reason gave his majesty greater satisfaction; so that he was contented that the fellow should be kept in prison, and the trial be deferred, till he could conveniently summon more judges to be present.

His majesty was no sooner persuaded to be content that this prosecution might be suspended, but the close agents for the parliament's service, who were not yet discovered, but appeared very entire to the king, so dexterously carried themselves, that they prevailed with those gentlemen of the country, whose zeal to his majesty was most eminent and unquestionable, and even with the judge himself, "to wish, that his majesty would freely and graciously discharge the doctor of his imprisonment; or give the judge leave to do so upon a habeas corpus;" which he was advised to require:) "and that it would be such an act of mercy and singular justice, that would not only work upon the people of that county to his majesty's advantage, but must have a great influence upon the whole kingdom, and even upon the parliament itself." And with this strange desire the good judge, and those principal gentlemen, confidently came to the king, the night before he intended to return northward. His majesty told them, "he would think of it till the next morning." And, in the mean time, concluding by what he heard, that though he should refuse to discharge him, or to consent that he should be discharged, his restraint would not be long in that place after his departure, the people already resorting to him with great license, and the doctor, according to his nature, talking seditiously and loudly, he directed "a messenger of the chamber very early, with such assistance as the sheriff should give him, to carry him away to Nottingham; and, by the help of that sheriff, to the gaol at York:" which was executed accordingly with expedition and secrecy; if either of which had been absent, it is certain the common people had rescued him; which, of how trivial a moment soever it shall be thought, I could not but mention as an instance of the spirit and temper of that time,

and the great disadvantage the king was upon, that so many very good men thought fit, at a time, when very many hundreds of persons of honour and quality were imprisoned with all strictness and severity by the parliament, upon the bare suspicion that they meant to go to the king, or that they wished well to him, or for not submitting to some illegal order or command of theirs, that the king should discharge an infamous person, taken in an act of high treason, and who more frankly and avowedly professed sedition, than he did the science of which he pretended to be doctor.

The king, according to his appointment, returned towards Hull, in expectation of an answer from the parliament; which came two days after the appointed day, but with no solemnity of messengers, or other ceremony, than inclosed to one of the secretaries to be presented to the king, in which they told him,

"That they could not, for the present, with the discharge of the trust reposed in them for the safety of the king and kingdom, yield to those demands of his majesty. The reason why they took into their custody the town of Hull, the magazine, and navy; passed the ordinance of the militia; and made preparation of arms; was for security of religion, the safety of his majesty's person, of the kingdom, and parliament; all which they did see in evident and imminent danger; from which when they should be secured, and that the forces of the kingdom should not be used to the destruction thereof, they should then be ready to withdraw the garrison out of Hull, to deliver the magazine and navy, and settle the militia, by bill, in such a way as should be honourable and safe for his majesty, most agreeable to the duty of parliament, and effectual for the good of the kingdom; as they had professed in their late petition. And for adjourning the parliament, they apprehended no reason for his majesty to require it, nor security for themselves to consent to it. And as for that reason which his majesty was pleased to express, they doubted not but the usual place would be as safe for his royal person, as any other; considering the full assurance they had of the loyalty and fidelity of the city of London to his majesty; and the care which his parliament would ever have to prevent any danger, which his majesty might justly apprehend; besides the manifold conveniences to be had there, beyond other parts of the kingdom. And as for the laying down of arms; when the causes which moved them to provide for the defence of his majesty, the kingdom, and parliament, should be taken away, they should very willingly and cheerfully forbear any further preparations, and lay down their force already raised."

Which replication, as they called it, to his majesty's answer, they ordered "to be printed, and read in all churches and chapels within the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales."

And so the war was now denounced by their express words against his majesty, as it had been long before in their actions; and both parties seemed to give over all thoughts of further treaties and overtures; and each prepared to make himself considerable by the strength and power of such forces as they could draw together.

In London they intended nothing but the forming of their army, and such other things of power, as [were] in order thereunto. To that purpose,

the bill for the payment of tonnage and poundage being expired on the first day of July, and they having sent another of the same nature to the king for his consent, for six months longer, his majesty, since he saw that, and all other money properly belonging to him, violently taken from him, and employed by them against him, refused to give his royal assent thereunto: whereupon, without the least hesitation, (albeit it had been enacted this very parliament, "that whosoever should presume "to pay or receive that duty, after the expiration "of the act, before the same was regranted by his "majesty with the consent of the lords and com- "mons, should be in a *præmunire*;" which is the heaviest punishment inflicted by law, but the loss of life,) they appointed and ordered by the power of the two houses, (which they called an ordinance of parliament,) "that the same duty should be "continued; and declared, that they would save "all persons concerned from any penalty or "punishment whatsoever:" by which, they now became possessed of the customs in their own right.

Towards such as any ways (though under the obligation of oaths or offices) opposed or discountenanced what they went about, they proceeded with the most extravagant severity that had been ever heard of; of which I shall only mention two instances; the first, of the lord mayor of London, sir Richard Gurney, a citizen of great wealth, reputation, and integrity; whom the lords had, upon the complaint of the house of commons, before their sending the last petition to the king, (of which his majesty gave them a touch in his answer,) committed to the tower of London; for causing the king's proclamation against the militia, by virtue of his majesty's writ to him directed, and according to the known duty of his place, to be publicly proclaimed. And shortly after, that they might have a man more compliant with their designs to govern the city, notwithstanding that he insisted upon his innocence, and made it appear that he was obliged by the laws of the land, the customs of the city, and the constitution of his office and his oath, to do whatsoever he had done; he was by their lordships, in the presence of the commons, adjudged "to be put out of his office of lord mayor of London; "to be utterly incapable of bearing office in city "or kingdom, and incapable of all honour or dignity; and to be imprisoned during the pleasure "of the two houses of parliament." And, upon this sentence, alderman Pennington, so often before mentioned, was, by the noise and clamour of the common people, against the customs and rules of election, made mayor, and accordingly installed; and the true, old, worthy mayor committed to the tower of London; where he hath with notable courage and constancy continued to this present.

The other instance I think fit to mention is that of judge Mallet; who, as is before remembered, was committed to the tower the last Lent, for having seen a petition prepared by the grand jury of Kent, for the countenance of the Book of Common Prayer, and against the imposition of the militia by ordinance without the royal assent. This judge (being, this summer circuit, again judge of assize for those counties) sitting at Maidstone upon the great assize, some members of the house of commons, under the style and title of a committee of parliament, came to the bench; and, producing some votes, and orders, and declarations of one or

both houses, "required him, in the name of the "parliament, to cause those papers" (being on the behalf of the ordinance of the militia, and against the commission of array) "to be read." He told them, "that he sat there by virtue of his majesty's "commissions; and that he was authorized to do "any thing comprised in those commissions; but "he had no authority to do any thing else; and "therefore, there being no mention, in either of "his commissions, of those papers, or the publishing any thing of that nature, he could not, nor "would do it;" and so (finding less respect and submission than they expected, both to their persons and their business, from the learned judge, and that the whole county, at least the prime gentlemen and the grand jury, which [represented] the county, contemned both much more) this committee returned to the house with great exclamations against Mr. Justice Mallet, "as the fomentor "and protector of a malignant faction against the "parliament." And, upon this charge, a troop of horse was sent to attend an officer; who came with a warrant from the houses, or some committee, (whereas justice Mallet, being an assistant of the house of peers, could not regularly be summoned by any other authority,) to Kingston in Surrey, where the judge was keeping the general assizes for that county; and, to the unspeakable dishonour of the public justice of the kingdom, and the scandal of all ministers or lovers of justice, in that violent manner took the judge from the bench, and carried him prisoner to Westminster; from whence, by the two houses, he was committed to the tower of London; where he remained for the space of above two years, without ever being charged with any particular crime, till he was redeemed by his majesty by the exchange of another, whose liberty they desired.

By these heightened acts of power and terror, they quickly demonstrated how unsecure it would be for any man, at least not to concur with them. And, having a general, arms, money, and men enough at their devotion, they easily formed an army, publicly disposing such troops and regiments, as had been raised for Ireland, and, at one time, one hundred thousand pounds of that money, which, by act of parliament, had been paid for that purpose, towards the constituting that army, which was to be led against their lawful sovereign. So that it was very evident, they would be in such an equipage within few weeks, both with a train of artillery, horse, and foot, all taken, armed, furnished, and supplied out of his majesty's own magazines and stores, that they had not reason to fear any opposition. In the mean time, they declared, and published to the people, "that they "raised that army only for the defence of the parliament, the king's person, and the religion, "liberty, and laws of the kingdom, and of those, "who, for their sakes, and for those ends, had "obeyed their orders: that the king, by the instigation of evil counsellors, had raised a great army "of papists; by which he intended to awe and "destroy the parliament; to introduce popery and "tyranny: of which intention, they said, his requiring Hull; his sending out commissions of "array; his bespeaking arms and ammunition "beyond the seas; (there having been some "brought to him by the ship called the Providence;) his declaring sir John Hotham traitor; "and the putting out the earl of Northumberland

“from being lord high admiral of England; his removing the earl of Pembroke, Essex, Holland, the lord Fielding, and sir Henry Vane, from their several places and employments; were sufficient and ample evidences: and therefore they conjured all men to assist their general, the earl of Essex.” And, for their better and more secret transaction of all such counsels, as were necessary to be entered upon, or followed, they chose a committee, of some choice members of either house, to intend the great business of the kingdom with reference to the army; who had authority, without so much as communicating the matter to the house, to imprison persons, seize upon estates; and many other particulars, which the two houses, in full parliament, had not the least regular, legal, justifiable authority to do. And for the better encouragement of men to engage in the service, the lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the house of commons, formerly accused by his majesty of high treason, upon solemn debate, had several regiments conferred on them; and, by their example, many other members of both houses, some upon their lowness, and decayedness of their fortunes, others to get name and reputation to be in the number of reformers, (amongst whom they doubted not all places of honour, or offices of profit, would be bestowed,) most upon the confidence, that all would be ended without a blow, by the king's want of power to gather strength, desired and obtained command of horse or foot; their quality making amends for their want of experience, and their other defects; which were repaired by many good officers, both English and Scots; the late troubles having brought many of that tribe to London, and the reputation of the earl of Essex having drawn others, out of the Low Countries, to engage in that service. In the choice of whom, whilst they accused the king of a purpose to bring in a foreign force, and of entertaining papists, they neither considered nation or religion; but entertained all strangers and foreigners, of what religion soever, who desired to run their fortune in war.

On the other side, preparations were not made with equal expedition and success by the king, towards a war: for, though he well understood and discerned that he had nothing else to trust to, he was to encounter strange difficulties to do that. He was so far from having money to levy or pay soldiers, that he was, at this very time, compelled, for very real want, to let fall all the tables kept by his officers of state in court, by which so many of all qualities subsisted; and the prince, and duke of York, eat with his majesty; which table only was kept. And whoever knows the constitution of a court, well knows what indispositions naturally flow from those declensions; and how ill those tempers bear any diminution of their own interests; and, being once indisposed themselves, how easily they infect others. And that which made the present want of money the more intolerable, there was no visible hope from whence supply could come, in any reasonable time: and that which was a greater want than money, which men rather feared than found, there were no arms; for, notwithstanding the fame of the great store of ammunition brought in by that ship, it consisted only in truth of cannon, powder, and bullet, with eight hundred muskets, which was all the king's magazine. So that the hastening of levies, which at that time was believed would not prove difficult,

would be to little purpose, when they should continue unarmed. But that which troubled the king more than all these real incapacities of making war, was the temper and constitution of his own party; which was compounded, for the most part, in court, council, and country, of men drawn to him by the impulsion of conscience, and abhorring the unjust and irregular proceedings of the parliament; otherwise unexperienced in action, and unacquainted with the mysteries and necessary policy of government; severe observers of the law, and as scrupulous in all matters of [religion,] as the other pretended to be: all his majesty's ancient counsellors and servants, (except some few of lasting honour, whom we shall have occasion often to mention,) being to redeem former oversights, or for other unworthy designs, either publicly against him in London, or privately discrediting his interest and actions in his own court. These men still urged “the execution of the law; that what extravagances soever the parliament practised, the king's observation of the law would, in the end, suppress them all:” and, indeed, believed the raising a war to be so wicked a thing, that they thought it impossible the parliament should intend it, even when they knew what they were doing. However [they] concluded, “that he, that was forwardest in the preparing an army, would be first odious to the people; by the affections of whom, the other would be easily suppressed.”

This was the general received doctrine; and though it appeared plainly to others, (of equal affection to the public peace,) how fatal those conclusions, in that sense in which they were urged, must prove to the whole kingdom; and how soon the king must be irrecoverably lost, if he proceeded not more vigorously in his defence; yet even those men durst not, in any formed and public debate, declare themselves; or speak that plain English the state of affairs required; but satisfied themselves with speaking, what they thought necessary, to the king in private; so that by this means the king wanted those firm and solid foundations of counsel and foresight, as were most necessary for his condition: so that he could neither impart the true motives and grounds of any important action, nor discover the utmost of his designs. And so he still pretended (notwithstanding the greatest and avowed preparations of the enemy) to intend nothing of hostility, but in order to the reducing of Hull; the benefit of which, he hoped, would engage the trained bands of that great county, (which was the sole strength he yet drew thither,) till he could bring other forces thither, which might be fit for that, or any other design.

But there was another reason of his majesty's going to and staying at Beverley, than was understood; and, it may be, if it had been known, might have produced a better effect; which I think necessary to insert in this place. The lord Digby, whom we have mentioned before, in the first disorder, by which the king and queen were driven from London, to have left England, and to be after unreasonably accused by the house of commons of high treason, had remained from that time in Holland; and, hearing the king's condition at York to be so much improved beyond what he left it at Windsor, had, with some commands from the queen, arrived there very privately, and staid some days in a disguise at York, revealing himself to very few friends, and speaking with the king in so secret a manner

in the night, that no notice was taken of his being there; and, finding the king's affairs not in so good a posture as he expected, and conceiving it yet not fit for him to appear, resolved to return again to the queen, and to hasten that provision of arms and ammunition, without which it was not possible for the king to resist any violence that threatened him; and so, in the same bark which brought him over, he went again to sea for Holland, with Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, and Berkley; who purposely removed themselves from court, upon the clamour of the parliament, till the king was ready to use their service. They were not many hours at sea, when they met the Providence, (which we mentioned before,) with the ammunition, which was only wanted; and, well knowing her, they agreed, "that Wilmot, Pollard, Berkley, should return with the ammunition to the king; and Digby, and col. Ashburnham should pursue their former intentions for Holland." But their parleys continued so long, that the parliament ships, who had watched and chased the Providence, came up to them, and though the ship escaped, and run on shore, as was before mentioned, yet the fly-boat, in which the lord Digby was, could not so well get away; but was taken by them, and carried in with so much the more choler and triumph into Hull, that they had been disappointed of their greater prize. Col. Ashburnham, though he was in great umbrage with the parliament, and one of those delinquents, whom they reproached the king with, was so well known to sir John Hotham, with whom he stood in a good degree of familiarity, that he could not dissemble or conceal himself; but the lord Digby, being in so real a disguise, that his nearest friends would not easily have known him, pretended to be a Frenchman, whose language he spoke excellently; and seemed to be so sea-sick, that he kept himself in the hole of the bark, till they came to Hull; and, in that time, disposed of such papers as were not fit to be perused; and when he came on shore, so well counterfeited sickness, and want of health, that he easily procured himself to be sent, under a guard, to some obscure corner for repose; whilst col. Ashburnham, who was the only prisoner they thought worth the looking after, was carefully carried to the governor; who received him with as much civility as he could reasonably expect.

The lord Digby, being by himself, quickly considered the desperateness of his condition: "that it would not be possible to conceal himself long, being so well known to many who were in the Providence, and the garrison quickly knowing whatsoever was spoken of in the country: that he was, how unjustly or unreasonably soever, the most odious man of the kingdom to the parliament; into whose hands if he should then come, his life would be, at least, in apparent hazard." And how to get himself out of that labyrinth was very difficult, since sir John Hotham was so far from any inclination of kindness towards him, as he had to col. Ashburnham, that he was in the number of his most notorious enemies. However, in this eminent extremity, (as he is a man of the greatest presentness of mind, and the least unappalled upon danger, that I have known,) he resolved not to give himself over; and found means to make one of his guard, in broken English, which might well have become any Frenchman,

understand, "that he desired to speak privately with the governor; and that he would discover some secrets of the king's and queen's to him, that would highly advance the service of the parliament." The fellow made haste to let the governor know these good tidings; who understanding French well, as speedily sent for the Frenchman; who was brought before him in the presence of much company, and, without any disorder, gave such an account of himself, as they understood him to have seen much of the French service, (of which he spoke very fluently,) and to have come over recommended to the king for some command, if he should have occasion to use soldiers; as, he said, people abroad conceived him likely to have. After he had entertained the company with such discourse, there being present some gentlemen, who came lately out of France, and so being the more curious to administer questions, he applied himself to the governor; and told him, "that if he might be admitted to privacy with him, he would discover somewhat to him, which he would not repent to have known." The governor, who was a man apt enough to fear his own safety, but more apprehensive of the jealousies which would attend him, (for his eldest son, and some others, were more absolutely confided in by the parliament than himself, and were in truth but spies over him,) would not venture himself in another room; but drew him to a great window at a convenient distance from the company, and wished him "to say what he thought fit." The lord Digby, finding he could not obtain more privacy, asked him, in English, "whether he knew him?" The other, appalled, told him, "No." "Then," said he, "I shall try whether I know sir John Hotham; and whether he be, in truth, the same man of honour I have always taken him to be:" and, thereupon, told him who he was; and "that he hoped he was too much a gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury, who, he well knew, were his implacable enemies." The other, being surprised and astonished, and fearing that the by-standers would discover him too, (for, being now told who he was, he wondered he found it not out himself,) he desired him "to say no more for the present; that he should not be sorry for the trust he reposed in him, and should find him the same man he had thought him: that he would find some time, as soon as conveniently he might, to have more conference with him. In the mean time, that he should content himself with the ill accommodation he had, the amendment whereof would beget suspicion: and so he called the guard instantly to carry him away, and to have a very strict eye upon him;" and, turning to the company, and being conscious to himself of the trouble and disorder in his countenance, told them, "that the Frenchman was a shrewd fellow, and understood more of the queen's counsels and designs, than a man would suspect: that he had told him that which the parliament would be glad to know; to whom presently he would make a despatch, though he had not yet so clear informations, as he presumed, he should have after two or three days:" and so departed to his chamber.

It was a wonderful influence, that this noble person's stars (which used to lead him into and out of the greatest perplexities and dangers, throughout the whole course of his life) had upon this whole af-

fair. Hotham was, by his nature and education, a rough and a rude man; of great covetousness, of great pride, and great ambition; without any bowels of good nature, or the least sense or touch of generosity; his parts were not quick and sharp, but composed, and he judged well; he was a man of craft, and more like to deceive, than to be cozened: yet, after all this, this young nobleman, known and abhorred by him, for his admirable faculty of dissimulation, had so far prevailed, and imposed upon his spirit, that he resolved to practise that virtue, which the other had imputed to him; and which he was absolutely without; and not to suffer him to fall into the hands of his enemies. He sent for him, the next day, and at an hour when he was more vacant from attendants and observers; and, at first, told him his resolution; "that, since he had so frankly put himself into his hands, he would not deceive his trust;" and wished him "to consider, in what way, and by what colour, he should so set him at liberty, that he might, without any other danger, arrive at the place where he would be. For," he said, "he would not trust any person living with the secret, and least of all his son;" whom he mentioned with all the bitterness imaginable, "as a man of an ill nature, and furiously addicted to the worst designs the parliament had, or could have; and one that was more depended upon by them than himself, and sent thither only as a spy upon him." And from hence he entered upon the discourse "of the times, and mischief that was like to befall the whole kingdom, from this difference between the king and the parliament." Then lamented his own fate, "that, being a man of very different principles from those who drove things to this extremity, and of entire affection and duty to the king, he should now be looked upon as the chief ground and cause of the civil war which was to ensue, by his not opening the ports, when the king would have entered into the town:" of which business, and of all the circumstances attending it, he spake at large; and avowed, "that the information sent him of the king's purpose presently to hang him, was the true cause of his having proceeded in that manner."

The lord Digby, who knew well enough how to cultivate every period of such a discourse, and how to work upon those passions which were most predominant in him, joined with him in the sense of the calamities, which were like to befall the nation; which he bewailed pathetically; and, "that it should be in the power of a handful of ill men, corrupted in their affections to the king, and against monarchy itself, [to be] able to involve him, and many others of his clear intentions, in their dark counsels, and to engage them to prosecute ends which they abhorred, and which must determine in the ruin of all the undertakers. For, he told him, that the king, in a short time, would reduce all his enemies: that the hearts of the people were already, in all places, aliened from them; and that the fleet was so much at the king's disposal, that, as soon as they should receive his orders, they would appear in any place he appointed: that all the princes in Christendom were concerned in the quarrel, and would engage in it, as soon as they should be invited to it: and that the prince of Orange was resolved to come over in the head of his army, and would take Hull in three days." All which ought, reasonably, to have been true in the practick, though it had very little ground in the

speculation. And when he had, by degrees, amused and terrified him with this discourse, he enlarged upon "the honour and glory that man would have, who could be so blessed, as to prevent this terrible mass of confusion, that was in view: that king and people would join in rewarding him with honours and preferments of all kind; and that his name would be derived to posterity, as the preserver of his country." He told him, "He was that man, that could do all this; that, by delivering up Hull to the king, he might extinguish the war; and that immediately a peace would be established throughout the kingdom: that the world believed, that he had some credit both with the king and queen; that he would employ it all in his service; and if he would give him this rise to begin upon, he should find, that he would be much more solicitous for his greatness, and a full recompence for his merit, than he was now for his own safety." All these advertisements and reflections were the subject of more than one discourse; for sir John Hotham could not bear the variety and burden of all those thoughts together; but within two days all things were adjusted between them. Hotham said, "it would not become him, after such a refusal, to put the town into the king's hands; nor could he undertake (if he resolved) to effect it; the town itself being in no degree affected to his service; and the trained bands, of which the garrison wholly consisted, were under officers, upon whom he could not depend. But," he said, "if the king would come before the town, though but with one regiment, and plant his cannon against it, and make but one shot, he should think he had discharged his trust to the parliament, as far as he ought to do; and that he would immediately then deliver up the town; which he made no doubt but that he should be then able to do." And, on this errand, he was contented the lord Digby should go to the king, and be conducted out of the town beyond the limits of danger; the governor having told those officers he trusted most, that "he would send the Frenchman to York; who, he was well assured, would return to him again." And he gave him a note to a widow, who lived in the city, at whose house he might lodge, and by whose hands he might transmit any letter to him.

When he came to York, and after he had spoke with his friend Mr. Hyde and the other two, who were always together, and the king had notice of his arrival, it was resolved, that he should appear in his own likeness, and wait upon the king in public, that it might be believed, that he had transported himself from Holland in the ship that had brought the ammunition; which was hardly yet come to York, it being now about the time that Mr. Villiers and sir John Pennington had been sent away, and before the news came of their ill success. This was the cause of the sudden march to Hull, before there was a soldier levied to make an assault, or maintain a siege; which was so much wondered at then, and so much censured afterwards. For as soon as his majesty received this assurance, and, besides the confidence of the lord Digby, [which he had] so much reason to depend upon, by the treatment he had received, he declared "he would, upon such a day, go to Beverley," a place within four miles of Hull; and appointed three or four regiments of the country, under the command of such gentlemen whose affection was unquestionable, to

march thither, as a guard to his person; and likewise sent a little train of artillery, which might be ready for the summons. And when his majesty was ready with his equipage for his march, the lord Digby returned again in his old mode to Hull, to make sure that all things there might correspond with the former obligation. As soon as the king, and the whole court, (for none remained at York,) came to Beverley, (where they were well accommodated, which kept them from being quickly weary,) and the trained bands were likewise come thither, and the general, the earl of Lindsey, first took possession of his office; a little troubled, and out of countenance, that he should appear the general without an army; and be engaged in an enterprise, which he could not imagine would succeed; his majesty wished him to send out some officers, of which there was a good store, to take a view of the town, and of such advantage ground, within distance, upon which he might raise a battery; as if he meant on a sudden to assault the place; which appeared no unreasonable design, if there were a good party in the town to depend upon. And yet the general had no opinion, that his army of trained bands would frankly expose themselves to such an attack. Besides a great number of officers, and persons of quality, who were all well horsed, and had many servants as well provided, the king had his troop of guards so constituted as hath been said before; and there were few horse in Hull, without officers who understood that kind of service. So that it was no hard matter to take a very full view of the town, by riding to the very ports, and about the walls; nor, at first appearance, was there any show of hostility from the town upon their nearest approaches to it; but after they had made that visit two or three days together, they observed that the walls were better manned, and that there was every day an increase of labourers repairing the works; and then they begun to shoot, when any went within distance of the works.

Sir John Hotham had tried some of his officers, in whose particular affection he had most confidence, how far they were like to be governed by him; and found them of a temper not to be relied upon. His son was grown jealous of some design, and was caballing with those who were most notorious for their disaffection to the government; and some new officers were sent down by the parliament, to assist in the defence of the town, which, they thought, might probably be attempted; and supplies of men had been taken in from the ships, and had been sent thither from Boston, a neighbour town of eminent disloyalty. So that, when the lord Digby returned thither, he found a great damp upon the spirit of the governor, and a sadness of mind, that he had proceeded so far; of which he made all the haste he could to advertise the king; but his letters must first be sent to York before they could come to Beverley; and, when they were received, they contained still somewhat of hope, "that he might restore him to his former courage, and confirm his resolution:" so that the king seemed to defer any attempt, upon the hopes of the earl of Holland's message [before mentioned], and, in the end, he was compelled to give over the design, all hope from the governor growing desperate; whether from his want of courage, or want of power to execute what he desired, remains still uncertain. When he gave over further thought of it, he dismissed both the lord

Digby, and colonel Ashburnham, whom he had likewise detained till then, as a man of use in the execution of the design, with many professions of duty to the king; and as the concealing those two persons, and afterwards releasing them, immediately increased the jealousy of the parliament against him, so it was the principal cause, afterwards, of the loss of his head.

The king, after three weeks' or a month's stay at Beverley, dismissed the trained bands, weary of their service, and returned with his court to York, in so much less credit than when he came from thence, as the entering into a war without power, or preparation to prosecute it, was like to produce. And the inconvenience was the greater, because the principal persons of quality, of court or country, and the officers, had the less reverence for the king's conduct, by seeing such an action entered upon with so little reason, and prosecuted so perfunctorily: all which reproaches his majesty thought fitter to bear, than to discover the motives of his journey; which were then known to few, nor, to this day, have been published.

When the king returned to York, exceedingly troubled at the late march he had made, and all men expressing great impatience to be in action, very many persons of honour and quality, having attended long at court, did believe they might be more useful to his majesty's service in their own countries, in restraining the disaffected from any seditious attempts, and disposing the people in general to be constant in their loyalty, an accident fell out, that made it absolutely necessary for the king to declare the war, and to enter upon it, before he was in any degree ripe for action; which was, that Portsmouth had declared for the king, and refused to submit to the parliament, which had thereupon sent an army, under the command of sir William Waller, to reduce it. The relating how this came to pass, requires a large discourse, which will administer much variety, not without somewhat of pleasure and wonder, from the temper and spirit of the person who conducted that action; if it can be said to be conducted without any conduct.

We have remembered before, in the last year, the discourse of the bringing up the army to London, to awe the parliament, and the unspeakable dishonour and damage the king sustained by that discourse, how groundless soever it was; all which was imputed to colonel Goring, who, by that means, grew into great reputation with the parliament, as a man so irrecoverably lost at court, that he would join with them in the most desperate designs; yet he carried himself with so great dexterity, that, within few months, he wrought upon the king and queen to believe, that he so much repented that fault, that he would redeem it by any service; and to trust him to that degree, that the queen once resolved, when the tumults drove their majesties first from London, for her security, to put herself into Portsmouth, which was under his government; whilst his majesty betook himself to the northern parts; which design was no sooner over, (if not before,) than he again intimated so much of it to the lord Kimbolton, and that party, that they took all the trust he had from court, to proceed from the confidence their majesties had of his father's interest in him; whose affection and zeal to their service was ever most indubitable: but assured themselves he was their own, even against his own father. So

that he carried the matter so, that, at the same time, he received 3000*l.* from the queen, (which she raised by the sale of her plate and some jewels,) to fortify, and victual, and reinforce his garrison, against the time it should be necessary to declare for the king; and a good supply from the parliament, for the payment of the garrison, that it might be kept the better devoted to them, and to their service. All which he performed with that admirable dissimulation, and rare confidence, that, when the house of commons was informed by a member, whose zeal and affection to them was as much valued as any man's, "that all his correspondence in the county [was] with the most malignant persons; that of those, many frequently resorted to, and continued with him in the garrison; that he was fortifying, and raising batteries towards the land; and that in his discourses, especially in the seasons of his good fellowship, he used to utter threats against the parliament, and sharp censures of their proceedings;" and upon such informations (the author whereof was well known to them, and of great reputation; and lived so near Portsmouth, that he could not be mistaken in the matter of fact) the house sent for him, most thinking he would refuse to come; colonel Goring came, upon the summons, with that undauntedness, that all clouds of distrust immediately vanished, inasmuch as no man presumed to whisper the least jealousy of him; which he observing, he came to the house of commons, of which he was a member, and, having sat a day or two patiently, as if he expected some charge, in the end he stood up, with a countenance full of modesty, and yet not without a mixture of anger, (as he could help himself with all the insinuations of doubt, or fear, or shame, or simplicity in his face, that might gain belief, to a greater degree than I ever saw any man; and could seem the most confounded when he was best prepared, and the most out of countenance when he was best resolved, and to want words, and the habit of speaking, when they flowed from no man with greater power,) and told them, "that he had been sent for by them, upon some information given against him, and that, though he believed, the charge being so ridiculous, they might have received, by their own particular inquiry, satisfaction; yet the discourses that had been used, and his being sent for in that manner, had begat some prejudice to him in his reputation; which if he could not preserve, he should be less able to do them service; and therefore desired, that he might have leave (though very unskilful, and unfit to speak, in so wise and judicious an assembly) to present to them the state and condition of that place under his command; and then he doubted not but to give them full satisfaction in those particulars, which possibly had made some impression in them to his disadvantage: that he was far from taking it ill from those, who had given any information against him; for, what he had done, and must do, might give some umbrage to well affected persons, who knew not the grounds and reasons, that induced him so to do; but that if any such person would at any time, resort to him, he would clearly inform them of whatever motives he had; and would be glad of their advice and assistance for the better doing thereof." Then he took notice of every particular that had been publicly said against him, or privately whispered, and gave such plausible answers

to the whole, intermingling sharp taunts, and scorns, to what had been said of him, with pretty application of himself, and flattery to the men that spake it: concluding, "that they well knew in what esteem he stood with others: so that if, by his ill carriage, he should forfeit the good opinion of that house, upon which he only depended, and to whose service he entirely devoted himself, he were madder than his friends took him to be, and must be as unpitied in any misery, that could befall him, as his enemies would be glad to see him." With which, as innocently and unaffectedly uttered, as can be imagined, he got so general an applause from the whole house, that, not without some little apology for troubling him, they desired him again to repair to his government, and to finish those works, which were necessary for the safety of the place;" and gratified him with consenting to all the propositions he made in behalf of his garrison, and paid him a good sum of money for their arrears; with which, and being privately assured (which was indeed resolved on) that he should be lieutenant-general of their horse in their new army, when it should be formed, he departed again to Portsmouth; in the mean time assuring his majesty, by those who were trusted between them, "that he would be speedily in a posture to make any such declaration for his service, as he should be required;" which he was forced to do sooner than he was provided for, though not sooner than he had reason to expect.

When the levies for the parliament army were in good forwardness, and he had received his commission for lieutenant-general of the horse, he wrote to the lord Kimbolton, who was his most bosom friend, and a man very powerful, "that he might not be called to give his attendance upon the army, till it was ready to march; because there were so many things to be done, and perfected, for the safety of that important place, that he was desirous to be present himself at the work as long as was possible. In the mean time, he had given directions to his agent in London, to prepare all things for his equipage; so that he would be ready to appear, at any rendezvous, upon a day's warning." Though the earl of Essex did much desire his company and assistance in the council of war, and preparing the articles, and forming the discipline for the army, he having been more lately versed in the order and rule of marches, and the provisions necessary or convenient thereunto, than any man then in their service, and of greater command than any man but the general; yet the lord Kimbolton prevailed, that he might not be sent for, till things were riper for action. And, when that lord did afterwards write to him, "that it was time he should come away," he sent such new and reasonable excuses, that they were not unsatisfied with his delay; till he had multiplied those excuses so long, that they begun to suspect; and they no sooner inclined to suspicion, but they met with abundant arguments to cherish it. His behaviour and course of life was very notorious to all the neighbours, nor was he at all reserved in his mirth, and public discourses, to conceal his opinion of the parliament, and their proceedings. So that, at last, the lord Kimbolton writ plainly to him, "that he could no longer excuse his absence from the army, where he was much wanted; and that, if he did not come to London by such a short day,

"as he named, he found his integrity would be doubted; and that many things were laid to his charge, of which he doubted not his innocence; and therefore conjured him, immediately, to be at Westminster." It being now to be no longer deferred, or put off, he writ a jolly letter to that lord, "that, the truth was, his council advised him, that the parliament did many things which were illegal; and that he might incur much danger by obeying all their orders; that he had received the command of that garrison from the king; and that he durst not be absent from it, without his leave:" and concluded with some good counsel to the lord.

This declaration [of the governor] of a place, which had the reputation of being the only place of strength in England, and situated upon the sea, put them into many apprehensions; and they lost no time in endeavouring to reduce [it]; but, upon the first understanding his resolution, sir William Waller was sent, with a good part of the army, so to block up the place, that neither men or provision might be able to get in; and some ships were sent from the fleet, to prevent any relief by sea: and these advertisements came to the king, as soon as he returned to York.

It gave no small reputation to his majesty's affairs, when there was so great a damp upon the spirits of men, from the misadventures at Beverley, that so notable a place as Portsmouth had declared for him, in the very beginning of the war; and that so good an officer as Goring was returned to his duty, and in the possession of the town: and the king, who was not surprised with the matter, knowing well the resolution of the colonel, made no doubt, but that he was very well supplied with all things, as he might well have been, to have given the rebels work for three or four months, at the least. However, he forthwith published a declaration, that had been long ready, in which he recapitulated all the insolent and rebellious actions which the two houses had committed against him: and declared them "to be guilty; and forbad all his subjects to yield any obedience to them:" and, at the same time, published his proclamation; by which he "required all men, who could bear arms, to repair to him at Nottingham, by the twenty-fifth of August following; on which day he would set up his royal standard there, which all good subjects were obliged to attend." And at the same time, he sent the marquis of Hertford to raise forces in the west, or, at least, to restrain those parts (where his interest and reputation was greater than any man's) within the limits of their duty to the king, and from being corrupted or perverted by the parliament; and with him went the lord Seymour, his brother; the lord Pawlet, Hopton, Stawel, Coventry, Berkeley, Windham, and some other gentlemen, of the prime quality, and interest in the western parts; and who were like to give as good examples in their persons, and to be followed by as many men, as any such number of gentlemen in England could be. And from this party, enlivened by the power and reputation of the marquis, the king was in hopes, that Portsmouth would be shortly relieved, and made the head quarter to a good army. And when all this was done, he did all that was possible to be done, without money, to hasten his levies of horse and foot, and to prepare a light train of artillery, that he might ap-

pear at Nottingham, at the day when the standard was to be set up, with such a body of men, as might be, at the least, a competent guard to his person.

Many were then of opinion, "that it had been more for his majesty's benefit and service, if the standard had been appointed to be set up at York; and so that the king had stayed there, without moving further south, until he could have marched in the head of an army, and not to depend upon gathering an army up in his march. All the northern counties were, at present, most at his devotion; and so it would be most easy to raise men there: Newcastle was the only port in his obedience, and whither he had appointed his supplies of arms and ammunition to be sent; of which he had so present need, that all his magazine, which was brought in the Providence, was already distributed to those few gentlemen, who had received commissions, and were most like speedily to raise their regiments; and it would be a very long, and might prove a very dangerous passage to get the supplies, which were daily expected, to be brought with security from Newcastle, when the king should be advanced so many days' journey beyond York." All which were very important considerations, and ought to have prevailed; but the king's inclinations to be nearer London, and the expectation he had of great effects from Portsmouth, and the west, disposed him to a willingness to prefer Nottingham; but that which determined the point, was an apparent and manifest aversion in the Yorkshire gentlemen, whose affections were least suspected, that his majesty should continue, and remain at York; which, they said, the people apprehended, "would inevitably make that country the seat of the war:" unskilfully imagining, that the war would be no where, but where the king's army was; and therefore they facilitated all things, which might contribute to his remove from thence; undertook to provide convoys for any arms and ammunition from Newcastle; to hasten the levies in their own country; and to borrow of the arms of some of the trained bands; which was the best expedient, that could be found out, to arm the king's troops, and had its reverse in the murmurs it produced, and in leaving the best affected men, by being disarmed, at the mercy of their enemies; who carefully kept their weapons, that they might be ready to fight against the king. This caused the resolution to be taken for Nottingham, without enough weighing the objections, which, upon the entrance into great actions, cannot be too much deliberated, though, in the execution, they shall be best shut out. And it quickly appeared in those very men, who prevailed most in that council; for, when the time drew on, in which his majesty was to depart, and leave the country, then they remembered, "that the garrison of Hull would be left as a thorn in their sides, where there were well formed and active troops, which might march over the country without control, and come into York itself without resistance; that there were many disaffected persons of quality and interest in the country, who, as soon as the king should be gone, would appear amongst their neighbours, and find a concurrence from them in their worst designs; and that there were some places, some whole corporations, so notoriously disaffected,

“especially in matters relating to the church, that they wanted only conductors to carry them into rebellion.”

These, and the like reflections, made too late impressions upon them; and now, too much, they magnified this man's power, whom before they contemned; and doubted that man's affection, of which they were before secure; and made a thousand propositions to the king this day, whereof they rejected the greatest part to-morrow; and, as the day approached nearer for the king's departure, their apprehensions and irresolutions increased. In the end, they were united in two requests to the king; that “he would commit the supreme command of the country, with reference to all military affairs, to the earl of Cumberland; and qualify him, with an ample commission, to that purpose.” The other, “that his majesty would command sir Thomas Glemham to remain with them, to govern and command such forces, as the earl of Cumberland should find necessary for their defence.” And this provision being made by the king, they obliged themselves to concur in making any preparations, and forming any forces the earl should require. And his majesty, as willingly, gratified them in both their desires. The earl of Cumberland was a man of great honour and integrity, who had all his estate in that country, and had lived most amongst them, with very much acceptance and affection from the gentlemen, and the common people: but he was not, in any degree, active, or of a martial temper; and rather a man more like not to have any enemies, than to oblige any to be firmly and resolutely his friends, or to pursue his interest: the great fortune of the family was divided, and the greater part of it carried away by an heir female; and his father had so wasted the remainder, that the earl could not live with that lustre, nor draw so great a dependence upon him, as his ancestors had done. In a word, he was a man of honour, and popular enough in peace, but not endued with those parts which were necessary for such a season. Sir Thomas Glemham was a gentleman of a noble extraction, and a fair fortune, though he had much impaired it; he had spent many years, in armies, beyond the seas; and he had been an officer of very good esteem in the king's armies, and of courage and integrity unquestionable; but he was not of so stirring and active a nature, as to be able to infuse fire enough into the phlegmatic constitutions of that people, who did rather wish to be spectators of the war, than parties in it; and believed, if they did not provoke the other party, they might all live quietly together; until sir John Hotham, by his excursions and depredations out of Hull, and their seditious neighbours, by their insurrections, awakened them out of that pleasant dream. And then the greatest part of the gentry of that populous country, and very many of the common people, did behave themselves with signal fidelity and courage in the king's service: of all which particulars, which deserve well to be remembered, and transmitted to posterity, there will be occasion to make mention in the following discourse.

Yet I cannot leave York without the mention of one particular; which, in truth, is so lively an instance of the spirit and temper of that time, and was a sad presage of all the misfortunes which followed. There were very few gentlemen, or men

of any quality, in that large county, who were actively or factiously disaffected to his majesty; and of those the lord Fairfax, and his son, sir Thomas Fairfax, were the chief; who were governed by two or three of inferior quality, more conversant with the people; who were as well known as they. All these were in the county, at their houses, within few miles of York; and the king resolved, at his going away, to have taken them all prisoners, and to have put them in safe custody; by which, it was very probable, those mischiefs, that shortly after broke out, might have been prevented. But the gentlemen of the county, who were met together to consult for their own security, hearing of this design, besought his majesty “not to do it;” alleging, “that he would, thereby, leave them in a worse condition, by an act so ungracious and unpopular; and that the disaffected would be so far from being weakened, that their party would be increased thereby.” many really believing, that neither father or son were transported with over-vehement inclinations to the parliament; but would willingly sit still, without being active on either side; which, no doubt, was a policy, that many of those, who wished well, desired and intended to be safe by. And so his majesty left York, taking with him only two or three of inferior rank, (whereof one Stapleton was one,) who were known to have been very active in stirring the people to sedition; and yet, upon some specious pretences, some very good men were persuaded, within few days, to procure the liberty and enlargement even of those from his majesty. So ticklish were those times, and so wary were all men to advise the king should do any thing, which, upon the strictest inquisition, might seem to swerve from the strict rule of the law; believing, unreasonably, that the softest and gentlest remedies might be most wholesomely applied to those rough and violent diseases.

The king came to Nottingham two or three days before the day he had appointed to set up the standard; having taken Lincoln in his way, and drawn some arms from the trained bands of that country with him to Nottingham; from whence, the next day, he went to take a view of his horse; whereof there were several troops well armed, and under good officers, to the number of seven or eight hundred men; with which, being informed, “that there were some regiments of foot marching towards Coventry, by the earl of Essex's orders,” he made haste thither; making little doubt, but that he should be able to get thither before them, and so to possess himself of that city; and he did get thither the day before they came; but found not only the gates shut against him, but some of his servants shot and wounded from the walls: nor could all his messages and summons prevail with the mayor and magistrates, before there was any garrison there, to suffer the king to enter into the city. So great an interest and reputation the parliament had gotten over the affections of the people, whose hearts were alienated from any reverence to the government.

The king could not remedy the affront, but went that night to Stonely, the house then of sir Thomas Lee; where he was well received; and, the next day, his body of horse, having a clear

view, upon an open campania, for five or six miles together, of the [enemy's] small body of foot, which consisted not of above twelve hundred men, with one troop of horse, which marched with them over that plain, retired before them, without giving them one charge; which was imputed to the lashty [ill conduct] of Wilmot, who commanded; and had a colder courage than many who were under him, and who were of opinion, that they might have easily defeated that body of foot: which would have been a very seasonable victory; would have put Coventry unquestionably into the king's hands, and sent him with a good omen to the setting up of his standard. Whereas, that unhappy retreat, which looked like a defeat, and the rebellious behaviour of Coventry, made his majesty's return to Nottingham very melancholy; and he returned thither the very day the standard was appointed to be set up.

According to the proclamation, upon the twenty-fifth day of August, the standard was erected, about six of the clock in the evening of a very

stormy and tempestuous day. The king himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the castle-hill, Varney the knight-marshal, who was standardbearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place, with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets: melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet levied and brought thither; so that the trained bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, was all the strength the king had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town, and the king himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be. The standard itself was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs, when the standard was set up.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VI.

WHEN the king set up his standard at Nottingham, which was the 25th of August, as is before remembered, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his standard would have suffered it to be; and received intelligence the next day, that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was horse, foot, and cannon, at Northampton; besides that great party which, in the end of the [fifth] book, we left at Coventry: whereas his few cannon and ammunition were still at York, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though sir John Heydon, his majesty's faithful lieutenant general of the ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there foot enough levied to guard it: and at Nottingham, besides some few of the trained bands, which sir John Digby, the active sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous castle there, there were not of foot levied for the service yet three hundred men. So that they who were not overmuch given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an army for defence but the standard set up, began sadly to apprehend the danger of the king's own person. Insomuch that sir Jacob Ashley, his sergeant-major-general

of his intended army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance against his majesty's being taken out of his bed, if the rebels should make a brisk attempt to that purpose." And it was evident, all the strength he had to depend upon was his horse, which were under the command of prince Rupert at Leicester, and were not at that time in number above eight hundred, few better armed than with swords; whilst the enemy had, within less than twenty miles of that place, double the number of horse excellently armed and appointed, and a body of five thousand foot well trained and disciplined; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have dispersed those few troops of the king's, and driven his majesty to a greater distance, and exposed him to notable hazards and inconveniences.

When men were almost confounded with this prospect, his majesty received intelligence, that Portsmouth was so straitly besieged by sea and land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, colonel Goring, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that himself, [which] a vigilant officer would have done: and

albeit his chief dependence was both for money and provisions from the Isle of Wight, yet he was careless to secure those small castles and block-houses, which guarded the river; which revolting to the parliament as soon as he declared for the king, cut off all those unreasonable dependences; so that he had neither men enough to do ordinary duty, nor provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this of Portsmouth, arrived certain advertisements, that the marquis of Hertford, and all his forces in the west, from whom only the king hoped that Portsmouth should be relieved, was driven out of Somersetshire, where his power and interest was believed unquestionable, into Dorsetshire; and there besieged in Sherborne castle.

The marquis, after he left the king at Beverley, by ordinary journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to Bath, upon the very edge of Somersetshire, at the time when the general assizes were there held; where meeting all the considerable gentlemen of that great county, and finding them well affected to the king's service, except very few who were sufficiently known, he entered into consultation with them from whom he was to expect assistance, in what place he should most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing the affections of the people, and to raise a strength for the resistance of any attempt which the parliament might make, either against them, or to disturb the peace of the country by their ordinance of the militia, which was the first power they were like to hear of. Some were of opinion, "that Bristol would be the fittest place, being a great, rich, and populous city; of which being once possessed, they should be easily able to give the law to Somerset and Gloucestershire; and could not receive any affront by a sudden or tumultuary insurrection of the people." And if this advice had been followed, it would probably have proved very prosperous. But, on the contrary, it was objected, "that it was not evident, that his lordship's reception into the city would be such as was expected; Mr. Hollis being lieutenant thereof, and having exercised the militia there; and there being visibly many dissatisfied people in it, and some of eminent quality; and if he should attempt to go thither, and be disappointed, it would break the whole design: then that it was out of the county of Somerset, and therefore that they could not [legally] draw that people thither; besides, that it would look like fear and suspicion of their own power, to put themselves into a walled town, as if they feared the power of the other party would be able to oppress them. Whereas, besides Popham and Horner, all the gentlemen of eminent quality and fortune of Somerset were either present with the marquis, or presumed not to be inclined to the parliament." And therefore they proposed "that Wells, being a pleasant city, in the heart and near the centre of that county, might be chosen for his lordship's residence." Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the marquis and his train went, sending for the nearest trained bands to appear before him; and presuming that in little time, by the industry of the gentlemen present, and his lordship's reputation, which was very great, the affections of the people would be so much wrought upon, and their understandings so well informed, that it would not

be in the power of the parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions in them towards his majesty's service.

Whilst his lordship in this gentle way endeavoured to compose the fears and apprehensions of the people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the rules of the known laws, to convince all men of the justice and integrity of his majesty's proceedings and royal intentions; the other party, according to their usual confidence and activity, wrought underhand to persuade the people that the marquis was come down to put the commission of array in execution, by which commission a great part of the estate of every farmer or substantial yeoman should be taken from them; alleging, that some lords had said, "that twenty pounds by the year was enough for any peasant to live by;" and so, taking advantage of the commission's being in Latin, translated it into what English they pleased; persuading the substantial yeomen and freeholders, that at least two parts of their estates would, by that commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of people, that they were to pay a tax of one day's labour in the week to the king; and that all should be, upon the matter, no better than slaves to the lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable tyranny, than by adhering to the parliament, and submitting to the ordinance for the militia; which was purposely prepared to enable them to resist these horrid invasions of their liberties.

It is not easily believed, how these gross insinuations generally prevailed. For though the gentlemen of ancient families and estates in that county were, for the most part, well affected to the king, and easily discerned by what faction the parliament was governed; yet there were a people of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, clothing, and other thriving arts, had gotten very great fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the gentlemen's estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose estates they had; and therefore, with more industry than the other, studied all ways to make themselves considerable. These, from the beginning, were fast friends to the parliament; and many of them were now intrusted by them as deputy lieutenants in their new ordinance of the militia, and having found when the people were ripe, gathered them together, with a purpose on a sudden, before there should be any suspicion, to surround and surprise the marquis at Wells. For they had always this advantage of the king's party and his counsels, that their resolutions were no sooner published, than they were ready to be executed, there being an absolute implicit obedience in the inferior sort to those who were to command them; and their private agents, with admirable industry and secrecy, preparing all persons and things ready against a call. Whereas all the king's counsels were with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice that was contracted against the court, but by the most barefaced publishing all conclusions, and fitting them to that apparent justice and reason, that might prevail over the most ordinary understandings.

When the marquis was thus in the midst of an

enemy that almost covered the whole kingdom, his whole strength was a troop of horse, raised by Mr. John Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, and another by sir Francis Hawley, (both which were levied in those parts to attend the king in the north,) and a troop of horse, and a small troop of dragoons, raised and armed by sir Ralph Hopton at his own charge; and about one hundred foot gathered up by lieutenant-colonel Henry Lunsford towards a regiment, which were likewise to have marched to the king. These, with the lord Pawlet, and the gentlemen of the country, which were about eight and twenty of the prime quality there, with their servants and retinue, made up the marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that rare caution, that upon advertisement that the active ministers of that party had appointed a general meeting at a town within few miles of Wells, sir Ralph Hopton being advised with his small troop and some volunteer gentlemen to repair thither, and to disappoint that convention, and to take care that it might produce the least prejudice to the king's service; before he reached the place, those gentlemen who stayed behind (and by whose advice the marquis thought it necessary absolutely to govern himself, that they might see all possible wariness was used in the entrance into a war, which being once entered into, he well knew must be carried on another way) sent him word, "that he should forbear any hostile act, otherwise they would disclaim whatsoever he should do." Otherwise the courage and resolution of those few were such, and the cowardice of the undisciplined seditious rabble and their leaders was so eminent, that it was very probable, if those few troops had been as actively employed as their commanders desired, they might have been able to have driven the bigots out of the country, before they had fully possessed the rest with their own rancour: which may be reasonably presumed by what followed shortly after, when Mr. Digby, sir John Stawell and his sons, with some volunteer gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore horse, and fourteen dragoons, charged a greater body of horse, and above six hundred foot of the rebels, led by a member of the house of commons; and without the loss of one man, killed seven in the place, hurt very many, took their chief officers, and as many more prisoners as they would; and so routed the whole body, that six men kept not together, they having all thrown down their arms.

But this good fortune abated only the courage of those who had run away, the other making use of this overthrow as an argument of the marquis's bloody purposes; and therefore, in few days, sir John Horner and Alexander Popham, being the principal men of quality of that party in that county, with the assistance of their friends of Dorset, and Devon, and the city of Bristol, drew together a body of above twelve thousand men, horse and foot, with some pieces of cannon, with which they appeared on the top of the hill over Wells; where the marquis, in contempt of them, stayed two days, having only barricaded the town; but then, finding that the few trained bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the hill; and hearing that more forces, or at least better officers, were coming from the parliament against him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that rebellious herd, from Wells to So-

merton, and so to Sherborne, without any loss or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his lordship sir John Berkley, colonel Ashburnham, and other good officers, enough to have formed a considerable army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there, (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any where more welcome than in Somersetshire, from whence they had been now driven,) when the earl of Bedford, general of the horse to the parliament, with Mr. Hollis, sir Walter Earl, and other ephori, and a complete body of seven thousand foot at least, ordered by Charles Essex, their sergeant-major-general, a soldier of good experience and reputation in the Low Countries, and eight full troops of horse, under the command of captain Pretty, with four pieces of cannon, in a very splendid equipage, came to Wells, and from thence to Sherborne. The marquis, by this time having increased his foot to four hundred, with which that great army was kept from entering that great town, and persuaded to encamp in the field about three quarters of a mile north from the castle; where, for the present, we must leave the marquis and his great-spirited little army.

It could never be understood, why that army did not then march directly to Nottingham; which if it had done, his majesty's few forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advised him to do; and if he had escaped, he might have been pursued by one regiment of horse till he had quitted the kingdom. But God blinded his enemies, so that they made not the least advance towards Nottingham. They [about the king] began now to wish that he had stayed at York, and proposed his return thither; but that was not hearkened to; and they who had advised his stay there, and against the advance to Nottingham, were more against his return thither, as an absolute flight; but wished the advance of the levies, and a little patience, till it might be discerned what the enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, some of the lords desired, "that his majesty would send a message to the parliament, "with some overture to incline them to a treaty;" which proposition was no sooner made, but most concurred in it, and no one had the confidence to oppose it. The king himself was so offended at it, that he declared, "he would never yield to it;" and broke up the council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renewed the same advice with more earnestness. The earl of Southampton, a person of great prudence, and a reputation at least equal to any man's, pressed it, "as a thing that might do good, and could do no harm;" and the king's reasons, with reference to the insolence it would raise in the rebels, and the dishonour that would thereby reflect upon himself, were answered, by saying "their insolence would be for the king's advantage; and when they should reject the offer of peace, which they believed they would do, they would make themselves the more odious to the people, who would be thereby the more inclined to serve the king." So that they took it as granted, that the proposition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther objected, "that his majesty was not able to make resistance; that the forces before Sherborne,

“ Portsmouth, and at Northampton, were three
 “ several armies, the least of which would drive
 “ his majesty out of his dominions; that it was
 “ only in his power to choose, whether, by making
 “ a fair offer himself, he would seem to make
 “ peace, which could not but render him very
 “ gracious to the people, or suffer himself to be
 “ taken prisoner, (which he would not long be
 “ able to avoid,) which would give his enemies
 “ power, reputation, and authority to proceed
 “ against his majesty, and, it might be, his pos-
 “ terity, according to their own engaged malice.”

Yet this motive made no impression in him.
 “ For, he said, no misfortune, or ill success that
 “ might attend his endeavour of defending him-
 “ self, could expose him to more inconveniences
 “ than a treaty at this time desired by him, where
 “ he must be understood to be willing to yield to
 “ whatsoever they would require of him: and how
 “ modest they were like to be, might be judged by
 “ their nineteen propositions, which were tendered,
 “ when their power could not be reasonably un-
 “ derstood to be like so much to exceed his ma-
 “ jesty’s, as at this time it was evident it did; and
 “ that, having now nothing to lose but his honour,
 “ he could be only excusable to the world, by
 “ using his industry to the last to oppose that tor-
 “ rent, which if it prevailed would overwhelm him.”
 This composed courage and magnanimity of his
 majesty seemed too philosophical, and abstracted
 from the policy of self-preservation, to which men
 were passionately addicted: and that which was
 the king’s greatest disadvantage, how many soever
 were of his mind, (as some few, and but few, there
 were,) no man durst publicly avow that he was so;
 a treaty for peace being so popular a thing, that
 whosoever opposed it would be sure to be, by gene-
 ral consent, a declared enemy to his country.

That which prevailed with his majesty very rea-
 sonably then (and indeed it proved equally advan-
 tageous to him afterwards) was, “ that it was most
 “ probable” (and his whole fortune was to be sub-
 mitted at best to probabilities) “ that, out of their
 “ pride, and contempt of the king’s weakness and
 “ want of power, the parliament would refuse to
 “ treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that
 “ as his majesty would highly oblige his people by
 “ making the offer, so they would lose the hearts of
 “ them by rejecting it; which alone would raise an
 “ army for his majesty. That if they should em-
 “ brace it, the king could not but be a gainer; for
 “ by the propositions which they should make to
 “ him, he would be able to state the quarrel so
 “ clearly, that it should be more demonstrable to
 “ the kingdom, than yet it was, that the war was,
 “ on his majesty’s part, purely defensive; since he
 “ never had, and now would not deny any thing,
 “ which they could in reason or justice ask: that
 “ this very overture would necessarily produce
 “ some pause, and delay in their preparations, or
 “ motions of their armies; for some debate it
 “ must needs have; and during that time, men’s
 “ minds would be in suspense; whereas his ma-
 “ jesty should be so far from slackening his pre-
 “ parations, that he might be more vigorous in
 “ them, by hastening those levies, for which his
 “ commissions were out.” For these reasons, and
 almost the concurrent desire and importunity of
 his council, the king was prevailed with to send
 the earls of Southampton and Dorset, sir John
 Colepepper, chancellor of his exchequer, and sir

William Udall, (whom his majesty gave leave
 under that pretence to intend the business of his
 own fortune,) to the two houses with this message,
 which was sent the third day after his standard was
 set up.

“ We have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long
 “ beheld the distractions of this our kingdom. Our
 “ very soul is full of anguish, until we may find
 “ some remedy to prevent the miseries which are
 “ ready to overwhelm this whole nation by a civil
 “ war. And though all our endeavours, tending
 “ to the composing of those unhappy differences
 “ betwixt us and our two houses of parliament,
 “ (though pursued by us with all zeal and sincer-
 “ ity,) have been hitherto without that success we
 “ hoped for; yet such is our constant and earnest
 “ care to preserve the public peace, that we shall
 “ not be discouraged from using any expedient,
 “ which, by the blessing of the God of mercy, may
 “ lay a firm foundation of peace and happiness to
 “ all our good subjects. To this end, observing
 “ that many mistakes have arisen by the messages,
 “ petitions, and answers, betwixt us and our two
 “ houses of parliament, which happily may be pre-
 “ vented by some other way of treaty, wherein
 “ the matters in difference may be more clearly
 “ understood, and more freely transacted; we have
 “ thought fit to propound to you, that some fit
 “ persons may be by you enabled to treat with the
 “ like number to be authorized by us, in such a
 “ manner, and with such freedom of debate, as
 “ may best tend to that happy conclusion which
 “ all good men desire, the peace of the kingdom.
 “ Wherein, as we promise, in the word of a king,
 “ all safety and encouragement to such as shall be
 “ sent unto us, if you shall choose the place where
 “ we are, for the treaty, which we wholly leave to
 “ you, presuming the like care of the safety of
 “ those we shall employ, if you shall name an-
 “ other place; so we assure you, and all our good
 “ subjects, that, to the best of our understanding,
 “ nothing shall be therein wanting on our part,
 “ which may advance the true protestant religion,
 “ oppose popery and superstition, secure the law
 “ of the land, (upon which is built as well our just
 “ prerogative, as the propriety and liberty of the
 “ subject,) confirm all just power and privileges of
 “ parliament, and render us and our people truly
 “ happy by a good understanding betwixt us and
 “ our two houses of parliament. Bring with you
 “ as firm resolutions to do your duty; and let all
 “ our good people join with us in our prayers to
 “ Almighty God, for his blessing upon this work.
 “ If this proposition shall be rejected by you, we
 “ have done our duty so amply, that God will
 “ absolve us from the guilt of any of that blood
 “ which must be spilt; and what opinion soever
 “ other men may have of our power, we assure you
 “ nothing but our Christian and pious care to pre-
 “ vent the effusion of blood hath begot this mo-
 “ tion; our provision of men, arms, and money,
 “ being such as may secure us from farther vio-
 “ lence, till it please God to open the eyes of our
 “ people.”

This message had the same reception his majesty
 believed it would have; and was indeed received
 with unheard of insolence and contempt. For the
 earl of Southampton, and sir John Colepepper, de-
 siring to appear themselves before any notice should
 arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they
 were at Westminster in the morning shortly after

the houses met. The earl of Southampton went into the house of peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a message to them from the king, and there could be no exception to his lordship's sitting in the house upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the house to attend his majesty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they sent the gentleman usher of the house to him, to require his message; which, his lordship said, he was by the king's command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the lords made an order, that he should not [deliver it himself]; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner received, than they sent him word, "that he should, at his peril, immediately depart the town, and that they would take care that their answer to the message should be sent to him." And so the earl of Southampton departed the town, reposing himself in better company at the house of a noble person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the earl had this skirmish with the lords, sir John Colepepper attended the commons, forbearing to go into the house without leave, because there had been an order, (which is mentioned before,) that all the members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the house satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the speaker, "that he had a message from the king to them, and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the house." After some debate, (for there remained yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a member of the house, against whom there had not been the least public objection, and a privy-counsellor who had been in all times used there with great reverence, leave to deliver a message from the king in his own place as a member,) it was absolutely resolved, "that he should not sit in the house, but that he should deliver his message at the bar, and immediately withdraw;" which he did accordingly.

And then the two houses met at a conference, and read the king's message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believed, agreed upon their answer. The king's messengers, in the mean time, being of that quality, not receiving ordinary civility from any members of either house; they who were very willing to have paid it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others looking upon them as servants to a master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private conferences they had with some of the principal governors; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the king had any care of himself or his posterity, he should immediately come to London, throw himself into the arms of his parliament, and comply in whatsoever they proposed. The answer which they returned to the king was this:

The answer of the lords and commons to his majesty's message of the 25th of August, 1642.

"May it please your majesty:

"The lords and commons, in parliament assembled, having received your majesty's message of the 25th of August, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted state of this king-

dom; which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several advices and petitions to your majesty; which have been not only without success, but there hath followed that which no ill counsel in former times hath produced, or any age hath seen, namely, those several proclamations and declarations against both the houses of parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their persons traitors. And thereupon your majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put the two houses of parliament, and, in them, this whole kingdom, out of your protection; so that until your majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the earl of Essex, and both houses of parliament, and their adherents, and assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their commands and directions, according to their duties, are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents: and until the standard, set up in pursuance of the said proclamation, be taken down, your majesty hath put us into such a condition, that, whilst we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your majesty any other answer to this message."

When the king's messengers returned with this answer to Nottingham, all men saw to what they must trust; and the king believed, he should be no farther moved to make addresses to them. And yet all hopes of an army, or any ability to resist that violence, seemed so desperate, that he was privately advised by those, whom he trusted as much as any, and those whose affections were as entire to him as any men's, to give all other thoughts over, and instantly to make all imaginable haste to London, and to appear in the parliament house before they had any expectation of him. And they conceived there would be more likelihood for him to prevail that way, than by any army he was like to raise. And it must be solely imputed to his majesty's own magnanimity, that he took not that course. However he was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another message, to publish more of it to the people; and therefore, within three days after the return of his messengers, he sent the lord Falkland, his principal secretary of state, with a reply to their answer in these words.

"We will not repeat, what means we have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the kingdom, nor how those means have been interpreted; because, being desirous to avoid the effusion of blood, we are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness, that might render our offer of a treaty less readily accepted. We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare, both our houses of parliament traitors, or set up our standard against them; and much less to put them and this kingdom out of our protection. We utterly profess against it before God, and the world; and, farther to remove all possible scruples, which may hinder the treaty so much desired by us, we hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your declarations against all persons as traitors, or otherwise, for assisting us; we shall, with all cheerfulness, upon the same day recall

“our proclamations and declarations, and take down our standard. In which treaty, we shall be ready to grant any thing, that shall be really for the good of our subjects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of Ireland, and the dangerous condition of England, in as high a degree, as by these our offers we have declared ourself to do; and assuring you, that our chief desire, in this world, is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt us and our two houses of parliament.”

This message had no better effect or reception than the former; their principal officers being sent down since the last message to Northampton to put the army into a readiness to march. And now they required the earl of Essex himself to make haste thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the lord Falkland, within two days, this answer to the king:

To the king's most excellent majesty;

The humble answer and petition of the lords and commons assembled in parliament, unto the king's last message.

“May it please your majesty:

“If we, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, should repeat all the ways we have taken, the endeavours we have used, and the expressions we have made unto your majesty, to prevent those distractions, and dangers, your majesty speaks of, we should too much enlarge this reply. Therefore, as we humbly, so shall we only let your majesty know, that we cannot recede from our former answer, for the reasons therein expressed. For that your majesty hath not taken down your standard, recalled your proclamations and declarations, whereby you have declared the actions of both houses of parliament to be treasonable, and their persons traitors; and you have published the same since your message of the 25th of August, by your late instructions sent to your commissioners of array; which standard being taken down, and the declarations, proclamations, and instructions recalled, if your majesty shall then, upon this our humble petition, leaving your forces, return unto your parliament, and receive their faithful advice, your majesty will find such expressions of our fidelities, and duties, as shall assure you, that your safety, honour, and greatness, can only be found in the affections of your people, and the sincere counsels of your parliament; whose constant and undiscouraged endeavours and consultations have passed through difficulties unheard of, only to secure your kingdoms from the violent mischiefs and dangers now ready to fall upon them, and every part of them; who deserve better of your majesty, and can never allow themselves (representing likewise the whole kingdom) to be balanced with those persons, whose desperate dispositions and counsels prevail still to interrupt all our endeavours for the relieving of bleeding Ireland; as we may fear our labours and vast expenses will be fruitless to that distressed kingdom. As your presence is thus humbly desired by us, so it is our hope your majesty will in your reason believe, there is no other way than this, to make your majesty's self happy, and your kingdom safe.”

And lest this overture of a treaty might be a

means to allay and compose the distempers of the people, and that the hope and expectation of peace might not dishearten their party, in their preparations and contributions to the war, the same day they sent their last answer to the king, they published this declaration to the kingdom:

“Whereas his majesty, in a message received the fifth of September, requires that the parliament would revoke their declarations against such persons as have assisted his majesty in this unnatural war against his kingdom; it is this day ordered, and declared by the lords and commons, that the arms, which they have been forced to take up, and shall be forced to take up, for the preservation of the parliament, religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down, until his majesty shall withdraw his protection from such persons as have been voted by both houses to be delinquents, or that shall by both houses be voted to be delinquents, and shall leave them to the justice of the parliament to be proceeded with according to their demerits; to the end that both this and succeeding generations may take warning, with what danger they incur the like heinous crimes: and also to the end that those great charges and damages, wherewith all the commonwealth hath been burdened in the premises, since his majesty's departure from the parliament, may be borne by the delinquents, and other malignant and disaffected persons: and that all his majesty's good and well affected subjects, who by loan of monies, or otherwise at their charge, have assisted the commonwealth, or shall in like manner hereafter assist the commonwealth in time of extreme danger, may be repaid all sums of money lent by them for those purposes, and be satisfied their charges so sustained, out of the estates of the said delinquents, and of the malignant and disaffected party in this kingdom.”

This declaration did the king no harm; for besides that it was evident to all men, that the king had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a civil war, all persons of honour and quality plainly discerned, that they had no safety but in the preservation of the regal power, since their estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would delinquents, and who would infallibly declare all such who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the king received by those overtures, and the pride, forwardness, and perverseness of the rebels, is not imaginable; his levies of men, and all other preparations for the war, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first message. Prince Rupert lay still with the horse at Leicester; and though he, and some of the principal officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the king's first message and desire of a treaty, as like not only to destroy all hopes of raising an army, but to sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to the principal advisers of it, he now found his numbers increased, and better resolved by it; and from Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Staffordshire, came very good recruits of foot; so that his cannon and munition being likewise come up from York, within twenty days his numbers began to look towards an army; and

there was another air in all men's faces : yet Nottingham seemed not a good post for his majesty to stay longer at ; and therefore, about the middle of September, the earl of Essex being then with his whole army at Northampton, his majesty marched from Nottingham to Derby ; being not then resolved whither to bend his course, to Shrewsbury or Chester, not well knowing the temper of those towns, in both which the parliament party had been very active ; but resolving to sit down near the borders of Wales, where the power of the parliament had been least prevalent, and where some regiments of foot were levying for his service. Before his leaving Nottingham, as a farewell to his hopes of a treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the hearts of the people, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his majesty sent this message to the houses :

"Who have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers, let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as by our two last messages, which have been so fruitless, that, though we have descended to desire and press it, not so much as a treaty can be obtained ; unless we would denude ourself of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us ; and admit those persons as traitors to us, who, according to their duty, their oaths of allegiance, and the law, have appeared in defence of us, their king and liege lord, (whom we are bound in conscience and honour to preserve,) though we disclaimed all our proclamations, and declarations, and the erecting of our standard, as against our parliament. All we have now left in our power, is to express the deep sense we have of the public misery of this kingdom, in which is involved that of our distressed protestants of Ireland ; and to apply ourself to our necessary defence, wherein we wholly rely upon the providence of God, the justice of our cause, and the affection of our good people ; so far we are from putting them out of our protection. When you shall desire a treaty of us, we shall piously remember, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other reason induced us to leave our city of London, but that, with honour and safety we could not stay there ; nor [to] raise any force, but for the necessary defence of our person and the law, against levies in opposition to both ; so we shall suddenly and most willingly return to the one, and disband the other, as soon as those causes shall be removed. The God of heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgments, which hang over this nation ; and so deal with us, and our posterity, as we desire the preservation and advancement of the true protestant religion ; the law, and the liberty of the subject ; the just rights of parliament, and the peace of the kingdom."

When the king came to Derby, he received clear information from the well affected party in Shrewsbury, that the town was at his devotion ; and that the very rumour of his majesty's purpose of coming thither had driven away all those who were most inclined to sedition. And therefore, as well in regard of the strong and pleasant situation of it, (one side being defended by the Severn, the other having a secure passage into Wales, the con-

finies of Montgomeryshire extending very near the town,) as for the correspondence with Worcester, of which city he hoped well, and that, by his being at Shrewsbury, he should be as well able to secure Chester, as by carrying his whole train so far north ; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into Ireland, which had been formerly mentioned, his majesty resolved for that town ; and, after one day's stay at Derby, by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small forces to a rendezvous by Wellington, a day's march short of Shrewsbury ; and that being the first time that they were together, his majesty then caused his military orders for the discipline and government of the army to be read at the head of each regiment ; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the emperor Trajan, who, when he made Sura great marshal of the empire, gave him a sword, saying, "Receive this sword of me ; and if I command as I ought, employ it in my defence ; if I do otherwise, draw it against me, and take my life from me," his majesty made this speech to his soldiers :

"Gentlemen, you have heard those orders read : it is your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful : and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution ; your conscience and your loyalty hath brought you hither, to fight for your religion, your king, and the laws of the land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, anabaptists, and atheists ; such who desire to destroy both church and state, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you in a protestation ; which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel ; in which I promise to live and die with you."

The protestation his majesty was then pleased to make was in these words :

"I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, established in the church of England ; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die."

"I desire to govern by the known laws of the land, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be by them preserved with the same care, as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern by the known laws of the land to my utmost power ; and particularly, to observe inviolably the laws consented to by me this parliament. In the mean while, if this time of war, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed

"by God and men to the authors of this war,
 "and not to me; who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of the peace of this
 "kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in these particulars, I
 "will expect no aid or relief from any man, or
 "protection from heaven. But in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all
 "good men, and am confident of God's blessing."

This protestation, and the manner and solemnity of making it, gave not more life and encouragement to the little army, than it did comfort and satisfaction to the gentry and inhabitants of those parts; into whom the parliament had infused, that, if his majesty prevailed by force, he would, with the same power, abolish all those good laws, which had been made this parliament; so that they looked upon this protestation, as a more ample security for their enjoying the benefit of those acts, than the royal assent he had before given. And a more general and passionate expression of affections cannot be imagined, than he received by the people of those counties of Derby, Stafford, and Shropshire, as he passed; or a better reception, than he found at Shrewsbury; into which town he entered on Tuesday the 20th of September.

It will be, and was then, wondered at, that since the parliament had a full and well formed army, before the king had one full regiment, and the earl of Essex was himself come to Northampton, some days before his majesty went from Nottingham, his lordship neither disquieted the king whilst he stayed there, nor gave him any disturbance in his march to Shrewsbury; which if he had done, he might either have taken him prisoner, or so dispersed his small power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an army together. But as the earl had not yet received his instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of mere pride, and contempt of the king's forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a power, as would be able to look their army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own, (for his army was maintained and paid by the nobility and gentry, who served likewise in their own persons,) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his majesty would be forced to put himself into their arms for protection and subsistence; and such a victory without blood had crowned all their designs. And if their army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the king's person, had been able to prevent the king's raising any; or if the king, in that melancholic conjuncture at Nottingham, had returned to Whitehall, he had justified all their proceedings, and could never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they proposed.

And it is most certain, that the common soldiers of the army were generally persuaded, that they should never be brought to fight; but that the king was in truth little better than imprisoned by evil counsellors, malignants, delinquents, and cavaliers, (the terms applied to his whole party,) and would gladly come to his parliament, if he could break from that company; which he would un-

doubtedly do, if their army came once to such a distance, that his majesty might make an escape to them. And in this kind of discourse they were so sottish, that they were persuaded, that those persons, of whose piety, honour, and integrity, they had received heretofore the greatest testimony, were now turned papists; and that the small army, and forces the king had, consisted of no other than papists. Insomuch as truly those of the king's party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reasonable; for they were in truth possessed of the whole kingdom.

Portsmouth, the strongest and best fortified town then in the kingdom, was surrendered to them; colonel Goring, about the beginning of September, though he had seemed to be so long resolved, and prepared to expect a siege, and had been supplied with monies according to his own proposal, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty to transport himself beyond seas, and for his officers to repair to the king. And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceived by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

The marquis of Hertford, though he had so much discredited the earl of Bedford's soldiery, and disheartened his great army, that the earl of Bedford (after lying in the fields four or five nights within less than cannon shot of the castle and town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the marquis, to which he provoked him by a challenge) sent sir John Norcot, under pretence of a treaty and the godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain English to desire "that he might fairly and peaceably draw off his forces, and march away;" the which, how reasonable a request soever it was, the marquis refused; sending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own counsels, so they should get off as they could;" and at last they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repose; leaving the marquis, for some weeks, undisturbed at Sherborne: yet when he heard of the loss of Portsmouth, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those forces would probably be added to the earl of Bedford, and by their success give much courage to his bashful army, and that a good regiment of horse, which he expected, (for sir John Byron had sent him word from Oxford, that he would march towards him,) was retired to the king; and that the committees were now so busy in the several counties, that the people in all places declared for the parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous towns in Somersetshire; as Taunton, Wellington, and Dunstar-Castle; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength; he resolved to leave Sherborne, where his stay could no way advance the king's service, and to try all ways to get to his majesty. But when he came to Minhead, a port-town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport himself and his company into Wales, he found the people both of

the town and county so disaffected, that all the boats, of which there used always to be great store, by reason of the trade for cattle and corn with Wales, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the earl of Bedford having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his army, his lordship, with his small cannon and few foot, with the lord Pawlet, lord Seymour, and some gentlemen of Somersetshire, transported himself into Glamorganshire; leaving sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkley, Mr. Digby, and some other officers with their horse, (consisting of about one hundred and twenty,) to march into Cornwall, in hope to find that county better prepared for their reception.

On the other hand, the earl of Bedford, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the committee of the militia, which was very powerful in Devon and Cornwall, contented himself with having driven away the marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an army for the king in the west; and retired with his forces to the earl of Essex, as sir William Waller had done from Portsmouth; so that as it was not expected, that the forces about his majesty could be able to defend him against so puissant an army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any person of quality inclined to the king, or but disinclined to them, they immediately seized upon his person, and sent him in great triumph to the parliament; who committed him to prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and inhumanity.

Thus they took prisoner the lord Mountague of Boughton, at his house in Northamptonshire, a person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemished reputation, for declaring himself unsatisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the king, and more expressly against their ordinance for the militia; and notwithstanding that he had a brother of the house of peers, the lord privy seal, and a nephew, the lord Kimbolton, who had as full a power in that council as any man, and a son in the house of commons very unlike his father; his lordship was committed to the Tower a close prisoner; and, though he was afterwards remitted to more air, he continued a prisoner to his death.

Thus they took prisoner in Oxfordshire the earl of Berkshire, and three or four principal gentlemen of that county; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reason but wishing well to the king; for they never appeared in the least action in his service. And thus they took prisoner the earl of Bath in Devonshire, who neither had, or ever meant to do the king the least service; but only out of the morosity of his own nature, had before, in the house, expressed himself not of their mind; and carried him, with many other gentlemen of Devon and Somerset, with a strong guard of horse, to London; where, after they had been exposed to the rudeness and reproach of the common people, who called them traitors and rebels to the parliament, and pursued them with such usage as they use to the most infamous malefactors, they were, without ever being examined, or charged with any particular crime, committed to several prisons; so that not only all the prisons about London were quickly filled with persons of honour, and great reputation for sobriety and integrity to their coun-

ties, but new prisons were made for their reception; and, which was a new and barbarous invention, very many persons of very good quality, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to prison on board the ships in the river of Thames; where they were kept under decks, and no friend suffered to come to them, by which many lost their lives. And that the loss of their liberty might not be all their punishment, it was the usual course, and very few escaped it, after any man was committed as a notorious malignant, (which was the brand,) that his estate and goods were seized or plundered by an order from the house of commons, or some committee, or the soldiers, who in their march took the goods of all catholics and eminent malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and license of the common people, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage against the nobility and gentry, (under the style of cavaliers,) that it was not safe for any to live at their houses, who were taken notice of as no votaries to the parliament.

So the common people (no doubt by the advice of their superiors) in Essex on a sudden beset the house of sir John Lucas, one of the best gentlemen of that county, and of the most eminent affection to the king, being a gentleman of the privy chamber to the prince of Wales; and, upon pretence that he was going to the king, possessed themselves of all his horses and arms, seized upon his person, and used him with all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him: and when the mayor of Colchester, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offered to keep him prisoner in his own house, till the pleasure of the parliament should be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compelled, to send him to the common gaol; where he remained, glad of that security, till the house of commons removed him to another prison, (without ever charging him with any crime,) having sent all his horses to the earl of Essex, to be used in the service of that army.

At the same time the same rabble entered the house of the countess of Rivers, near Colchester; for no other ground, than that she was a papist; and in few hours disfurnished it of all the goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the countess herself hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her person: and she could never receive any reparation from the parliament; so that these and many other instances of the same kind in London and the parts adjacent, gave sufficient evidence to all men how little else they were to keep, who meant to preserve their allegiance and integrity in the full vigour.

I must not forget, though it cannot be remembered without much horror, that this strange wild-fire among the people was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the parliament, as of the clergy, who both administered fuel, and blowed the coals in the houses too. These men having crept into, and at last driven all learned and orthodox men from, the pulpits, had, as is before remembered, from the beginning of this parliament, under the notion of reformation and extirpating of popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of men against the present government of the church, with many libellous invectives

against the state too. But since the raising an army, and rejecting the king's last overture of a treaty, they contained themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without control inveighed against the person of the king, as they had before against the worst malignant; profanely and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God himself, or the prophets, against the most wicked and impious kings, to incense and stir up the people against their most gracious sovereign.

There are monuments enough in the seditious sermons at that time printed, and in the memories of men, of others not printed, of such wresting and perverting of scripture to the odious purposes of the preacher, that pious men will not look over without trembling. One takes his text out of Moses's words in the 32d chapter of Exodus, and the 29th verse; *Consecrate yourselves to-day to the Lord, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother, that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day*: and from thence incites his auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of blood, neighbourhood, dependence, who concurred not in the reformation proposed by the parliament. Another makes as bold with David's words, in the 1st Chron. chap. xxii. verse 16. *Arise therefore, and be doing*: and from thence assures them, it was not enough to wish well to the parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts, to the assistance of it, the duty in the text was not performed. There [were] more than Mr. Marshall, who from the 23d verse of the 5th chapter of Judges, *Curse ye Meroz, said he angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty*; presumed to inveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the malignants, who in any degree opposed the parliament.

There was one, who from the 48th chapter of the prophet Jeremiah, and the 10th verse, *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood*, reproved those who gave any quarter to the king's soldiers. And another out of the 5th verse of the 25th chapter of Proverbs, *Take away the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness*, made it no less a case of conscience by force to remove the evil counsellors from the king, (with bold intimation what might be done to the king himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed,) than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoined. It would fill a volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the prophet Ezekiel might most truly and seasonably have been applied; *There is a conspiracy of her prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring lion ravening the prey; they have devoured souls; they have taken the treasure and precious things; they have made her many widows in the midst thereof.* Ezek. xxii. 25.

It was the complaint of Erasmus of the clergy in his time, that when princes were inclinable to wars, *alius e sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam, prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror, think of

those ministers of the church, who, by their function being messengers of peace, were the only trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion. How much more Christian was that Athenian nun in Plutarch, and how shall she rise up in judgment against those men, who, when Alcibiades was condemned by the public justice of the state, and a decree made that all the religious priests and women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office; answering, "that she was professed religious, to *pray* and to *bless*, not to *curse* and to *ban*." And if the person and the place can improve and aggravate the offence, (as without doubt it doth, both before God and man,) methinks the preaching treason and rebellion out of the pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the market, as much as poisoning a man at the communion would be worse than murdering him at a tavern. And it may be, in that catalogue of sins, which the zeal of some men hath thought to be the sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a minister of Christ's turning rebel against his prince, (which is a most notorious apostasy against his order,) and his preaching rebellion to the people, as the doctrine of Christ; which, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his apostasy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that sin against the Holy Ghost.

Within three or four days after the king's remove from Nottingham, the earl of Essex, with his whole army, removed from Northampton, and marched towards Worcester; of which his majesty had no sooner intelligence, than he sent prince Rupert, with the greatest part of the horse, on the other side of the Severn, towards that city; as well to observe the motion of the enemy, as to give all assistance to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those gentlemen, who were there raising forces for the king; but especially to join with sir John Byron, whom his majesty had sent, in the end of August, to Oxford, to convey some money, which had been secretly brought from London thither, to his majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his march, by the insurrection of the country people, who were encouraged by the agents for the parliament, and seconded by the officers of the militia, came safe with his charge to Worcester; where he had been very few hours, when a strong party of horse and dragoons, being sent by the earl of Essex, under the command of Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, came to surprise the town; which was open enough to have been entered in many places, though in some it had an old decayed wall; and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the city, weak and rotten gates to be shut, but without either lock or bolt.

Yet this doughty commander, coming early in the morning, when the small guard which had watched, conceiving all to be secure, were gone to rest, and being within musket shot of the gate before he was discovered, finding that weak door shut, or rather closed against him, and not that quick appearance of a party within the town, as he promised himself, without doing any harm, retired in great disorder, and with so much haste, that the wearied horse, sent out presently to attend him, could not overtake any of his train; so that when

prince Rupert came thither, they did not conceive any considerable party of the enemy to be near. However his highness resolved to retire from thence, as soon as he should receive perfect intelligence of the motion of the enemy, or where he certainly was, when on the sudden, being reposing himself on the ground with prince Maurice his brother, the lord Digby, and the principal officers, in the field before the town, some of his wearied troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the rest and most of the officers being in the town, he espied a fair body of horse, consisting of near five hundred, marching in very good order up a lane within musket shot of him. In this confusion, they had scarce time to get upon their horses, and none to consult of what was to be done, or to put themselves into their several places of command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all those officers had been in the heads of their several troops, it is not impossible it might have been worse. But the prince instantly declaring, "that he would charge;" his brother, the lord Digby, commissary general Wilmot, sir John Byron, sir Lewis Dives, and all those officers and gentlemen, whose troops were not present or ready, put themselves next the prince; the other wearied troops coming in order after them.

And in this manner the prince charged them, as soon as they came out of the lane; and being seconded by this handful of good men, though the rebels being gallantly led by colonel Sandys, (a gentleman of Kent, and the son of a worthy father,) and completely armed both for offence and defence, stood well; yet in a short time, many of their best men being killed, and colonel Sandys himself falling with his hurts, the whole body was routed, fled, and was pursued by the conquerors for the space of above a mile. The number of the slain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and those most officers; for their arms were so good, that in the charge they were not to be easily killed, and in the chase the goodness of their horse made it impossible. Colonel Sandys, who died shortly after of his wounds, captain Wingate, who was the more known, by being a member of the house of commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himself stoutly, and two or three Scottish officers, were taken prisoners. Of the king's party none of name was lost: commissary general Wilmot hurt with a sword in the side, and sir Lewis Dives in the shoulder, and two or three other officers of inferior note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the prince's side, a piece of armour worn that day, and but few pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the sword. Six or seven cornets [of the enemy's] were taken, and many good horses, and some arms; for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

This rencounter proved of unspeakable advantage and benefit to the king. For it being the first action his horse had been brought to, and that party of the enemy being the most picked and choice men, it gave his troops great courage, and rendered the name of prince Rupert very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their horse, and their very numbers were

much lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief officers of name and reputation either killed or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible and irresistible courage of prince Rupert, and the king's horse. So that, from this time, the parliament begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the king would not be brought back to his parliament with their bare votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat, (for no question many, who had made greatest noise, wished they were again to choose their side,) there was so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the king, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the first, to shew how secure they were against resentment from his allies, as well as against his majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin friars, who, by the articles of marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the queen's family, and had, by her majesty's care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own chapel, in her own house, in the Strand, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the marriage, after many insolences and indignities offered to them by the rude multitude, even within those gates of her own house, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into France, with protestation, "that if they were found again in England, they should be proceeded against as traitors:" and this in the face of the French ambassador, who notwithstanding withdrew not from them his courtship and application.

Then, that the king might know how little they dreaded his forces, they sent down their instructions to the earl of Essex their general, who had long expected them; whereby, among other things of form for the better discipline of the army, "they required him to march, with such forces as he thought fit, towards the army raised, in his majesty's name, against the parliament and the kingdom; and with them, or any part of them, to fight at such time and place as he should judge most to conduce to the peace and safety of the kingdom: and that he should use his utmost endeavour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his majesty's person, and the persons of the prince, and duke of York, out of the hands of those desperate persons, who were then about them. They directed him to take an opportunity, in some safe and honourable way, to cause the petition of both houses of parliament, then sent to him, to be presented to his majesty; and if his majesty should thereupon please to withdraw himself from the forces then about him, and to resort to the parliament, his lordship should cause his majesty's forces to disband, and should serve and defend his majesty with a sufficient strength in his return. They required his lordship to publish and declare, that if any who had been so seduced, by the false aspersions cast upon the proceedings of the parliament, as to

“assist the king in acting of those dangerous
 “counsels, should willingly, within ten days after
 “such publication in the army, return to their
 “duty, not doing any hostile act within the time
 “limited, and join themselves with the parliament
 “in defence of religion, his majesty’s person, the
 “liberties, and law of the kingdom, and privileges
 “of parliament, with their persons, and estates, as
 “the members of both houses, and the rest of the
 “kingdom, have done, that the lords and commons
 “would be ready, upon their submission, to receive
 “such persons in such manner, as they should
 “have cause to acknowledge they had been used
 “with clemency and favour; provided that that
 “favour should not extend to admit any man into
 “either house of parliament, who stood suspended,
 “without giving satisfaction to the house whereof
 “he should be a member; and except all persons
 “who stood impeached, or particularly voted in
 “either house of parliament for any delinquency
 “whatsoever; excepting likewise such adherents
 “of those who stood impeached in parliament of
 “treason, as had been eminent persons, and chief
 “actors in those treasons.” And lest those clauses
 of exception (which no doubt comprehended all
 the king’s party, and if not, they were still to be
 judges of their own clemency and favour, which
 was all was promised to the humblest penitent)
 might invite those, whom they had no mind to
 receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a “parti-
 “cular exception of the earl of Bristol, the earl
 “of Cumberland, the earl of Newcastle, the earl
 “of Rivers, the duke of Richmond, the earl of
 “Carnarvon, the lord Newark, and the lord
 “viscount Falkland, principal secretary of state
 “to his majesty, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr.
 “Endymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde;”
 against not one of whom was there a charge de-
 pending of any crime, and against very few of
 them so much as a vote, which was no great
 matter of delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the petition,
 directed to be presented in some safe and honour-
 able way to his majesty; the rather for that the
 same was, upon the reasons hereafter mentioned,
 never presented; which was afterwards objected
 to his majesty as a rejection of peace on his part,
 when they desired it. The petition was in these
 words:

“We, your majesty’s loyal subjects, the lords
 “and commons in parliament, cannot, without
 “great grief, and tenderness of compassion, be-
 “hold the pressing miseries, the imminent dangers,
 “and the devouring calamities, which extremely
 “threaten, and have partly seized upon, both your
 “kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the prac-
 “tices of a party prevailing with your majesty;
 “who, by many wicked plots and conspiracies, have
 “attempted the alteration of the true religion, and
 “the ancient government of this kingdom, and the
 “introducing of popish idolatry and superstition in
 “the church, and tyranny and confusion in the
 “state; and, for the compassing thereof, have long
 “corrupted your majesty’s counsels, abused your
 “power, and, by sudden and untimely dissolving of
 “former parliaments, have often hindered the re-
 “formation and prevention of those mischiefs; and
 “being now disabled to avoid the endeavours of this
 “parliament, by any such means, have traitorously
 “attempted to overawe the same by force; and, in
 “prosecution of their wicked designs, have excited,

“encouraged, and fostered an unnatural rebellion
 “in Ireland; by which, in a most cruel and out-
 “rageous manner, many thousands of your ma-
 “jesty’s subjects there have been destroyed; and,
 “by false slanders upon your parliament, and
 “malicious and unjust accusations, have endea-
 “voured to begin the like massacre here; and
 “being, through God’s blessing, therein disap-
 “pointed, have, as the most mischievous and
 “bloody design of all, drawn your majesty to make
 “war against your parliament, and good subjects
 “of this kingdom, leading in your person an army
 “against them, as if you intended, by conquest, to
 “establish an absolute and unlimited power over
 “them; and by your power, and the countenance
 “of your presence, you have ransacked, spoiled,
 “imprisoned, and murdered divers of your people;
 “and, for their better assistance in their wicked
 “designs, do seek to bring over the rebels of Ire-
 “land, and other forces, beyond the seas, to join
 “with them.

“And we, finding ourselves utterly deprived of
 “your majesty’s protection, and the authors, coun-
 “sellors, and abettors of these mischiefs in greatest
 “power and favour with your majesty, and de-
 “fended by you against the justice and authority
 “of your high court of parliament; whereby they
 “are grown to that height and insolence, as to
 “manifest their rage and malice against those of
 “the nobility, and others, who are any whit inclin-
 “able to peace, not without great appearance of
 “danger to your own royal person, if you shall not
 “in all things concur with their wicked and trai-
 “torous courses; have, for the just and necessary
 “defence of the protestant religion, of your ma-
 “jesty’s person, crown, and dignity, of the laws
 “and liberties of the kingdom, and the privileges
 “and power of parliament, taken up arms, and
 “appointed and authorized Robert earl of Essex to
 “be captain general of all the forces by us raised,
 “and to lead and conduct the same against these
 “rebels and traitors, and them to subdue, and bring
 “to condign punishment; and do most humbly
 “beseech your majesty to withdraw your royal pre-
 “sence and countenance from those wicked per-
 “sons; and, if they shall stand out in defence of
 “their rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your
 “majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that
 “power, which we have sent against them; and
 “that your majesty will not mix your own dangers
 “with theirs, but in peace and safety, without your
 “forces, forthwith return to your parliament; and,
 “by their faithful counsel and advice, compose the
 “present distempers and confusions abounding in
 “both your kingdoms; and provide for the security
 “and honour of yourself and your royal posterity,
 “and the prosperous estate of all your subjects;
 “wherein if your majesty please to yield to our
 “most humble and earnest desires, we do, in the
 “presence of Almighty God, profess, that we will
 “receive your majesty with all honour, yield you
 “all due obedience and subjection, and faithfully
 “endeavour to secure your person and estate from
 “all dangers; and, to the uttermost of our power,
 “to procure and establish to yourself, and to your
 “people, all the blessings of a glorious and happy
 “reign.”

Then, that it might appear they were nothing
 jealous or apprehensive of the people’s defection and
 revolt from them, whereas before they had made
 the general desire of the kingdom the ground and

argument for whatsoever they had done, and had only invited men to contribute freely what they thought fit to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of those who opposed their proceedings, or privately dissuaded other men from concurring with them, but of those, who either out of fear, or covetousness, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly published their votes, (which were laws to the people, or of much more authority,) "That all such persons, as should not contribute to the charge of the commonwealth, in that time of eminent necessity, should be disarmed and secured;" and that this vote might be the more terrible, they ordered, the same day, the mayor and sheriffs of London, "to search the houses, and seize the arms belonging to some aldermen, and other principal substantial citizens of London," whom they named in their order; "for that it appeared by the report from their committee, that they had not contributed, as they ought, to the charge of the commonwealth."

And by this means the poorest and lowest of the people became informers against the richest and most substantial; and the result of searching the houses and seizing the arms was, the taking away plate, and things of the greatest value, and very frequently plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping. They farther appointed, "that the fines, rents, and profits of archbishops, bishops, deans, deans and chapters, and of all delinquents, who had taken up arms against the parliament, or had been active in the commission of array, should be sequestered for the use and benefit of the commonwealth." And that the king might not fare better than his adherents, they directed "all his revenue, arising out of rents, fines in courts of justice, composition for wards, and the like, and all other his revenue, should be brought into the several courts, and other places, where they ought to be paid in, and not issued forth, or paid forth, until farther order should be taken by both houses of parliament;" without so much as assigning him any part of his own, towards the support of his own person.

This stout invasion of the people's property, and compelling them to part with what was most precious to them, any part of their estates, was thought by many an unpolitic act, in the morning of their sovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new subjects to them. But the conductors well understood, that their empire already depended more on the fear, than love of the people; and that as they could carry on the war only by having money enough to pay the soldiers, so, that whilst they had that, probably they should not want men to recruit their armies upon any misadventure.

It cannot be imagined, how great advantage the king received by the parliament's rejecting the king's messages for peace, and their manner in doing it. All men's mouths were opened against them, the messages and answers being read in all churches; they, who could not serve him in their persons, contrived ways to supply him with money. Some eminent governors in the universities gave him notice that all the colleges were very plentifully supplied with plate, which would amount to a good value, and lay useless in their treasuries, there being enough besides for their common use; and there was not the least doubt, but that when-

soever his majesty should think fit to require that treasure, it would all be sent to him. Of this the king had long thought, and, when he was at Nottingham, in that melancholic season, two gentlemen were despatched away to Oxford, and to Cambridge, (two to each,) with letters to the several vice-chancellors, that they should move the heads and principals of the several colleges and halls, that they would send their plate to the king; private advertisements being first sent to some confident persons to prepare and dispose those, without whose consent the service could not be performed.

This whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy and discretion, that the messengers returned from the two universities, in as short a time as such a journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all, their plate, and a considerable sum of money, which was sent as a present to his majesty from several of the heads of colleges, out of their own particular stores; some scholars coming with it, and helping to procure horses and carts for the service; all which came safe to Nottingham, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a treaty, and contributed much to raising the dejected spirits of the place. The plate was presently weighed out, and delivered to the several officers, who were intrusted to make levies of horse and foot, and who received it as money; the rest was carefully preserved to be carried with the king, when he should remove from thence; secret orders being sent to the officers of the mint, to be ready to come to his majesty as soon as he should require them; which he meant to do, as soon as he should find himself in a place convenient. There was now no more complaining or murmuring. Some gentlemen undertook to make levies upon their own credit and interest, and others sent money to the king upon their own inclinations.

There was a pleasant story, then much spoken of in the court, which administered some mirth. There were two great men who lived near Nottingham, both men of great fortunes and of great parsimony, and known to have much money lying by them, Pierrepont, earl of Kingston, and Leake, lord Dencourt. To the former the lord Capel was sent; to the latter, John Ashburnham of the bedchamber, and of entire confidence with his master; each of them with a letter, all written with the king's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. Capel was very civilly received by the earl, and entertained as well as the ill accommodations in his house, and his manner of living, would admit. He expressed, with wonderful civil expressions of duty, "the great trouble he sustained, in not being able to comply with his majesty's commands:" he said, "all men knew that he neither had, nor could have money, because he had every year, of ten or a dozen which were past, purchased a thousand pounds land a year; and therefore he could not be imagined to have any money lying by him, which he never loved to have. But, he said, he had a neighbour, who lived within few miles of him, the lord Dencourt, who was good for nothing, and lived like a hog, not allowing himself necessities, and who could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the scurvy house in which he lived;" and advised, "that he might be sent to, who could not deny the having of money;"

and concluded with great duty to the king, and detestation of the parliament, and as if he meant to consider farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some money for him; which though he did not remember to send, his affections were good, and he was afterwards killed in the king's service.

Ashburnham got no more money, nor half so many good words. The lord Dencourt had so little correspondence with the court, that he had never heard his name; and when he had read the king's letter, he asked from whom it was; and when he told him, "that he saw it was from the king," he replied, "that he was not such a fool as to believe it." That he had received letters both from this "king and his father;" and hastily ran out of the room, and returned with half a dozen letters in his hand; saying, "that those were all the king's letters, and that they always begun with *Right trusty and well-beloved*, and the king's name was ever at the top; but this letter begun with *Dencourt*, and ended with *your loving friend C. R.*, which, he said, he was sure could not be the king's hand." His other treatment was according to this, and, after an ill supper, he was shewed an indifferent bed; the lord telling him, "that he would confer more of the matter in the morning;" he having sent his servant with a letter to the lord Falkland, who was his wife's nephew, and who had scarce ever seen his uncle. The man came to Nottingham about midnight, and found my lord Falkland in his bed. The letter was to tell him, "that one Ashburnham was with him, who brought him a letter, which he said was from the king; but he knew that could not be; and therefore he desired to know, who this man was, whom he kept in his house till the messenger should return." In spite of the laughter, which could not be forbore, the lord Falkland made haste to inform him of the condition and quality of the person, and that the letter was writ with the king's own hand, which he seldom vouchsafed to do. And the messenger returning early the next morning, his lordship treated Mr. Ashburnham with so different a respect, that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believed that he should return with all the money that was desired. But it was not long before he was undeceived. The lord, with as cheerful a countenance as his could be, for he had a very unusual and unpleasant face, told him, "that though he had no money himself, but was in extreme want of it, he would tell him where he might have money enough; that he had a neighbour, who lived within four or five miles, the earl of Kingston, that never did good to any body, and loved nobody but himself, who had a world of money, and could furnish the king with as much as he had need of; and if he should deny that he had money when the king sent to him, he knew where he had one trunk full, and would discover it; and that he was so ill-beloved, and had so few friends, that nobody would care how the king used him." And this good counsel was all Mr. Ashburnham could make of him: and yet this wretched man was so far from wishing well to the parliament, that when they had prevailed, and were possessed of the whole kingdom, as well as of Nottinghamshire, he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his delinquency, as they made the having lived in the king's quarters to be; but suffered his whole estate to be sequestered, and lived in a very miser-

able fashion, only by what he could ravish from his tenants; who, though they paid their rents to the parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with so much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he chose to live in: his conscience being powerful enough to deny himself, though it could not dispose him to grant to the king. And thus the two messengers returned to the king, so near the same time, that he who came first had not given his account to the king, before the other entered into his presence.

The same day, Mr. Sacheverel, who was a gentleman, and known to be very rich, being pressed to lend the king five hundred pounds, sent him a present of one hundred pieces in gold; "which," he said, "he had procured with great difficulty;" and protested, with many execrable imprecations, "that he had never in his life seen five hundred pounds of his own together;" when, within one month after the king's departure, the parliament troops, which borrowed in another style, took five thousand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mentioned in this place, that upon this occasion it may be seen, that the unthrifty retention of their money, which possessed the spirits of those, who did really wish the king all the success he wished for himself, was the unhappy promotion of all his misfortunes: and if they had, in the beginning, but lent the king the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they found necessary to sacrifice to his enemies, in the conclusion, to preserve themselves from total ruin, his majesty had been able, with God's blessing, to have preserved them, and to have destroyed all his enemies.

The news of the important victory before Worcester found the king at Chester, whither his majesty thought necessary to make a journey himself, as soon as he came to Shrewsbury, both to assure that city to his service, which was the key to Ireland, and to countenance the lord Strange (who, by the death of his father, became within few days earl of Derby) against some opposition he met with, on the behalf of the parliament. Here Crane, sent by prince Rupert, gave his majesty an account of that action; and presented him with the ensigns, which had been taken; and informed him of the earl of Essex's being in Worcester; which made the king to return sooner to Shrewsbury than he intended, and before the earl of Derby was possessed of that power, which a little longer stay would have given him.

Prince Rupert the same night, after his victory, finding the gross of the rebels' army to be within five or six miles, against which that city was in no degree tenable, though all the king's foot had been there, retired from Worcester on the Welsh side of the river, without any disturbance, and with all his prisoners, (colonel Sandys only excepted, whom he charitably left to die of his wounds there,) into his quarters near Shrewsbury; the earl of Essex being so much startled with his late defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being surely informed, that he should find no resistance, he entered with his army into Worcester; using great severity to those citizens, who had been eminently inclined to the king's service, and sending the principal of them prisoners to London.

Upon the king's coming to Shrewsbury, there was a very great conflux of the gentry of that and the neighbouring [counties,] which were generally

well affected, and made great professions of duty to his majesty: some of them undertook to make levies of horse and foot, and performed it at their own charge. The town was very commodious in all respects, strong in its situation; and in respect of its neighbourhood to North Wales, and the use of the Severn, yielded excellent provisions of all kinds; so that both court and army were very well accommodated, only the incurable disease of want of money could not be assuaged in either. Yet whilst they sat still, it was not very sensible, much less importunate. The soldiers behaved themselves orderly, and the people were not inclined or provoked to complain of their new guests; and the remainder of the plate, which was brought from the universities, together with the small presents in money, which were made to the king by many particular persons, supplied the present necessary expenses very conveniently. But it was easily discerned, that, when the army should move, which the king resolved it should do with all possible expedition, the necessity of money would be very great, and the train of artillery, which is commonly a sponge that can never be filled or satisfied, was destitute of all things which were necessary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good sum of money were assigned to it; some carriage-horses, and waggons, which were prepared for the service of Ireland, and lay ready at Chester, to be transported with the earl of Leicester, lieutenant of that kingdom, were brought to Shrewsbury, by his majesty's order, for his own train: and the earl's passionate labouring to prevent or remedy that application, with some other reasons, hindered the earl himself from pursuing that journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that province. But this seasonable addition to the train increased the necessity of money, there being more use of it thereby.

Two expedients were found to make such a competent provision for all wants, that they were at last broken through. Some person of that inclination had insinuated to the king, that, "if the catholics, which that and the adjacent counties were well inhabited by, were secretly treated with, a considerable sum of money might be raised among them; but it must be carried with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, the parliament having declared so great animosity against them;" nor did it in that conjuncture concern the king less that it should be very secret, to avoid the scandal of a close conjunction with the papists, which was every day imputed to him. Upon many consultations how, and in what method, to carry on this design, the king was informed, "that if he would depute a person, much trusted by him, [Mr. Hyde,] to that service, the Roman catholics would trust him, and assign one or two of their body to confer with him, and by this means the work might be carried on." Hereupon the king sent for that person, and told him this whole matter, as it is here set down, and required him to consult with such a person, whom he would send to him the next morning. He was surprised with the information, that that classis of men had made choice of him for their trust, for which he could imagine no reason, but that he had been often of counsel with some persons of quality of that profession, who yet knew very well, that he was in no degree inclined to their persuasion; he submitted to the king's pleasure, and the next

morning a person of quality, and very much trusted by all that party, came to him to confer upon that subject; and shewed a list of the names of all the gentlemen of quality and fortune of that religion, and who were all convict recusants, and who lived within those counties of Shropshire and Stafford; who appeared to be a good number of very valuable men, on whose behalf he had only authority to conclude, though he believed that the method, they agreed on there, would be submitted to, and confirmed by that people in all other places. He said, "they would by no means hearken to any motion for the loan of money, for which they had paid so dear, upon their serving the king in that manner, in his first expedition against the Scots." It was in the end agreed upon, that the king should write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two or three years of such rent, as they were every year obliged to pay to him, upon the composition they had made with him for their estates; which would amount to a considerable sum of money; which letters were accordingly writ, and within ten or twelve days between four and five thousand pounds were returned to his majesty; which was a seasonable supply for his affairs.

At his return to Shrewsbury, the king found as much done towards his march, as he expected. And then the other expedient (which was hinted before) for money offered itself. There was a gentleman of a very good extraction, and of the best estate of any gentleman of that country, one sir Richard Newport, who lived within four or five miles of Shrewsbury, and who was looked upon as a very prudent man, and had a very powerful influence upon that people, and was of undoubted affections and loyalty to the king, and to the government both in church and state: his eldest son, Francis Newport, was a young gentleman of great expectation, and of excellent parts, a member of the house of commons, who had behaved himself there very well. This gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "that, if his father might be made a baron, he did believe he might be prevailed with to present his majesty with a good sum of money." It was proposed to the king, who had no mind to embrace the proposition, his majesty taking occasion often to speak against "making merchandise of honour; how much the crown suffered at present by the license of that kind, which had been used during the favour of the duke of Buckingham; and that he had not taken a firmer resolution against many things, than against this particular expedient for the raising money." However, after he returned from Chester, and found by the increase of his levies, and the good disposition all things were in, that he might in a short time be able to march, and in so good a condition, that he should rather seek the rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indispensable want of money did not make his motion impossible; the merit and ability of the person, and the fair expectation from his posterity, he having two sons, both very hopeful, prevailed with his majesty to resume the same overture; and in few days it was perfected, and sir Ri. Newport was made baron Newport of Ercall; who presented the sum of six thousand pounds to his majesty; whereupon all preparations for the army were prosecuted with effect.

As soon as the king came to Shrewsbury, he

had despatched his letters and agents into Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire, to quicken the levies of men which were making there, and finding that the parliament had been very solicitous and active in those counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, and that many of the gentry of those populous shires were deeply engaged in their service, and the loyal party so much depressed, that the house of commons had sent up an impeachment of high treason against the lord Strange, who being son and heir apparent of the earl of Derby, and possessed of all his father's fortune in present, was then looked upon as of absolute power over that people, and accused him, that he had, with an intent and purpose to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England, and the rights and liberties, and the very being of parliaments, and to set sedition between the king and his people at Manchester of Lancaster, and at several other places, actually, maliciously, rebelliously, and traitorously summoned and called together great numbers of his majesty's subjects; and invited, persuaded, and encouraged them to take up arms, and levy war against the king, parliament, and kingdom. That he had, in a hostile manner, invaded the kingdom, and killed, hurt, and wounded divers of his majesty's subjects; had set sedition betwixt the king and the people, and then was in open and actual rebellion against the king, parliament, and kingdom. And upon this impeachment a formal order passed both houses, (which was industriously published, and read in many churches of those counties,) declaring his treason, and requiring all persons to apprehend him; whereby not only the common people, who had obeyed his warrant, but his lordship himself, (who had only executed the commission of array, and the seditious party at the same time executing the ordinance of militia, some blows had passed, whereof one or two had died,) were more than ordinarily dismayed. His majesty himself leaving his household and army at Shrewsbury went in person with his troop of guards only to Chester, presuming that his presence would have the same influence there, it had had in all other places, to compose the fears and apprehensions of all honest men, and to drive away the rest; which fell out accordingly: for being received and entertained with all demonstrations of duty by the city of Chester, those who had been most notably instrumental to the parliament, withdrew themselves, and the nobility and gentry, and indeed the common people, flocked to him; the former in very good equipage, and the latter with great expressions of devotion: yet in Cheshire Nantwich, and Manchester in Lancashire, made some shows by fortifying, and seditious discourses of resistance and disaffection, and into those two places the seditious persons had retired themselves. To the first, the lord Grandison was sent with a regiment of horse and some few dragoons, with the which, and his dexterous taking advantage of the people's first apprehensions, before they could take advice what to do, he so awed that town, that after one unskilful volley, they threw down their arms, and he entered the town, took the submission and oaths of the inhabitants for their future obedience; and having caused the small works to be slighted, and all the arms and ammunition to be sent to Shrewsbury, he returned to his majesty. For Manchester, the lord Strange, who had by his majesty's favour and encouragement recovered his

spirits, undertook, without troubling his majesty farther northward, in a very short time to reduce that place, (which was not so fortunately performed, because not so resolutely pursued,) and to send a good body of foot to the king to Shrewsbury. So that his majesty, within a week, leaving all parts behind him full of good inclinations or professions, returned through the north part of Wales (where he found the people cordial to him, and arming themselves for him) to Shrewsbury. The king's custom was in all counties, through which he passed, to cause the high sheriff to draw all the gentlemen and the most substantial inhabitants of those parts together, to whom (besides his caressing the principal gentlemen severally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always spake something publicly, (which was afterwards printed,) telling them,

"That it was a benefit to him from the insolences and misfortunes, which had driven him about, that they had brought him to so good a part of his kingdom, and to so faithful a part of his people. He hoped, neither they nor he should repent their coming together. He would do his part, that they might not; and of them he was confident before he came." He told them, the residence of an army was not usually pleasant to any place; and his might carry more fear with it, since it might be thought, (being robbed, and spoiled of all his own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying him,) he must only live upon the aid and relief of his people." But he bid them "not be afraid;" and said, "he wished to God, his poor subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that army raised against him, though they had made themselves wanton with plenty, than they should do by his; and yet he feared he should not be able to prevent all disorders; he would do his best; and promised them, no man should be a loser by him, if he could help it." He said, "he had sent for a mint, and would melt down all his own plate, and expose all his land to sale, or mortgage, that if it were possible, he might bring the least pressure upon them." However, he invited them "to do that for him, and themselves, for the maintenance of their religion, and the law of the land, (by which they enjoyed all that they had,) which other men did against them;" he desired them, "not to suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of supplying him with that, which would be taken from them, by those who pursued his majesty with that violence. And whilst those ill men sacrificed their money, plate, and utmost industry, to destroy the commonwealth, they would be no less liberal to preserve it. He bade them assure themselves, if it pleased God to bless him with success, he would remember the assistance every particular man gave him to his advantage. However it would hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men were now possessed) be honour and comfort to them, that, with some charge and trouble to themselves, they had done their part to support their king, and preserve the kingdom."

His majesty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the public, or their private concerns, might make impression upon that people, and gave clear answers to them. So that with this gracious and princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the people; so that not only his army daily increased

by volunteers, (for there was not a man pressed,) but such proportions of plate and money were voluntarily brought in, that the army was fully and constantly paid: the king having erected a mint at Shrewsbury, more for reputation than use, (for, for want of workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a week,) and causing all his own plate, for the service of his household, to be delivered there, made other men think, theirs was the less worth the preserving.

Shortly after the earl of Essex came to Worcester, he sent a gentleman (one Fleetwood, the same who had afterwards so great power in the army, though then a trooper in his guards) to Shrewsbury, without a trumpet, or any other ceremony than a letter to the earl of Dorset; in which he said, "he was appointed by the parliament, to cause a petition, then in his hands, to be presented to his majesty; and therefore desired his lordship to know his majesty's pleasure, when he would be pleased to receive it from such persons, as he should send over with it." The earl of Dorset (by his majesty's command, after it had been debated in council what answer to return) sent him word in writing, "that the king had always been, and would be still, ready to receive any petition from his two houses of parliament; and if his lordship had any such to be presented, if he sent it by any persons, who stood not personally accused by him of high treason, and excepted specially in all offers of pardon made by him, the person who brought it should be welcome; and the king would return such an answer to it, as should be agreeable to honour and justice." Whether this limitation as to messengers displeased them, (as it was afterwards said, that the messengers appointed to have delivered it were the lord Mandeville and Mr. Hambden, who, they thought, would have skill to make infusions into many persons then about his majesty; and their access being barred by that limitation and exception, they would not send any other,) or what other reason soever there was, the king heard no more of this petition, or any address of that nature, till he found, by some new printed votes and declarations, "that he was guilty of another breach of the privilege of parliament, for having refused to receive their petition, except it were presented in such manner as he prescribed: whereas they alone were judges in what manner, and by what persons, their own petitions should be delivered, and he ought so to receive them." And so that petition, which is before set down in the very terms it passed both houses, was never delivered to his majesty.

There cannot be too often mention of the wonderful providence of God, that from that low despised condition the king was in at Nottingham, after the setting up his standard, he should be able to get men, money, or arms, and yet within twenty days after his coming to Shrewsbury, he resolved to march, in despite of the enemy, even towards London; his foot, by this time, consisting of about six thousand; and his horse of two thousand; his train in very good order, commanded by sir John Heydon. And though this strength was much inferior to the enemy, yet as it was greater than any man thought possible to be raised, so all thought it sufficient to encounter the rebels. Besides that it was confidently believed, (and not without some grounds of correspondence with some officers in

the other army,) that, as soon as the armies came within any reasonable distance of each other, very many soldiers would leave their colours, and come to the king; which expectation was confirmed by some soldiers, who every day dropped in from those forces; and, to make themselves welcome, told many stories of their fellows' resolutions, whom they had left behind.

And this must be confessed, that either by the care and diligence of the officers, or by the good inclinations and temper of the soldiers themselves, the army was in so good order and discipline, that, during the king's stay at Shrewsbury, there was not a disorder of name, the country being very kind to the soldiers, and the soldiers just, and regardful to the country. And by the free loans and contributions of the gentlemen and substantial inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the nobility, who attended, the army was so well paid, that there was not the least mutiny or discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause; for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greatest difficulty was to provide arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful scarcity, the king being exceedingly disappointed in his expectation of arms from Holland; a vessel or two having been taken by his own ships, under the command of the earl of Warwick; so that, except eight hundred muskets, five hundred pair of pistols, and two hundred swords, which came with the powder, which was landed in Yorkshire, as is before mentioned, the king had none in his magazine; so that he was compelled to begin at Nottingham, and so in all places as he passed, to borrow the arms from the trained bands; which was done with so much wariness and caution, (albeit it was known that those arms would, being left in those hands, be employed against him, or at least be of no use to him,) that it was done rather with their consent, than by any constraint, and always with the full approbation of their commanders. And therefore in Yorkshire and Shropshire, where the gentlemen very unskilfully, though with good meaning, desired that the arms might still be left in the country men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, sent the king such supplies of arms, out of their own armories, (which were very mean,) so that by all these means together, the foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any weapon but a cudgel, were armed with muskets, and bags for their powder, and pikes; but, in the whole body, there was not one pikeman had a corslet, and very few musketeers who had swords. Among the horse, the officers had their full desire, if they were able to procure old backs, and breasts, and pots with pistols, or carabines, for their two or three first ranks, and swords for the rest; themselves (and some soldiers by their examples) having gotten, besides their pistols and swords, a short poleaxe.

The foot were divided into three brigades; the first commanded by sir Nicholas Byron, the second by colonel Harry Wentworth, and the third by colonel Richard Fielding, sir Jacob Ashley being major general, and commanding the foot immediately under the general. For, though general Ruthen, who came to the king some few days before he left Shrewsbury, was made field marshal,

yet he kept wholly with the horse to assist prince Rupert: and sir Arthur Aston, of whose soldiery there was then a very great esteem, was made colonel general of the dragoons; which at that time, though consisting of two or three regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thousand at the most. Most of the persons of honour and quality, except those whose attendance was near the king's own person, put themselves into the king's troop of guards, commanded by the lord Bernard Stewart; and made indeed so gallant a body, that, upon a very modest computation, the estate and revenue of that single troop might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who then voted in both houses, under the name of the lords and commons of parliament, and so made and maintained that war. Their servants, under the command of sir William Killigrew, made another full troop, and always marched with their lords and masters.

In this equipage the king marched from Shrewsbury, on the twelfth of October, to Bridgenorth, never less baggage attending a royal army, there being not one tent, and very few waggons belonging to the whole train; having in his whole army not one officer of the field who was a papist, except sir Arthur Aston, if he were one; and very few common soldiers of that religion. However the parliament, in all their declarations, and their clergy much more in their sermons, assured the people, "that the king's army consisted only of papists," whilst themselves entertained all of that religion, that they could get; and very many, both officers and soldiers, of that religion engaged with them; whether it was that they really believed, that that army did desire liberty of conscience for all religions, as some of the chief of them pretended, or that they desired to divide themselves for communication of intelligence, and interest. And here it is not fit to forget one particular, that, when the committee of parliament appointed to advance the service upon the proposition for plate, and horses, in the county of Suffolk, sent word to the house of commons, "that some papists offered to lend money upon those propositions, and desired advice whether they should accept of it," it was answered, "that if they offered any considerable sum, whereby it might be conceived to proceed from a real affection to the parliament, and not out of policy to bring themselves within their protection, and so to excuse their delinquency, it should be accepted of."

When the king was ready for his march, there was some difference of opinion which way he should take; many were of opinion that he should march towards Worcester, where the earl of Essex still remained; those countries were thought well-affected to the king; where his army would be supplied with provisions, and increased in numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from London; and he had store of arms with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counsellable to march directly towards London, it being morally sure, that the earl of Essex would put himself in their way. The king had much confidence in his horse, (his nephew prince Rupert being in the head of them,) which were flushed by their success at Worcester; and if he

had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the enclosures, where his horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many great campanies near the other way, much fitter for an engagement. And so, about the middle of October, the king marched from Shrewsbury, and quartered that night at Bridgenorth, ten miles from the other place, where there was a rendezvous of the whole army, which appeared very cheerful; and so to Wolverhampton, Bromicham, and Killingworth, a house of the king's, and a very noble seat, where the king rested one day; where the lord chief justice Heath, who was made chief justice for that purpose, (Bramston, a man of great learning and integrity, being, without any purpose of disfavour, removed from that office, because he stood bound by recognizance to attend the parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him,) began to sit upon a commission of oyer and terminer, to attain the earl of Essex, and many other persons who were in rebellion, of high treason.

Some days had passed without any notice of that army; some reporting that it remained still at Worcester; others, that they were marched the direct way from thence towards London. But intelligence came from London, "that very many officers of name, and command in the parliament army, [had] undergone that service with a full resolution to come to the king as soon as they were within any distance; and it was wished, that the king would send a proclamation into the army itself, and to offer pardon to all who would return to their obedience." And a proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolved upon, that a herald should be sent to proclaim it in the head of the earl's army, when it should be drawn up in battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and resolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

When the whole army marched together, there was quickly discovered an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal officers, which grew quickly into a perfect faction between the foot and the horse. The earl of Lindsey was general of the whole army by his commission, and thought very equal to it. But when prince Rupert came to the king, which was after the standard was set up, and received a commission to be general of the horse, which, all men knew, was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, which exempted him from receiving orders from any body but from the king himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the horse from any dependence upon the general, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the king at midnight, being in his bed, and receiving intelligence of the enemy's motion, commanded the lord Falkland, his principal secretary of state, to direct prince Rupert, what he should do, he took it very ill, and expostulated with the lord Falkland, for giving him orders. But he could not have directed his passion against any man, who would feel or regard it less. And he told him, "that it was his office to signify what the king bade him; which he should always do; and that he, in neglecting it, neglected the king;" who did neither the prince nor his own service any good, by complying in the beginning with his rough nature, which rendered him very ungracious to all men. But the king was so indulgent to him, that

he took his advice in all things relating to the army, and so upon consideration of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with prince Rupert's advice, and rejected the opinion of the general, who preferred the order he had learned under prince Maurice, and prince Harry, with whom he had served at the same time, when the earl of Essex and he had both regiments. The uneasiness of the prince's nature, and the little education he had in courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the lords, who were likewise thereby discouraged from applying themselves to him; whilst some officers of the horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing their credit would be the greater with the prince, and desired that no other person should have any credit with the king. So the war was scarce begun, when there appeared such faction and designs in the army, which wise men looked upon as a very evil presage; and the inconveniences, which flowed from thence, gave the king great trouble in a short time after.

Within two days after the king marched from Shrewsbury, the earl of Essex moved from Worcester to attend him, with an army far superior in number to the king's; the horse and foot being completely armed, and the men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the king's magazines) suitable to an army set forth at the charge of a kingdom. The earl of Bedford had the name of general of the horse, though that command principally depended upon sir William Balfour. Of the nobility he had with him the lords Kimbolton, Saint-John's, Wharton, Roberts, Rochford, and Fielding, (whose fathers, the earls of Dover, and Denbigh, charged as volunteers in the king's guards of horse,) and many gentlemen of quality; but his train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched the same way, they gave not the least disquiet in ten days' march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither army knew where the other was.

The king by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on Saturday the twenty-second of October, to Edgcot, a village in Northamptonshire, within four miles of Banbury, in which the rebels had a very strong garrison. As soon as he came thither, he called a council of war, and having no intelligence that the earl of Essex was within any distance, it was resolved "the king and the army should rest in those quarters the next day, only that sir Nicholas Byron should march with his brigade, and attempt the taking in of Banbury." And with this resolution the council brake up, and all men went to their quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an enemy. But that night, about twelve of the clock, prince Rupert sent the king word, "that the body of the rebels' army was within seven or eight miles, and that the head quarter was at a village called Keinton on the edge of Warwickshire; and that it would be in his majesty's power, if he thought fit, to fight a battle the next day;" which his majesty liked well, and therefore immediately despatched orders to cross the design for Banbury, "and that the whole army should draw to a rendezvous on the

"top of Edge-hill;" which was a very high hill about two miles from Keinton, where the headquarters of the earl was, and which had a clear prospect of all that valley.

In the morning, being Sunday the twenty-third of October, when the rebels were beginning their march, (for they suspected not the king's forces to be near,) they perceived a fair body of horse on the top of that hill, and easily concluded their march was not then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly surprised, having never had any other confidence of their men, than by the disparity they concluded would be still between their numbers and the king's, the which they found themselves now deceived in. For two of their strongest and best regiments of foot, and one regiment of horse, was a day's march behind with their ammunition. So that, though they were still superior in number, yet that difference was not so great as they promised themselves. However, it cannot be denied that the earl, with great dexterity, performed whatsoever could be expected from a wise general. He chose that ground which best liked him. There was between the hill and the town a fair campaign, save that near the town it was narrower, and on the right hand some hedges, and inclosures: so that there he placed musketeers, and not above two regiments of horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left wing he placed a body of a thousand horse, commanded by one Ramsey a Scotsman; the reserve of horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the earl of Bedford, general of their horse, and sir William Balfour with him. The general himself was with the foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the clock in the morning.

On the other side, though prince Rupert was early in the morning with the greatest part of the horse on the top of the hill, which gave the first alarm of the necessity of fighting to the other party, yet the foot were quartered at so great a distance, that many regiments marched seven or eight miles to the rendezvous: so that it was past one of the clock, before the king's forces marched down the hill; the general himself alighted at the head of his own regiment of foot, his son the lord Willoughby being next to him, with the king's regiment of guards, in which was the king's standard, carried by sir Edmund Verney, knight marshal. The king's right wing of horse was commanded by prince Rupert, the left wing by Mr. Wilmot, commissary general of the horse, who was assisted by sir Arthur Aston with most of the dragoons, because that left wing was opposed to the enemy's right, which had the shelter of some hedges lined with musketeers: and the reserve was committed to sir John Byron, and consisted indeed only of his own regiment. At the entrance into the field, the king's troop of guards, either provoked by some unseasonable scoffs among the soldiery, or out of desire of glory, or both, besought the king, "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his person, and to charge in the front among the horse;" the which his majesty consented to. They desired prince Rupert "to give them that honour which belonged to them;" who accordingly assigned them the first place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable courage, may well be reckoned among the oversights of that day.

It was near three of the clock in the afternoon, before the battle began; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day." But against that there were many objections; "the king's numbers could not increase, "the enemy's might;" for they had not only their garrisons, Warwick, Coventry, and Banbury, within distance, but all that country so devoted to them, that they had all provisions brought to them without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the people were so disaffected to the king's party, that they had carried away, or hid, all their provisions, insomuch as there was neither meat for man or horse; and the very smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the king's cause, or his person; though it is true, that circuit in which this battle was fought, being very much between the dominions of the lord Say and the lord Brooke, was the most eminently corrupted of any county in England; but by the reports, and infusions which the other very diligent party had wrought into the people's belief; "that the cavaliers were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious disposition, and "that they committed all manner of cruelty upon "the inhabitants of those places where they came, "of which robbery was the least;" so that the poor people thought there was no other way to preserve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their friends. And therefore where the army rested a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no person of honour or quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the common soldiers in their march, which escaped exemplary punishment; so that at Bromicham, a town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small parties of the king's, and killed or taken them prisoners, and sent them to Coventry, declaring a more peremptory malice to his majesty than any other place, two soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a house, whose owner was at that time in the rebels' army. So strict was the discipline in this army; when the other, without control, practised all the dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good reputation behind them, was no harbinger to provide for their better reception in the next quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to Edge-hill, that there were very many companies of the common soldiers, who had scarce eaten bread in eight and forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a victory; and therefore the king gave the word, though it was late, the enemy keeping their ground to receive him without advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the king intended to have executed before the beginning of the battle. He had caused many proclamations to be printed of pardon to all those soldiers who would lay down their arms, which he resolved, as is said before, to have sent by a herald to the earl of Essex, and to have found

ways to have scattered and dispersed them in that army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remembered; and when it was, the proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right wing of the king's horse advanced to charge the left wing, which was the gross of the enemy's horse, sir Faithful Fortescue, (whose fortune and interest being in Ireland, he had come out of that kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a troop of horse raised for him for that service; but as many other of those forces were, so his troop was likewise disposed into that army, and he was now major to sir William Waller; he) with his whole troop advanced from the gross of their horse, and discharging all their pistols on the ground, within little more than carabine shot of his own body, presented himself and his troop to prince Rupert; and immediately, with his highness, charged the enemy. Whether this sudden accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each man looking upon his companion with the same apprehension as upon the enemy, or whether the terror of prince Rupert, and the king's horse, or all together, with their own evil consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole wing, having unskilfully discharged their carabines and pistols into the air, wheeled about, our horse charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two miles.

The left wing, commanded by Mr. Wilmot, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with musketeers. But sir Arthur Aston, with great courage and dexterity, beat off those musketeers with his dragoons; and then the right wing of their horse was as easily routed and dispersed as their left, and those followed the chase as furiously as the other. The reserve seeing none of the enemy's horse left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled; and could not be contained by their commanders; but with spurs, and loose reins, followed the chase, which their left wing had led them. And by this means, whilst most men thought the victory unquestionable, the king was in danger of the same fate which his predecessor Henry the Third felt at the battle of Lewes against his barons; when his son the prince, having routed their horse, followed the chase so far, that, before his return to the field, his father was taken prisoner; and so his victory served only to make the misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the king's horse having thus left the field, many of them only following the execution, others intending the spoil in the town of Keinton, where all the baggage was, and the earl of Essex's own coach, which was taken, and brought away; their reserve, commanded by sir William Balfour, moved up and down the field in good order, and marching towards the king's foot pretended to be friends, till observing no horse to be in readiness to charge them, [they] brake in upon the foot, and did great execution. Then was the general the earl of Lindsey, in the head of his regiment, being on foot, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, and

was presently encompassed by the enemy; and his son, the lord Willoughby, piously endeavouring the rescue of his father, taken prisoner with him. Then was the standard taken, (sir Edmund Verney, who bore it, being killed,) but rescued again by captain John Smith, an officer of the lord Grandison's regiment of horse, and by him brought off. And if those horse had bestirred themselves, they might with little difficulty [have] destroyed, or taken prisoner, the king himself, and his two sons, the prince [of Wales] and the duke of York, being with fewer than one hundred horse, and those without officer or command, within half musket shot of that body, before he suspected them to be enemies.

When prince Rupert returned from the chase, he found this great alteration in the field, and his majesty himself with few noblemen, and a small retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a day quite vanished. For though most of the officers of horse were returned, and that part of the field covered again with the loose troops, yet they could not be persuaded, or drawn to charge either the enemy's reserve of horse, which alone kept the field, or the body of their foot, which only kept their ground. The officers pretending, "that their soldiers were so dispersed, that there were not ten of any troop together;" and the soldiers, "that their horses were so tired, that they could not charge." But the truth is, where many soldiers of one troop or regiment were rallied together, there the officers were wanting; and where the officers were ready, there the soldiers were not together; and neither officers or soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect, that many were of opinion, that the king should leave the field, though it was not easy to advise whither he should have gone; which if he had done, he had left an absolute victory to those, who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the king was positive against that advice, well knowing, that as that army was raised by his person and presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it unprincipally, to forsake them who had forsaken all they had to serve him: besides, he observed the other side looked not as if they thought themselves conquerors; for that reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his horse, betook themselves to a fixed station between their foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two brigades of the king's did with equal courage, and gave equal volleys; and therefore he tried all possible ways to get the horse to charge again; easily discerning by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt, if either party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compassed his end upon his enemy. This made many believe, though the horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their enemy's want of courage, than to their own virtue, (which, after so great a victory, could not so soon have

forsaken them,) and to the sudden and unexpected revolt of sir Faithful Fortescue with a whole troop, no doubt much to the consternation of those he left; which had not so good fortune as they deserved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their orange-tawny scarfs, which they all wore as the earl of Essex's colours, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddenly killed by those to whom they joined themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the night, the common friend to wearied and dismayed armies, parted them; and then the king caused his cannon, which were nearest the enemy, to be drawn off; and with his whole forces himself spent the night in the field, by such a fire as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next morning; many reporting, "that the enemy was gone:" but when the day appeared, the contrary was discovered; for then they were seen standing in the same posture and place in which they fought, from whence the earl of Essex, wisely, never suffered them to stir all that night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their numbers would lessen, and that many would run away; and therefore he caused all manner of provisions, [with] which the country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their repast, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that night he received a great addition of strength, not only by rallying those horse and foot, which had run out of the field in the battle, but by the arrival of colonel Hambden, and colonel Grantham, with two thousand fresh foot, (which were reckoned among the best of the army,) and five hundred horse, which marched a day behind the army for the guard of their ammunition, and a great part of their train, not supposing there would have been any action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this seasonable recruit brought them, was to give their old men so much courage as to keep the field, which it was otherwise believed, they would hardly have been persuaded to have done. After a very cold night spent in the field, without any refreshment of victual, or provision for the soldiers, (for the country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in provisions, but many soldiers, who straggled into the villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the common people,) the king found his troops very thin; for though, by conference with the officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the battle, yet a third part of his foot were not upon the place, and of the horse many missing; and they that were in the field were so tired with duty, and weakened with want of meat, and shrunk up with the cruel cold of the night, (for it was a terrible frost, and there was no shelter of either tree or hedge,) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the enemy, whilst a small party of the king's horse, in the morning, took away four pieces of their cannon very near them, that any offer towards a charge, or but marching towards them, would have made a very notable impression in them, yet there was so visible an averseness from it in most officers, as well as soldiers, that the king thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his men in

order, the body of horse facing the enemy upon the field where they had fought.

Towards noon the king resolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent sir William le Neve, Clarencieux king at arms, to the enemy, with his proclamation of pardon to such as would lay down arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the proclamation, that he should, by that means, receive some advertisement of the condition of the army, and what prisoners they had taken, (for many persons of command and quality were wanting,) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the earl of Lindsey, who was known to be in their hands. Before sir William came to the army, he was received by the out-guards, and conducted, with strictness, (that he might say or publish nothing amongst the soldiers,) to the earl of Essex; who, when he offered to read the proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him, with some roughness, and charged him, "as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the soldiers;" and, after some few questions, sent him presently back well guarded through the army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little observation of the posture or numbers of the enemy. Only he seemed to have seen, or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the earl of Essex, and the principal officers about him, and so much dejection in the common soldiers, that they looked like men who had no farther ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the earl of Lindsey; who, being carried out of the field a prisoner, into a barn of the next village, for want of a surgeon, and such accommodations as were necessary, within few hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the inhumanity of the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely neglected, or inhibited the performing any necessary offices to him, out of the insolence of his nature, and in revenge of some former unkindnesses, [which] had passed between them. But, I presume, it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry and distraction of that season, when, being so unsecure of their friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the earl of Lindsey was taken prisoner, the earl of Essex thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of civility and courtesy was none.

The number of the slain, by the testimony of the minister, and others of the next parish, who took care for the burying of the dead, and which was the only computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the parliament party, and not above a third of the king's. Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of triumph appeared in either, that the victory could scarce be imputed to the one or the other. Yet the king's keeping the field, and having the spoil of it, by which many persons of quality, who had lain wounded in the field, were preserved, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the battle, and succeeding in it, (as shall be touched anon,) were greater ensigns of victory on that side, than the taking the general

prisoner, and the taking the standard, which was likewise recovered, were on the other. Of the king's the principal persons, who were lost, were the earl of Lindsey, general of the army, the lord George Stewart, lord Aubigney, son to the duke of Lenox, and brother to the then duke of Richmond and Lenox, sir Edmund Verney, knight marshal of the king's horse, and standardbearer, and some others of less name, though of great virtue, and good quality.

The earl of Lindsey was a man of very noble extraction, and inherited a great fortune from his ancestors; which though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair condition to his family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a man of great honour, and spent his youth and vigour of his age in military actions and commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of life, yet he still preserved a very good reputation with all men, and a very great interest in his country, as appeared by the supplies he and his son brought to the king's army; the several companies of his own regiment of foot being commanded by the principal knights and gentlemen of Lincolnshire, who engaged themselves in the service principally out of their personal affection to him. He was of a very generous nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the commission granted to prince Rupert, and by the king's preferring the prince's opinion, in all matters relating to the war, before his. Nor did he conceal his resentment: the day before the battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as general; and therefore he was resolved, when the day of battle should come, that he would be in the head of his regiment as a private colonel, where he would die." He was carried out of the field to the next village; and if he could then have procured surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved mortal. And it was imputed to the earl of Essex's too well remembering former grudges, that he never sent any surgeon to him, nor performed any other offices of respect towards him; but it is most certain that the disorder the earl of Essex himself was in at that time, by the running away of the horse, and the confusion he saw the army in, and the plundering the carriages in the town where the surgeons were to attend, was the cause of all the omissions of that kind. And as soon as they were composed by the coming on of the night, about midnight, he sent sir William Balfour, and some other officers, to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor house, where they had laid him in his blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no surgeon having been yet with him; only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see so many gentlemen, some whereof were his old friends, engaged in so foul a rebellion:" and principally directed his discourse to sir William Balfour, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations he had to the king; how much his majesty had disobliged the whole English nation by putting him into the command of the Tower; and that it was the most odious ingratitude in him to make him that return." He

wished them to tell my lord Essex, "that he ought to cast himself at the king's feet to beg his pardon; which if he did not speedily do, his memory would be odious to the nation;" and continued this kind of discourse with so much vehemence, that the officers by degrees withdrew themselves; and prevented the visit the earl of Essex intended him, who only sent the best surgeons to him; who in the very opening of his wounds died before the morning, only upon the loss of blood. He had very many friends, and very few enemies; and died generally lamented.

The lord Aubigny was a gentleman of great hopes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of very clear courage: he was killed in the first charge with the horse; where, there being so little resistance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by his own lieutenant, who being a Dutchman, had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he received some reprehension from his captain, which he murmured at. His body was brought off, and buried at Christ-church in Oxford; his two younger brothers, the lord John and the lord Bernard Stewart, were in the same battle, and were both killed afterwards in the war, and his only son is now duke of Richmond. Sir Edmund Verney hath been mentioned before upon his discourse at Nottingham, which was very ominous: he was a person of great honour and courage, and lost his life in that charge, when Balfour, with that reserve of horse, which had been so long undiscerned, broke into those regiments; but his body was not found.

Of the parliament party that perished, the lord Saint-John of Bletnezo, and Charles Essex, were of the best quality. The last had been bred up a page under the earl of Essex, who afterwards, at his charge, preferred him to a command in Holland; where he lived with very good reputation, and preserved the credit of his decayed family; and as soon as the earl unfortunately accepted this command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his patron, and out of pure kindness to the person of the earl, as many other gentlemen did, engaged himself against the king without any malice or rebellion in his heart towards the crown. He had the command of a regiment of foot, and was esteemed the best and most expert officer of the army, and was killed by a musket shot in the beginning of the battle. The lord Saint-John was eldest son to the earl of Bullingbroke, and got himself so well beloved by the reputation of courtesy and civility, which he expressed towards all men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal gentlemen of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the family was not engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the clamour of his debts growing importunate, some years before the rebellion, he left the kingdom, and fled into France; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his sureties, to the utter ruin of many families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the parliament, the king was prevailed with to call him to the house of peers, his father being then alive, upon an assurance, "that by his presence and liberty, which could by no other way be secured, means would be found out to pay his debts, and free so many

"worthy persons from their engagements: besides that the times being like to be troublesome, the king might be sure of a faithful servant, who would always advance his service in that house." But the king had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately and insolently opposed by any men in that house than by those, who upon those professions were redeemed by him from the condition of commoners. And this gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that house by the king's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one vote for the king's service, that received any opposition: and, as soon as it was in his power, he received a commission with the first to command a troop of horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he received some wounds in running away; and being taken prisoner, died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be against the king, but wished him all happiness:" so great an influence the first seeds of his birth and mutinous family had upon his nature, that how long soever they were concealed, and seemed even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the men of most licentious lives, who appeared to be without any sense of religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrained by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that party, and pretended an impulsion of religion out of fear of popery; and, on the other side, very many persons of quality, both of the clergy and laity, who had suffered under the imputation of puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to rebellion, that they renounced all their old friends, and applied themselves with great resolution, courage, and constancy to the king's service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

Prisoners taken by the enemy were, the lord Willoughby, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his father; sir Thomas Lunsford, and sir Edward Stradling, both colonels; and sir William Vavasour, who commanded the king's regiment of guards under the lord Willoughby; and some other inferior commanders. There were hurt, sir Jacob Ashley, and sir Nicholas Byron, and more dangerously, colonel Charles Gerrard, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the war; sir George Strode, and some other gentlemen who served among the foot; for of the horse there was not an officer of name, who received a wound, the lord Aubigny only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the enemy make. Of the rebels there were slain, the lord Saint-John's, son and heir apparent of the earl of Bullingbroke, a man known by nothing, but the having run into a vast debt, to the ruin of his own and many families whom he procured to be engaged for him, whom the king, shortly after the beginning of this parliament, at the importunity of the earl of Bedford and some others, unhappily created a peer, and by that rendered his person free from the arrest of his creditors, and added one to the number of those lords, who most furiously revolted from their allegiance. He had at this battle a regiment

of horse, and was taken prisoner after he had received some hurts, of which he died the next day. On the field was slain, colonel Charles Essex, the soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the guilt of rebellion, by his having sworn to the queen of Bohemia, by whose intercession he procured leave from the prince of Orange to go into England, "that he would never serve against the king:" and many other of obscure names, though officers of good command. There were a good number of their officers, especially of horse, taken prisoners, but (save that some of them were parliament men) of mean quality in the world, except only sir William Essex, the father of the colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great fortune, and his son's invitation, led him into that company; where he was a private captain of his regiment.

When the armies had thus only looked one upon another the whole day, and it being discerned that the enemy had drawn off his carriages, the king directed all his army to retire into their old quarters, presuming (as it proved) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two sons went to Edgecot, where he lay the night before the battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the enemy, upon which some troops of the king's horse attended. The earl of Essex retired with his to Warwick castle, whither he had sent all his prisoners; so that, on the Tuesday morning, the king was informed, that the enemy was gone, and that some of his horse had attended the rear of the enemy almost to Warwick, and that they had left many of their carriages, and very many of their wounded soldiers, at the village next the field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

After the horse had marched almost to Warwick, and found the coast clear from the enemy, they returned to the field to view the dead bodies, many going to inquire after their friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripped among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr. Scroop brought off his father, sir Gervas Scroop; who, being an old gentleman of great fortune in Lincolnshire, had raised a foot company among his tenants, and brought them into the earl of Lindsey's regiment, out of devotion and respect to his lordship, as well as duty to the king; and had, about the time that the general was taken, fallen with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain stripped among the dead, from that time, which was about three of the clock in the afternoon on Sunday, all that cold night, all Monday, and Monday night, and till Tuesday evening, for it was so late before his son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards in the march to Oxford; where he wonderfully recovered. The next morning after, being Wednesday, there was another gentleman, one Bellingham, of an ancient extraction in Sussex, and the only son of his father, found among the dead, and brought off by his friends, with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at Oxford, by the negligence of his surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of itself not danger-

ous, undiscerned, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recovered of those which were only thought mortal. The surgeons were of opinion, that both these gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripped them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopped their blood, better than all their skill and medicaments could have done; and that, if they had been brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

On Wednesday morning, the king drew his army to a rendezvous, where he found his numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the battle, very many of the common soldiers, out of cold and hunger, had found their old quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered a strange cheerfulness into all men, that there were not in that battle lost above three hundred men at the most. There the king declared general Ruthen general of his army in the place of the earl of Lindsey; and then marched to Ayno, a little village two miles distant from Banbury, of which his majesty that day took a view, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in Banbury castle a regiment of eight hundred foot, and a troop of horse, which, with spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an army better prepared to have assaulted it, than the king's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the king should have marched by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to stay there, besides the courage of his soldiers, who had again recovered their appetite to action, was that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the earl of Essex did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the enemy advanced upon him, he could not fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a trumpet to summon the castle, and having first taken the lord Say's house at Broughton, where there was some show of resistance, and in it a troop of horse, and some good arms, the cannon were planted against the castle, and the army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the castle sent to treat, and, upon leave to go away without their arms, they fairly and kindly delivered the place; and half the common soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the king's army; the rest of the arms came very seasonably to supply many soldiers of every regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the battle.

This last success declared where the victory was before at Edgehill; for, though the routing of their horse, the having killed more on the place, and taken more prisoners, the number of the colours won from the enemy, (which were near forty in number,) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their cannon the next morning after the battle, were so many arguments that the victory inclined to the king: on the other side, the loss of the general himself, and so many men of name either killed or taken prisoners, who were generally known over the kingdom, (whereas, besides the lord Saint-John's, and colonel Essex, the names of the rest of that party were so obscure, that neither the one side

seemed to be gainers by having taken or killed them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them,) the having kept the field last, and taken the spoil of it, were sufficient testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of Banbury, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the army's being, before the battle, designed for that service, then recalled to the field, and after that field fought, and the retreat of the enemy, the readvancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an argument that the earl of Essex was more broken and scattered than at first he appeared to be, that the king's army was looked upon as victorious. A garrison was put into Banbury, and the command thereof committed to the earl of Northampton, and then the king marched to his own house [at] Woodstock; and the next day with the whole army to Oxford, which was the only city of England, that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was received by the university, to whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be imputed, with all joy and acclamation, as Apollo should be by the muses.

The earl of Essex continued still at Warwick, repairing his broken regiments and troops, which every day lessened and impaired; for the number of his slain men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many killed in the chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more stayed away than returned; and, which was worse, they who run fastest and farthest told such lamentable stories of the defeat, and many of them shewed such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the people revolt to their allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behaved themselves well in the battle, either with remorse of conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the duty and danger, withdrew themselves from their colours, and some from their commands. And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that service, out of an opinion, that an army would procure a peace without fighting; others out of a desire to serve the king, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, as soon as they should find themselves within a secure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to fight, the latter not knowing how to get to the king's army in the battle, discharged themselves of the service as soon as they came to Warwick; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his excellency, was the temper and constitutions of his new masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a victory complete, by his bringing the person of the king alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they looked for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at Warwick were rather to receive new orders and commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the king's motion as well as if he had been within seven miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at London, and in the two houses, from the time that they heard, that the king marched from Shrews-

bury with a formed army, and that he was resolved to fight, as soon as he could meet with their army. However, they endeavoured to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the common people, that the king did not command, but was carried about in that army of the cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the earl of Essex would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the army's being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first charge; who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the clock before the battle begun, many of the soldiers, and some commanders of no mean name, were at St. Alban's, which was near thirty miles from the field, before it was dark. These men, as all runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the king's army to be so terrible, that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the earl of Essex slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose:" so that the whole city was, the Monday, full of the defeat; and though there was an express, from the earl of Essex himself, of the contrary, there was not courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last. Monday in the afternoon, the earl of Holland produced a letter in the house of peers, which was written the night before by the earl of Essex, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "the impression that had in the beginning been made upon his horse, but that the conclusion was prosperous." Whilst this was reading, and every man greedily digesting the good news, the lord Hastings, who had a command of horse in the service, entered the house with frightened and ghastly looks, and positively declared "all to be lost, against whatsoever they believed or flattered themselves with." And though it was evident enough that he had run away from the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most men looked upon him as the last messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight and forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes and insolence of three months before. At the last, on Wednesday morning, the lord Wharton, and Mr. William Strode, the one a member of the house of lords, the other of the commons, arrived from the army, and made so full a relation of the battle, "of the great numbers slain on the king's part, without any considerable loss on their side, of the miserable and weak condition the king's army was in, and of the earl of Essex's resolution to pursue him," that they were not now content to be savers, but voted "that their army had the victory;" and appointed a day for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the same; and, that so great a joy might not be enjoyed only within those walls, they appointed those two trusty messengers to communicate the whole

relation with all circumstances to the city; which was convened together at the guildhall to receive the same. But by this time, so many persons, who were present at the action, came to the town of both sides, (for there was yet a free intercourse with all quarters,) and some discourses were published, how little either of these two messengers had seen themselves of that day's business, that the city seemed not so much exalted at their relations, as the houses had [been]; the king's taking Banbury, and marching afterwards to Oxford, and the reports from those quarters of his power, with the earl of Essex's lying still at Warwick, gave great argument of discourse; which grew the greater by the commitment of several persons, for reporting, "that the king had the better of the field;" which men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wished for, as peace.

They who were really affected to the king, and from the beginning opposed all the extravagances, for of such there were many in both houses, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, spake now aloud, "that an humble address to the king for the removal of all misunderstandings, was both in duty necessary, and in policy convenient." The half-hearted and half-witted people, which made much the major part of both houses, plainly discerned there must be a war, and that the king at least would be able to make resistance, which they had been promised he could not do, and so were equally passionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the mischief, and already had digested a full change and alteration of government, and knew well, that all their arts would be discovered, and their persons odious, though they might be secured, violently opposed all motions of this kind. These men pressed earnestly "to send an express to their brethren of Scotland, to invite and conjure them to come to their assistance, and to leave no way unthought of for suppressing, and totally destroying, all those who had presumed to side with the king." This overture of calling the Scots in again was as unpopular a thing, as could be mentioned; besides that it implied a great and absolute diffidence in their own strength, and an acknowledgment that the people of England stood not so generally affected to their desires, which they had hitherto published, and urged, as the best argument to justify those desires. Therefore the wise managers of that party, by whose conduct they had been principally governed, seemed fully to concur with those who desired peace, "and to send an humble address to the king, which they confessed to be due from them as subjects, and the only way to procure happiness for the kingdom." And having hereby rendered themselves gracious, and gained credit, they advised them "so to endeavour peace, that they might not be disappointed of it," and wished them "to consider that the king's party were high upon the success of having an army, (of which they had reasonably before despaired,) though not upon any thing that army had yet done. That it was apparent, the king had ministers stirring for him in the north, and in the west, though hitherto with little effect; and therefore if they should make such an application for peace, as might imply the giving over the thoughts of war, they

"must expect such a peace, as the mercy of those whom they had provoked would consent to. But if they would steadily pursue those counsels as would make their strength formidable, they might then expect such moderate conditions, as they might, with their own, and the kingdom's safety, securely submit to. That therefore the proposition of sending into Scotland was very seasonable; not that it could be hoped, or was desired, that they should bring an army into England, of which there was not like to be any need; but that that kingdom might make such a declaration of their affections, and readiness to assist the parliament, that the king might look upon them with the more consideration, as a body not easily to be oppressed, if he should insist upon too high conditions."

By this artifice, whilst they who pressed a treaty thought, that, that being once consented to, a peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a committee was appointed, "to prepare heads of an humble address unto his majesty, for composing the present differences and distractions, and settling the peace of the kingdom," (which was a great condescension,) they made no scruple to declare, "that the preparations of forces, and all other necessary means for defence, should be prosecuted with all vigour;" and thereupon required "all those officers and soldiers, who had left their general, of which the town was then full, upon pain of death, to return to him;" and, for his better recruit, solemnly declared, "that, in such times of common danger and necessity, the interest of private persons ought to give way to the public; and therefore they ordained, that such apprentices, as would be listed to serve as soldiers, for the defence of the kingdom, the parliament, and city, (with their other usual expressions of religion, and the king's person,) their sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, should be secured against their masters; and that their masters should receive them again, at the end of their service, without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same should be reckoned as well spent, according to their indentures, as if they had been still in their shops." And by this means many children were engaged in that service, not only against the consent, but against the persons, of their fathers, and the earl received a notable supply thereby.

Then, for their consent that a formal and perfunctory message should be sent to his majesty, whereby they thought a treaty would be entered upon, they procured at the same time, and as an expedient for peace, this material and full declaration of both houses to the subjects of Scotland, which they caused with all expedition to be sent into that kingdom.

"We the lords and commons, assembled in the parliament of England, considering with what wisdom, and public affection, our brethren of the kingdom of Scotland did concur with the endeavours of this parliament, and the desires of the whole kingdom, in procuring and establishing a firm peace and amity between the two nations, and how lovingly they have since invited us to a nearer and higher degree of union in matters concerning religion and church-government, which we have most willingly and affectionately embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot doubt but they will, with as much forwardness and

"affection, concur with us in settling peace in this kingdom, and preserving it in their own; that so we may mutually reap the benefit of that amity and alliance, so happily made, and strongly confirmed betwixt the two nations. Wherefore, as we did about a year since, in the first appearance of trouble then beginning among them, actually declare, that, in our sense and apprehension of the national alliance betwixt us, we were thereby bound to apply the authority of parliament, and power of this kingdom, to the preservation and maintenance of their peace: and, seeing now that the troubles of this kingdom are grown to a greater height, and the subtle practices of the common enemy of the religion and liberty of both nations do appear with more evident strength and danger than they did at that time, we hold it necessary to declare, that, in our judgment, the same obligation lies upon our brethren, by the aforementioned act, with the power and force of that kingdom, to assist us in repressing those among us, who are now in arms, and make war, not only without consent of parliament, but even against the parliament, and for the destruction thereof.

"Wherefore we have thought good to make known unto our brethren, that his majesty hath given commission to divers eminent and known papists, to raise forces, and to compose an army in the north, and other parts of this kingdom, which is to join with divers foreign forces, intended to be transported from beyond the seas, for the destruction of this parliament, and of the religion and liberty of the kingdom: and that the principal part of the clergy and their adherents have likewise invited his majesty to raise another army, which, in his own person, he doth conduct against the parliament, and the city of London, plundering and robbing sundry well affected towns within their power; and, in prosecution of their malice, they are so presumptuous, and predominant of his majesty's resolutions, that they forbear not those outrages in places to which his majesty hath given his royal word and protection; a great cause and incentive of which malice proceeds from the design they have to hinder the reformation of ecclesiastical government in this kingdom, so much longed for by all the true lovers of the protestant religion.

"And hereupon we farther desire our brethren of the nation of Scotland, to raise such forces they shall think sufficient for securing the peace of their own borders, against the ill affected persons there, as likewise to assist us in suppressing the army of papists and foreigners; which, as we expect, will shortly be on foot here, and if they be not timely prevented, may prove as mischievous and destructive to that kingdom, as to ourselves. And though we seek nothing from his majesty that may diminish his just authority, or honour, and have, by many humble petitions, endeavoured to put an end to this unnatural war and combustion in the kingdom, and to procure his majesty's protection, and security for our religion, liberty, and persons, (according to that great trust which his majesty is bound to by the laws of the land,) and shall still continue to renew our petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief, we see the papistical and malignant counsel so prevalent with his majesty, and his person so engaged to their power, that we have little hope

"of better success of our petitions than we formerly had; and are thereby necessitated to stand upon our just defence, and to seek this speedy and powerful assistance of our brethren of Scotland, according to that act agreed upon in the parliament of both kingdoms, the common duty of Christianity, and the particular interests of their own kingdom: to which we hope God will give such a blessing, that it may produce the preservation of religion, the honour, safety, and peace of his majesty, and all his subjects, and a more strict conjunction of the counsels, designs, and endeavours of both nations, for the comfort and relief of the reformed churches beyond sea."

It will not be here unseasonable, having, according to my weak abilities and observation, described the general temper and disposition of that time, and the particular state of affairs in the several parts of the kingdom, to take some short survey of the affections and inclinations of Scotland; the ordering and well disposing whereof, either side sufficiently understood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing contention. From the time of the king's being last there, when he had so fully complied with all they had desired, both for the public government, and their private advancements, that kingdom within itself enjoyed as much quiet and tranquillity as they could desire; having the convenience of disburdening themselves of their late army into Ireland, whither their old general Leslie, then made earl of Leven, was employed in his full command by the king and the two houses, at the charge of England. So that many believed they had been so abundantly satisfied with what they had already gotten from England, that they had no farther projects upon this kingdom, but meant to make their fortunes by a new conquest in Ireland, where they had a very great part of the province of Ulster planted by their own nation. So that, according to their rules of good husbandry, they might expect whatsoever they got from the rebels to keep for themselves. And the king himself was so confident that the affections of that people could not be [so] corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believed them, to a degree, sensible of their former breach of duty, and willing to repair it by any service. Leslie himself had made great acknowledgments, and great professions to him, and had told him, "That it was nothing to promise him, that he would never more bear arms against him; but he promised he would serve his majesty upon any summons, without asking the cause." The earl of Lowden, and all the rest, who had misled the people, were possessed of whatsoever they could desire, and the future fortune of that nation seemed to depend wholly upon the keeping up the king's full power in this.

His majesty had, from time to time, given his council of that kingdom full relations of all his differences with the parliament, and had carefully sent them the declarations, and public passages of both sides; and they had always returned very ample expressions of their affections and duty, and expressed a great sense of the parliament's proceedings towards him. And since the time of his being at York, the lord chancellor of Scotland, in whose integrity and loyalty he was least secure, had been with him; and seemed so well satisfied with the justice and honour of his majesty's car-

riage towards the parliament, that he writ to the Scottish commissioners at London, in the name, and as by the direction of the lords of the secret council of that kingdom, "that they should present "to the two houses the deep sense they had of the "injuries and indignities, which were offered to "the king, whose just rights they were bound to "defend; and that they should conjure them to "bind up those wounds which were made, and not "to widen them by sharpness of language; and to "give his majesty such real security for his safety "among them, by an effectual declaring against "tumults, and such other actions as were justly "offensive to his majesty, that he might be induced "to reside nearer to them, and comply with them "in such propositions as should be reasonably "made;" with many such expressions, as together with his return into Scotland without coming to London, where he was expected, gave them so much offence and jealousy, that they never communicated that letter to the houses, and took all possible care to conceal it from the people.

The marquis Hamilton had been likewise with his majesty at York, and finding the eyes of all men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offered the king to go into Scotland, with many assurances and undertakings, confident, "that he would at least keep that people "from doing any thing, that might seem to countenance the carriage of the parliament." Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at York, where he was by all men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the king suffered him to go, with full assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good service there: as, on the other side, in his own court he was so great an offence, that the whole gentry of Yorkshire, who no doubt had infusions to that purpose from others, had a design to have petitioned the king, that the marquis might be sequestered from all councils, and presence at court, as a man too much trusted by them who would not trust his majesty.

Lastly, the king had many of the nobility of Scotland then attending him, and among those the earl of Calander, who had been lieutenant-general of the Scottish army, when it invaded England, and had freely confessed to his majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believed he would have taken command in the king's army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him in Scotland by some clause in the act of the pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater service in that kingdom: whither, shortly after the standard was set up, he repaired, with all solemn vows of asserting and improving his majesty's interest in those parts.

The parliament on the other hand assured themselves, that that nation was entirely theirs, having their commissioners residing with them at London; and the chief managers and governors in the first [war], by their late intercourse, and communication of guilt, having a firm correspondence with the marquis of Argyll, the earl of Lowden, and that party, who, being not able to forgive themselves, thought the king could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his power to bring them to justice. And they undertook

that when there should be need of that nation, (which the other thought there would never be,) they should be as forward to second them as they had been; in the mean time returned as fair and respective answers to all their messages, and upon their declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the king; assisting them in their design against the church, which was not yet grown popular, even in the two houses, by declaring "that the people of that nation could never "be engaged on any other ground, than the reformation of religion." And therefore, about the beginning of August, the assembly of the kirk of Scotland published a declaration; "how exceedingly grieved they were, and made heavy, that "in so long a time, against the professions both "of king and parliament, and contrary to the joint "desires and prayers of the godly in both kingdoms, to whom it was more dear and precious "than what was dearest to them in the world, the "reformation of religion had moved so slowly, "and suffered so great interruption."

The ground of which reproach was this: in the late treaty of peace, the commissioners for Scotland had expressed a desire or wish warily couched in words, rather than a proposition, "that there were "such an unity of religion, and uniformity of "church-government agreed on, as might be a "special means for conserving of peace betwixt "the two kingdoms:" to which there had been a general inclination to return a rough answer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the laws of England. But, by the extraordinary industry and subtilty of those, who saw that business was not yet ripe, and who alleged, that it was only wished, not proposed, and therefore that a sharp reply was not merited, this gentle answer, against the minds of very many, was returned:

"That his majesty, with the advice of both "houses of parliament, did approve of the affection "of his subjects of Scotland, in their desire of "having conformity of church-government between the two nations; and as the parliament "had already taken into consideration the reformation of church-government, so they would proceed therein in due time, as should best conduce "to the glory of God, the peace of the church, "and of both kingdoms."

Which was consented to by most, as a civil answer, signifying, or concluding nothing; by others, because it admitted an interpretation of reducing the government of the church in Scotland to this of England, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well discerned, that those men asked nothing without a farther design than the words naturally imported, nor ever rested satisfied with a general formal answer, except they found, that they should hereafter make use, and receive benefit by such answer. So they now urged the matter of this answer, as a sufficient title to demand the extirpation of prelacy in England, and demolishing the whole fabric of that glorious church; urging his majesty's late practice, while he [was] in person in Scotland, in resorting frequently to their exercises of public worship; and his royal actions, in establishing the worship and government of that kirk in parliament. And therefore they desired the parliament "to begin their work "of reformation at the uniformity of kirk-government; for that there could be no hope of unity

"in religion, of one confession of faith, one form of worship, and one catechism, till there were first one form of church-government; and that the kingdom, and kirk of Scotland, could have no hope of a firm and durable peace, till prelacy, which had been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, were plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God had not planted, and from which no better fruits could be expected, than such sour grapes, as at that day set on edge the kingdom of England."

Which declaration the lords of the secret council, finding, as they said, "the reasons therein expressed to be very pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to the glory of God, the advancement of the true Christian faith, his majesty's honour, and the peace and union of his dominions," well approved of; and concurred in their earnest desires to the two houses of parliament, "to take to their serious considerations those particulars, and to give favourable hearing to such desires and overtures, as should be found most conducive to the promoting so great and so good a work."

This being sent to the parliament at the time they were forming their army, and when the king was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion of the church, insinuated "how necessary it was, speedily to return a very affectionate and satisfactory reply to the kingdom of Scotland; not only to preserve the reputation of unity and consent between them, which, at that time, was very useful to them, but to hinder the operations of the disaffected in that kingdom; who, upon insinuations that the parliament only aimed at taking his majesty's regal rights from him, to the prejudice of monarchique government, without any thought of reforming religion, endeavoured to pervert the affections of that people towards the parliament. Whereas, if they were once assured there was a purpose to reform religion, they should be sure to have their hearts; and, if occasion required, their hands too; which possibly might be seduced for the king, if that purpose were not manifested. Therefore, for the present, they should do well to return their hearty thanks for, and their brotherly acceptance and approbation of the desires and advice of that Christian assembly, and of the lords of the council; and that though, for the present, by reason of the king's distance from the parliament, they could not settle any conclusion in that matter, [yet] for their parts they were resolved to endeavour it."

By this artifice and invention, they procured a declaration from the two houses of parliament, of wonderful kindness, and confession of many inconveniences and mischiefs the kingdom had sustained by bishops; and therefore they declared, "that that hierarchical government was evil, and justly offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom; a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion; very prejudicial to the state and government of the kingdom; and that they were resolved, that the same should be taken away; and that their purpose was to consult with godly and learned divines, that they might not only remove that, but settle such a government, as might be most agreeable to God's holy word; most apt to procure and conserve the

"peace of the church at home, and happy union with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad; and to establish the same by a law, which they intended to frame for that purpose, to be presented to his majesty for his royal assent; and in the mean time to beseech him, that a bill for the assembly might be passed in time convenient for their meeting;" the two houses having extrajudicially and extravagantly nominated their own divines to that purpose, as is before remembered.

It was then believed by many, and the king was persuaded to believe the same, that all those importunities from Scotland concerning the government of the church were used only to preserve themselves from being pressed by the parliament, to join with them against the king; imagining that this kingdom would never have consented to such an alteration; and they again pretending, that no other obligation could unite that people in their service. But it is most certain, this last declaration was procured by persuading men, "that it was for the present necessary, and that it was only an engagement to do their best to persuade his majesty, who they concluded would be inexecutable in the point," (which they seemed not to be sorry for,) "and that a receding from such a conclusion would be a means to gratify his majesty in a treaty." At worst, they all knew, that there would be room enough, when any bill should be brought in, to oppose what they had, for this reason of state, seemed generally to consent to. And so by these stratagems, thinking to be too hard for each other, they grew all so entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper into those labyrinths, in which the major part meant not to be involved. And what effect that declaration of the two houses, after the battle of Edge-hill, which is mentioned before, wrought, will very shortly appear.

The king found himself in good ease at Oxford, where care was taken for providing for the sick and wounded soldiers, and for the accommodation of the army, which was, in a short time, recruited there in a good measure; and the several colleges presented his majesty with all the money they had in their treasuries, which amounted to a good sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their plate. It had been very happy, if the king had continued his resolution of sitting still during the winter, without making farther attempts; for his reputation was now great, and his army believed to be much greater than it was, by the victory they had obtained, and the parliament grew more divided into factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the city appeared fuller of discontent, and less inclined to be imposed upon, than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was pressed, but that some address might be made to the king for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to London, to shew them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the weather growing fair again, as it often is about Allhollontide, and a good party of horse having been sent out from Abingdon, where the head quarter of the horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to Reading, where Harry Martin was governor for the parliament, there was a great terror seized upon them, insomuch as go-

vernor and garrison fled to London, and left the place to the party of horse; which gave advertisement to the king, "that all fled before them; that the earl of Essex remained still at Warwick, having no army to march; and that there were so great divisions in the parliament, that, upon his majesty's approach, they would all fly; and that nothing could interrupt him from going to Whitehall. However, Reading itself was so good a post, that if the king should find it necessary to make his own residence in Oxford, it would be much the better by having a garrison at Reading."

Upon these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in men, in believing all they wish to be true, the king was prevailed with to march with his army to Reading. This alarm quickly came to London, and was received with the deepest horror: they now unbelieved all which had been told them from their own army; that army, which, they were told, was well beaten and scattered, was now advanced within thirty miles of London; and the earl of Essex, who pretended to the victory, and who they supposed was watching the king, that he might not escape from him, could not be heard of, and continued still at Warwick. Whilst the king was at Nottingham, and Shrewsbury, they gave orders magisterially for the war: but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were resolved what to say, they despatched a messenger, who found the king at Reading, only to desire "a safe conduct from his majesty for a committee of lords and commons, to attend his majesty with an humble petition from his parliament." The king presently returned his answer, "that he had always been, and was still, ready to receive any petition from them; that their committee should be welcome, provided it consisted of persons, who had not been by name declared traitors by his majesty, and excepted as such in his declarations or proclamations." The cause of this limitation was as well the former rule his majesty had set down at Shrewsbury, (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a battle,) as that he might prevent the lord Say's being sent to him, from whom he could expect no entire and upright dealing.

The next day another letter came from the speaker of the house of peers to the lord Falkland, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, to desire "a safe conduct for the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, and four members of the house of commons, to attend his majesty with their petition;" which safe conduct was immediately signed by his majesty, excepting only for sir John Evelyn, who was by name excepted in his majesty's proclamation of pardon to the county of Wilts; which proclamation was then sent to them with a signification, "that if they would send any other person in his place, not subject to the same exception, he should be received as if his name were in the safe conduct." Though this was no more than they had cause to look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to lay aside the thought of petitioning, as if his majesty had rejected all overtures of peace: "For he might every day proclaim as many of their members traitors, and except them from pardon, as he pleased; and therefore it was to no purpose to prepare petitions, and appoint messengers to present them, when it was possible those messengers might,

"the hour before, be proclaimed traitors: that to submit to such a limitation of the king's was, upon the matter, to consent to and approve the highest breach of privilege, that had been yet offered to them."

So that, for some days, all discourse of peace was waved, and all possible preparations for defence and resistance made; for which they had a stronger argument than either of the other, the advancing of their general, the earl of Essex, who was now on his march towards London; and a great fame came before him of the strength and courage of his army; though in truth it was not answerable to the report: however, it served to encourage and inflame those whose fear only inclined them to peace, and to awe the rest. The king, who had every night an account of what was transacted in the houses all day, (what the close committee did, who guided all private designs, was not so soon known,) resolved to quicken them; and advanced with his whole army to Colebrook. This indeed exalted their appetite to peace; for the clamour of the people was importunate, and somewhat humbled their style; for at Colebrook, the 11th of November, his majesty was met by the two earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with those three of the house of commons whose names were in the safe conduct; they satisfying themselves, that the leaving sir John Evelyn behind them, without bringing another in his room, was no submission to the king's exception: and this petition [was] by them presented to him.

"We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, being affected with a deep and piercing sense of the miseries of this kingdom, and of the dangers to your majesty's person, as the present affairs now stand; and much quickened therein with the sad consideration of the great effusion of blood at the late battle, and of the loss of so many eminent persons; and farther weighing the addition of loss, misery, and danger to your majesty, and your kingdom, which must ensue, if both armies should again join in another battle, as without God's especial blessing, and your majesty's concurrence with your houses of parliament, will not probably be avoided: we cannot but believe that a suitable impression of tenderness and compassion is wrought in your majesty's royal heart, being yourself an eyewitness of the bloody and sorrowful destruction of so many of your subjects; and that your majesty doth apprehend what diminution of your own power and greatness will follow, and that all your kingdoms will thereby be so weakened as to become subject to the attempts of any ill-affected to this state.

"In all which respects we assure ourselves, that your majesty will be inclined graciously to accept this our humble petition; that the misery and desolation of this kingdom may be speedily removed, and prevented. For the effecting whereof, we humbly beseech your majesty to appoint some convenient place, not far from the city of London, where your majesty will be pleased to reside, until committees of both houses of parliament may attend your majesty with some propositions for the removal of these bloody distempers and distractions, and settling the state of the kingdom in such a manner as may conduce to the preservation of God's true religion,

"your majesty's honour, safety, and prosperity ;
"and to the peace, comfort, and security of all
"your people."

The king, within two or three hours after the receipt of this petition, delivered to the same messengers this ensuing answer, with which they returned the same night to London.

"We take God to witness, how deeply we are
"affected with the miseries of this kingdom, which
"heretofore we have stroven as much as in us lay
"to prevent ; it being sufficiently known to all the
"world that, as we were not the first that took up
"arms, so we have shewed our readiness of com-
"posing all things in a fair way, by our several
"offers of treaty, and shall be glad now at length
"to find any such inclinations in others. The
"same tenderness to avoid the destruction of our
"subjects, (whom we know to be our greatest
"strength,) which would always make our greatest
"victories bitter to us, shall make us willingly
"hearken to such propositions, whereby these
"bloody distempers may be stopped, and the
"great distractions of this kingdom settled to
"God's glory, our honour, and the welfare and
"flourishing of our people : and to that end shall
"reside at our own castle at Windsor, (if the
"forces there shall be removed,) till committees
"may have time to attend us with the same,
"(which, to prevent the inconveniences that will
"intervene, we wish be hastened,) and shall be
"ready there, or, if that be refused us, at any
"place where we shall be, to receive such pro-
"positions as aforesaid, from both our houses of
"parliament. Do you your duty, we will not be
"wanting in ours. God of his mercy give a
"blessing."

It was then believed by many, that if the king had, as soon as the messengers returned to London, retired with his army to Reading, and there expected the parliament's answer, they would immediately have withdrawn their garrison from Windsor, and delivered that castle to his majesty for his accommodation to have treated in : and without doubt those lords who had been with the petition, and some others who thought themselves as much overshadowed by the greatness of the earl of Essex, and the chief officers of the army, as they could be by the glory of any favourite, or power of any counsellors, were resolved to merit as much as they could of the king, by advancing an honourable peace ; and had it in their purpose to endeavour the giving up of Windsor to the king ; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that so considerable a strength, in so considerable a place, should have been quitted, whilst there was only hope of a peace, I much doubt. But certainly the king's army carried great terror with it ; and all those reports, which published the weakness of it, grew to be peremptorily disbelieved. For, besides that every day's experience disproved somewhat which was as confidently reported, and it was evident great industry was used to apply such intelligence to the people as was most like to make impression upon the passions and affections of the vulgar-spirited, it could not be believed that a handful of men could have given battle to their formidable army, and, after taking two or three of their garrisons, presume to march within fifteen miles of London : so that, if from thence the king had drawn back again to Reading, relying upon a treaty for the rest, it is

probable his power would have been more valued, and consequently his grace the more magnified. And sure the king resolved to have done so, or at least to have staid at Colebrook, (which was not so convenient,) till he heard again from the parliament. But prince Rupert, exalted with the terror he heard his name gave to the enemy, trusting too much to the vulgar intelligence every man received from his friends at London, who, according to their own passions and the affections of those with whom they corresponded, concluded that the king had so great a party in London, that, if his army drew near, no resistance would be made, and too much neglecting the council of state (which from the first hour the army overmuch inclined to), without any direction from the king, the very next morning after the committee returned to London, advanced with the horse and dragoons to Hounslow, and then sent to the king to desire him that the army might march after ; which was, in that case, of absolute necessity ; for the earl of Essex had a part of his army at Brentford, and the rest at Acton, and Kingston. So that if the king had not advanced with his body, those who were before might very easily have been compassed in, and their retreat [made] very difficult.

So the king marched with his whole army towards Brentford, where were two regiments of their best foot, (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behaved themselves at Edge-hill,) having barricadoed the narrow avenues to the town, and cast up some little breastworks at the most convenient places. Here a Welsh regiment of the king's, which had been faulty at Edge-hill, recovered its honour, and assaulted the works, and forced the barricadoes well defended by the enemy. Then the king's forces entered the town after a very warm service, the chief officers and many soldiers of the other side being killed, and took there above five hundred prisoners, eleven colours, and fifteen pieces of cannon, and good store of ammunition. But this victory (for considering the place it might well be called so) proved not at all fortunate to his majesty.

The two houses were so well satisfied with the answer their committee had brought from the king, and with the report they made of his majesty's clemency, and gracious reception of them, that they had sent order to their forces, "that they should not exercise any act of hostility towards the king's forces ;" and, at the same time, despatched a messenger, to acquaint his majesty therewith, and to desire "that there might be the like forbearance on his part." The messenger found both parties engaged at Brentford, and so returned without attending his majesty, who had no apprehension that they intended any cessation ; since those forces were advanced to Brentford, Acton, and Kingston, after their committee was sent to Colebrook. However they looked upon this entering of Brentford as a surprise contrary to faith, and the betraying their forces to a massacre, under the specious pretence of a treaty for peace. The alarm came to London, with the same dire yell as if the army were entered their gates, and the king accused "of treachery, perfidy, and blood ;" and that he had given the spoil and wealth of "the city as pillage to his army, which advanced "with no other purpose."

They who believed nothing of those calumnies, were not yet willing the king should enter the city with an army, which, they knew, would not be governed in so rich quarters; and therefore, with unspeakable expedition, the army under the earl of Essex was not only drawn together, but all the trained bands of London led out in their brightest equipage upon the heath next Brentford; where they had indeed a full army of horse and foot, fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary. The view and prospect of this strength, which nothing but that sudden exigent could have brought together, (so that army was really raised by king and parliament,) extremely puffed them up; not only as it was an ample security against the present danger, but as it looked like a safe power to encounter any exigent. They had then before their eyes the king's little handful of men, and then began to wonder and blush at their own fears; and all this might be without excess of courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of equipage, (which to soldiers is a great addition of mettle,) were five times greater than the king's harassed, weather-beaten, and half-starved troops.

I have heard many knowing men, and some who were then in the city regiments, say, "That if the king had advanced, and charged that massive body, it had presently given ground; and that the king had so great a party in every regiment, that it would have made no resistance." But it had been madness, which no success could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the king easily discerned that he had brought himself into straits and difficulties, which would be hardly mastered, and exposed his victorious army to a view, at too near a distance off his two enemies, the parliament and the city. Yet he stood all that day in battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their cannon, to the loss only of four or five horses, and not one man; that being a good argument to them not to charge the king, which had been an ill one to him to charge them, the constitution of their forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the company they were in.

When the evening drew on, and it appeared that great body stood only for the defence of the city, the king appointed his army to draw off to Kingston, which the rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loss of a man; and himself went to his own house at Hampton-court; where he rested the next day, as well to refresh his army, even tired with watching and fasting, as to expect some propositions from the houses. For, upon his advance to Brentford, he had sent a servant of his own, one Mr. White, with a message to the parliament, containing the reasons of that motion, (there being no cessation offered on their part,) and desiring "the propositions might be despatched to him with all speed." But his messenger, being carried to the earl of Essex, was by him used very roughly, and by the houses committed to the Gate-house, not without the motion of some men, "that he might be executed as a spy."

After a day's stay at Hampton-court, the king removed himself to his house at Oatlands, leaving the gross of his army still at Kingston, and thereabouts; but being then informed of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "of breach

"of faith, by his march to Brentford; and that the city was really inflamed with an opinion, that he meant to have surprised them, and to have sacked the town; that they were so possessed with that fear and apprehension, that their care and preparation for their safety would at least keep off all propositions for peace, whilst the army lay so near London;" he gave direction for all his forces to retire to Reading; first discharging all the common soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at Brentford, (except such who voluntarily offered to serve him,) upon their oaths that they would no more bear arms against his majesty.

The king then sent a message to the houses, in which "he took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputations raised on him; told them again of the reasons and circumstances of his motion towards Brentford; of the earl of Essex's drawing out his forces towards him, and possessing those quarters about him, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the commissioners were sent to him with the petition; that he had never heard of the least overture of the forbearing all acts of hostility, but saw the contrary practised by them by that advance; that he had not the least thought or intention of mastering the city by force, or carrying his army thither: that he wondered to hear his soldiers charged with thirsting after blood, when they took above five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight. He told them such were most apt and likely to maintain their power by blood and rapine, who had only got it by oppression and injustice; that his was vested in him by the law, and by that only (if the destructive counsels of others did not hinder such a peace, in which that might once again be the universal rule, and in which only religion and justice could flourish) he desired to maintain it: that he intended to march to such a distance from his city of London, as might take away all pretence of apprehension from his army, that might hinder them from preparing their propositions, in all security, to be presented to him; and there he would be ready to receive them, or, if that expedient pleased them not, to end the pressures and miseries, which his subjects, to his great grief, suffered through this war, by a present battle."

But as the army's being so near London was an argument against a present treaty, so its remove to Reading was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger, which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their gates, was now to be contemned at the distance of thirty miles; and this retreat imputed only to the fear of their power, not to the inclinations to peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the major part did really desire a good peace, and whilst overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle acts more destructive to it, than any propositions could be contributory, (as the inviting the Scots to their assistance by that declaration, which is before mentioned; and the publishing a declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the king long before in answer to theirs of the 26th of May, in which they used both his person and his power with more irreverence than they had ever done before,) now only insisted on the surprise, as they called it, of Brentford;

[and] published, by the authority of both houses, a relation of the carriage of the king's soldiers in that town after their victory, (which they framed upon the discourses of the country people, who possibly, as it could not be otherwise, had received damage by their license then,) to make the king and his army odious to the kingdom; "as affecting nothing but blood and rapine;" [and] concluded, "that there could not be reasonably expected any good conditions of a tolerable peace from the king, whilst he was in such company; and therefore that all particular propositions were to be resolved into that one, of inviting his majesty to come to them;" and got a vote from the major part of both houses, "that no other thought of accommodation or treaty should be thought on."

Their trusty lord mayor of London, Isaac Pennington, who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestirred himself, having to assist him two such sheriffs, Langham and Andrews, as they could wish, that there was not only no more importunity or interposition from the city for peace; but, instead thereof, an overture and declaration from divers, under the style of well-affected persons, "that they would advance a considerable number of soldiers, for the supply and recruit of the parliament forces; and would arm, maintain, and pay them for several months, or during the times of danger and distractions; provided that they might have the public faith of the kingdom for repayment of all such sums of money, which they should so advance by way of loan." This wonderful kind [of] proposition was presently declared "to be an acceptable service to the king, parliament, and kingdom, and necessarily tending to the preservation of them;" and therefore an ordinance, as they call it, was framed and passed both houses;

"That all such as should furnish men, money, horse, or arms for that service, should have the same fully repaid again, with interest for the forbearance thereof, from the times disbursed. And for the true payment thereof, they did thereby engage to all, and every such person, and persons, the public faith of the kingdom." And ordered the lord mayor, and sheriffs of London, by themselves, or such sub-committees as they should appoint, to take subscriptions, and to intend the advancement of that service. Upon this voluntary, general proposition, made by a few obscure men, probably such who were not able to supply much money, was this ordinance made; and from this ordinance the active mayor, and sheriffs, appointed a committee of such persons whose inclinations they well knew, to press all kind of people, especially those who were not forward, to new subscriptions; and by degrees, from this unconsidered passage, grew the monthly tax of six thousand pounds to be set upon the city for the payment of the army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspection, to raise men and money; so they took not less care, nor used less art and industry, to raise their general; and lest he might suppose himself fallen in their good grace and confidence, by bringing an army back shattered, poor, and discomfited, which he had carried out in full numbers, and glorious equipage, they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct army to be raised

under the command of the earl of Warwick, and not subject to the power of the earl of Essex; and of this, several regiments and troops were raised: these they sent to the old army, and the earl of Warwick gave up his commission, upon a resolution, "that there should be only one general, and he, the earl of Essex." Then the two houses passed, and presented, with great solemnity, this declaration to his excellency, the same day that their committee went to the king with their petition:

"That, as they had, upon mature deliberation, and assured confidence in his wisdom, courage, and fidelity, chosen and appointed him their captain-general; so they did find, that the said earl had managed that service, of so high importance, with so much care, valour, and dexterity, as well by the extremest hazard of his life, in a bloody battle near Keinton in Warwickshire, as by all the actions of a most excellent and expert commander, in the whole course of that employment, as did deserve their best acknowledgment: and they did therefore declare, and publish, to the lasting honour of the said earl, the great and acceptable service, which he had therein done to the commonwealth: and should be willing and ready, upon all occasions, to express the due sense they had of his merits, by assuring and protecting him, and all others employed under his command in that service, with their lives and fortunes, to the uttermost of their power: that testimony and declaration to remain upon record, in both houses of parliament, for a mark of honour to his person, name, and family, and for a monument of his singular virtue to posterity."

When they had thus composed their army and their general, they sent this petition to the king to Reading, who staid still there in expectation of their propositions.

"May it please your majesty:

"It is humbly desired by both houses of parliament, that your majesty will be pleased to return to your parliament, with your royal, not your martial, attendance; to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be settled and secured by their advice; finding by a sad and late accident, that your majesty is environed by some such counsels, as do rather persuade a desperate division, than a joining and a good agreement with your parliament and people: and we shall be ready to give your majesty assurances of such security, as may be for your honour, and the safety of your royal person."

As soon as the king received this strange address, he returned them by the same messenger a sharp answer. He told them, "he hoped all his good subjects would look upon that message with indignation, as intended, by the contrivers thereof, as a scorn to him; and thereby designed by that malignant party, (of whom he had so often complained, whose safety and ambition was built upon the divisions and ruins of the kingdom, and who had too great an influence upon their actions,) for a wall of separation betwixt his majesty and his people. He said, he had often told them the reasons, why he departed from London; how he was chased thence, and by whom; and as often complained, that the greatest part of his peers, and of the members of the house of commons, could not, with safety to their honours

“and persons, continue, and vote freely among them; but, by violence, and cunning practices, were debarred of those privileges, which their birthrights, and the trust reposed in them by their counties, gave them: that the whole kingdom knew that an army was raised, under pretence of orders of both houses, (an usurpation never before heard of in any age,) which army had pursued his majesty in his own kingdom; given him battle at Keinton; and now, those rebels being recruited, and possessed of the city of London, he was courteously invited to return to his parliament there, that is, to the power of that army.

“That, he said, could signify nothing but that, since the traitorous endeavours of those desperate men could not snatch the crown from his head, it being defended by the providence of God, and the affections and loyalty of his good subjects, he should now tamely come up, and give it them; and put himself, his life, and the lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good subjects into their merciful hands. He said, he thought not fit to give any other answer to that part of their petition: but as he imputed not that affront to both his houses of parliament, nor to the major part of those who were then present there, but to that dangerous party his majesty and the kingdom must still cry out upon; so he would not (for his good subjects’ sake, and out of his most tender sense of their miseries, and the general calamities of the kingdom, which must, if the war continued, speedily overwhelm the whole nation) take advantage of it: but if they would really pursue the course they seemed, by their petition at Colebrook, to be inclined to, he should make good all he then promised; whereby the hearts of his distressed subjects might be raised with the hopes of peace; without which, religion, the laws, and liberties, could by no ways be settled and secured.

“For the late and sad accident they mentioned, if they intended that of Brentford, he desired them once again to deal ingenuously with the people, and to let them see his last message to them, and his declaration concerning the same,” (both which his majesty had sent to his press at London, but were taken away from his messenger, and not suffered to be published,) “and then he doubted not, but they would be soon undeceived, and easily find out those counsels, which did rather persuade a desperate division, than a good agreement betwixt his majesty, his two houses, and people.”

This answer being delivered, without any farther consideration whether the same were reasonable or not reasonable, they declared “the king had no mind to peace;” and thereupon laid aside all farther debates to that purpose; and ordered their general to march to Windsor with the army, to be so much nearer the king’s forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their most eminent chaplains, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall, publicly avowed, “that the soldiers lately taken prisoners at Brentford, and discharged, and released by the king upon their oaths that they would never again bear arms against him, were not obliged by that oath;” but, by their power, absolved them thereof, and so engaged again those miserable wretches in a second rebellion.

When the king discerned clearly that the ene-

mies to peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing propositions to be sent to him; after he had seen a line drawn about Reading, which he resolved to keep as a garrison, and the works in a reasonable forwardness, he left sir Arthur Aston, whom he had lately made commissary-general of the horse, (Mr. Wilmot being at the same time constituted lieutenant-general,) governor thereof, with a garrison of above two thousand foot, and a good regiment of horse: and himself with the rest of his army marched to Oxford, where he resolved to rest that winter, settling at the same time a good garrison at Wallingford, a place of great importance within eight miles of Oxford; another at the Brill upon the edge of Buckinghamshire; a third being before settled at Banbury; Abingdon being the head quarters for his horse; and by this means he had all Oxfordshire entire, all Berkshire, but that barren division about Windsor; and from the Brill, and Banbury, a good influence upon Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire.

The king was hardly settled in his quarters, when he heard that the parliament was fixing a garrison at Marlborough in Wiltshire, a town the most notoriously disaffected of all that county; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the inhabitants, in the situation of it very unfit for a garrison. Thither the earl of Essex had sent one Ramsey, (a Scotsman, as most of their officers were of that nation,) to be governor; who, with the help of the factious people there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred men. This place, the king saw, would prove quickly an ill neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich county, and so would straiten, and even infest his quarters, (for it was within twenty miles of Oxford,) but as it did cut off his line of communication with the west: and therefore, though it was December, a season, when his tired and almost naked soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the lieutenant-general of his horse, to visit that town; who, coming thither on a Saturday, found the place strongly manned: for, besides the garrison, it being market-day, very many country people came thither to buy and sell, and were all compelled to stay and take arms for the defence of the place; which, for the most part, they were willing to do, and the people peremptory to defend it. Though there was no line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which they had raised batteries, and planted cannon, and so barricadoed all the avenues, which were through deep narrow lanes, that the horse could do little service.

When the lieutenant-general was, with his party, near the town, he apprehended a fellow, who confessed, upon examination, “that he was a spy, and sent by the governor to bring intelligence of their strength and motion.” When all men thought, and the poor fellow himself feared, he should be executed, the lieutenant-general caused his whole party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the town, and tell those that sent him, what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the magistrates of the town, “that they should do well to treat with the garrison, to give them leave to submit to the king; that if they did so, the town

"should not receive the least prejudice; but if they compelled him to make his way, and enter the town by force, it would not be in his power to keep his soldiers from taking that which they should win with their blood:" and so dismissed him. This generous act proved of some advantage; for the fellow, transported with having his life given him; and the numbers of the men he had seen, besides his no experience in such sights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the strength, gallantry, and resolution of the enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed not with those in authority to yield, yet it strangely abated the hopes and courage of the people. So that when the king's soldiers fell on, after a volley or two, in which much execution was done, they threw down their arms, and run into the town; so that the foot had time to make room for the horse, who were now entered at both ends of the town, yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the streets were in many places barricadoed, which were obstinately defended by some soldiers and townsmen, who killed many men out of the windows of the houses; so that, it may be, if they had trusted only to their own strength, without compelling the country men to increase their number, and who being first frightened, and weary, disheartened their companions, that vile place might have cost more blood. Ramsey the governor was himself retired into the church with some officers, and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so many killed out of windows, fire was put to the next houses, so that a good part of the town was burned, and then the soldiers entered, doing less execution than could reasonably be expected; but what they spared in blood, they took in pillage, the soldiers inquiring little who were friends or foes.

This was the first garrison taken on either side; (for I cannot call Farnham castle in Surrey one, whither some gentlemen who were willing to appear for the king had repaired, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by sir William Waller, some few days before, and before it deserved the name of a garrison;) in which were taken, besides the governor, and other officers, who yielded upon quarter, above one thousand prisoners; great store of arms, four pieces of cannon, and a good quantity of ammunition, with all which the lieutenant-general returned safe to Oxford: though this victory was a little shadowed, by the unfortunate loss of a very good regiment of horse within a few days after; for the lord Grandison, by the miscarriage of orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the army, with his single regiment of horse consisting of three hundred horse, and a regiment of two hundred dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a party of the enemy of five thousand horse and dragoons; and so was himself, after a retreat made to Winchester, there taken with all his party; which was the first loss [of that kind] the king sustained; and was without the least fault of the commander; who lessened the misfortune much by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal officers, who were very welcome to Oxford.

The first thing the king applied himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his winter quarters, and despaired of any honest overtures for a peace, was, how to apply some antidote to that poison, which was sent into Scotland, in that de-

claration we mentioned before; the which he had not only seen, as an act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the Scottish earl of Lindsey, who was then a commissioner lieger at London for Scotland, had presented [it] to him. And there was every day some motion in the house of commons to press the Scots, to invade the kingdom for their assistance, upon the growth of the earl of Newcastle's power in the north. And therefore, after full thoughts, the king writ to his privy-council of Scotland, (who, by the laws enacted when he was last there, had the absolute, indeed regal, power of that kingdom,) and took notice of that declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging assistance from that his native kingdom of men and arms, for making a war against him, and making claim to that assistance by virtue of the late act of pacification.

He told them, "that, as he was at his soul afflicted, that it had been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malicious persons, so far to possess the hearts of many of his subjects of England, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this kingdom against all his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad, that that rage and fury had so far transported them, that they applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his subjects of Scotland; whose experience of his religion, justice, and love of his people, would not suffer them to believe those horrid scandals, laid upon his majesty: and their affection, loyalty, and jealousy of his honour, would disdain to be made instruments to oppress their native sovereign, by assisting an odious rebellion." He remembered them, "that he had from time to time acquainted his subjects of that kingdom with the accidents and circumstances which had disquieted this; how, after all the acts of justice, grace, and favour, performed on his part, which were or could be desired to make a people completely happy, he was driven, by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies, from his city of London, and his houses of parliament; how attempts had been made to impose laws upon his subjects, without his consent, and contrary to the foundation and constitution of the kingdom; how his forts, goods, and navy, had been seized, and taken from him by force, and employed against him; his revenue, and ordinary subsistence, wrested from him: how he had been pursued with scandalous and reproachful language; bold, false, and seditious pasquils, and libels, publicly allowed against him; and had been told that he might, without want of modesty and duty, be deposed: that after all this, before any force raised by him, an army was raised, and a general appointed to lead that army against his majesty, with a commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be faithful to him: that when he had been, by these means, compelled, with the assistance of his good subjects, to raise an army for his necessary defence, he had sent divers gracious messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities and miseries of a civil war might be prevented by a treaty; and so he might know the grounds of that misunderstanding: that he was absolutely refused to be treated with, and the army, (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of his person,)

“brought into the field against him, gave him
“battle; and, though it pleased God to give his
“majesty the victory, destroyed many of his good
“subjects, with as eminent danger to his own
“person, and his children, as the skill and malice
“of desperate rebels could contrive.

“Of all which, and the other indignities, which
“had been offered to him, he doubted not the
“duty and affection of his Scottish subjects would
“have so just a resentment, that they would ex-
“press to the world the sense they had of his
“sufferings: and he hoped, his good subjects of
“Scotland were not so great strangers to the
“affairs of this kingdom, to believe that this mis-
“fortune and distraction was begot and brought
“upon him by his two houses of parliament;
“though, in truth, no unwarrantable action against
“the law could be justified even by that authority;
“but that they well knew how the members of
“both houses had been driven thence, insomuch
“that, of above five hundred members of the
“house of commons, there were not then there
“above fourscore; and, of above one hundred of
“the house of peers, not above fifteen or sixteen;
“all which were so awed by a multitude of ana-
“baptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate,
“and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the
“city of London, that, in truth, their consultations
“had not the freedom and privilege which belong
“to parliament.

“Concerning any commissions granted by his
“majesty to papists to raise forces, he referred
“them to a declaration, lately set forth by him
“upon the occasion of that scandal, which he like-
“wise then sent them. And for his own true and
“zealous affection to the protestant religion, he
“would give no other instance than his own con-
“stant practice, on which malice itself could lay
“no blemish; and those many protestations he
“had made in the sight of Almighty God, to
“whom he knew he should be dearly accountable,
“if he failed in the observation.

“For that scandalous imputation of his intention
“of bringing in foreign force, as the same was
“raised without the least shadow or colour of
“reason, and solemnly disavowed by his majesty,
“in many of his declarations; so there could not
“be a clearer argument to his subjects of Scot-
“land that he had no such thought, than that he
“had hitherto forbore to require the assistance of
“that his native kingdom; from whose obedience,
“duty, and affection, he should confidently expect
“it, if he thought his own strength here too weak
“to preserve him; and of whose courage and
“loyalty he should look to make use, before he
“should think of any foreign aid to succour him.
“And he knew no reasonable or understanding
“man could suppose that they were obliged, or
“enabled, by the late act of parliament in both
“kingdoms, to obey the invitation that was made
“to them by that declaration, when it was so
“evidently provided for by that act, that as the
“kingdom of England should not war against the
“kingdom of Scotland, without consent of the
“parliament of England, so the kingdom of Scot-
“land should not make war against the kingdom
“of England without the consent of the parliament
“of Scotland.”

He told them, “if the grave counsel and advice,
“which they had given, and derived to the houses
“of parliament here, by their act of the 22d of

“April last, had been followed in a tender care of
“his royal person, and of his princely greatness
“and authority, there would not that face of con-
“fusion have appeared, which now threatened this
“kingdom: and therefore he required them to
“communicate what he then writ to all his subjects
“of that kingdom, and to use their utmost en-
“deavours to inform them of the truth of his con-
“dition; and that they suffered not the scandals
“and imputations laid on his majesty by the malice
“and treason of some men, to make any impres-
“sion in the minds of his people, to the lessening
“or corrupting their affections and loyalty to him;
“but that they assured them all, that the hardness
“he then underwent, and the arms he had been
“compelled to take up, were for the defence of
“his person and safety of his life; for the main-
“tenance of the true protestant religion, for the
“preservation of the laws, liberties, and constitu-
“tion of the kingdom, and for the just privileges
“of parliament; and that he looked no longer for
“a blessing from heaven, than he endeavoured the
“defence and advancement of all these: and, he
“could not doubt, a dutiful concurrence in his
“subjects of Scotland, in the care of his honour,
“and just rights, would draw down a blessing
“upon that nation too.”

Though his majesty well knew all the persons,
to whom he directed this letter, to be those who
were only able and willing to do him all possible
disservice, yet he was sure by other instruments,
if they neglected, which, for that reason, they
were not like to do, to publish it to the people
there; which he believed might so far operate
upon them, as the others would not be able to
procure them to invade England; and other fruit
of their allegiance he expected not, than that they
should not rebel.

His majesty's next care was the procuring money
for the payment of his army; that the narrow cir-
cuit which contained his quarters might not be so
intolerably oppressed with that whole burden. And
this was a very difficult matter; for the soldiery
already grew very high, and would obey no orders
or rules but of their own making; and prince Ru-
pert considered only the subsistence, and advance
of the horse, as his province, and indeed as if it
had been a province apart from the army; and
therefore would by no means endure that the great
contributions, which the counties within command
willingly submitted to, should be assigned to any
other use than the support of the horse, and to be
immediately collected, and received by the officers.
So that the several garrisons, and all the body of
foot, were to be constantly paid, and his majesty's
weekly expense for his house borne, out of such
money as could be borrowed. For, of all his own
revenue, he had not yet the receiving a penny
within his power; neither did he think fit to com-
pel any one, even such who were known to have
contributed freely to the parliament, to supply him:
only by letters, and all other gentle ways, he in-
vited those who were able, to consider how much
their own security and prosperity was concerned,
and depended upon the preservation of his rights;
and offered to sell any of his lands, or to give any
personal security for whatsoever money would be
lent to him at interest: for he had directed a grant
to be prepared of several parks, and forests, and
other crown-lands, to many persons of honour and
great fortune about him, whose estates and reputa-

tion were well known; who were ready to be personally bound for whatsoever sums could be borrowed.

The affection of the university of Oxford was most eminent: for, as they had before, when the troubles first broke out, sent the king above ten thousand pounds out of the several stocks of the colleges, and the purses of particular persons, many whereof lent him all they had; so they now again made him a new present. By these means, and the loan of particular persons, especially from London, (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict watch to the contrary, considerable sums were drawn,) the king, even above his hopes, was able to pay his foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand pounds weekly, in such manner, that during that whole winter there was not the least disorder for want of pay. Then he used all possible care to encourage and countenance new levies of horse and foot, for the recruiting his army against the next spring.

The [parliament's] army being now about London, the members of it who were members of parliament attended that council diligently, upon which the army alone depended; and, though they still seemed very desirous of peace, they very solemnly and severely prosecuted all those who really endeavoured it. Their partiality and injustice was so notorious, that there was no rule or measure of right in any matter depending before them, but consideration only of the affections and opinions of the persons contending; neither could any thing be more properly said of them, than what Tacitus once spoke of the Jews, *apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Volumes would not contain the instances. But they found the old arguments of popery, the militia, and delinquents, for the justification of the war, grew every day of less reverence with the people; and that as the king's own religion was above any scandal they could lay upon it, so the regal power seemed so asserted by law, and the king, on all occasions, cited particular statutes for the vindication of his right, that whilst they confessed the sovereign power to be vested in him, all legal ministers had that dependence on him, that their authority would by degrees grow into contempt.

And of this disadvantage the season of the year put them in mind: for the king now, according to course, pricked sheriffs, and made such choice in all counties, that they foresaw the people were not like to be so implicitly at their disposal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the sovereign power was wholly and entirely in them; and that the king himself, severed from them, had no regal power in him." Their clergy had hitherto been their champions, and wrested the scripture to their sense; their lawyers were now to vindicate their title, and they were not more modest in applying their profession to their service. As all places of scripture, or in the fathers, which were spoken of the church of Christ, are by the papists applied to the church of Rome; so whatsoever is written in any of the books of the law, or mentioned in the records, of the authority and effects of the sovereign power, and of the dignity and jurisdiction of parliament, was, by these men, alleged and urged for the power of the two houses, and sometimes for the single authority of the house of commons. Being sup-

plied with the learning of these gentlemen, they declared, that "the sheriffs, then constituted by the king, were not legal sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be submitted to in that office;" and ordered, "whomsoever the king made sheriff in any county, to be sent for as a delinquent;" and because it seemed unreasonable, that the counties should be without that legal minister, to whom the law had intrusted its custody, it was proposed, "that they might make a new great seal, and by that authority make sheriffs, and such other officers as they should find necessary;" but for the present that motion was laid aside.

The king had appointed some of those prisoners who were taken in the battle of Keinton-field, and others apprehended in the act of rebellion, to be indicted of high treason, upon the statute of the 25th year of king Edward the Third, before the lord chief justice, and other learned judges of the law, by virtue of his majesty's commission of oyer and terminer: they declared "all such indictments, and all proceedings thereupon, to be unjust and illegal;" and inhibited the judges to proceed farther therein; declaring, (which was a stronger argument,) "that if any man were executed, or suffered hurt, for any thing he had done by their order, the like punishment should be inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such prisoners as were, or should be, taken by their forces:" and in none of these cases ever asked the judges what the law was. By the determination of the statute, and the king's refusal, which hath been mentioned before, to pass any new law to that purpose, there was no farther duty of tonnage and poundage due upon merchandise, and the statute made this very parliament involved all men in the guilt and penalty of a præmunire, who offered to receive it. The king published a proclamation upon that statute, "and required all men to forbear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive it." They again declared, "that no person, who received those duties by virtue of their orders, was within the danger of a præmunire, or any other penalty whatsoever; because the intent and meaning of that penal clause was only to restrain the crown from imposing any duty or payment upon the subjects, without their consent in parliament; and was not intended to extend to any case whereunto the lords and commons give their assent in parliament."

And that this sovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the limits of this kingdom, they sent, with all formality, letters of credence, and instructions, and their agents, into foreign states and kingdoms.

By their agent to the United Provinces, where the queen was then residing, they had the courage, in plain terms, to accuse the prince of Orange "for supplying the king with arms and ammunition; for licensing divers commanders, officers, and soldiers, to resort into this kingdom to his aid." They remembered them "of the great help that they had received from this kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppression of their princes; and how conducive the friendship of this nation had been to their present greatness and power; and therefore they could not think, that they would be forward to help to make them slaves, who had been so useful, and assistant in making them free men; or that they would forget, that their troubles and dangers issued from the same fountain with their own;

“and that those who were set awork to undermine religion and liberty in the kingdom, were the same who by open force did seek to bereave them of both.” They told them, “it could not be unknown to that wise state, that it was the jesuitical faction in this kingdom, that had corrupted the counsels of the king, the consciences of a great part of the clergy; which sought to destroy the parliament, and had raised the rebellion in Ireland.” They desired them therefore, “not to suffer any more ordnance, armour, or any other warlike provision, to be brought over to strengthen those, who, as soon as they should prevail against the parliament, would use that strength to the ruin of those from whom they had it.”

They desired them, “they would not send over any of their countrymen to further their destruction, who were sent to them for their preservation; that they would not anticipate the spilling of English blood, in an unnatural civil war, which had been so cheerfully and plentifully hazarded, and spent, in that just and honourable war by which they had been so long preserved, and to which the blood of those persons, and many other subjects of this kingdom, was still in a manner dedicated; but rather that they would cashier, and discard from their employment, those that would presume to come over for that purpose.” They told them, “the question between his majesty and the parliament was not whether he should enjoy the same prerogative and power, which had belonged to their former kings, his majesty’s royal predecessors; but whether that prerogative and power should be employed to their defence, or to their ruin; that it could not be denied by those, who look indifferently on their proceedings and affairs, that it would be more honour and wealth, safety and greatness to his majesty, in concurring with his parliament, than in the course in which he now is: but so unhappy had his majesty and the kingdom been, in those who had the greatest influence upon his counsels, that they looked more upon the prevailing of their own party, than upon any those great advantages, both to his crown and royal person, which he might obtain by joining with his people: and so cunning were those factors for popery, in prosecution of their own aims, that they could put on a counterfeit visage of honour, peace, and greatness, upon those courses and counsels, which had no truth and reality, but of weakness, dishonour, and miseries to his majesty, and the whole kingdom.”

They said, “they had lately expressed their earnest inclinations to that national love and amity with the United Provinces, which had been nourished and confirmed by so many civil respects, and mutual interests, as made it so natural to them, that they had, this parliament, in their humble petition, desired, that they might be joined with that state in a more near and strait league and union: and they could not but expect some returns from them, of the like expressions; and that they would be [so] far from blowing the fire, which began to kindle among them, that they would rather endeavour to quench it, by strengthening and encouraging them who had no other design but not to be destroyed, and to preserve their religion, save themselves, and the other reformed churches of Christendom,

“from the massacres and extirpations, with which the principles of the Roman religion did threaten them all; which were begun to be acted in Ireland, and in the hopes, and endeavours, and intentions of that party had long since been executed upon them, if the mercy, favour, and blessing of Almighty God had not superabounded, and prevented the subtilty and malignity of cruel, wicked, and bloodthirsty men.”

With this specious despatch, in which were many other particulars to render the king’s cause ungracious, and their own very plausible, their agent, one Strickland, an obscure gentleman, was received by the States; and, notwithstanding the queen was then there, and the prince of Orange visibly inclined to assist the king with all his interests, and the interposition of the king’s resident, did not only hinder the States from giving the least countenance to the king’s cause, but really so corrupted the English in the army, and in the court, that there was nothing designed to advance it by the prince of Orange himself, (who with great generosity supplied the king with arms and ammunition to a very considerable value,) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular persons, out of their own fortune, or by the sale or pawning of jewels, but intelligence was given soon enough to the parliament, either to get stops, and seizures upon it, by order of the state, or to intercept the supply by their navy at sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at sea, than ever arrived at any port within his majesty’s obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the harbour of Newcastle. With the same success they sent another agent to Brussels, who prevailed with don Francisco de Melos, then governor of Flanders, to discountenance always, and sometimes to prevent, the preparations which were there making by the king’s ministers. And in France they had another agent, one Aulgier, a man long before in the constant pay of the crown; who, though he was not received, and avowed, (to put the better varnish upon their professions to the king,) by that crown, did them more service than either of the other; by how much more that people had an influence upon the distempers of the three kingdoms.

And as the parliament made all these addresses to foreign states and princes, which no parliament had ever done before, so it will be fit here to take notice how other princes appeared concerned on the king’s behalf. The Spaniard was sufficiently incensed by the king’s reception of the ambassadors of Portugal, and, which was more, entering into terms of amity and league with that crown, and had therefore contributed notable assistance to the rebellion in Ireland, and sent both arms and money thither. And since the extravagances of this parliament, the ambassador of that king had made great application to them.

The French, according to their nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in Scotland had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance, of the cardinal Richelieu; who had carefully kept up and enlarged the old franchises of the Scots under that crown; which made a very specious show of wonderful grace and benefit, at a distance, to that nation, and was of little burden to the French; and, in truth, of little advantage to those who were in full possession of all those rela-

tions. Yet, by this means, the French have always had a very great influence upon the affections of that people, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that crown: as nothing was more visible than that, by that cardinal's activity, all those late distempers in Scotland were carried on till his death, and, by his rules and principles, afterwards: the French ministers always making their correspondence with, and relation to those who were taken notice to be of the puritan party; which was understood to be in order only to the opposition of those counsels, which should at any time be offered on the behalf of Spain.

Since the beginning of this parliament, the French ambassador, monsieur la Ferté, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two houses; discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise to the prejudice of the king's counsels and resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen and undervalue the king's regal power, by applying himself on public occasions of state, and in his master's name, and to improve his interest, to the two houses of parliament, (which had in no age before been ever known,) as in the business of transportation of men out of Ireland, before remembered; in which he caused, by the importunity of the two houses, his majesty's promise and engagement to the Spanish ambassador to be rendered of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a complaint to the two houses against sir Thomas Rowe, his majesty's extraordinary ambassador to the emperor, and princes of Germany, upon the treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the prince elector and restitution of the palatinate, confidently avowing, "that sir Thomas Rowe had offered, on the king's part, to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the house of Austria, and to wed all their interests;" and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether they had given him instructions to that purpose?" expressing a great value his master had of the affection of the parliament of England; which drew them to a return of much and unusual civility, and to assure the French king, "that sir Thomas Rowe had no such instructions from them; and that they would examine the truth of it; and would be careful that nothing should be done and perfected in that treaty, which might reflect upon the good of the French king." Whereas in truth there was not the least ground or pretence for that suggestion; sir Thomas Rowe having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of Germany, he expostulated with the French ambassador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answered, "that since his master had received such advertisement, and had given him order to do what he did." So that it easily appeared, it was only a fiction of state, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would on any occasion resort to the two houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any sovereign authority.

There is not a sadder consideration (and I pray God the almighty justice be not angry with, and weary of the government of kings and princes, for it is a strange declension monarchy is fallen to, in the opinion of the common people within these late years) than this passion and injustice, in Christian princes, that they are not so solicitous that the laws be executed, justice administered, and order

preserved within their own kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed and confounded amongst their neighbours. And therefore there is no sooner a spark of dissension, a discomposure in affections, a jealousy in understandings, discerned to be in or to be easy to be infused into a neighbour province, or kingdom, to the hazarding of the peace thereof, but they, though in league and amity, with their utmost art and industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame, and to contract and ripen all unsettled humours, and jealous apprehensions, into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to sedition, and all sedition to open and professed rebellion. And they have never so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been instruments of drawing some notorious calamity upon their neighbours. As if the religion of princes were nothing but policy, enough to make all other kingdoms but their own miserable: and that, because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own jurisdiction, and before his own tribunal, that he means to try them too by other laws, and rules, than he hath published to the world for his servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath placed them over his people as examples, and to give countenance to his laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their subjects are to be defended and protected by them, so themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the function of kings being a classis by itself: and as a contempt and breach of every law is, in the policy of states, an offence against the person of the king, because there is a kind of violence offered to his person in the transgression of that rule without which he cannot govern; so the rebellion of subjects against their prince ought to be looked upon, by all other kings, as an assault of their own sovereignty, and a design against monarchy itself; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other kingdom soever it is, with the same concernment as if it were in their own bowels.

Besides these indirect artifices, and activity in the French ambassador, the Hugonots in France (with whom this crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correspondence) were declared enemies to the king; and, in public and in secret, gave all possible assistance to those whose business was to destroy the church. And as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the king, throughout all these troubles, and of equal benefit to his enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskillfully and imprudently administered by the state here. Not to speak of the business of Rochelle, which, though it stuck deep in all, yet most imputed the counsels of that time to men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of the court; but they had a greater quarrel, which made them believe, that their very religion was persecuted by the church of England.

When the reformation of religion first began in England, in the time of king Edward the Sixth, very many, out of Germany and France, left their countries, where the reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted themselves, their families, and estates, into England, where they were received very hospitably; and that king, with great piety and policy, by several acts of state, granted them

many indemnities, and the free use of churches in London for the exercise of their religion : whereby the number of them increased ; and the benefit to the kingdom, by such an access of trade, and improvement of manufactures, was very considerable. The which queen Elizabeth finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarged their privileges by new concessions ; drawing, by all means, greater numbers over, and suffering them to erect churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their religion after their own manner, and according to their own ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their trade, they chose to reside. And so they had churches in Norwich, Canterbury, and other places of the kingdom, as well as in London ; whereby the wealth of those places marvellously increased. And, besides the benefit from thence, the queen made use of them in her great transactions of state in France, and the Low Countries, and, by the mediation and interposition of those people, kept an useful interest in that party, in all the foreign dominions where they were tolerated. The same charters of liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable reign of king James, and in the beginning of this king's reign, although, it may be, the politic considerations in those concessions, and connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.

Some few years before these troubles, when the power of churchmen grew more transcendent, and indeed the faculties and understandings of the lay-counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive, (for, without the last, the first could have done no hurt,) the bishops grew jealous that the countenancing another discipline of the church here, by order of the state, (for those foreign congregations were governed by a presbytery, according to the custom and constitution of those parts of which they had been natives : for the French, Dutch, and Walloons had the free use of several churches according to their own discipline,) would at least diminish the reputation and dignity of the episcopal government, and give some hope and countenance to the factious and schismatical party in England to hope for such a toleration.

Then there wanted not some fiery, turbulent, and contentious persons of the same congregations, who, upon private differences and contests, were ready to inform against their brethren, and to discover what, they thought, might prove of most prejudice to them ; so that, upon pretence that they far exceeded the liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the notion of foreigners, many English separated themselves from the church, and joined themselves to those congregations, (which possibly was in part true,) the council-board connived, or interposed not, [whilst] the bishops did some acts of restraint, with which that tribe grew generally discontented, and thought the liberty of their consciences to be taken from them ; and so in London there was much complaining of this kind, but much more in the diocese of Norwich ; where Dr. Wren, the bishop there, passionately and furiously proceeded against them : so that many left the kingdom, to the lessening the wealthy manufacture there of kerseys, and narrow cloths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into foreign parts.

And, that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the civil policy of the

kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the ambassadors, and all foreign ministers of state, employed from England into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their churches, and held correspondence with the most active and powerful persons of that relation, and particularly the ambassador lieger at Paris from the time of the reformation had diligently and constantly frequented the church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage, that people being industrious and active to get into the secrets of the state, and so deriving all necessary intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify : the contrary whereof was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassadors there, "to forbear any extraordinary commerce with that tribe." And the lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the beginning of this parliament, whether by the inclination of his own nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own chapel, in his house, with such ornaments, (as candles upon the communion-table, and the like,) as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the reformation, who had not seen the like : besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, "that the church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion ;" which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home.

They who committed the greatest errors this way, had, no doubt, the least thoughts of making any alterations in the church of England, as hath been uncharitably conceived : but (having too just cause given them to dislike the passion, and license, that was taken by some persons in the reformed churches, under the notion of conscience and religion, to the disturbance of the peace of kingdoms) unskilfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this church of England looked upon with more reverence ; and that thereby the common adversary, the papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance and superciliousness ; and so all parties, piously considering the charity which religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness and uncharitableness of contention in matters of opinion, severed from the practical duties of Christians and subjects. And so, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, [these men] contented themselves with their pious intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of policy. And they who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their inclinations : neither of them discerning the true and substantial grounds of policy, upon which those conclusions had been founded, which they were now about to change : and so the church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the

crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the church.

After all discourses and motions for peace were, for a time, laid aside; and new thoughts of victory, and utterly subduing the king's party, again entertained; they found one trouble falling upon them, which they had least suspected, want of money; all their vast sums collected, upon any former bills, passed by the king for the relief of Ireland, and payment of the debt to the Scots, and all their money upon subscriptions of plate, and loans upon the public faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expense was so great, that no ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discerned, that their money only, and not their cause, procured them soldiers of all kinds; and that they could never support their power, if their power was not able to supply them. All voluntary loans were at an end, and the public faith thought a security not to be relied on; by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more vigour to be resisted. In the end, they resolved upon the full execution of their full sovereign power, and to let the people see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the arts and degrees of their motion.

They first ordered, "that committees should be named in all counties, to take care for provisions of victuals for the army, and also for the taking up of horses for service in the field, dragooners and draught horses, and for borrowing of money and plate to supply the army: and upon certificate from these committees," (who had power to set what value or rates they pleased upon these provisions of any kind,) "the same should be entered with their treasurer, who should hereafter repay the same." It was then alleged, "that this would only draw supplies from their friends, and the well affected; and that others, who either liked not their proceedings, or loved their money better than the liberty of their country, would not contribute." Upon this it was ordered, "that in case the owners refused to bring in money, provisions, plate, and horse, upon the public faith, for the use of the army; for the better preventing the spoil, and embezzling of such provisions of money, plate, and horses, by the disorder of the soldiers, and that they may not come into the hands of the enemies, that the committees, or any two of them, should be authorized, and enabled to send for such provisions, money, plate, and horses; and to take the same into their custody, and to set indifferent value and rate upon them; which value they should certify to the treasurers, for the proportions to be repaid at such time, and in such manner, as should be ordered by both houses of parliament."

This was done only to shew what they meant to do over all England, and as a stock of credit to them. For at present it would neither supply their wants; neither was it seasonable for them, or indeed possible to endeavour the execution of it in many counties. London was the place from whence only their present help must come. To them therefore they declared, "that the king's army had made divers assessments upon several counties, and the subjects were compelled, by the soldiers,

"to pay the same; which army, if it continued, would soon ruin and waste the whole kingdom; and overthrow religion, law, and liberty: that there was no probable way, under God, for the suppressing that army, and other ill affected persons, but by the army raised by the authority of the parliament; which army could not be maintained, without great sums of money; and for raising such sums, there could be no act of parliament passed with his majesty's assent, albeit there was great justice that such money should be raised: that, hitherto, the army had been, for the most part, maintained by the voluntary contributions of well affected people, who had freely contributed according to their abilities: that there were divers others within the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs, that had not contributed at all towards the maintenance of that army, or if they had, yet not answerable to their estates; who notwithstanding received benefit and protection by the same army, as well as any others; and therefore it was most just, that they should, as well as others, be charged to contribute to the maintenance thereof."

Upon these grounds and reasons, it was ordained, "by the authority of parliament, that Isaac Pennington, the then lord mayor of London, and some other aldermen, and citizens, or any four of them, should have power and authority to nominate, and appoint, in every ward, within the city of London, six such persons as they should think fit, who should have power to inquire of all who had not contributed upon the propositions concerning the raising of money, plate, &c. and of such able men who had contributed, yet not according to their estates and abilities; and those persons so substituted, or any four of them, within their several wards and limits, should have power to assess all persons of ability who had not contributed, and also those who had contributed, yet not according to their ability, to pay such sums of money, according to their estates, as the assessors, or any four of them, should think reasonable, so as the same exceeded not the twentieth part of their estates; and to nominate fit persons for the collection thereof. And if any person so assessed should refuse to pay the money so assessed upon him, it should be lawful for the assessors and collectors to levy that sum by way of distress, and sale of the goods of persons so refusing. And if any person distrained should make resistance, it should be lawful for the assessors and collectors to call to their assistance any of the trained bands of London, or any other his majesty's subjects; who were required to be aiding and assisting to them. And the burgesses of Westminster and Southwark, and a committee appointed to that purpose, were to do the same within those limits, as the other in London."

And that there might be no stratagem to avoid this tax, (so strange and unlooked for,) by a second ordinance in explanation of the former, they ordained, "that, if no sufficient distress could be found for the payment of what should be assessed, the collectors should have power to inquire of any sum of money due to those persons so assessed, from what persons soever, for rents, goods, or debts, or for any other thing or cause whatsoever. And the collectors had power to

“ receive all such debts, until the full value of the
 “ sums so assessed, and the charges in levying or
 “ recovering the same, should be satisfied : and
 “ lest the discovery of those debts might be diffi-
 “ cult, the same collectors had power to compound
 “ for any rents, goods, or debts, due to such per-
 “ sons so assessed, with any person by whom the
 “ same was due, and to give full discharges for the
 “ money so compounded for, which should be good
 “ and effectual to all purposes. And if the money
 “ assessed could not be levied by any of these ways,
 “ then the persons assessed should be imprisoned
 “ in such places of the kingdom, and for so long
 “ time, as the committee of the house of commons
 “ for examination should appoint, and order ; and
 “ the families of all such persons so imprisoned
 “ should no longer remain within the cities of
 “ London or Westminster, the suburbs, or the
 “ counties adjacent. And all assessors and col-
 “ lectors should have the protection of both houses
 “ of parliament, for their indemnity in that service,
 “ and receive allowance for their pains and
 “ charges.” Several additional and explanatory
 orders they made for the better execution of this
 grand one, by every of which some clause of sever-
 ity, and monstrous irregularity, was added ; and,
 for the complement of all, they ordered that them-
 selves, the members of either house, should not be
 assessed by any body.

The truth is, the king was not sorry to see this
 ordinance, which he thought so prodigious, that he
 should have been a greater gainer by it than they
 that made it ; which he thought was so palpable
 and clear a demonstration of the tyranny the peo-
 ple were to live under, that they would easily
 have discerned the change of their condition : yet
 he took so much pains, to awaken his subjects
 to a due apprehension of it, and to apply the
 thorough consideration of it to them, that he
 published a declaration upon that ordinance ; the
 which, presenting many things to them, which
 have since fallen out, may be, in this place, fit
 to be inserted in the king's own words, which
 were these :

“ It would not be believed, (at least great
 “ pains have been taken that it might not,) that
 “ the pretended ordinance of the militia, (the first
 “ attempt that ever was, to make a law by ordi-
 “ nance, without our consent,) or the keeping us
 “ out of Hull, and taking our arms and ammuni-
 “ tion from us, could any way concern the in-
 “ terest, property, or liberty of the subject : and it
 “ was confessed, by that desperate declaration
 “ itself of the 26th of May, that if they were found
 “ guilty of that charge of destroying the title and
 “ interest of our subjects to their lands and goods,
 “ it were indeed a very great crime. But it was a
 “ strange fatal lethargy which had seized our
 “ good people, and kept them from discerning
 “ that the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of
 “ England were not only stripped of their preemi-
 “ nences and privileges, but of their liberties and
 “ estates, when our just rights were denied us ;
 “ and that no subject could from thenceforth
 “ expect to dwell at home, when we were driven
 “ from our houses and our towns. It was not
 “ possible, that a commission could be granted to
 “ the earl of Essex, to raise an army against us,
 “ and, for the safety of our person, and preserva-
 “ tion of the peace of the kingdom, to pursue,
 “ kill, and slay us, and all who wish well to us,

“ but that, in a short time, inferior commanders,
 “ by the same authority, would require our good
 “ subjects, for the maintenance of the property of
 “ the subject, to supply them with such sums of
 “ money as they think fit, upon the penalty of
 “ being plundered with all extremity of war, (as
 “ the title of sir Edward Bainton's warrant runs,
 “ against our poor subjects in Wiltshire,) and
 “ by such rules of unlimited arbitrary power as
 “ are inconsistent with the least pretence or sha-
 “ dow of that property, it would seem to defend.

“ If there could be yet any understanding so
 “ unskilful and supine to believe, that these dis-
 “ turbors of the public peace do intend any thing
 “ but a general confusion, they have brought
 “ them a sad argument to their own doors to
 “ convince them. After this ordinance and de-
 “ claration, it is not in any sober man's power to
 “ believe himself to be worth any thing, or that
 “ there is such a thing as law, liberty, or property,
 “ left in England, under the jurisdiction of these
 “ men. And the same power that robs them
 “ now of the twentieth part of their estates, hath,
 “ by that, but made a claim, and entitled itself to
 “ the other nineteen, when it shall be thought fit
 “ to hasten the general ruin. Sure, if the minds
 “ of all men be not stubbornly prepared for servi-
 “ tude, they will look on this ordinance, as the
 “ greatest prodigy of arbitrary power and tyranny,
 “ that any age hath brought forth in any kingdom.
 “ Other grievances (and the greatest) have been
 “ conceived intolerable, rather by the logic and
 “ consequence, than by the pressure itself : this
 “ at once sweeps away all that the wisdom and
 “ justice of parliaments have provided for them.
 “ Is their property in their estates, (so carefully
 “ looked to by their ancestors, and so amply es-
 “ tablished by us, against any possibility of inva-
 “ sion from the crown,) which makes the meanest
 “ subject as much a lord of his own as the
 “ greatest peer, to be valued, or considered ? Here
 “ is a twentieth part of every man's estate, or so
 “ much as four men will please to call the twentieth
 “ part, taken away at once, and yet a power left
 “ to take a twentieth still of that which remains ;
 “ and this to be levied by such circumstances of
 “ severity, as no act of parliament ever consented
 “ to.

“ Is their liberty, which distinguishes subjects
 “ from slaves, and in which this freeborn na-
 “ tion hath the advantage of all Christendom,
 “ dear to them ? They shall not only be im-
 “ prisoned in such places of this kingdom, (a
 “ latitude of judgment no court can challenge
 “ to itself in any cases,) but for so long time as
 “ the committee of the house of commons for ex-
 “ amination shall appoint and order : the house of
 “ commons itself having never assumed, or in the
 “ least degree pretended to, a power of judicature ;
 “ having no more authority to administer an oath,
 “ the only way to discover and find out the truth
 “ of facts, than to cut off the heads of any of our
 “ subjects : and this committee being so far from
 “ being a part of the parliament, that it is de-
 “ structive to the whole, by usurping to itself all
 “ the power of king, lords, and commons. All
 “ who know any thing of parliaments know that a
 “ committee of either house ought not, by the
 “ law, to publish their own results ; neither are
 “ their conclusions of any force, without the con-
 “ firmation of the house, which hath the same

"power of controlling them, as if the matter had never been debated. But that any committee should be so contracted, (as this of examination, a style no committee ever bore before this parliament,) as to exclude the members of the house, who are equally trusted by their country, from being present at the counsels, is so monstrous to the privileges of parliament, that it is no more in the power of any man to give up that freedom, than of himself to order, that, from that time, the place for which he serves shall never more send a knight or burgess to the parliament; and in truth is no less than to alter the whole frame of government, to pull up parliaments by the roots, and to commit the lives, liberties, and estates, of all the people of England to the arbitrary power of a few unqualified persons, who shall dispose thereof according to their discretion, without account to any rule or authority whatsoever.

"Are their friends, their wives, and children, the greatest blessings of peace, and comforts of life, precious to them? Would their penury and imprisonment be less grievous by those cordials? They shall be divorced from them, banished, and shall no longer remain within the cities of London and Westminster, the suburbs and the counties adjacent; and how far those adjacent counties shall extend no man knows. Is there now any thing left to enjoy but the liberty to rebel, and destroy one another? Are the outward blessings only of peace, property, and liberty, taken and forced from our subjects? Are their consciences free and unassaulted by the violence of these fire-brands? Sure the liberty and freedom of conscience cannot suffer by these men. Alas! all these punishments are imposed upon them, because they will not submit to actions contrary to their natural loyalty, to their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to their late voluntary protestation, which obliges them to the care of our person, and our just rights.

"How many persons of honour, quality, and reputation, of the several counties of England, are now imprisoned, without any objections against them, but suspicion of their loyalty! How many of the gravest and most substantial citizens of London, by whom the government and discipline of that city was preserved, are disgraced, robbed, and imprisoned, without any process of law, or colour of accusation, but of obedience to the law and government of the kingdom! whilst anabaptists and Brownists, with the assistance of vicious and debauched persons of desperate fortunes, take upon them to break up and rife houses, as public and avowed ministers of a new-invented authority. How many godly, pious, and painful divines, whose lives and learning have made them of reverend estimation, are now slandered with inclination to popery, discountenanced, and imprisoned, for discharging their consciences, instructing the people in the Christian duty of religion and obedience! whilst schismatical, illiterate, and scandalous preachers fill the pulpits and churches with blasphemy, irreverence, and treason; and incite their auditory to nothing but murder and rebellion.

"We pass over the vulgar charm, by which they have captivated such who have been contented to dispense with their consciences for the preservation of their estates, and by which they

"persuade men cheerfully to part with this twentieth part of their estates to the good work in hand. For whosoever will give what he hath may escape robbing. They shall be repaid upon the public faith, as all other monies lent upon the propositions of both houses. It may be so. But men must be condemned to a strange unthriftiness, who will lend upon such security. The public faith indeed is as great an earnest as the state can give, and engages the honour, reputation, and honesty of the nation, and is the act of the kingdom: it is the security of the king, the lords, and commons, which can never need an executor, can never die, never be bankrupt; and therefore we willingly consented to it for the indemnity of our good subjects of Scotland, (who, we hope, will not think the worse of it for being so often and so cheaply mentioned since.) But that a vote of one, or both houses, should be an engagement upon the public faith, is as impossible as that the committee of the house of commons for examination should be the high court of parliament.

"And what is or can be said, with the least shadow of reason, to justify these extravagances? We have not heard lately of the fundamental laws, which used to warrant the innovations: these need a refuge even below those foundations. They will say, they cannot manage their great undertakings without such extraordinary ways. We think so too. But that proves only, they have undertaken somewhat they ought not to undertake, not that it is lawful for them to do any thing that is convenient for those ends. We remembered them long ago, and we cannot do it too often, of that excellent speech of Mr. Pym's. The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust: if you take away the law, all things will be in a confusion, every man will become a law unto himself; which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law, covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decision, such laws will produce, may easily be discerned: it may indeed by the sad instances over the whole kingdom.

"But will posterity believe, that, in the same parliament, this doctrine was avowed with that acclamation, and these instances after produced? That, in the same parliament, such care was taken that no man should be committed in what case soever, without the cause of his imprisonment expressed; and that all men should be immediately bailed in all casesailable; and, during the same parliament, that alderman Pennington, or indeed any body else, but the sworn ministers of justice, should imprison whom they would, and for what they would, and for as long time as they would? That the king should be reproached with breach of privilege, for accusing sir John Hotham of high treason, when with force of arms he kept him out of Hull, and despoised him to his face, because in no case a member of either house might be committed, or accused without leave of that house of which he is a member; and yet that, during the same parliament, the same alderman shall commit the earl of Middlesex, a peer of the realm, and the lord Buckhurst, a member of the house of com-

“mons, to the counter, without reprehension?
 “That to be a traitor (which is defined, and every
 “man understands) should be no crime; and to
 “be called malignant, which nobody knows the
 “meaning of, should be ground enough for close
 “imprisonment? That a law should be made, that
 “whosoever should presume to take tonnage and
 “poundage without an act of parliament, should
 “incur the penalty of a præmunire; and, in the
 “same parliament, that the same imposition should
 “be laid upon our subjects, and taken by order of
 “both houses, without and against our consent?
 “Lastly, that, in the same parliament, a law should
 “be made to declare the proceedings and judg-
 “ment upon ship-money to be illegal, and void;
 “and, during that parliament, that an order of
 “both houses shall, upon pretence of necessity,
 “enable four men to take away the twentieth part
 “of their estates from all their neighbours, ac-
 “cording to their discretion?

“But our good subjects will no longer look
 “upon these and the like results, as upon the
 “counsels and conclusions of both our houses of
 “parliament; (though all the world knows, even
 “that authority can never justify things unwar-
 “ratable by the law.) They well know how few
 “of the persons trusted by them are trusted at
 “their consultations, of above five hundred of the
 “commons not fourscore; and of the house of
 “peers, not a fifth part: that they who are pre-
 “sent enjoy not the privilege and freedom of
 “parliament, but are besieged by an army, and
 “awed by the same tumults which drove us and
 “their fellow members from thence, to consent to
 “what some few seditious, schismatical persons
 “among them do propose. These are the men,
 “who, joining with the anabaptists and Brownists
 “of London, first changed the government and
 “discipline of that city; and now, by the pride
 “and power of that city, would undo the kingdom:
 “whilst their lord mayor, a person accused and
 “known to be guilty of high treason, by a new
 “legislative power of his own, suppresses and
 “reviles the Book of Common Prayer, robs and
 “imprisons whom he thinks fit; and, with the
 “rabble of his faction, gives laws to both houses
 “of parliament, and tells them, *They will have no*
 “*accommodation*: whilst the members sent, and
 “intrusted by their countries, are expelled the
 “house, or committed, for refusing to take the
 “oath of association to live and die with the earl
 “of Essex, as very lately sir Sydney Mountague.
 “These are the men who have presumed to send
 “ambassadors, and to enter into treaties with
 “foreign states in their own behalfs, having at
 “this time an agent of their own with the states
 “of Holland, to negotiate for them upon private
 “instructions: these are the men who, not think-
 “ing they have yet brought mischief enough unto
 “this kingdom, at this time invite and solicit our
 “subjects of Scotland, to enter this land with an
 “army against us: in a word, these are the men
 “who have made this last devouring ordinance
 “to take away all law, liberty, and property from
 “our people, and have by it really acted that upon
 “our people, which with infinite malice, and no
 “colour or ground, was laboured to be infused
 “into them, to have been our intention by the
 “commissions of array.

“We have done: What power and authority
 “these men have, or will have, we know not: for

“ourselves, we challenge none such. We look upon
 “the pressures and inconveniences our good sub-
 “jects bear, even by us, and our army, (which the
 “army first raised by them enforced us to levy in
 “our defence, and their refusal of all offers and
 “desires of treaty enforceth us to keep,) with very
 “much sadness of heart. We are so far from re-
 “quiring a twentieth part of their estates, though
 “for their own visible preservation, that, as we
 “have already sold or pawned our own jewels,
 “and coined our own plate, so we are willing to
 “sell all our own lands and houses for their relief:
 “yet we do not doubt but our good subjects will
 “seriously consider our condition, and their own
 “duties, and think our readiness to protect them
 “with the utmost hazard of our life, deserves their
 “readiness to assist us with some part of their
 “fortunes; and, whilst other men give a twentieth
 “part of their estates to enable them to forfeit the
 “other nineteen, that they will extend themselves
 “to us in a liberal and free proportion, for the pre-
 “servation of the rest, and for the maintenance of
 “God's true religion, the laws of the land, the
 “liberty of the subject, and the safety and very
 “being of parliaments, and this kingdom: for
 “if all these ever were, or can be, in manifest
 “danger, it is now in this present rebellion
 “against us.

“Lastly, we will and require all our loving
 “subjects, of what degree or quality soever, as
 “they will answer it to God, to us, and to pos-
 “terity, by their oaths of allegiance and su-
 “premacy; as they would not be looked upon
 “now, and remembered hereafter, as betrayers of
 “the laws and liberties they were born to; that
 “they in no degree submit to this wild pretended
 “ordinance, and that they presume not to give
 “any encouragement or assistance to the army
 “now in rebellion against us; which if notwith-
 “standing they shall do, they must expect from
 “us the severest punishment the law can inflict,
 “and a perpetual infamy with all good men.”

Whatsoever every man could say to another
 against that ordinance, and whatsoever the king
 said to them all against it, it did bring in a great
 supply of money, and gave them a stock of credit
 to borrow more; so that the army was again drawn
 out, though but to winter quarters, twenty miles
 from London, and the earl of Essex fixed his head
 quarters at Windsor, to straiten the king's new
 garrison at Reading, and sent strong parties still
 abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time
 of the year, could reasonably be expected; that is,
 brought those adjacent counties entirely under the
 obedience of the parliament, which would at least
 have kept themselves neutral: and still persuaded
 the people, “that their work was even at an end,
 “and that the king's forces would be swallowed
 “up in a very short time:” so that there was no
 day, in which they did not publish themselves to
 have obtained some notable victory, or taken some
 town, when in truth each party wisely abstained
 from disturbing the other: yet the bulk of their
 supply came only from the city of London. For
 though their ordinances extended over the whole
 kingdom, yet they had power to execute them only
 there; for it was not yet time to try the affections
 of all places within their own verge, with the severe
 exercise of that authority.

And therefore divers of the wealthiest and most
 substantial citizens of London, observing liberty

to be taken by all men to petition the houses, and the multitude of the petitioners to carry great authority with them, and from those multitudes, and that authority, the brand to have been laid upon the city, "of being an enemy to peace," met together, and prepared a very modest and moderate petition to the houses; in which they desired "that such propositions and addresses might be made by them to his majesty, that he might with his honour comply with them, and thereby a happy peace ensue;" the which, being signed by many thousand hands, was ready to be presented, but was rejected by the house of commons, for no other reason publicly given, but "that it was prepared by a multitude;" and objections were framed against the principal promoters of it, upon other pretences of delinquency; that they were compelled to forsake the town, and so that party was, for the present, discountenanced.

At the same time the inhabitants of Westminster, St. Martin's, and Covent-garden, who always underwent the imputation of being well affected to the king, prepared the like petition, and met with the same reproach, being strictly inhibited to approach the houses with more than six in company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they easily discerned those humours, thus obstructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again resumed all professions of a desire of peace, and appointed a committee to prepare propositions to be sent to the king to that purpose; and because they found that would be a work of time, (for the reasons which will be anon remembered,) and that many arts were to be applied to the several affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the city desired peace upon any other terms than they did, and the disadvantage that accrued to them by such imagination, and also to stay the appetite of those who were importunate to have any advance made towards peace, having procured, by the activity of their agents and ministers, to have such a common-council chosen for the city, as would undoubtedly comply with their desires and designs, they underhand directed their own mayor to engage that body in such a petition to his majesty, as, carrying the sense and reputation of the whole city, might yet signify nothing to the prejudice of the two houses; and so a petition was framed in these words:

To the king's most excellent majesty;

The humble petition of the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London,

"Sheweth,

"That the petitioners, your majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, being much pierced with the long and great divisions between your majesty and both your houses of parliament, and with the sad and bloody effects thereof, both here and in Ireland, are yet more deeply wounded by the misapprehension, which your majesty seemeth to entertain of the love and loyalty of this your city, as if there were some cause of fear, or suspicion of danger to your royal person, if your majesty should return hither; and that this is made the unhappy bar to that blessed reconciliation with your great and most faithful council for preventing that desolation, and destruction, which is now most apparently imminent to your majesty, and all your kingdoms.

"For satisfaction therefore of your majesty, and clearing of the petitioners' innocency, they most humbly declare, as formerly they have done, that they are no way conscious of any disloyalty, but abhor all thoughts thereof; and that they are resolved to make good their late solemn protestation, and sacred vow, made to Almighty God; and, with the last drop of their dearest bloods, to defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, and, according to the duty of their allegiance, your majesty's royal person, honour, and estate, (whatsoever is maliciously and falsely suggested to your majesty to the contrary,) as well as the power and privilege of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject: and do hereby engage themselves, their estates, and all they have, to their utmost power, to defend and preserve your majesty, and both houses of parliament, from all tumults, affronts, and violence, with as much loyalty, love, and duty, as ever citizens expressed towards your majesty, or any of your royal progenitors in their greatest glory.

"The petitioners therefore, upon their bended knees, do most humbly beseech your majesty, to return to your parliament, (accompanied with your royal, not martial attendance,) to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be settled and secured, and whatsoever is amiss in church and commonwealth reformed by their advice, according to the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom: and that such a peace may thereby be obtained, as shall be for the glory of God, the honour and happiness of your majesty and posterity, and welfare of all your loyal subjects; who, (the petitioners are fully assured,) whatsoever is given out to the contrary, do unanimously desire the peace herein expressed."

Though this petition was in effect no other than to desire the king to disband his army, and to put himself into the absolute disposal of the parliament, and therefore all wise men concluded that no great progress would be made by it towards peace; yet, (so sotted and infatuated were the people,) that, upon this very petition, they prevailed upon the people to submit to another subscription for money and plate, for the necessary provision of arms, ammunition, and pay of their army, until their disbanding and return home to their several counties: that so they might not be occasioned, through want of pay, to plunder, rob, or pillage by the way homewards, after their discharge and dismissal. So that men were persuaded that this was now the last tax they should be invited to, though every one of those ordinances and declarations loaded the king with some new calumnies and reproaches, that it was plain the authors of them meant not so soon to put themselves under his subjection.

This petition was, about the tenth of January, 1642-3, presented to the king at Oxford, by some aldermen, and others of the common council, who were for the most part of moderate inclinations. The king considered sadly what answer to return; for, albeit it appeared that the petition had been craftily framed by those who had no thoughts of peace, and that there was no argument in it to hope any good from that people; yet there were, to vulgar understandings, very specious and popular professions of great piety, and zeal to his service, and care of his security; and he was to be very tender in seeming to doubt the inclinations

and affections of that city, by whose strength alone the war was supported, and that strength procured by corrupting those affections: and therefore the king was not sorry to have this opportunity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to the city, being persuaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from misinformation, than any general and habitual malice in them. All his proclamations, messages, and declarations, had been with so much industry suppressed there, that they were not in truth generally informed of the matter of fact, and the justice of the king's cause; and therefore he was persuaded that if he enlarged himself, in his answer to this petition, and exposed those few men who were most notoriously malignant against the government of the church and state, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the people, that it would at least lessen their power and ability to do hurt: and so he resolved to return an answer to them in these words:

"That his majesty doth not entertain any misapprehension of the love and loyalty of his city of London; as he hath always expressed a singular regard and esteem of the affections of that city, and is still desirous to make it his chief place of residence, and to continue, and renew many marks of his favour to it; so he believes, much the better and greater part of that his city is full of love, duty, and loyalty to his majesty; and that the tumults which heretofore forced his majesty, for his safety, to leave that place, though they were contrived and encouraged by some principal members thereof, (who are since well known, though they are above the reach of justice,) consisted more of desperate persons of the suburbs, and the neighbouring towns, (who were misled too by the cunning and malice of their seducers,) than of the inhabitants of that city. He looks on his good subjects there as persons groaning under the same burden which doth oppress his majesty, and awed by the same persons who begat those tumults, and the same army which gave battle to his majesty: and therefore, as no good subject can more desire, from his soul, a composure of the general distractions; so no good citizen can more desire the establishment of the particular peace and prosperity of that place, by his majesty's access thither, than his majesty himself doth.

"But his majesty desires his good subjects of London seriously to consider, what confidence his majesty can have of security there, whilst the laws of the land are so notoriously despised, and trampled under foot, and the wholesome government of that city, heretofore so famous over all the world, is now submitted to the arbitrary power of a few desperate persons, of no reputation, but for malice and disloyalty to him; whilst arms are taken up, not only without, but against his consent and express command, and collections publicly made, and contributions avowed, for the maintenance of the army which hath given him battle, and therein used all possible means treason and malice could suggest to them, to have taken his life from him, and to have destroyed his royal issue; whilst such of his majesty's subjects, who, out of duty and affection to his majesty, and compassion of their bleeding country, have laboured for peace, are reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the ma-

gistrates of that city, or by their directions: lastly, what hopes his majesty can have of safety there, whilst alderman Pennington, their pretended lord mayor, the principal author of those calamities which so nearly threaten the ruin of that famous city, Ven, Foulke, and Manwaring, all persons notoriously guilty of schism and high treason, commit such outrages, in oppressing, robbing, and imprisoning, according to their discretion, all such his majesty's loving subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect but for wishing well to his majesty.

"And his majesty would know, whether the petitioners believe, that the reviling and suppressing the book of common prayer, established in this church ever since the reformation, the discountenancing and imprisoning godly, learned, and painful preachers, and the cherishing and countenancing of Brownists, anabaptists, and all manner of sectaries, be the way to defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion? That to comply with and assist persons who have actually attempted to kill his majesty, and to allow and favour libels, pasquils, and seditious sermons against his majesty, be to defend his royal person, and honour, according to the duty of their allegiance? Whether to imprison men's persons, and to plunder their houses, because they will not rebel against his majesty, nor assist those that do; whether to destroy their property by taking away the twentieth part of their estates from them, and, by the same arbitrary power, to refer to four standers-by, of their own faction, to judge what that twentieth part is, be to defend the lawful rights and liberties of the subject? And if they think these actions to be instances of either; whether they do not know the persons before named to be guilty of them all? or whether they think it possible, that Almighty God can bless that city, and preserve it from destruction, whilst persons of such known guilt and wickedness are defended, and justified among them, against the power of that law, by which they can only subsist?

"His majesty is so far from suffering himself to be incensed against the whole city, by the actions of these ill men, though they have hitherto been so prevalent, as to make the affections of the rest of little use to him; and is so willing to be with them, and to protect them, that the trade, wealth, and glory thereof, so decayed and eclipsed by these public distractions, may again be the envy of all foreign nations, that he doth once more graciously offer his free and general pardon to all the inhabitants of that his city of London, the suburbs and city of Westminster, (except the persons formerly excepted by his majesty,) if they shall yet return to their duty, loyalty, and obedience. And if his good subjects of that his city of London shall first solemnly declare, that they will defend the known laws of the land, and will submit to, and be governed by, no other rule; if they shall first manifest, by defending themselves, and maintaining their own rights, liberties, and interests, and suppressing any force and violence unlawfully raised against those and his majesty, their power to defend and preserve him from all tumults, affronts, and violence: lastly, if they shall apprehend, and commit to safe custody, the persons of those four men

“ who enrich themselves by the spoil and oppression of his loving subjects, and the ruin of the city, that his majesty may proceed against them by the course of law, as guilty of high treason ; his majesty will speedily return to them with his royal, and without his martial attendance, and will use his utmost endeavour, that they may hereafter enjoy all the blessings of peace and plenty ; and will no longer expect obedience from them, than he shall, with all the faculties of his soul, labour in the preserving and advancing the true reformed protestant religion, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subjects, and the just privileges of parliament.

“ If, notwithstanding all this, the art and interest of these men can prevail so far, that they involve more men in their guilt, and draw that his city to sacrifice its present happiness, and future hopes, to their pride, fury, and malice, his majesty shall only give them this warning : that whosoever shall henceforward take up arms, without his consent, contribute any money or plate, upon what pretence of authority soever, for maintenance of the army under the command of the earl of Essex, or any other army in rebellion against him, or shall pay tonnage and poundage, till the same shall be settled by act of parliament, every such person must expect the severest punishment the law can inflict ; and, in the meantime, his majesty shall seize upon any part of his estate within his power, for the relief and support of him and his army, raised and maintained for the defence of his person, the laws, and this his kingdom : and since he denies to his majesty the duty and benefit of his subjection, by giving assistance to rebels, which, by the known laws of the land, is high treason ; his majesty shall likewise deny him the benefit of his protection, and shall not only signify to all his foreign ministers, that such persons shall receive no advantage by being his subject, but shall, by all other ways and means, proceed against him as a public enemy to his majesty and this kingdom.

“ But his majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good subjects of London will call to mind the acts of their predecessors, the duty, affection, loyalty, and merit towards their princes, the renown they have had with all posterity for, and the blessing of Heaven which always accompanied, those virtues ; and will consider the perpetual scorn and infamy which unavoidably will follow them and their children, if infinitely the meaner part in quality, and much the lesser part in number, shall be able to alter the government so admirably established, destroy the trade so excellently settled, and to waste the wealth so industriously gotten, of that flourishing city : and then they will easily gather up the courage and resolution to join with his majesty in defence of that religion, law, and liberty, which hitherto hath, and only can, make themselves, his majesty, and his kingdom, happy.

“ For concurring with the advice of his two houses of parliament, which, with reference to the commonwealth, may be as well at this distance, as by being at Whitehall, his majesty doubts not, but his good subjects of London well know, how far, beyond the example of his predecessors, his majesty hath concurred with their advice, in passing of such laws, by which he

“ willingly parted with many of his known rights, for the benefit of his subjects ; which the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom did not oblige him to consent unto ; and hath used all possible means to beget a right understanding between them : and will therefore apply themselves to those who, by making just, peaceable, and honourable propositions to his majesty, can only beget that concurrence.”

This answer the king sent by a servant of his own, supposing, that if he sent by the messengers who brought the petition, it might either be suppressed, or not communicated in that manner as he desired. Besides, the messengers themselves, after the king had caused it to be read to them, were very well contented that it should be delivered by other hands than theirs. So they promised his majesty, that they would procure a common hall, (which is the most general assembly of the city, the meanest person being admitted,) to be called as soon as they returned ; where his messenger might deliver it : and having been graciously used by the king and the court, after two days' stay, they returned from Oxford together with the gentleman sent by his majesty. When they came to London, the contents of the answer were quickly known, though not delivered ; and the two houses made an order, “ that the lord mayor should not call a common hall, till he received farther direction from them.” So that, though the gentleman sent by the king often solicited the lord mayor, “ that he would call a common hall, at which he was to deliver a message from the king,” many days passed before any orders were issued to that purpose.

At last, a day was appointed ; and, at the same time, a committee of the lords and commons were sent to be present, to see that it might not have such a reception, as might render their interest suspected. As soon as the gentleman sent by the king had read his majesty's answer, the earl of Northumberland told them, “ of the high value the parliament had of the city ; that they had considered of those wounding aspersions, which, in that answer, were cast upon persons of such eminent affection in their city, and upon others, of great fidelity and trust among them : that they owned themselves equally interested in all things that concerned them, and would stand by them with their lives and fortunes, for the preservation of the city in general, and those persons in particular who had been faithful, and deserved well both of the parliament and kingdom. And they would pursue all means with their lives and fortunes, that might be for the preservation of that city, and for the procuring of safety, happiness, and peace, to the whole kingdom.”

As soon as his lordship had finished his oration, which was received with marvellous acclamations, Mr. Pym enlarged himself, [in a speech then printed,] upon the several parts of the king's answer, (for it was so long before it was delivered, that the printed copies from Oxford, which were printed there after the messenger was gone so long that all men concluded it was delivered, were public and in all hands,) and told them the sense of the two houses of parliament, upon every part of it. Among the rest, “ that the demanding the lord mayor, and the other three citizens, was against the privilege of parliament, (two of them being members

“ of the house of commons,) and most dishonour-
 “ able to the city, that the lord mayor of London
 “ should be subjected to the violence of every base
 “ fellow; and that they should be commanded to
 “ deliver up their chief magistrates, and such emi-
 “ nent members of the city, to the king's pleasure,
 “ only because they had done their duty, in ad-
 “ hering to the parliament, for the defence of the
 “ kingdom.”

He told them, “ that, to the objection that the
 “ government of the city had been managed by a
 “ few desperate persons, and that they did exer-
 “ cise an arbitrary power, the two houses gave
 “ them this testimony, that they had, in most of
 “ the great occasions concerning the government
 “ of the city, followed their direction; and that
 “ direction which the parliament had given, they
 “ had executed; and they must and would main-
 “ tain to be such, as stood with their honour in
 “ giving it, and the others' trust and fidelity in
 “ performing it.”

To the objection, “ that the property of the sub-
 “ ject was destroyed, by taking away the twentieth
 “ part by an arbitrary power,” he told them, “ that
 “ that ordinance did not require a twentieth part,
 “ but did limit the assessors that they should not go
 “ beyond a twentieth part, and that was done by a
 “ power derived from both houses of parliament;
 “ the lords, who had an hereditary interest in
 “ making of laws in this kingdom; and the com-
 “ mons, who were elected and chosen to represent
 “ the whole body of the commonalty, and trusted,
 “ for the good of the people, whenever they see
 “ cause to charge the kingdom.” He said farther,
 “ that the same law which did enable the two
 “ houses of parliament to raise forces to maintain
 “ and defend the safety of religion, and of the
 “ kingdom, did likewise enable them to require
 “ contributions whereby those forces might be
 “ maintained; or else it were a vain power to
 “ raise forces, if they had not a power likewise to
 “ maintain them in that service for which they
 “ were raised.” He observed, “ that it was re-
 “ ported, that the king declared that he would
 “ send some messengers to observe their carriage
 “ in the city, and what was done among them:
 “ the parliament had just cause to doubt, that
 “ those would be messengers of sedition and
 “ trouble, and therefore desired them to ob-
 “ serve and find them out, that they might know
 “ who they were.” He concluded with “ com-
 “ mending unto their consideration the great
 “ danger that they were all in; and that the
 “ danger could not be kept off, in all likelihood, but
 “ by the army that was then on foot;” and assured
 “ them, “ that the lords and commons were so far
 “ from being frightened by any thing that was in
 “ that answer, that they had, for themselves, and
 “ the members of both houses, declared a farther
 “ contribution towards the maintenance of that
 “ army; and could not but hope, and desire, that
 “ the city, which had shewed so much good affec-
 “ tion in the former necessities of the state, would
 “ be sensible of their own, and of the condition of
 “ the whole kingdom, and add to that which they
 “ had already done, some farther contribution,
 “ whereby that army might be maintained for all
 “ their safeties.”

Whether the solemnity for the reception of this
 message after it was known what the contents
 were, and the bringing so great a guard of armed

men to the place where it was to be delivered,
 frightened the well affected party of the city from
 coming thither, or frightened them, when they were
 there, from expressing those affections, I know
 not. But it is certain, these speeches and dis-
 courses were received and entertained with all
 imaginable applause, and [that meeting] was con-
 cluded with a general acclamation, “ that they
 “ would live and die with the houses,” and other
 expressions of that nature. So that all thoughts of
 farther address, or compliance with his majesty,
 were so entirely and absolutely laid aside, that the
 license of seditious and treasonable discourses
 daily increased; insomuch, that complaint being
 made to the then lord mayor, that a certain
 desperate person had said, “ that he hoped shortly
 “ to wash his hands in the king's blood,” that
 minister of justice refused to send any warrant, or
 to give any direction to any officer, for the appre-
 hension of him. And this was the success of that
 petition and answer.

The houses now began to speak themselves of
 sending propositions to the king for peace. For,
 how great soever the compliance seemed with them
 from the city, or the country, they well enough
 discerned that that compliance was generally upon
 the hope and expectation that they would procure
 a speedy peace. And they had now procured that
 to pass both houses, which they only wanted, the
 bill for the extirpation of episcopacy: in the doing
 whereof, they used marvellous art and industry.
 They who every day did somewhat, how little soever
 then taken notice of, to make peace impossible, and
 resolved, that no peace could be safe for them, but
 such a one as would be unsafe for the king, well
 enough knew that they should never be able to
 hold up, and carry on the war against the king in
 England, but by the help of an army out of Scot-
 land; which they had no hope to procure but upon
 the stock of alteration of the government of the
 church; to which that nation was violently inclined.
 But to compass that was very difficult; very much
 the major part, even of those members who still
 continued with them, being cordially affected to the
 government established, at least not affected to any
 other. To those therefore, who were so far en-
 gaged as to desire to have it in their power to
 compel the king to consent to such a peace as they
 desired, they represented “ the consequence of
 “ getting the Scots to declare for them; which
 “ would more terrify the king, and keep the
 “ northern parts in subjection, than any forces
 “ they should be able to raise: that it was impos-
 “ sible to draw such a declaration from them,
 “ without first declaring themselves that they would
 “ alter the government by the bishops; which that
 “ people pretended to believe the only justifiable
 “ ground to take up arms.” To others, which was
 indeed their public, and avowed, and current argu-
 ment in debates, they alleged, “ that they could
 “ not expect that any peace would be effected by
 “ the king's free concurrence to any message they
 “ could send to him, but that it must arise and
 “ result from a treaty between them, upon such
 “ propositions as either party would make upon
 “ their own interest: that it could not be expected
 “ that such propositions would be made on either
 “ side, as would be pertinaciously insisted on by
 “ them who made them; it being the course, in
 “ all affairs of this nature, to ask more than was
 “ expected to be consented to; that it concerned

“them as much, to make demands of great moment to the king, from which they meant to recede, as others upon which they must insist: that all men knew the inclination and affection the king had to the church, and therefore if he saw that in danger, he would rescue it at any price, and very probably their departing from their proposition of the church, might be the most powerful argument to the king, to gratify them with the militia.”

By these artifices, and especially by concluding obstinately, “that no propositions should be sent to the king for peace, till the bill for extirpation of bishops was passed the lords’ house,” (where it would never otherwise have been submitted to,) they had their desire, and, about the end of January, they sent the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, with eight members of the commons, to Oxford, with their petition and propositions. And here I cannot omit one stratagem, which, at that time, occasioned some mirth. The common people of London were persuaded, “that there was so great scarcity of victual and provisions at Oxford, and in all the king’s quarters, that they were not without danger of starving; and that, if all other ways failed, that alone would in a short time bring the king to them.” To make good this report, provisions of all kinds, even to bread, were sent in waggons, and on horses, from London to Oxford, for the supply of this committee: when, without doubt, they found as great plenty of all things where they came, as they had left behind them. The petition presented to his majesty with the propositions were, in these words, at the presentation, read by the earl of Northumberland.

The humble desires and propositions of the lords and commons in parliament, tendered to his majesty.

“We your majesty’s most humble and faithful subjects, the lords and commons in parliament assembled, having in our thoughts the glory of God, your majesty’s honour, and the prosperity of your people, and being most grievously afflicted with the pressing miseries, and calamities, which have overwhelmed your two kingdoms of England and Ireland, since your majesty hath, by the persuasion of evil counsellors, withdrawn yourself from the parliament, raised an army against it, and, by force thereof, protected delinquents from the justice of it, constraining us to take arms for the defence of our religion, laws, liberties, privileges of parliament, and for the sitting of the parliament in safety; which fears and dangers are continued, and increased, by the raising, drawing together, and arming of great numbers of papists, under the command of the earl of Newcastle; likewise by making the lord Herbert of Ragland, and other known papists, commanders of great forces, whereby many grievous oppressions, rapines, and cruelties have been and are daily exercised upon the persons and estates of your people, much innocent blood hath been spilt, and the papists have attained means of attempting, with hopes of effecting, their mischievous designs of rooting out the reformed religion, and destroying the professors thereof: in the tender sense and compassion of these evils, under which your people

“and kingdom lie, (according to the duty, which we owe to God, your majesty, and the kingdom, for which we are trusted,) do most earnestly desire, that an end may be put to these great distempers and distractions, for the preventing of that desolation which doth threaten all your majesty’s dominions. And as we have rendered, and still are ready to render to your majesty, that subjection, obedience, and service, which we owe unto you; so we most humbly beseech your majesty, to remove the causes of this war, and to vouchsafe us that peace and protection, which we and our ancestors have formerly enjoyed under your majesty, and your royal predecessors, and graciously to accept and grant these our most humble desires and propositions:

1. “That your majesty will be pleased to disband your armies, as we likewise shall be ready to disband all those forces which we have raised; and that you will be pleased to return to your parliament.

2. “That you will leave delinquents to a legal trial, and judgment of parliament.

3. “That the papists may not only be disbanded, but disarmed according to law.

4. “That your majesty will be pleased to give your royal assent unto the bill for taking away the superstitious innovations; to the bill for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, sub-deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons, and prebendaries, and all chanters, chancellors, treasurers, sub-treasurers, succentors, and sacrists, and all vicars choral, and choristers, old vicars, and new vicars of any cathedral or collegiate church, and all other their under-officers, out of the church of England: to the bill against scandalous ministers: to the bill against pluralities; and to the bill for consultation to be had with godly, religious, and learned divines. That your majesty will be pleased to promise to pass such other good bills for settling of church-government, as, upon consultation with the assembly of the said divines, shall be resolved on by both houses of parliament, and by them presented to your majesty.

5. “That your majesty having expressed, in your answer to the nineteen propositions of both houses of parliament, an hearty affection and intention for the rooting out of popery out of this kingdom; and that, if both the houses of parliament can yet find a more effectual course to disenable Jesuits, priests, and popish recusants, from disturbing the state, or eluding the laws, that you would willingly give your consent unto it; that you would be graciously pleased, for the better discovery and speedier conviction of recusants, that an oath may be established by act of parliament, to be administered in such manner as by both houses shall be agreed on; wherein they shall abjure and renounce the pope’s supremacy, the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated host, crucifixes, and images: and the refusing the said oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be appointed by act of parliament, shall be a sufficient conviction in law of recusancy. And that your majesty will be graciously pleased to give your royal assent unto a bill, for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the

“ protestant religion. That, for the more effectual
 “ execution of the laws against popish recusants,
 “ your majesty will be pleased to consent to a bill,
 “ for the true levying of the penalties against
 “ them; and that the same penalties may be le-
 “ vied, and disposed of in such manner as both
 “ houses of parliament shall agree on, so as your
 “ majesty be at no loss; and likewise to a bill,
 “ whereby the practice of papists against the state
 “ may be prevented, and the law against them
 “ duly executed.

6. “ That the earl of Bristol may be removed
 “ from your majesty’s councils; and that both he,
 “ and the lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of
 “ Worcester, may likewise be restrained from
 “ coming within the verge of the court; and
 “ that they may not bear any office, or have any
 “ employments concerning state, or common-
 “ wealth.

7. “ That your majesty will be graciously
 “ pleased by act of parliament, to settle the militia
 “ both by sea and land, and for the forts and
 “ ports of the kingdom, in such a manner as
 “ shall be agreed on by both houses.

8. “ That your majesty will be pleased, by your
 “ letters patents, to make sir John Brampton,
 “ chief justice of the court of king’s bench;
 “ William Lenthall, esquire, the now speaker of
 “ the commons’ house, master of the rolls; and to
 “ continue the lord chief justice Banks, chief jus-
 “ tice of the court of common pleas; and likewise
 “ to make Mr. Sergeant Wild, chief baron of your
 “ court of exchequer; and that Mr. Justice
 “ Bacon may be continued; and Mr. Sergeant
 “ Rolls, and Mr. Sergeant Atkins, made justices
 “ of the king’s bench: that Mr. Justice Reeves,
 “ and Mr. Justice Foster, may be continued; and
 “ Mr. Sergeant Pheasant made one of the justices
 “ of your court of common pleas; that Mr. Ser-
 “ geant Creswell, Mr. Samuel Brown, and Mr.
 “ John Puleston, may be barons of the exchequer;
 “ and that all these, and all the judges of the same
 “ courts, for the time to come, may hold their
 “ places by letters patents under the great seal,
 “ *quamdiu se bene gesserint*: and that the several
 “ persons not before named, that do hold any of
 “ these places before mentioned, may be re-
 “ moved.

9. “ That all such persons, as have been put
 “ out of the commissions of peace, or oyer and
 “ terminer, or from being *custodes rotulorum*,
 “ since the first day of April, 1642, (other than
 “ such as were put out by desire of both or either
 “ of the houses of parliament,) may again be
 “ put into those commissions and offices; and
 “ that such persons may be put out of those com-
 “ missions and offices, as shall be excepted against
 “ by both houses of parliament.

10. “ That your majesty will be pleased to pass
 “ the bill now presented to your majesty, to vindi-
 “ cate and secure the privileges of parliament,
 “ from the ill consequence of the late precedent
 “ in the charge and proceeding against the lord
 “ Kimbolton, now earl of Manchester, and the
 “ five members of the house of commons.

11. “ That your royal assent may be given
 “ unto such acts as shall be advised by both
 “ houses of parliament, for the satisfying and
 “ paying the debts and damages, wherein the two
 “ houses of parliament have engaged the public
 “ faith of the kingdom.

12. “ That your majesty will be pleased,
 “ according to a gracious answer heretofore re-
 “ ceived from you, to enter into a more strict
 “ alliance with the States of the United Pro-
 “ vinces, and other neighbour princes and states
 “ of the protestant religion, for the defence and
 “ maintenance thereof against all designs and
 “ attempts of the popish and jesuitical faction, to
 “ subvert and suppress it; whereby your subjects
 “ may hope to be free from the mischiefs which
 “ this kingdom hath endured, through the power
 “ which some of that party have had in your
 “ counsels; and will be much encouraged, in a
 “ parliamentary way, for your aid and assistance
 “ in restoring your royal sister, and the prince
 “ elector, to those dignities and dominions which
 “ belong unto them; and relieving the other pro-
 “ testant princes who have suffered in the same
 “ cause.

13. “ That in the general pardon, which your
 “ majesty hath been pleased to offer to your sub-
 “ jects, all offences and misdemeanours committed
 “ before the 10th of January, 1641, which have
 “ been or shall be questioned, or proceeded against
 “ in parliament, upon complaint in the house of
 “ commons, before the 10th of January, 1643, shall
 “ be excepted; which offences and misdemeanours
 “ shall nevertheless be taken, and adjudged to be
 “ fully discharged against all other inferior courts.
 “ That likewise there shall be an exception of all
 “ offences committed by any person or persons,
 “ which hath, or have had, any hand or practice in
 “ the rebellion of Ireland; which hath, or have
 “ given, any counsel, assistance, or encourage-
 “ ment to the rebels there, for the maintenance
 “ of that rebellion; as likewise an exception of
 “ William earl of Newcastle, and George lord
 “ Digby.

14. “ That your majesty will be pleased to
 “ restore such members of either house of parlia-
 “ ment to their several places of services, and em-
 “ ployment, out of which they have been put since
 “ the beginning of this parliament; that they may
 “ receive satisfaction, and reparation for those
 “ places, and for the profits which they have lost
 “ by such removals, upon the petition of both
 “ houses of parliament: and that all others may
 “ be restored to their offices and employments, who
 “ have been put out of the same upon any displea-
 “ sure conceived against them, for any assistance
 “ given to both houses of parliament, or obeying
 “ their commands, or forbearing to leave their
 “ attendance upon the parliament without license;
 “ or for any other occasion, arising from these un-
 “ happy differences betwixt your majesty and both
 “ houses of parliament, upon the like petition of
 “ both houses.

“ These things being granted, and performed, as
 “ it hath always been our hearty prayer, so shall
 “ we be enabled to make it our hopeful endeavour,
 “ that your majesty, and your people, may enjoy
 “ the blessings of peace, truth, and justice; the
 “ royalty and greatness of your throne may be
 “ supported by the loyal and bountiful affections of
 “ your people; their liberties and privileges main-
 “ tained by your majesty’s protection and justice;
 “ and this public honour, and happiness of your
 “ majesty, and all your dominions, communicated
 “ to other churches and states of your alliance,
 “ and derived to your royal posterity, and the
 “ future generations of this kingdom for ever.”

They who brought this petition and propositions, spake to their friends at Oxford with all freedom of the persons from whom they came; inveighed against "their tyranny and unreasonableness," and especially against the propositions themselves had brought; but positively declared, "that if the king would vouchsafe so gracious an answer (which they confessed they had no reason to expect) as might engage the two houses in a treaty, it would not be then in the power of the violent party to deny whatsoever his majesty could reasonably desire." However (though the king expected little from those private undertakings, well knowing that they who wished best were of least power, and that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but suspected to incline to peace, immediately lost their reputation) his majesty within two days, graciously dismissed those messengers with this answer:

"If his majesty had not given up all the faculties of his soul to an earnest endeavour of peace and reconciliation with his people; or if he would suffer himself, by any provocation, to be drawn to a sharpness of language, at a time when there seems somewhat like an overture of accommodation, he could not but resent the heavy charges upon him in the preamble of these propositions; would not suffer himself to be reproached, with protecting of delinquents, by force, from justice, (his majesty's desire having always been, that all men should be tried by the known law, and having been refused it,) with raising an army against his parliament, and to be told that arms have been taken up against him for the defence of religion, laws, liberties, and privileges of parliament, and for the sitting of the parliament in safety, with many other particulars in that preamble so often and so fully answered by his majesty, without remembering the world of the time and circumstances of raising those arms against him; when his majesty was so far from being in a condition to invade other men's rights, that he was not able to maintain and defend his own from violence; and without telling his good subjects, that their religion, (the true protestant religion, in which his majesty was born, hath faithfully lived, and to which he will die a willing sacrifice,) their laws, liberties, privileges, and safety of parliament, were so amply settled, and established, or offered to be so by his majesty, before any army was raised against him, and long before any raised by him for his defence, that if nothing had been desired but that peace and protection which his subjects, and their ancestors, had in the best times enjoyed, under his majesty, or his royal predecessors, this misunderstanding and distance between his majesty and his people, and this general misery and distraction upon the face of the whole kingdom, had not been now the discourse of all Christendom.

"But his majesty will forbear any expressions of bitterness, or of a sense of his own sufferings, that, if it be possible, the memory thereof may be lost to the world. And therefore, though many of the propositions, presented to his majesty by both houses, appear to him very derogatory from, and destructive to, his just power and prerogative, and no way beneficial to his subjects, few of them being already due to them

"by the laws established, (and how unparliamentary it is by arms to require new laws, all the world may judge,) yet (because these may be waved, or mollified, and many things, that are now dark and doubtful in them, cleared, and explained upon debate) his majesty is pleased, such is his sense of the miseries this kingdom suffers by this unnatural war, and his earnest desire to remove them by an happy peace, that a speedy time and place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such persons as his majesty and both houses shall appoint to discuss these propositions, and such others here following as his majesty doth propose to them.

1. "That his majesty's own revenue, magazine, towns, forts, and ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

2. "That whatsoever hath been done, or published, contrary to the known laws of the land, or derogatory to his majesty's legal and known power and rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. "That whatsoever illegal power hath been claimed and exercised by or over his subjects, as imprisoning their persons without law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus's*, and imposing upon their estates without act of parliament, &c. either by both, or either house, or any committee of both, or either, or by any persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed; and all such persons so committed forthwith discharged.

4. "That as his majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the execution of all laws already made, and to any good acts to be made for the suppressing of popery, and for the firm settling of the protestant religion now established by law; so he desires, that a good bill may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Common Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, anabaptists, and other sectaries, with such clauses for the ease of tender consciences, as his majesty hath formerly offered.

5. "That all such persons, as, upon the treaty, shall be excepted out of the general pardon, shall be tried *per pares*, according to the usual course, and known law of the land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit or condemn them.

6. "And, to the intent this treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a cessation of arms, and free trade for all his majesty's subjects, may be first agreed upon.

"This offer and desire of his majesty, he hopes, will be so cheerfully entertained, that a speedy and blessed peace may be accomplished. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable circumstances, be made impossible, (which, he hopes, God in his mercy to this nation will not suffer,) the guilt of the blood which will be shed, and the desolation which must follow, will lie upon the heads of the refusers. However, his majesty is resolved, through what accidents soever he shall be compelled to recover his rights, and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God to bless him, that by his earnest, constant endeavours to propagate and promote the true protestant religion, and by his governing according to the known laws of the land, and upholding the just privileges of parliament, ac-

" cording to his frequent protestations made before
 " Almighty God, which he will always inviolably
 " observe,) the world shall see, that he hath under-
 " gone all these difficulties and hazards, for the
 " defence and maintenance of those, the zealous
 " preservation of which, his majesty well knows, is
 " the only foundation and means for the true hap-
 " piness of him and his people."

Whilst these overtures and discourses were made of peace, the kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of war; neither the king nor the parliament being slack in pursuing the business by the sword; and the persons of honour and quality in most counties more vigorously declaring themselves than they had done. Among the rest, upon the king's retreat from Brentford, whilst he yet stayed about Reading, some of the well affected gentry of Sussex, upon the confidence of their interests in those parts, offered the king to raise forces there; and presumed they should be able to seize some place of security and importance for their retreat, if the enemy should attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceived could be with any notable success. And being armed with such authority and commissions, as they desired, and seconded with a good number of considerable officers, their first success was answerable to their own hopes, and they possessed themselves, partly by force, and partly by stratagem, of the city of Chichester; which, being encompassed with a very good old wall, was very easy to be so fortified, that, with the winter, they might well think themselves secure against any forcible attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been so, if the common people of the county (out of which the soldiers were to rise) had been so well affected as was believed.

But, before they could draw in men or provisions into the city, the earl of Essex sent sir William Waller with horse, foot, and cannon, to infest them; who, with the assistance of the country, quickly shut them up within their walls. They within the town were easily reduced to straits they could not contend with; for, besides the enemy without, against which the walls and the weather seemed of equal power, and the small stock of provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their friends would be weary before their enemies; and that the citizens would not prove a trusty part of the garrison; and their number of common men was so small, that the constant duty was performed by the officers, and gentlemen of quality, who were absolutely tired out. So that, after a week or ten days' siege, they were compelled, upon no better articles than quarter, to deliver that city, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the loss of fifty or threescore gentlemen of quality, and officers of name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity) the king found that he was not to venture to plant garrisons so far from his own quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.

This triumph of the enemy was shortly after abated, and the loss on the king's part repaired, by the winning of Cirencester, a good town in Gloucestershire, which the rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very strong garrison; and, being upon the edge of Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Oxford-

shire, shrewdly straitened the king's quarters. The marquis of Hertford bringing with him, out of Wales, near two thousand foot, and one regiment of horse, intended, with the assistance of prince Rupert, who appointed to join with him with some regiments from Oxford, to take in that town; but by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of rain at that time, (being about Christmas,) and some mistake in orders between the two generals, that design was disappointed; and the alarm gave the enemy so much the more courage and diligence to provide for an assault.

In the beginning of February, prince Rupert went upon the same design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the town in several places, their works being not yet finished, though pertinaciously enough defended, entered their line with some loss of men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred killed upon the place, and above one thousand taken prisoners, whereof Warneford and Fettyplace, (two gentlemen of good quality and fortune near that town, and very active in the service,) Mr. George, a member of parliament who served for that borough, and two or three Scottish officers of the field, whereof Carr the governor was one, were the chief. The town yielded much plunder, from which the undistinguishing soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to friend and foe; so that many honest men, who were imprisoned by the rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at liberty and undone together: amongst whom John Plot, a lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he returned to his own house, found it full of soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in money taken from thence, which could never be recovered. The prince left a strong garrison there, that brought almost all that whole county into contribution, and which was a great enlargement to the king's quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from Oxford to Worcester; which important city, with the other of Hereford, and those counties, had, some time before, been quitted by the rebels; the earl of Stamford, who was left in those parts by the earl of Essex, being called from thence, by the growth of the king's party in Cornwall, to the securing the west.

We remembered before, when the marquis of Hertford transported himself and his few foot into Wales from Minhead, that sir Ralph Hopton, and the other gentlemen, mentioned before, with their small force, consisting of about one hundred horse, and fifty dragoons, retired into Cornwall, neglected by the earl of Bedford, as fit and easy to be suppressed by the committees. And, in truth, the committees were entirely possessed of Devonshire, and thought themselves equally sure of Cornwall, save that the castle of Pendennis was in the custody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into Cornwall by sir Bevil Greenvil, who marched with them towards the west of that county, as being best affected, where they might have leisure to refresh their wearied and almost tired horse and men, and to call the well disposed gentry together; for which they chose Truro as the fittest place, the east part of the county being possessed by sir Alexander Carew, and sir Richard Buller, two members of the house of commons, and active

men for the settling of the militia. There was in this county, as throughout the whole kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the court; yet a full submission, and love of the established government of church and state, especially to that part of the church as concerned the liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, which was a most general object of veneration with the people. And the jealousy and apprehension that the other party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the king's service. Though the major and most considerable part of the gentry, and men of estate, were heartily for the king, many of them being of the house of commons, and so having seen and observed by what spirit the distemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of name, fortune, and reputation with the people, very solicitous for the parliament, and more active than the other. There was a third sort (for a party they cannot be called) greater than either of the other, both in fortune and number, who, though they were satisfied in their consciences of the justice of the king's cause, had yet so great a dread of the power of the parliament, that they sat still as neuters, assisting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the king, were compelled to proceed with all wariness and circumspection; by the known and well understood rules of the law and justice; and durst not oppose the most extravagant act of the other side but with all the formality that was used in full peace: which must be an answer to all those oversights and omissions, which posterity will be apt to impute to the king, in the morning of these distractions.

The committee of the parliament, who were entirely possessed of Devonshire, and believed themselves masters of Cornwall, drew their forces of the country to Launceston, to be sure that sir Ralph Hopton and his adherents (whose power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their hands. This was before the battle of Edge-hill, when the king was at lowest, and when the authority of parliament found little opposition in any place. The quarter sessions came, where they caused a presentment to be drawn, in form of law, "against divers men unknown, who were lately come armed into that county *contra pacem*, &c." Though none were named, all understood who were meant; and therefore sir Ralph Hopton, who well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appeared; took notice of the presentment, and produced the commission granted by the king, under the great seal of England, to the marquis of Hertford, by which he was constituted general of the west; and a commission, from his lordship, to sir Ralph Hopton, of lieutenant general of the horse; and told them, "he was sent to assist them, in the defence of their liberties, against all illegal taxes and impositions." Hereupon, after a full and solemn debate, the jury, which consisted of gentlemen of good quality, and fortunes in the county, not only acquitted sir Ralph Hopton, and all the other gentlemen his companions, of any disturbance of the peace, but declared, "that it was a great favour and justice of his majesty, to send down aid to them who were already marked out to destruction; and that they thought it the duty of every good subject, as well in loyalty to the king, as in gratitude to those gentlemen,

"to join with them with any hazard of life and fortune."

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the king's part, so an indictment was preferred against sir Alexander Carew, sir Richard Buller, and the rest of the committee, "for a rout and unlawful assembly at Launceston; and for riots and misdemeanours committed against many of the king's good subjects, in taking their liberties from them;" (for they had intercepted and apprehended divers messengers, and others of the king's party, and employed by them.) This indictment and information was found by the grand jury, and thereupon, according to a statute in that case provided, an order of sessions was granted to the high sheriff, a person well affected to the king's service, "to raise the *posse comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful assembly at Launceston, and for the apprehension of the rioters." This was the rise and foundation of all the great service that was after performed in Cornwall, by which the whole west was reduced to the king. For, by this means, there were immediately drawn together a body of three thousand foot, well armed; which by no other means, that could have been used, could have been done: with which sir Ralph Hopton, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards Launceston, where the committee had fortified, and from thence had sent messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the sessions; for, besides their confidence in their own Cornish strength, they had a good body of horse to second them upon all occasions, in the confines of Devon.

Sir George Chudleigh, a gentleman of good fortune and reputation in that county, and very active for the militia, being then at Tavistock, with five or six full troops of horse, raised in that county to go to their army, but detained till Cornwall could be settled; and upon the news of sir Ralph Hopton's advancing, these drew to Litton, a village in Devonshire, but within three miles of Launceston. Sir Ralph Hopton marched within two miles of the town, where he refreshed his men, intending, the next morning early, to fall on the town: but sir Richard Buller, and his confederates, not daring to abide the storm, in great disorder quitted the town that night, and drew into Devonshire, and so towards Plymouth; so that in the morning sir Ralph Hopton found the gates of Launceston open, and entered without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practised laws had, by the sheriff's authority, raised this army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it as soon dissolved it. For when all the persons of honour and quality, who well knew the desperate formed designs of the other party, earnestly pressed the pursuing the disheartened and dismayed rebels into Devon, by which they should quickly increase their numbers, by joining with the well affected in that large and populous county, who were yet awed into silence; it was powerfully objected, "that the sheriff, by whose legal authority only that force was drawn together, might not lawfully march out of his own county; and that it was the principal privilege of the trained bands, that they might not be compelled to march farther than the limits of their shire."

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discerned to be, yet no man durst presume so far upon the temper of that people, as to

object policy or necessity to their notions of law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength, by joining with sir George Chudleigh, and of want of ammunition, (either of which were not unreasonable,) and so marched to Saltash, a town in Cornwall upon an arm of the sea; which only divided it from Plymouth and Devon, where was a garrison of two hundred Scots; who, upon the approach of sir Ralph Hopton, as kindly quit Saltash, as the others had Launceston before. So that being now entirely masters of Cornwall, they fairly dismissed those who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of horse and dragoons, till a new provocation from the enemy should put fresh vigour into that county.

In the mean time, considering the casualty of those trained bands, and that strength, which on a sudden could be raised by the *posse comitatus*, which, though it made a gallant show in Cornwall, they easily saw would be of no use towards the quenching the general rebellion over England, they entered upon thoughts of raising voluntary regiments of foot; which could be only done by the gentlemen of that country among their neighbours, and tenants, who depended on them. Sir Bevil Greenvil, (the generally most loved man of that county,) sir Nicholas Slanning, the gallant governor of Pendennis castle, John Arundel, and John Trevannion, two young men of excellent hopes, and heirs to great fortunes in that country, (all four of them members of the house of commons, and so better informed, and acquainted with the desperate humours of the adverse party,) undertook the raising regiments of volunteers; many young gentlemen, of the most considerable families of the county, assisting them as inferior officers. So that, within a shorter time than could be expected, from one single small county, there was a body of foot, of near fifteen hundred, raised, armed, and well disciplined for action. But there was then an accident, that might have discomposed a people which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

The lord Mohun (who had departed from York from the king with all professions of zeal and activity in his service) had, from the time of the first motion in Cornwall, forborne to join himself to the king's party; staying at home at his own house, and imparting himself equally to all men of several constitutions, as if he had not been yet sufficiently informed which party to adhere to. But after all the adverse party was driven out of Cornwall, and the fame of the king's marching in the head of an army, and having fought the battle at Edge-hill, (the event whereof was variously reported,) without acquainting any body with his intention, he took a journey towards London, at the time when the king marched that way, and presented himself to his majesty at Brentford, as sent from sir Ralph Hopton and the rest of those gentlemen engaged in Cornwall; though many men believed that his purpose was in truth for London, if he had not then found the king's condition better than it was generally believed. Upon his lordship's information of the state of those western parts, and upon a supposition that he spake the sense and desires of those from whom he pretended to come, the king granted a commission jointly to his lordship,

sir Ralph Hopton, sir John Berkley, and colonel Ashburnham, to govern those forces, in the absence of the lord marquis of Hertford; with which he returned into Cornwall, and immediately raised a regiment of foot; behaving [himself] as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great business, as any man; so that men imputed his former reservedness, only to his not being satisfied in a condition of command.

On the other side, they who were concerned in that alteration were not at all well contented. For before, those gentlemen of Cornwall, upon whose interest and activity the work depended, had, with great readiness, complied with the other, both out of great value of their persons, with whom they had good familiarity and friendship, and in respect of their authority and commissions, with which they came qualified in that county: for, as was remembered before, sir Ralph Hopton had a commission from the marquis of Hertford, to be lieutenant general of the horse; sir John Berkley, to be commissary general; and colonel Ashburnham, to be major general of the foot; so that there was no dispute of commands. But now, the lord Mohun's coming into an equal command with any, and superior to those who thought their reputation and interest to be superior to his, (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own country,) and this by his own solicitation and interposition, gave them some indignation. However their public-heartedness, and joint concernment in the good cause, so totally suppressed all animosities, or indeed indispositions, that a greater concurrence could not be desired in whatsoever could contribute to the work in hand; so that they not only preserved Cornwall entire, but made bold incursions into Devon, even to the walls of Plymouth and Exeter; though the season of the year, being the deep winter, and the want of ammunition, forced them to retire into Cornwall.

The reputation of their being masters of that one county, and the apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, [made] the parliament think it time to take more care for their suppression. And therefore they sent their whole forces out of Dorset and Somerset, to join with those of Devon, to make an entire conquest of Cornwall. With these, Ruthen (a Scotchman, then governor of Plymouth) advanced into Cornwall, by a bridge over the Tamar, six miles above Saltash, (where he had before endeavoured to force his passage by water, but had been beaten off with loss,) having mastered the guard there; the earl of Stamford following him, two or three days' march behind, with a new supply of horse and foot; albeit those the Scotchman had with him were much superior to those of the king's; which, upon this sudden invasion, were forced to retire with their whole strength to Bodmin; whither, foreseeing this storm some few days before it came, they had again summoned the *posse comitatus*, which appeared in considerable numbers.

They had scarce refreshed themselves there, and put their men in order, when Ruthen, with his horse, foot, and cannon, was advanced to Liskard, within seven miles of Bodmin; from whence they moved towards the enemy with all alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to fight before the earl of Stamford, who was at that time come to Launceston with a strong party of horse and foot, should be able to join with the rebels.

And as this consideration was of importance to hasten the one, so it prevailed with the other party too; for Ruthen, apprehending that his victory, of which he made no question, would be clouded by the presence of the earl of Stamford, who had the chief command, resolved to despatch the business before he came. And so sir Ralph Hopton (to whom the other commissioners, who had a joint authority with him, willingly devolved the sole command for that day, lest confusion of orders might beget distraction) was no sooner known to be drawing towards him, (to whom a present battle was so necessary, that it was resolved, upon all disadvantages, to have fallen on the enemy in the town rather than not fight,) but Ruthen likewise drew out his forces, and, choosing his ground upon the east side of Bradock-Down near Liskard, stood in battalia to expect the enemy: sir Ralph Hopton, having likewise put his men in order, caused public prayers to be said, in the head of every squadron, (which the rebels observing, told their fellows, "they were at mass," to stir up their courages in the cause of religion,) and having winged his foot with his horse and dragoons, he advanced within musket-shot of the enemy, who stood without any motion. Then perceiving that their cannon were not yet come up from the town, he caused two small iron minion drakes (all the artillery they had) to be drawn, under the cover of little parties of horse, to a convenient distance from the body of the enemies; and after two shots of those drakes, (which being not discerned, and doing some execution, struck a great terror into them,) advanced with his body upon them; and, with very easy contention, beat them off their ground; they having lined the hedges behind them with their reserve, by which they thought securely to make their retreat into the town. But the Cornish so briskly bestirred themselves, and pressed them so hard on every side, being indeed excellent at hedge-work, and that kind of fight, that they quickly won that ground too, and put their whole army in a rout, and had the full execution of them as far as they would pursue. But, after that advantage, they were always more sparing than is usually known in civil wars, shedding very little blood after resistance was given over, and having a very noble and Christian sense of the lives of their brethren: insomuch as the common men, when they have been pressed by some fiercer officer, to follow the execution, have answered, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt men who had nothing in their hands."

In this battle, without the loss of any officer of name, and very few common men, they took twelve hundred and fifty prisoners, most of their colours, all their cannon, being four brass guns, (whereof two were twelve pounders,) and one iron saker, all their ammunition, and most of their arms. Ruthen himself, and those few who could keep pace with him, fled to Saltash; which he thought to fortify, and by the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and assistance of the shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an influence upon a good part of Cornwall. The earl of Stamford, receiving quick advertisement of this defeat, in great disorder retired to Tavistock, to preserve the utmost parts of Devon from incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for this great victory, (which was about the middle of January,) and a little refreshing their men at Liskard, the king's forces divided

themselves; sir John Berkley, and colonel Ashburnham, with sir Bevil Greenvil, sir Nicholas Slanning's and colonel Trevannion's voluntary regiments, and such a party of horse and dragoons as could be spared, advanced to Tavistock to visit the earl of Stamford; the lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, with the lord Mohun's and colonel Godolphin's voluntary regiments, and some of the trained bands, marched towards Saltash, to dislodge Ruthen; who in three days (for there was no more between his defeat at Bradock-Down, and his visitation at Saltash) had cast up such works, and planted such store of cannon upon the narrow avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly ship of four hundred tons, in which were sixteen pieces of cannon, which he had brought up the river to the very side of the town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same spirit possessed his enemies that drove him from Liskard, and the same that possessed his own men when they fled from thence; for as soon as the Cornish came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them; and then out of the town, with a good execution upon them; many being killed, and more drowned: Ruthen himself hardly getting into a boat, by which he got into Plymouth, leaving all his ordnance behind him, which, together with the ship, and sevenscore prisoners, and all their colours, which had been saved at Liskard, were taken by the conquerors, who were now again entire masters of Cornwall.

The earl of Stamford had not the same patience to abide the other party at Tavistock, but, before their approach, quitted the town; some of his forces making haste into Plymouth, and the rest retiring into Exeter. And so, though the old superstition, of not going out of the county, again disbanded the trained bands, the Cornish, with all their voluntary forces, drew into Devon, and fixed quarters within less than a mile of Plymouth, and kept guards even within musket shot of their line. Sir John Berkley in the mean time with a good party volant, of horse and dragoons, with great diligence and gallantry, visiting all places in Devon, where their people were gathered together, and dissolving them, took many prisoners of name; and so kept James Chudleigh, the major general of the parliament forces, from raising a body there; which he industriously intended.

In those necessary and brisk expeditions [in] falling upon Chagford (a little town in the south of Devon) before day, the king lost Sidney Godolphin, a young gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a constitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his observation of the wickedness of those men in the house of commons, of which he was a member, out of the pure indignation of his soul, and conscience to his country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that party in the west: and though he thought not fit to take command in a profession he had not willingly chosen, yet as his advice was of great authority with all the commanders, being always one in the council of war, and whose notable abilities they had still use of in their civil transactions, so he exposed his person to all action, travel, and hazard; and by too forward engaging himself in this last, received a mortal shot by a musket, a little above the knee, of

which he died in the instant, leaving the ignominy of his death upon a place, which could never otherwise have had a mention to the world.

After this, which happened about the end of January, in respect of the season of the year, and the want of ammunition, finding that they could make no impression upon the strong holds of the enemy, they retired, with their whole forces, to Tavistock; where they refreshed and rested themselves many days, being willing to ease their fast friends of Cornwall, as much as was possible, from the trouble and charge of their little army. The difficulties they were entangled with were very prodigious; of which one was, that the west was so entirely possessed by the enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the king, not one messenger in ten arriving at his journey's end. Then though the justice and piety of the cause added much power to particular persons in raising an army; yet the money, that was raised for the maintenance and payment of that army, was entirely upon the reputation, credit, and interest of particular men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of Pendennis castle, and what they had won from the enemy; the first wanted a supply for its own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear and apprehension of such straits, against which no probable hope occurs, is more grievous and insupportable than any present want.

In this instant, as if sent by Providence, an opportunity found them they had scarce courage to hope for: captain Carteret, the controller of the king's navy, in the beginning of the troubles, after he had refused to have command in their fleets, had without noise withdrawn himself and his family out of England to Jersey, and being there impatient to be quiet, whilst his master was in the field, he transported himself into Cornwall with a purpose to raise a troop of horse, and to engage in that service: when he came thither, he was unanimously importuned by the commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeless and desperate want of powder, to assist them in that manner, that the many good ports in their power might be made of some use to them in the supply of powder: whereupon he shortly returned into France; and first upon his own credit, and then upon return of such commodities out of Cornwall as they could well spare, he supplied them with such great proportions of all kinds of ammunitions, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with that want at Tavistock, some gentlemen of Cornwall who adhered to the rebels, and were thereby dispossessed of their county, made some overtures, "that a treaty might be entered into, whereby the peace of those two counties of Cornwall and Devon might be settled, and the war be removed into other parts." They who had most experience of the humours and dispositions of the factious party, easily concluded the little hope of peace by such a treaty; yet the proposition was so specious and popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between persons chosen of either side; and the earl of Stamford

himself seemed so ingenuous, that, at the very first meeting, to shew their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every person employed and trusted in the treaty should first make a protestation in these words: "I do solemnly vow and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I do not only come a commissioner to this treaty, with an hearty and fervent desire of concluding an honourable and firm peace between the two counties of Cornwall and Devon; but also will, to the utmost of my power, prosecute and really endeavour to accomplish and effect the same, by all lawful ways and means I possibly can; first by maintaining the protestant religion established by law in the church of England, the just rights and prerogative of our sovereign lord the king, the just privileges and freedom of parliaments; together with the just rights and liberty of the subjects; and that I am without any intention (by fomenting this unnatural war) to gain, or hope to advantage myself with the real or personal estate of any person whatsoever, or obtaining any office, command, title of honour, benefit, or reward, either from the king's majesty, or either or both houses of parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at his tribunal, according to the literal sense and meaning of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or other evasion whatsoever. So help me God."

The taking this protestation with that solemnity, and the blessed sacrament thereupon, made even those, who before expected little fruit from the treaty, believe, that men, being so engaged, would not be liable to those passions and affections, which usually transported that party; and so to hope that some good might proceed from it: and therefore the king's party were easily induced to retire with their forces into Cornwall; and thereupon a truce and cessation was agreed upon, that the treaty might proceed without interruption. In which treaty, the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642, we shall for the present leave them; that we may take a short survey of the northern parts, and remember by what degrees they came to feel the calamities, and to bear their burden in the civil war.

When the king left Yorkshire, he appointed sir Thomas Glemham, at the desire of the gentlemen of that county, as was before remembered, to stay in York, to order and command those forces, which they should find necessary to raise, to defend themselves from the excursions of Hull, whence young Hotham infested the country more than his father; who was willing enough to sit still in his garrison, where he believed he could make advantage upon the success of either party: and they who were most inclined to the parliament (whereof the lord Fairfax and his son were the chief; from whom the king was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that he left them all at their own houses, when he went thence; and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the war; presuming that one battle would determine all disputes, and the party which prevailed in that would find a general submission throughout the kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the

war, than that generally received opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the country, which was about the militia, the king appointing it to be governed and disposed by the commission of array, and the parliament by its ordinance; for the composing whereof, the gentlemen of the several opinions proposed, between themselves, "that neither the one nor the other should be meddled with; but that all should be contented to sit still, without engagement to either party." This seemed very reasonable to the parliament party, who were rather carried away with an implicit reverence to the name of a parliament (the fatal disease of the whole kingdom) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discerned, that by much the greatest part of the persons of honour, quality, and interest in the county would cordially oppose their proceedings: for, besides the lord Fairfax, there were in truth few of good reputation and fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the king's party thought their work done by it; for they having already sent two good regiments of foot, the one under colonel John Bellasis, younger son to the lord viscount Falconbridge, and the other under sir William Pennyman; and two regiments of dragoons, the one under colonel Duncomb; the other, colonel Gowre; besides three or four good troops of horse; and the king being at that distance, that they could not send him farther supply; they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the country in such a peace, that it might do the king no harm by sending men to the earl of Essex, or adhering to the garrison of Hull; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the king and parliament would be at the first encounter. Upon these deliberations, articles were solemnly drawn up, consented to and subscribed by the lord Fairfax, and Harry Bellasis, the heir apparent of the lord Falconbridge, who were the two knights who served in parliament for Yorkshire, nearly allied together, and of great kindness till their several opinions and affections had divided them in this quarrel: the former adhering to the parliament; the latter, with great courage and sobriety, to the king.

With them, the principal persons of either party subscribed the articles, and gave their mutual faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an engagement of neutrality, and to assist neither party. Of all the gentry of Yorkshire, there were only two dissenters on the parliament side; young Hotham, and sir Edward Rhodes; who, though of the better quality, was not so much known, or considered, as the other. But they quickly found seconds enough; for the parliament no sooner was informed of this transaction, than they expressed their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the lord Fairfax, and his party, "for being cozened and overreached by the other;" they declared, "that none of the parties to that agreement had any authority to bind that country to any such neutrality, as was mentioned in that agreement; it being a peculiar and proper power and privilege of parliament, where the whole body of the kingdom is represented, to bind all, or any part thereof: that it was very prejudicial and dangerous to the whole kingdom, that one

"county should withdraw themselves from the assistance of the rest, to which they were bound by law, and by several orders and declarations of parliament: that it was very derogatory to the power and authority of parliament, that any private men should take upon them to suspend the execution of the ordinance of the militia, declared by both houses to be according to law, and very necessary, at that time, for the preservation of the peace and safety of the kingdom. And therefore, they said, they thought themselves bound in conscience to hinder all further proceedings upon that agreement; and ordered, that no such neutrality should be observed in that county. For if they should suffer particular counties to divide themselves from the rest of the kingdom, it would be a means of bringing all to ruin and destruction." And therefore they further declared, that "neither the lord Fairfax, nor the gentlemen of Yorkshire, who were parties to those articles, nor any other inhabitants of that county, were bound by any such agreement; but required them to pursue their former resolutions, of maintaining and assisting the parliament, in defence of the common cause, according to the general protestation wherein they were bound with the rest of the kingdom, and against the particular protestation by themselves lately made; and according to such orders and commissions as they should receive from both houses of parliament, from the committee of the lords and commons appointed for the safety of the kingdom, or from the earl of Essex, lord general." And, lest this their declaration should not be of power enough to dissolve this agreement, they published their resolution, and directed that "Mr. Hotham and sir Edward Rhodes should proceed upon their former instructions; and that they should have power to seize and apprehend all delinquents that were so voted by the parliament, and all such others, as delinquents, as had, or did shew themselves opposite and disobedient to the orders and proceedings of parliament."

Upon this declaration, and vote, not only young Hotham fell to the practice of acts of hostility, with all license, out of the garrison at Hull: but the lord Fairfax himself, and all the gentlemen of that party, who had, with that protestation, signed the articles, instead of resenting the reproach to themselves, tamely submitted to those unreasonable conclusions; and, contrary to their solemn promise and engagement, prepared themselves to bear a part in the war, and made all haste to levy men.

Upon so great a disadvantage were the king's party in all places; who were so precise in promises, and their personal undertakings, that they believed they could not serve the king, and his cause, if their reputation and integrity were once blemished, though some particular contract proved to his disadvantage: whilst the others exposed their honours for any present temporary conveniences, and thought themselves absolved by any new resolution of the houses, to whose custody their honour and ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of this rupture was greater to the king's party there, than to the other. For, (besides that many, who concurred with them very frankly and solicitously in the neutrality, separated themselves from them now there was a necessity

of action) they had neither money to raise men, nor arms to arm them; so that the strength consisted in the gentlemen themselves, and their retinue; who, by the good affections of the inhabitants of York, were strong enough to secure one another within the walls of that city. Then the earl of Cumberland, in whom the chief power of command was to raise men and money in a case of necessity, though he was a person of entire devotion to the king, was in his nature unactive, and utterly unexperienced in affairs and exigents of that nature.

On the other hand, the opposite party was strengthened and enabled by the strong garrison of Hull, whence young Hotham, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his troop of horse, and to take up any well affected person who was suspected to be loyal; which drove all resolved men from their houses into York, where they only could be safe. They could have what men more they desired from London, and both ready money from thence to Hull, and ordinances to raise what they would in the county to pay them. Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, (which depending wholly upon clothiers naturally maligned the gentry,) were wholly at their disposition. Their neighbours in Lincolnshire were in a body to second them, and sir John Gell was on the same behalf possessed of Derby, and all that county, there being none that had the hardiness yet, to declare there for the king. So that, if sir John Hotham's wariness had not kept him from being active, and his pride, and contempt of the lord Fairfax, upon whom the country chiefly depended, hindered him from seconding and assisting his lordship; or if any man had had the entire command of those parts and forces, to have united them, the parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute masters of all Yorkshire; and, as easily, of the city itself. But their want of union in the by, though they agreed too well in the main, gave the king's party time to breathe, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon they sent to the earl of Newcastle for assistance; offering, "if he would march into Yorkshire, they would join with him, and be entirely commanded by him;" the earl of Cumberland willingly offering to wave any title to command.

It was before remembered, that, when the king left York, he had sent the earl of Newcastle, as a person of great honour and interest in those parts, to be governor of Newcastle; and so to secure that port, that the parliament might neither seize it, nor the Scots be bribed by it to come to the assistance of their brethren. Which commission from the king his lordship no sooner executed, without the least hostility, (for that town received him with all possible acknowledgments of the king's goodness in sending him,) but he was impeached by the house of commons of high treason. From his going thither, (which was in August,) till toward the end of November, the earl spent his time in disposing the people of Northumberland, and the bishopric of Durham, to the king's service, and to a right understanding of the matters in difference; in the fortifying Newcastle, and the river; whereby that harbour might only be in the king's obedience; in raising a garrison for that place, and providing arms for a farther advance of the king's service. Then he provided for the assist-

ance of his friends in Yorkshire, whose condition grew every day more desperate. For the parliament, finding the inconveniences of having no commander in chief in those parts, had caused their generalissimo, the earl of Essex, to send a commission to the lord Fairfax, "to command all the forces of Yorkshire, and the adjacent counties, in chief;" by which, in less time than could be reasonably imagined, he was able to draw together an army of five or six thousand horse and foot; so that York must presently have been swallowed up.

But, in the beginning of December, the earl of Newcastle marched to their relief; and having left a good garrison in Newcastle, and fixed such small garrisons in his way, as might secure his communication with that port, to which all his ammunition was to be brought; with a body of near three thousand foot, and six or seven hundred horse and dragoons, without any encounter with the enemy, (though they had threatened loud,) he entered York; having lessened the enemy's strength, without blood, both in territories and men. For, as soon as he entered Yorkshire, two regiments raised in Richmondshire and Cleveland dissolved of themselves; having it yet in their choice to dwell at home, or to leave their houses to new comers. The earl being now master of the north as far as York, thought rather of forming an army, and providing money to pay it, than of making any further progress in the winter; and therefore suffered the lord Fairfax to enjoy the southern part of that large rich county, till the spring, and his improved posture, should enable him to advance: yet few days passed without blows, in which the parliament forces had usually the worst.

Shortly after the earl's coming to York, general King repaired to him, whom he made lieutenant general of his army; who, notwithstanding the unavoidable prejudice of his being a Scotchman, ordered the foot with great wisdom and dexterity: the charge of the horse being at the same time committed to general Goring; who, by the queen's favour, notwithstanding all former failings, was recommended to that province, and quickly applied himself to action: so that, though the lord Fairfax kept Selby and Cawood, both within a small distance from York, the earl was absolute master of the field. And now the north yielding secure footing for those who had been unreasonably persecuted for their obedience to the king, the queen herself thought of returning into England.

Her majesty had, from her first going into Holland, dexterously laboured to advance the king's interest, and sent very great quantities of arms and ammunition to Newcastle, (though, by the vigilance of the parliament agents in those parts, and the power of their ships, too much of it was intercepted,) with some considerable sums of money, and good store of officers; who, by the connivance of the prince of Orange, came over to serve their own king. And from this extraordinary care of her majesty's, and her known grace and favour to the person of the earl of Newcastle, who she well knew had contracted many enemies by the eminency of his devotion to the king, that army was by the parliament styled *the queen's army*, and *the catholic army*, thereby to expose her majesty the more to the rude malice of the people, and the army to their prejudice; persuading them "that it consisted of none but professed papists,

"who intended nothing but the extirpation of the protestants, and establishing their own profession."

About the middle of February, the queen took shipping from Holland, in a States man of war, assigned by the prince of Orange with others for her convoy, and arrived safely in Burlington Bay, upon the coast of Yorkshire; where she had the patience to stay on shipboard at anchor, the space of two days, till the earl had notice, "to draw such a part of his forces that way, as might secure her landing, and wait on her to York;" which he no sooner did, (and he did it with all imaginable expedition,) but her majesty came on shore; and, for the present, was pleased to refresh herself in a convenient house upon the very key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of moment to be unshipped before she could reasonably enter upon her journey towards York.

The second day after the queen's landing, Batten, vice-admiral to the earl of Warwick, (who had waited to intercept her passage,) with four of the king's ships, arrived in Burlington Road; and, finding that her majesty was landed, and that she lodged upon the key, bringing his ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morning, discharged above a hundred cannon (whereof many were laden with cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the house where her majesty was lodged: whereupon she was forced out of her bed, some of the shot making way through her own chamber; and to shelter herself under a bank in the open fields; which barbarous and treasonable act was so much the more odious, in that the parliament never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So that many believed it was very pleasing to, if not commanded by them; and that, if the ships had encountered at sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have destroyed her majesty.

The queen shortly after removed to York, and the king's affairs prospered to that degree, that, as the earl of Newcastle had before fixed a garrison at Newark in Nottinghamshire, which kept the forces of Lincoln from joining entirely with the lord Fairfax, and had with great courage beaten off a formed body of the rebels who attempted it; so he now sent Charles Cavendish, the younger brother of the earl of Devonshire, with a party volant of horse and dragoons, into Lincolnshire; where, about the middle of March, he assaulted Grantham, a new garrison of the rebels; which he took, and in it above three hundred prisoners, with all their officers, arms, and ammunition: and, about the same time, sir Hugh Cholmondley, who had done very notable service to the parliament, and oftener defeated the earl of Newcastle's troops (though he had been in truth hurried to that party, rather by the engagement of sir John Hotham, with whom he had long friendship, than by his own inclination) than any officer of those parts, very frankly revolted to his allegiance; and waiting on her majesty for her assurance of his pardon, delivered up the castle of Scarborough (a place of great importance) to the king; the command and government whereof was again by the earl committed to him; which he discharged with courage and singular fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the lord Fairfax quitted Selby, Cawood, and Tadcaster, and retired to Pomfret and Hali-

fax; whereby the earl was, upon the matter, possessed of that whole large county, and so able to help his neighbours. This was the state of that part of the north which was under the earl of Newcastle's commission: for Lancashire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, were in a worse condition; of which, and the neighbour counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie farthest off.

We have said before, that when the king left Shrewsbury, and marched to meet the earl of Essex, (which he did at Edgehill,) all his designs being to come to a battle; and the opinion of most, that a battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and forces he could possibly raise, to the increasing his army; so that he left no one garrison behind him, but relied upon the interest and authority of the lord Strange, (who was, by the death of his father, now earl of Derby,) to suppress all commotions and insurrections, which might happen in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; which his lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believed to have a greater influence upon those two counties, and a more absolute command over the people in them, than any subject in England had, in any other quarter of the kingdom. The town of Shrewsbury, and that good county, where the king had been so prosperous, (and by which the people were more engaged,) he intrusted only to that good spirit that then possessed it, and to the legal authority of the sheriffs and justices of the peace. And it fared in those counties as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than of those who desired to engage in either party; so that they were generally inclined to articles of neutrality. And in Cheshire, the active people of both sides came to those capitulations, with as much solemnity as had been in Yorkshire, and with the same declaration (so much the same, that there was no other difference but alterations of names and places) were absolved from the observation of them. And then sir William Bruerton, a gentleman of a competent fortune in that county, and knight for that shire in parliament, but most notorious for a known aversion to the government of the church, bringing with him from London a troop of horse, and a regiment of dragoons, marched thither to protect those who were of that party, and, under such a shelter, to encourage them to appear.

The city of Chester was firm to the king, by the virtue of the inhabitants, and interest of the bishop, and cathedral men; but especially by the reputation and dexterity of Mr. [O.] Bridgman, son to the bishop, and a lawyer of very good estimation; who not only informed them of their duties, and encouraged them in it, but upon his credit and estate, both which were very good, supplied them with whatsoever was necessary for their defence; so that they were not put to be honest and expensive together. But as they had no garrison of soldiers, so they had no officer of skill and experience to manage and direct that courage which, at least, was willing to defend their own walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the king sent thither sir Nicholas Byron, a soldier of very good command, with a commission to be "colonel general of Cheshire and Shropshire; and to be governor of

"Chester;" who being a person of great affability and dexterity, as well as martial knowledge, gave great life to the designs of the well-affected there; and, with the encouragement of some gentlemen of North Wales, in a short time raised such a power of horse and foot, as made often skirmishes with the enemy; sometimes with notable advantage, never with any signal loss; so that sir William Bruerton fortified Nantwich, as the king's party did Chester: from which garrisons, which contained both their forces, they contended which should most prevail upon, that is most subdue, the affections of the county, to declare for and join with them. But the fair expectation of Cheshire was clouded by the storms that arose in Lancashire, where men of no name, and contemned interest, by the mere credit of the parliament, and frenzy of the people, on a sudden snatched that large and populous county from their devotion to the great earl of Derby.

The town of Manchester had, from the beginning, (out of that factious humour which possessed most corporations, and the pride of their wealth,) opposed the king, and declared magisterially for the parliament. But as the major part of the county consisted of papists, of whose insurrections they had made such use in the beginning of the parliament, when they had a mind to alarm the people with dangers; so it was confidently believed, that there was not one man of ten throughout that county, who meant not to be dutiful and loyal to the king: yet the restless spirit of the seditious party was so sedulous and industrious, and every one of the party so ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the earl of Derby so unactive, and through greatness of mind so uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorously against the enemy; or, through fear so confounded, that, instead of countenancing the king's party in Cheshire, which was expected from him, the earl, insensibly, found Lancashire to be almost possessed against him; the rebels every day gaining and fortifying all the strong towns, and surprising his troops, without any considerable encounter. And yet, so hard was the king's condition, that, though he knew those great misfortunes proceeded from want of conduct, and of a vigorous and expert commander, he thought it not safe to make any alteration, lest that earl might be provoked, out of disdain to have any superior in Lancashire, to manifest how much he could do against him, though it appeared he could do little for him. Yet it was easily discerned, that his ancient power there depended more upon the fear than love of the people; there being very many, now in this time of liberty, engaging themselves against the king, that they might not be subject to that lord's commands.

However, the king committing Lancashire still to his lordship's care, (whose fidelity, without doubt, was blameless, whatever his skill and courage was,) he sent the lord Capel to Shrewsbury, with a commission of "lieutenant general of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales;" who, being a person of great fortune and honour, quickly engaged those parts in a cheerful association; and raised a body of horse and foot, that gave sir William Bruerton so much trouble at Nantwich, that the garrison at Chester had breath to enlarge its quarters, and to provide for its own security; though the enemy

omitted no opportunity of infesting them, and gave them as much trouble as was possible. And it cannot be denied but sir William Bruerton, and the other gentlemen of that party, albeit their education and course of life had been very different from their present engagements; and for the most part were very unpromising to matters of courage, and therefore were too much contemned enemies, executed their commands with notable sobriety, and indefatigable industry, (virtues not so well practised in the king's quarters,) insomuch as the best soldiers who encountered with them had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other straits and difficulties to struggle with, than what proceeded from their enemy; being always supplied with money to pay their soldiers, and with arms to arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the people. And thereby (besides the spirit of faction that much governed) the common people were more devoted to them, and gave them all intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the king's affairs had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise men without money, to arm them without weapons, (that is, they had no magazine to supply them,) and to keep them together without pay; so that the country was both to feed and clothe the soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the burden, and forget the quarrel.

And the difference in the temper of the common people of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the parliament left nothing unperformed that might advance the cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross and hinder whatsoever might promote the king's: whereas they who wished well to him thought they had performed their duty in doing so, and that they had done enough for him, in that they had done nothing against him.

Though, by this sending the lord Capel, those counties of Shropshire and Cheshire, with the assistance of North Wales, kept those parts so near their obedience, that their disobedience was not yet pernicious to the king, in sending assistance to the earl of Essex against his majesty, or to the lord Fairfax against the earl of Newcastle; yet those counties which lay in the line between Oxford and York were, upon the matter, entirely possessed by the enemy. The garrison of Northampton kept that whole county in obedience to the parliament, save that from Banbury the adjacent parishes were forced to bring some contribution thither. In Warwickshire the king had no footing; the castle of Warwick, the city of Coventry, and his own castle of Killingworth, being fortified against him. The lord Grey, son to the earl of Stamford, had the command of Leicestershire, and had put a garrison into Leicester. Derbyshire, without any visible party in it for the king, was under the power of sir John Gell, who had fortified Derby. And all these counties, with Staffordshire, were united in an association against the king under the command of the lord Brook; who was, by the earl of Essex, made general of that association; a man cordially disaffected to the government of the church, and upon whom that party had a great dependence. This association received no other interruption from, or for the king, than what colonel Hastings gave; who, being a younger son to the earl of Huntingdon, had appeared eminently for the king

from the beginning; having raised a good troop of horse with the first, and, in the head thereof, charged at Edge-hill.

After the king was settled at Oxford, colonel Hastings, with his own troop of horse only, and some officers which he easily gathered together, went with a commission into Leicestershire, of "colonel general of that county," and fixed himself at Ashby de la Zouch, the house of the earl of Huntingdon, his father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his interest there, raised so good a party of horse and foot, that he maintained many skirmishes with the lord Grey: the king's service being the more advanced there, by the notable animosities between the two families of Huntingdon and Stamford; between whom the county was divided passionately enough, without any other quarrel. And now the sons fought the public quarrel, with their private spirit and indignation. But the king had the advantage in his champion, the lord Grey being a young man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the credit and authority of the parliament: whereas colonel Hastings, though a younger brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his decaying family; and, by the interest of his family, and the affection that people bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of power to the very cause. Insomuch as he not only defended himself against the forces of the parliament in Leicestershire, but disquieted sir John Gell in Derbyshire, and fixed some convenient garrisons in Staffordshire.

About the same time, some gentlemen of that county, rather well affected than well advised, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized [on] the Close in Lichfield for the king; a place naturally strong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall; which in the infancy of the war was thought a good fortification. To suppress this growing force, within the limits of his association, the lord Brook advanced with a formed body of horse, foot, and cannon; part drawn from the earl of Essex's army, and the rest out of the garrisons of Coventry and Warwick; and, without any resistance, entered the city of Lichfield; which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. The number in the Close was not great, nor their provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that he made no doubt of being speedily master of it; sir John Gell having brought up a good addition of strength to him from Derby. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodged in a house within musket-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was, from the wall of the Close, by a common soldier, shot with a musket in the eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St. Chad's day, (being the second day of March,) by whose name, he being a bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this island, that church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his prayer, that very morning, (for he used to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the presence,) he wished, "that, if the cause he were in were not right and just, he might be presently cut off." They who were acquainted with him believed him

to be well natured and just; and rather seduced and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of church or state: and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by that party; which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believed it would; for the same forces, under sir John Gell, proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they within so faintly or unskilfully, that without any of that distress which men thought it might bear, and which it did, within a short time after, bear against the king, the place was yielded without other conditions than of quarter; by which many persons became prisoners, of too good quality to have their names remembered.

By this prize, the spirits of that party were much exalted, and the king's party in those parts as much cast down. Yet some gentlemen betook themselves to the town of Stafford, and having too much declared for the king, when they thought Lichfield would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their houses, resolved to defend that place; against which the triumphant Gell drew his late fleshed troops. But the earl of Northampton (who intended the relief of Lichfield, if they had had any patience to expect it) with a strong party of horse and dragoons, from his garrison of Banbury, came seasonably to their succour, and put himself into the town; and, the same night, beat up a quarter of the enemy's, in which he killed and took above an hundred of their horse. Sir John Gell retired so far as to meet with sir William Bruerton, who, from Nantwich, was coming to join with him for the subduing of Stafford; and, having done that, resolved to march in a body for the clearing the other counties. When they were joined, being near three thousand foot and horse, with a good train of artillery, they moved back towards Stafford, imagining the earl of Northampton would meet them without the walls: and it so fell out; for the earl no sooner heard that the rebels were drawing towards the town, but he drew out his party to encounter them; imagining it could be only Gell, whose numbers he understood, and whose courage he much undervalued.

It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when, in the afternoon, he marched out of Stafford; his party, consisting of horse, and dragoons, and some few foot, the whole number being under one thousand, and found the enemy, in very good order, expecting them upon a place called Hopton-Heath, some two miles from Stafford. Though the number was more than double to the earl's, yet the heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musket-shot from enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their horse; and, rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot; and so totally routed and dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon.

In this second charge, the earl of Northampton, being engaged on the execution, very near or among their foot, had his horse killed under him. So that his own horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the chase, he was left encompassed by his enemy, so that what his behaviour was afterwards, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the testimony of the rebels; who confessed, that, after he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the colonel of foot who made first haste to him; and that, after his head-piece was stricken off with the butt-end of a musket, they offered him quarter; which, they say, he refused; answering, "that he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels, as they were." After which, he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving, at the same time, another deep wound in his face.

All this time the enemy's foot stood, which (after their horse were dispersed) sir Thomas Byron, who commanded the prince of Wales's regiment, a gentleman of great courage, and of very good conduct, charged with good execution. But the night came on apace, and the field, which they thought so fair, was found full of coal-pits and holes dangerous for their horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther action, till they might have the morning's light; and stood all that night in the field. When the morning appeared, there was no enemy to be seen. For as soon as the fight ended, and the night drew on, that they were unperceived, they had left the field, in hope that their scattered horse would find them in quarters more remote from the danger. But the victorious party was so harassed with duty, and tired with the fight, so cast down with the loss of their general, and so destitute of officers to direct and command what was next to be done, (for the lord Compton, the earl's eldest son, had received a shot in the leg; sir Thomas Byron a shot in the thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the field; and many other officers hurt,) that they retired to refresh themselves at Stafford, after they had taken the spoil of the field, and buried their dead.

In this fight, which was sharp and short, there were killed, and taken prisoners, of the parliament party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the horse charging among their foot, more were hurt than killed. Eight pieces of their cannon, and most of their ammunition was likewise taken. Of the earl's party were slain but five and twenty, whereof there were two captains, some inferior officers, and the rest common men; but there were as many hurt, and those of the chief officers. They who had all the ensigns of victory, but their general, thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead body with them, hardly believed they were losers:

*Et, velut æquali bellatum sorte fuisset,
Componit cum classe virum—*

The truth is, a greater victory had been an unequal recompense for a less loss. He was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himself, with that license which was then

thought necessary to great fortunes: but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the standard was set up, he appeared in Warwickshire against the lord Brook, and as much upon his own reputation as the justice of the cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury castle, and brought them to the king. As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot, and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides, one son to serve the king, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four sons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardships, as if he had never known plenty or ease; most prodigal of his person to danger; and would often say, "that if he outlived these wars, he was certain never to have so noble a death." So that it is not to be wondered, if, upon such a stroke, the body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a limb.

As soon as it was known where the enemy rested after their retreat, the young earl of Northampton sent a trumpet to sir John Gell, to desire the body of his father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. Gell and Bruerton jointly, by letter, demanded, "in exchange for the dead body, all their ammunition, prisoners, and cannon, they had lost at the battle;" which demands being so unreasonable, and against the law of arms, the earl sent again to them, to desire, "that if they would not return the corpse, that his chirurgeon might have leave to embalm it, whereby it might be preserved to receive those rites, when they should be willing to gratify him, which, he presumed, upon more dispassionate thoughts, they would be." Their answer to this was as unreasonable as the other; "that they would neither send the body, nor permit his chirurgeons to come to embalm it;" presuming, it is probable, that the piety of the son would have prevailed to have their unheard of propositions complied with.

And so we shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the principality of Wales; of which, hitherto, very little hath been said; and from the affection whereof, the king had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supplied him with three or four good regiments of foot, in which many of their gentry were engaged, before the battle of Edge-hill.

It hath been before remembered, that the marquis of Hertford drew with him out of Wales, and brought to Oxford, about Christmas, near two thousand men; leaving Wales guarded only with the courage and fidelity of the gentry and inhabitants. After that, North Wales lying most convenient to back Chester and Shrewsbury, which places, whilst the enemy was master of the field, received their chief supplies of men and provisions from thence; the king always put it under the

government of those to whom he committed those parts. South Wales, which is much the larger and richer part of that dominion, he committed to the charge of the lord Herbert, eldest son to the marquis of Worcester; whom he made his lieutenant general, adding Monmouthshire to his commission.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that employment to that noble lord, whose person many men loved, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge or experience in the martial profession; then his religion, being of that sort of catholics the people rendered odious, by accusing it to be most jesuited, men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the king, of favouring papists and popery, than he had been yet reproached with; (for, though he had some papists entertained in his armies, yet all men trusted by him in superior commands were men of unblemished integrity in the protestant religion; and in all his armies he had but one general officer of the contrary religion, sir Arthur Aston, whom the papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a papist;) this gave opportunity and excuse to many persons of quality, and great interest in those counties, (between whom and that lord's family there had been perpetual feuds and animosities,) to lessen their zeal to the king's cause, out of jealousy of the other's religion; and those contestations had been lately improved with some sharpness, by the lord Herbert's carriage towards the lord marquis of Hertford, during the time of his residence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not shewed that due regard to that of the other, which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the king's service, if he would have contributed his full assistance to another, who more popularly might have borne the title of such a command.

But, on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the kingdom, under the command of some person of honour and interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as penal and necessary; the parliament being possessed of Gloucester and Bristol, and so having such an influence upon the trade and livelihood of that people, by their absolute command of the Severn, that, except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the houses, "of sending the earl of Pembroke thither," whose estate was very great in those parts, and his reputation equal. Then the parliament had already such a footing in Pembrokeshire, that many of the principal gentlemen had declared for them; and the harbour of Milford-Haven gave their fleet opportunity to give them all supplies and relief. This being the state of those parts, the lord Herbert not only offered, but desired to receive that command; and engaged himself, "not only to secure it from the opposition and malignity of the other party, but, before the spring, to raise such a strength of horse and foot, and to provide such an equipage to march with, that might reduce Gloucester, and be then added to the king's army, when he should be ready to take the field; and all this so much at his own charge," (for his father, who was well able,

would furnish money, as was pretended, upon the king's promise to repay him, when he should be restored to his own,) "that he would receive no part of the king's revenue, or of such money as he could be able to draw for the supply of his own more immediate occasions."

This was a very great offer, and such as no man else could so reasonably make. For the marquis of Worcester was generally reputed the greatest monied man of the kingdom; and, probably, might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburse it for the king, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other party; which would be hardly questionable if they prevailed. The lord Herbert himself was a man of more than ordinary affection and reverence to the person of the king, and one, who, he was sure, would neither deceive nor betray him. For his religion, it might work upon himself, but could not disquiet other men. For though he were a papist, he was never like to make others so; and his reputation and interest was very great with many gentlemen of those counties, who were not at all friends to his religion. It was not possible to employ any person of interest and power in those parts, (and there were many objections, from the nature and manners of that people, against a mere stranger,) against whom there would not be some faction and animosity; for the emulations, and dissension between families was general, and notorious; and therefore it would be best to choose such a one, who was like to have a greater faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old grudges and prejudices, which had been rather against the house of Worcester, and the popish religion professed there, than against the person of this lord, would have been composed and declined by his fair and gentle carriage towards all men, (as in truth he was of a civil and obliging nature,) and by the public-heartedness of those, who, for the cause, and conscience sake, would, it was hoped, sacrifice all trivial and private contentions to a union that must vindicate the religion, honour, and justice of the kingdom.

Upon these reasons, and these presumptions, the king granted such a commission, as is before mentioned, to the lord Herbert; who, with more expedition than was expected by [many], or by others believed possible, raised a body of above fifteen hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, very well and sufficiently armed; which increased the merit of the service.

The horse he put under the command of his brother, the lord John Somerset, a maiden soldier too; and the foot under colonel Lawly, whom he made his major general, a bold and a sprightly officer. About the middle of February he marched towards Gloucester, with an ill omen at his setting out; for a rabble of country people being got together, without order, or officer of name, barricaded a little village in the forest of Deane, called Cover, (through which he was to pass,) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a window killed colonel Lawly, and two officers more, without hurting a common soldier; whereby that body was destitute of any person of experience to command them. However, the lord Herbert, who was himself seldom with his forces, shortly after placed colonel Brett in that command; who, without any skirmish of importance, marched through the

forest of Deane, and fixed a quarter, which contained his whole body, at the Vineyard, the bishop of Gloucester's palace, within less than half a mile of Gloucester. And by that means, there being only a long bridge over the Severn, by which men could come out or go in to Gloucester, he fully blocked up the town on that side, expecting that prince Maurice from Cirencester should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But sir William Waller, with a light party of horse, and dragoons, near two thousand, from the earl of Essex's army, had made a quick march through Wiltshire, (after his taking of Chichester,) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small garrison of the king's, consisting of about six or seven score, at Malmsbury, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards Cirencester; where when he found he was expected, by a sudden night march, in which he was very dexterous and successful, he posted to the river of Severn, six miles west of Gloucester, from whence he had appointed many flat boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the guard of the river being either treacherously or sottishly neglected by the lord Herbert's forces, transported his whole body, which, upon the advantage of that pass, might have been resisted by a hundred men. Hereupon the consternation was so great among the new Welsh soldiers, very few of their officers having ever seen an enemy, that though their works were too good to be entered by horse and dragoons; though the avenues were but narrow, in all which they had cannon planted, and their numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the enemy; upon the advance of sir William Waller upon them, without giving or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to treat; and as kindly delivered up themselves, and their arms, upon the single grant of quarter: a submission so like a stratagem, that the enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred foot, and three troops of horse, prisoners into Gloucester, the lord Herbert himself being at that time at Oxford, and the lord John Somerset with three or four troops at a safe distance from the rest.

This was the end of that mushroom-army, which grew up and perished so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at Oxford, because the strength, or rather the number, was not understood. But if the money, which was laid out in raising, arming, and paying that body of men, which never advanced the king's service in the least degree, had been brought into the king's receipt at Oxford, to have been employed to the most advantage, I am persuaded the war might have been ended the next summer. For I have heard the lord Herbert say, "that those preparations, and the other, which by that defeat were rendered useless, cost above threescore thousand pounds;" whereof, though much came from the marquis's coffers, yet, no doubt, the general contributions from the catholics made a good part; and very considerable sums were received by him of the king's revenue upon wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for men to get into employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which nobody else would undertake that service; and being, upon those terms, received into it, they immediately did the other, because no other man could do the service without it.

The fame of this prodigious victory so subdued all those parts, that sir William Waller, with the same spirit of celerity, and attended with the same success, flew to Hereford; and, being a walled town, and replenished with a garrison, had that likewise delivered to him upon the same terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refused to be admitted into Worcester, than he thought reasonable to require it) passed to Tewkesbury; which he likewise surprised, being newly garrisoned; his motion being so quick, that though prince Maurice attended him with all possible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light skirmishes; and, having taken this progress, returned safe to Gloucester; and from thence to the earl of Essex's army; having made no other use of his conquests, than the dishonouring so many places, which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one garrison) the king's forces immediately entered again. So that his majesty's quarters continued the same they were, harassed only, and discountenanced, nothing straitened by this incursion; and the lord Herbert again intended new levies.

Having now, with as much clearness as I could, remembered the true state of the king's affairs, and the condition of the kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this sixth book; I shall, before I return to Oxford, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the disconsolate state of Ireland; of which, advantage was always taken against the king, to render him odious to the people, as if he countenanced, at least not sufficiently abhorred, that wicked and unnatural rebellion. And this imputation was with so great art insinuated, that it got credit with many; insomuch as I have heard some, who could make no other excuse for adhering to the parliament, than, "they were persuaded that the king favoured those rebels;" which, they said, "could not be without some design upon the religion, liberty, and prosperity of England." Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds as ever any man spoke the heart of another, that the king always looked upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked rebellion, that ever possessed the spirits of that people; and was not more grieved at any one circumstance of the domestic distraction, than as it hindered him from chastising and taking vengeance upon the other: which from his soul he desired.

But in this discourse of Ireland, it cannot be imagined, neither do I intend to mention all the memorable actions, (in which were as great instances of God's own detestation of those inhuman rebels, by the signal victories he gave against them,) or other transactions within that kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business, than had immediate reference to, and dependence on, the difference between the king and the two houses of parliament.

It is said before, that when the first visible rupture was declared between them, which was in the business of Hull, (which the king understood to be a direct levying of war against him,) in the protestation made by his majesty, "that he would no farther treat or concur with them in any acts proposed by them, till he first received reparation or satisfaction in that particular;" he always excepted what should any way concern Ireland:

in which he offered to consent to whatsoever might reasonably conduce to the reducing those rebels; and did, after that, concur in some propositions of that nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two houses were so busy in preparing the war for England, that they did very little advance the war of Ireland; save only by some small supplies of money and provisions. The king objected to them, "the employing the monies, raised, by acts of parliament, for the preservation and reduction of Ireland, with a special clause that the same should not be diverted to any other use whatsoever, in the supporting the unnatural war and rebellion against his majesty; particularly one hundred thousand pounds at one time; and that many soldiers, raised under pretence of being sent into Ireland, were, contrary to their expectation and engagement, forced to serve under the earl of Essex against the king;" of which he named sir Faithful Fortescue's regiment of horse, and the lord Wharton's and the lord Kerry's regiment of foot.

To this they answered, "that albeit they had, upon the urgent occasions of this kingdom, sometimes made use of monies raised and collected for Ireland; yet that they had in due time repaid it, and that the other affairs had never suffered by the loan: and for the men, that it proceeded from his majesty's own default; for after they had raised them, with a serious intention to send them into Ireland, under the command of the lord Wharton, the king refused to grant a commission to him to transport them, and so they had been compelled to use them in their own service here."

The king replied, "that it appeared, they had diverted that money to other uses than those for which it was provided; which was manifestly unlawful; and that it did not appear they had again reimbursed it, because very little supply was sent thither, and very much wanted: and for the soldiers, that they first levied them, without his majesty's leave; which they had always before asked, for their other levies; and being levied, they desired a commission for the lord Wharton to command them absolutely, without any dependence upon the lord lieutenant of Ireland; which had been never heard of, and which his majesty refused; but offered such a commission as was granted to other men."

On the other hand, they objected to the king, "the seizing some cart-horses at Chester, provided for the train of artillery for Ireland; that his forces had taken many clothes and provisions on the road, which were going to Chester to be transported thither for the relief of the soldiers; and that he entertained and countenanced men in his court, which were favourers or actors in that rebellion:" naming the lord viscount Costeloe, and the lord Taffe, which gave great umbrage to those who were well affected, and as great encouragement to the rebels there.

To the first, the king confessed, "he found about six score horses at Chester, which had long lain there; and, at his remove from Nottingham, knowing the other horse and men raised for Ireland were then marching with the earl of Essex against him, he knew not but these likewise might be so employed, and therefore in his own necessity took them for his own draughts. For the clothes, which had been taken by his

soldiers, that it proceeded by the default of the parliament; who, after the war was begun, had sent those carriages through his quarters, without sending to his majesty for a safe conduct, or giving any notice to him of it, till after they were taken: that it was within two miles of Coventry (which was then in rebellion) that those clothes were taken; and that, as soon as he knew they were designed for Ireland, his majesty had used the best means he could to recover them; but that the soldiers, who were almost naked, had divided them for their own supplies; and his majesty offered to give a safe conduct at all times for whatsoever should be designed for Ireland."

The occasion of the other reproach, "for countenancing persons who adhered to the rebels," was this. The lords Dillon (viscount Costeloe) and Taffe had, four months before, passed out of Ireland into England, having never been in consort with the rebels, but so much trusted by them, that they desired, by their hands, to address a petition to the king; humble enough, desiring "only to be heard, and offering to submit to his majesty's single judgment." With this petition, and all other instructions, as they pretended, these lords acquainted the lords justices and council of Ireland; who were so well satisfied with the persons employed, that they granted their safe pass, and sent letters by them of testimony. They were no sooner landed in England, but they were apprehended, and sent prisoners to the parliament, and by them committed with all strictness, "as agents employed by the rebels of Ireland to the king;" and that circumstance enforced, and spread among the people, with all licentious glosses against the king; who, for that reason, took no notice of their restraint, though from his ministers he received advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close imprisonment, these lords, by petition, and all other addresses they could make, pressed to be brought to any kind of examination and trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint, (which, though more pleasant, was not less costly,) had the liberty of London, and from thence, after four months' restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any trial, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to York; whither a messenger from the house of commons followed them, and demanded them as prisoners.

Many were of opinion, that they should have been delivered back; foreseeing that the parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the king's disadvantage; and any imputations, "of countenancing the rebels of Ireland," found more credit, and made deeper impression with the people, than any other discourses of "protecting malignants and delinquents." On the other side, it was thought unreasonable to remit men to an imprisonment, which appeared to have been unjust, by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the king would be declared such a crime, that it would be now in their enemies' power to cause them to be punished; which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the sergeant of the house of commons, from whence no innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees,

as would amount to a greater sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the king, who wished that they had rather gone any whither than where he was, resolved to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in his quarters, and put themselves into the troops; where they behaved themselves with good courage, and frankly engaged their persons in all dangerous enterprises.

In these jealousies and contests, the king being visibly and confessedly unable to send succours of any kind thither, and the parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss of it to the king, poor Ireland got very small relief. The earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant of that kingdom, had received his despatch from the king, before he went to Shrewsbury. But when the king thought he would have gone directly to Chester, and so to Ireland, his lordship returned to London; which increased the king's jealousy and prejudice to him; which his former carriage, and a letter writ lately by him from Nottingham to the earl of Northumberland, and by order of parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to London, the house of commons demanded "to see the instructions he had received from the king;" which, as it was unreasonable in them, so he had received express command from the king, "not to communicate them." However, after he had avoided it as long as he could, and they continued peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perused by the committee of both houses. The truth is, the earl's condition was very slippery, and almost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous person.

He was designed to that employment by the king, shortly upon the death of the earl of Strafford, (or rather before; not without some advice from that earl,) with as great circumstances of grace and favour, as could be; and as a person, of whom entirely the king assured himself, being then so ungracious to the parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time, (which are before remembered,) so nothing preserved him from a public exception, but the interest of the earl of Northumberland, whose sister he had married; whom that party was not willing to irreconcile. After the rebellion was broke out in Ireland, and the king had committed the carrying on the war to the houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his province, to render himself as gracious to that people as was possible; and laboured that with so good effect and industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observed in continuing his interest at court. For the king and queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against; though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour and interest in the houses, to provide so well for Ireland, and to go thither in so good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to serve the king as he should be required.

But one man is rarely able to act both those parts: for his shewing his instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his instructions were such, that, being perused by the committee, could by no misconstruction, or

"possible perversion, be wrested to the king's disadvantage;" as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the king. "Whereas, after they were so peremptorily required, if he should have as peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and upon that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst reproaches upon his majesty." And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn the displeasure of the two houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at court might have suffered that to have depressed him, and revenged itself upon the choler of the other. And when he left the king between Nottingham and Shrewsbury, his condition was so low, that a man might have imagined his interest would be best preserved by being within the verge of the parliament's protection. As his return to London was besides the king's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seemed to be [intended] by his own proposal; for he staid there above two months, till after the battle of Edge-hill, and both parties being fixed in their winter quarters; and then, without waiting again on the king, though Oxford was very few miles out of his way, about the end of November, he went to Chester, with a purpose of transporting himself for Ireland, but without the least appearance of addition of strength, or provisions from the parliament; neither were their ships there ready to transport him.

About the end of November, four officers of the army in Ireland, sir James Montgomery, sir Hardress Waller, colonel Arthur Hill, and colonel Audley Mervin, having been employed from Ireland to solicit the parliament for succours, came from London to Oxford, and delivered a petition to the king; in which they told him, "that they had addressed themselves to the parliament for supplies, whose sense of their miseries, and inclination to redress, appeared very tender to them; but the present distempers of the kingdom of England were grown so great, that all future passages, by which comfort and life should be conveyed to that gasping kingdom, seemed totally to be obstructed; so that, unless his majesty, out of his singular wisdom and fatherly care, applied some speedy cure, his loyal and distressed subjects of that kingdom must inevitably perish. They acknowledged his princely favour and goodness since this rebellion, so abundantly expressed in a deep sense and lively resentment of their bleeding condition; and therefore they besought him, among his other weighty cares, so to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that perishing kingdom, that timely relief might be afforded. Otherwise his loyal subjects there must yield their fortunes, as a prey; their lives, a sacrifice; and their religion, a scorn to the merciless rebels, powerfully assisted from abroad."

And indeed the condition of the protestants, in that kingdom, was very miserable: for, whilst the distractions of England kept them from receiving succours, the rebels had arms, ammunition, money, and commanders, from Rome, Spain, and France; the pope having sent a formal avowed nuncio, to whose jurisdiction the Irish submitted; and the kings of France and Spain having sent great supplies, and their agents, to countenance and foment

the rebellion; who gave notable countenance to the assembly and formed council for the rebels, settled at Kilkenny.

The king, who well knew this petition was sent by the permission of those at Westminster, and that the agents employed were men of notorious disaffection to him, who looked for some such answer as might improve the envy of the people, used the messengers with all possible grace, and returned them as gracious an answer: "That, from the beginning of that monstrous rebellion, he had had no greater sorrow, than for the bleeding condition of that his kingdom. That he had, by all means, laboured, that timely relief might be afforded to it, and consented to all propositions, how disadvantageous soever to himself, that had been offered to him to that purpose; and, not only at first recommended their condition to both his houses of parliament, and immediately, of his own mere motion, sent over several commissions, and caused some proportion of arms and ammunition (which the petitioners well knew to have been a great support to the northern parts of that kingdom) to be conveyed to them out of Scotland, and offered ten thousand volunteers to undertake that war; but had often pressed, by many several messages, that sufficient succours might be hastened thither, and other matters of smaller importance laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and most really intended, in his own royal person, to have undergone the danger of that war, for the defence of his good subjects, and the chastisement of those perfidious and barbarous rebels; and in his several expressions of his desires of treaty and peace, he had declared the miserable present condition and certain future loss of Ireland, to be one of the principal motives most earnestly to desire, that the present distractions of this kingdom might be composed, and that others would concur with him to the same end."

He told them, "he was well pleased, that his offers, concurrence, actions, and expressions, were so rightly understood by the petitioners, and those who had employed them, (notwithstanding the groundless and horrid aspersions which had been cast upon him;) but he wished, that, instead of a mere general complaint, to which his majesty could make no return but of compassion, they could have digested, and offered to him any such desires, by consenting to which, he might convey, at least in some degree, comfort and life to that gasping kingdom; preserve his distressed and loyal subjects of the same from inevitably perishing, and the true protestant religion from being scorned and trampled on by those merciless rebels. And, if the petitioners could yet think of any such, and propose them to his majesty, he assured them, that by his readiness to consent, and his thanks to them for the proposal, he would make it appear to them, that their most pressing personal sufferings could not make them more desirous of relief, than his care of the true religion, and of his faithful subjects, and of his duty, which obliged him, to his power, to protect both, rendered him desirous to afford it to them."

The king being fully informed now, as well by this committee, as from his ministers of state in that kingdom, of the growing power of the rebels

in Ireland, and of the weak resistance his good subjects were like to make, whose only hopes depended upon those succours which they presumed the lord lieutenant would bring over with him, and that he was now going thither without the least addition of strength, or probable assurance that any would be sent after him; his majesty considered likewise, that, besides the damp this naked arrival of the lord lieutenant there must cast upon the minds of all, it would make likewise a great alteration in the conduct of affairs there. For, upon his landing, the commission to the earl of Ormond, of lieutenant general of the army, would be determined; and there had those jealousies and disrespects passed between the earl of Leicester and him, that the earl of Ormond was resolved, no more to continue that command, but immediately to transport himself out of that kingdom; by which the king should lose the service of a person much the most powerful, most able, and most popular within that province; and who had, with wonderful courage and conduct, and almost miraculous success, hitherto restrained the rage and fury of the rebels, and indeed a man so accomplished, that he had either no enemies, or such who were ashamed to profess they were so.

Upon these considerations, the king thought fit, for some time, till he might farther weigh the whole business, to suspend the earl of Leicester's journey: and therefore sent to him to Chester (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the ships being not yet come for his transportation) "to attend his majesty at Oxford;" which he did shortly after Christmas, and continued there; the king directing the earl of Ormond (whom about this time he made a marquis) "to carry on the war as he had done; and, during the absence of the lord lieutenant, to dispose of all places and offices in the army which became void;" and likewise making an alteration in the civil power; for whereas sir William Parsons and sir John Burlacy had continued lords justices from and before the death of the earl of Strafford, the king finding that sir William Parsons (who was a man of long experience in that kingdom, and confessed abilities but always of suspected reputation) did him all imaginable disservice, and combined with the parliament in England, about this time removed sir William Parsons from that trust; and, in his room, deputed sir Harry Tichborne, a man of so excellent a fame, that though the parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the other, and knew this would never be brought to serve their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the king for this alteration.

Another circumstance must not be forgotten. After the war broke out in England, the parliament had sent over a couple of their members of the commons (Mr. Raynolds and Mr. Goodwyn) as a committee into Ireland, to reside at Dublin, and had given directions to the lords justices, "that they should have leave to be present at all their consultations;" which they had; and were no other than spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the houses. When the king made that alteration in the government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their debates, which had never been before practised; and therefore required them, "that it

"might be so no more." Hereupon, the committee, who had carried themselves very insolently and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the king, and his authority, were, by the lords justices and council, inhibited from being present at the council; and thereupon they quickly left the kingdom, and returned to London; the parliament unreasonably and impudently accusing the king of a new breach of privilege, for this disrespect to their members. This was the state of Ireland, the war being that spring prosperously carried on by the marquis of Ormond, and the earl of Leicester still staying at Oxford with the title of lord lieutenant. And so we will return to Oxford and London.

Many days being past since the return of the committee of lords and commons from Oxford, with the king's answer to their propositions, and no reply being made by the houses, or indeed any solemn debate entered thereupon, (for his majesty had every day information of what passed among them, even in their most secret councils,) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorously intended for the war, than had been before, in sending out strong parties to infest the king's quarters, (for, besides the incursions and progress of sir William Waller, which are before remembered, Mr. Hambden had made some attempts upon the Brill, a garrison of the king's upon the edge of Buckinghamshire, but without effect, and with some considerable loss,) in levying great numbers of men, for the recruiting the earl of Essex's army; and designing new extraordinary ways for the raising of money, and associating several counties of the kingdom, towards the raising new armies: the king, as well to have the conveniency of sending to London, (of which journeys he made good use,) as to quicken and necessitate them to some reply, sent another message to them, putting them in mind of "the proposition he had made for a cessation of arms;" and desired that "if they approved of a cessation, that the day upon which they thought fit it should begin, and such particulars, limits, and conditions of it, as were necessary to be understood, and agreed on, before the cessation itself could actually begin, might be proposed by them. Since," his majesty said, "he supposed, by the present great preparations of several forces to march several ways, that, till all that should be agreed upon, they did not conceive themselves obliged to an actual cessation; so neither, till then, did his majesty conceive himself obliged to it: however, he wished it might be clearly understood between them, that no such imputations, as had been formerly, might be laid upon him, upon occasion of any thing that might intervene."

This message put a necessity upon them, of entering again upon the argument, and gave them, who desired peace and accommodation, an opportunity to press for the debate, which had been craftily laid aside for the despatch of other matters; that party, which was most deeply engaged in the war, and resolved to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping those things from being debated, in which they found their sense would not prevail. And at this time, the number of those in both houses, who really desired the same peace the king did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) superior to the other. For, besides that many persons, who from the beginning had always

dissented from them, for their ease and conveniency had staid among them, very many were convinced in their understandings, that they had been misled; and discerned, in what a bottomless gulph of misery the kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate composure were not made; and some of those who had been as fierce as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the fire, either out of conscience that they had done amiss, or fear that the king would prevail by power, or anger that they found other men valued above them; in their present distraction, or their natural inconstancy even in ill, were most solicitous for a treaty. So that, within few days after the receipt of this message, both houses agreed, "that there should be a treaty, in which so much of the king's propositions as concerned the magazines, forts, and ships, and the proposition of both houses for the disbanding the armies, should be first treated on, and concluded, before the proceeding to treat upon any of the other propositions; and that the treaty should begin the fourth of March, or sooner if it might be; and that, from the beginning, the time should not exceed twenty days."

The persons they made choice of to treat, were the earl of Northumberland, the lord Say, Mr. Pierrepont, sir William Armyn, sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, for whose safe conduct they despatched a messenger to his majesty; this resolution being taken but the last day of February. As soon as the request was presented, the king returned a safe conduct for the earl of Northumberland and the four commoners; but refused to admit the lord Say to his presence, upon the same exception he had formerly refused sir John Evelyn at Colebrook; his lordship being personally excepted from pardon by a former proclamation; but signified, "that if they would employ any other person not within the same rule, he should as freely come as if he were in the safe conduct."

Whether the lord Say was nominated by those who believed they should be able, upon the refusal of him, (which they could not but foresee,) to break off all overtures of farther treaty; or whether they believed, they had so far prevailed by underhand negotiations at Oxford, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to persuade the king to yield to what they proposed, or at least to have engaged the king to those who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as it was not so insisted on at Westminster as to break the treaty, so many were of opinion at Oxford, that the king should have admitted him. They said, "he was a wise man, and could not but know, that it would not be possible for him to make any impression upon his majesty's judgment in the propositions in debate; and therefore, that he would never have suffered himself to be designed to that negotiation, (which, without doubt, by his interest in both houses he might have prevented,) if he did not purpose to do some signal service to his majesty." And indeed many believed, "that if he had come, and found the king's goodness inclined to pardon and trust him, that he would have done the best he could, to redeem his former breaches." Others were of opinion, "that he was so far from being inclined to serve the king, or advance the treaty, that he should have been sent as a spy, lest others should;" and these were the thoughts

both at Oxford and London. But the king, who knew the lord Say as well as any of them, believed, that it was not in his power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his will; was resolved not to break his rule, lest such a remission might give advantage against him in the future: and so sent the answer above remembered. Together with this desire of a safe conduct, they sent his majesty word, "that they had likewise consented, that there should be a cessation of arms on either side, under the restrictions and limitations hereafter following."

1. "That all manner of arms, ammunition, victuals, money, bullion, and all other commodities, passing without such a safe conduct as may warrant their passage, may be stayed and seized on, as if no cessation was agreed on."

2. "That all manner of persons, passing without such a safe conduct as is mentioned in the article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detained, as if no such cessation were agreed on at all."

3. "That his majesty's forces in Oxfordshire should advance no nearer to Windsor than Wheatley, and in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Aylesbury than Brill; and that, in Berkshire, the forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other, than now they are: and that the parliament forces in Oxfordshire shall advance no nearer to Oxford than Henley, and those in Buckinghamshire no nearer to Oxford than Aylesbury: and that his majesty's forces shall make no new quarters, above twelve miles from Oxford, any way; and the parliament forces shall take no new quarters, above twelve miles from Windsor, any way."

4. "That no siege shall be begun or continued against Gloucester; and that his majesty's forces, now employed in the siege, shall return to Cirencester and Malmsbury, or to Oxford, as shall be most for their convenience; and the parliament forces, which are in Gloucestershire, shall remain in the cities of Gloucester, Bristol, and the castle and town of Berkley, or retire nearer to Windsor, as they shall see cause: and that those of Wales, which are drawn to Gloucester, shall return to their quarters where they were before they drew down to Gloucestershire."

5. "That, in case it be pretended on either side, that the cessation is violated, no act of hostility is immediately to follow, but first the party complaining is to acquaint the lord general on the other side, and to allow three days, after notice, for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not given, or accepted, then five days' notice to be given, before hostility begin, and the like to be observed in the remoter armies, by the commanders in chief."

6. "Lastly, that all other forces, in the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, not before mentioned, shall remain in the same quarters, and places, as they are at the time of publishing this cessation, and under the same conditions as are mentioned in the articles before. And that this cessation shall not extend, to restrain the setting forth or employing of any ships, for the defence of his majesty's dominions."

All which they desired "his majesty would be pleased to ratify and confirm; and that this ces-

sation might begin upon the fourth of March next, or sooner if it might be; and continue until the five and twentieth of the same month; and in the mean time to be published on either side; and that the treaty might likewise commence upon the same day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days."

These propositions were delivered to his majesty on the first of March, which was almost a month after the cessation had been proposed by him, (for his propositions were made on the third of February,) which administered cause of doubt, that the overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the king should consent to the terms proposed, upon sight, his answer could very hardly be returned to them. But the articles themselves were such as occasioned much debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The king, after the examination of them with his privy-council, and at a council of war, made a committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience his consent to them might produce to his party, if that cessation and treaty did not produce a peace; and the inequality in them, if the overture passed from an equal enemy according to the rules of war. Some were of opinion, "that the cessation should be consented to by the king, upon the articles proposed, though they should be thought unequal, not only because it would be an act of great grace and compassion to the people, to give them some respite, and taste of peace, and the not consenting to it (the reason not being so easy to be understood) would be as impopular and ungracious; but that, they believed, it would at least cast the people into such a slumber, that much of their fury and madness would be abated; and that they would not be easily induced to part with the ease they felt, and would look upon that party as an enemy, that robbed them of it; that it would give an opportunity of charitable intercourse, and revive that freedom of conversation, which, of itself, upon so great advantage of reason, as they believed the king's cause gave, would rectify the understanding of many who were misled; but especially, that it would not only hinder the recruitment of the earl of Essex's army, (for that no man would be so mad to declare themselves against the king, when they saw a cessation, in order to restoring the king to his rights,) but would lessen the forces he had already; in that the army consisted most of men engaged by the pay, not affection to the cause; who, upon such a remission of duty as would necessarily attend a cessation, would abandon a party which they foresaw, upon a peace, must be infamous, though it might be secure: and whereas all overtures of a treaty hitherto had advanced their levies upon pretence of being in a posture not to be contemned, they believed, a real cessation would render those levies impossible."

Others thought "any cessation disadvantageous enough to the king; and therefore, that the terms, upon which it was to be made, were to be precisely looked to: that the articles proposed would only produce a suspension of present acts of hostility and blood among the soldiers; but not give the least taste of peace, or admit the least benefit to the people; for that all intercourse and conversation was inhibited, insomuch

“ as no person of the king’s party, though no soldier, had liberty to visit his wife, or family, out of the king’s quarters, during this cessation; and the hindering recruits could only prejudice the king, not at all the earl of Essex, who had at present a greater army than ever before; and the city of London was such a magazine of men, as could supply him upon very small warning. Besides, though the state of the king’s army and quarters about Oxford was such as might receive some advantage by a cessation; yet, in the west, it was hoped his affairs were in the bud; and the earl of Newcastle was so much master in the north, that if a peace ensued not, (which wise men did not believe was seriously intended on the parliament’s part, by reason the propositions to be treated on were so unreasonable, and impossible to be consented to,) such a cessation would hinder the motion and progress of the earl’s good fortune, and give time to the lord Fairfax, who was at present very low, to put himself into such a posture as might give new trouble.” And it is certain the northern forces had then great dread of this cessation.

To these considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answered and poized by any access of benefit or advantage on the king’s party. Hitherto the parliament had raised their vast sums of money, for the support of their army, (which could only be supported by constant great pay,) and the discharge of their other immense expenses, incident to such a rebellion, from the city of London, and principally from their friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgments upon particular men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of malignancy, out of London, save only that they gleaned among their own zealots upon voluntary collections, and plundered by their army, which brought no supply to their common stock: and [of] what they imposed upon cities and towns, in which they had garrisons, (in which they had been likewise very tender,) they had received very little; not venturing yet, by any general tax and imposition upon the people, to inflame them, and inform them how far they meant to invade their liberty and their property, with the jealousy whereof they had blown them up to all those swellings and seditious humours against the king; and apprehending, that if they should attempt that, any encouragement of strength from any of the king’s armies would make the whole kingdom rise against them.

But now, after they had agreed to a treaty, and framed even articles for a cessation, they passed an ordinance for a weekly assessment throughout the kingdom, towards the support of the war; by which was imposed upon the city of London the weekly sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole kingdom no less than a weekly payment of thirty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one million seven hundred forty-two thousand nine hundred thirty-six pounds; a prodigious sum for a people to bear, who, before this war, thought the payment of two subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our age to above a hundred and fifty, an insupportable burden upon

the kingdom: and indeed had scarce borne the same, under all the kings that ever reigned.

For the speedy and exact collection whereof, they appointed, by the same ordinance, commissioners in each county, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in their designs. To this they added other ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in London; and, above all, for the sequestering and seizing of the estates of all who adhered to the king. “ Now if a cessation were consented to by the king, on the articles proposed, and thereby the king’s forces locked up within the several limits and narrow bounds, in which they were contained, these ordinances might be executed throughout all their quarters; and thereby vast sums be raised. Their great association of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Essex, (in neither of which the king had any visible party, or one fixed quarter,) upon which, the apprehension of the earl of Newcastle’s advance upon them, kept them from notable pressures, would by this means yield them a great supply of men and money. In Somersetshire and Devonshire, whilst sir Ralph Hopton might hereby be kept from advancing, they might raise what they would, and might dispose of the stocks and personal estates of those, whom they had, and would declare to be malignant; and so this cessation, besides the damage and prejudice to the loyal party, would probably fill the rebels’ coffers, the emptiness whereof was the most, if not only, probable way and means to determine the war.”

These considerations made a deep impression upon those, who believed the treaty was not like to produce a peace; the number of which was increased by a new resolution, at this time entered upon, and vigorously prosecuted, “ to fortify the city of London, and to draw a line about it;” which was executed with marvellous expedition; which, many believed, would not have been then done, both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not been resolved it should not yet return to the king’s obedience. And many persons of honour and quality about the king, who had given great life to his affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they addressed themselves together to his majesty, and besought him, “ that they might not lose that now, by an unequal cessation, which had been preserved for them, during the license of hostility; and that his and their enemies might not be that way enabled to destroy them, which yet they durst not attempt to do.” The king hereupon, after solemn debates in council, the chief officers of his army being present, resolved to make such alterations in the articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

1. “ To the first article as it was proposed by them, his majesty fully and absolutely consented.

2. “ To the second likewise fully, as far as it concerned all officers and soldiers of the army; but he proposed, that all other his subjects, of what quality or condition soever, might, during the cessation, pass to and from the cities of Oxford or London, or any other parts of his majesty’s dominions, without any search, stay, or imprisonment of their persons, or seizure and

"detention of their goods or estates: and that all manner of trade and commerce might be open and free between all his subjects, except between the officers and soldiers of either army, or for arms, ammunition, money, bullion, or victuals for the use of either army, without a pass, or safe conduct;" which, his majesty told them, would be a good beginning to renew the trade and correspondence of the kingdom, and where-by his subjects might be restored to that liberty and freedom they were born to, and had so happily enjoyed till these miserable distractions; and which, even during this war, his majesty had, to his utmost, laboured to preserve, opening the way, by most strict proclamations, to the passage of all commodities, even to the city of London itself."

3, 4, 5, 6. To these the king likewise consented, with two provisions: first, "that such ships, as were necessary to be set forth, should be commanded by such persons as his majesty should approve of. Secondly, that, during the cessation, none of his subjects should be imprisoned otherwise than according to the known laws of the land, and that there should be no plundering, or violence offered to any of his subjects." The first of these was inserted, (without purpose of insisting on it,) lest by the king's consent to the article, in the terms it was proposed, he might be thought to consent in any degree to their usurpation of the naval authority. And the second was, to prevent the execution of the ordinances before mentioned.

And his majesty told them, "he hoped, these small alterations would sufficiently manifest, how solicitous he was for the good of his people, for whose liberties he should insist, when, in matters merely concerning himself, he might descend to easier conditions; and how desirous he was, that, in this unnatural contention, no more blood of his subjects might be spilt, upon which he looked with much grief, compassion, and tenderness of heart, even [on the blood] of those, who had lifted up their hands against him. And therefore he doubted not, but both houses would consent to them. However, if any scruples should be made, he was willing that the commissioners for the treaty might nevertheless immediately come to him, and so all matters concerning the cessation might be there settled between them."

After this answer returned by the king, many days passed without any return to him; and in the mean time another address was made to his majesty, upon which the great managers at London had set their hearts, more than upon the treaty; and for which indeed they deferred their treaty. They had still a great dependence and confidence upon their brethren of Scotland, and yet that people moved very slowly; and, since the earl of Essex had been settled in his winter quarters, there had been high quarrels between the English and Scotch officers, insomuch as, upon some reproachful words which had been cast out, many swords were one day drawn in Westminster-hall, when the houses were sitting, between them; and a little blood drawn, which (though the houses industriously laboured to compose [it] with declarations "of their joint value and respect of that nation with their own, and that their deserts could only distinguish them") gave so great umbrage, that many of the Scots,

some of eminent command, quitted the service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther national combination in mischief.

But the general inclination to rebellion mastered those particular considerations and disobligations; and, about the end of February, to facilitate the king's consent to the grand proposition for the extirpation of episcopacy, (which the two houses had been, by the arts before mentioned, wrought to make; when, in truth, there were very few of themselves desired it; as, when it passed the house of peers, there were but five lords present,) there arrived at Oxford the earl of Lowden, lord chancellor of Scotland, and Mr. Alexander Henderson, a man of equal fame in the distractions that arose in that kingdom: the former came as a commissioner from the lords of the secret council of that kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, "the conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms;" and desired to pass as a mediator in the differences between the king and the two houses, and that the king would give them leave upon the matter to be umpires between them. The other, Mr. Henderson, had a special employment from the assembly of the kirk of Scotland, to present a petition from that body to the king; the which, because it was then thought of a very strange nature and dialect, and because I shall always report the acts of that nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to insert in this place.

But it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the earl of Newcastle marched into Yorkshire, upon occasion of some aspersions published against him by the lord Fairfax, "that his army consisted only of papists, and that his design was to extirpate the protestant religion," the earl set forth a declaration of the reasons of his marching into that country, which was, "upon the desire of the principal gentlemen, to rescue and protect them from the tyranny of the parliament;" and then, taking notice of "the scandalous imputations upon him in point of religion," after he had vindicated himself from the least suspicion of inclination to popery, he confessed "he had granted commissions to many papists, which, as he knew, was, in this case, agreeable to the laws of the kingdom, so he believed it very agreeable to the present policy; and that the quarrel between the king and the two houses being not grounded upon any matter of religion, the rebels professing themselves to be of the same of which his majesty was clearly known to be, and the papists generally at this time appearing very loyal to him, which too many protestants were not, he thought their assistance might very fitly be made use of, to suppress the rebellion of the other." And from thence these zealous Scots concluded, that he preferred the papists, in point of loyalty, before the protestants; which was a calumny of so public a concernment, that they could not be silent in. Their petition follows in these words:

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble petition of the commissioners of the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland met at Edinburgh, Jan. 4, 1643.

"Our silence, and ceasing to present before your

“majesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this
 “time of common danger to religion, to your ma-
 “jesty’s sacred person, your crown, and posterity,
 “and to all your majesty’s dominions, were impiety
 “against God, unthankfulness and disloyalty against
 “your majesty, and indirect approbation and hard-
 “ening of the adversaries of truth and peace in
 “their wicked ways, and cruelty against our bre-
 “thren, lying in such depths of affliction and
 “anguish of spirit; any one of which crimes were,
 “in us above all others, unexcusable, and would
 “prove us most unworthy of the trust committed
 “unto us. The flame of this common combustion
 “hath almost devoured Ireland, is now wasting the
 “kingdom of England, and we cannot tell how
 “soon it shall enter upon ourselves, and set this
 “your majesty’s most ancient and native kingdom
 “on fire. If in this woful case, and lamentable
 “condition of your majesty’s dominions, all others
 “should be silent, it behoveth us to speak: and if
 “our tongues and pens should cease, our con-
 “sciences within us would cry out, and the stones
 “in the streets would answer us.

“Our great grief, and apprehension of danger,
 “is not a little increased, partly by the insolence
 “and presumption of papists, and others disaf-
 “fected to the reformation of religion, who,
 “although for their number and power they be
 “not considerable among us, yet, through the
 “success of the popish party in Ireland, and the
 “hopes they conceive of the prevailing power of
 “the popish armies and the prelatical faction in
 “England, they have of late taken spirit, and
 “begun to speak big words against the reforma-
 “tion of religion, and the work of God in this
 “land; and partly, and more principally, that a
 “chief praise of the protestant religion (and there-
 “by our not vain, but just gloriation) is, by the
 “public declaration of the earl of Newcastle,
 “general of your majesty’s forces for the northern
 “parts, and nearest unto us, transferred unto
 “papists; who, although they be sworn enemies
 “unto kings, and be as infamous for their trea-
 “sons and conspiracies against princes and rulers,
 “as for their known idolatry and spiritual tyranny,
 “yet are they openly declared to be not only good
 “subjects, or better subjects, but far better sub-
 “jects than protestants: which is a new and foul
 “disparagement of the reformed religion, a nota-
 “ble injury to your majesty in your honour, a
 “sensible reflection upon the whole body of this
 “kingdom, which is impatient that any subjects
 “should be more loyal than they; but abhorreth,
 “and extremely disdaineth, that papists, who re-
 “fuse to take the oath of allegiance, should be
 “compared with them in allegiance and fidelity;
 “and which (being a strange doctrine from the
 “mouth or pen of professed protestants) will
 “suffer a hard construction from all the reformed
 “kirks.

“We therefore, your majesty’s most humble
 “and loving subjects, upon these and the like con-
 “siderations, do humbly entreat, that your majesty
 “may be pleased, in your princely wisdom, first to
 “consider, that the intentions of papists, directed
 “by the principles of their profession, are no
 “other than they have been from the beginning,
 “even to build their Babel, and to set up their
 “execrable idolatry and antichristian tyranny, in
 “all your majesty’s dominions; to change the
 “face of your two kingdoms of Scotland and

“England into the similitude of miserable Ire-
 “land; which is more bitter to the people of God,
 “your majesty’s good subjects, to think upon,
 “than death; and whatsoever their present pre-
 “tences be, for the defence of your majesty’s
 “person and authority, yet, in the end, by their
 “arms and power, with a displayed banner, to
 “bring that to pass against your royal person and
 “posterity, which the fifth of November, never to
 “be forgotten, was not able by their subtile and
 “undermining treason to produce; or, which will
 “be their greatest mercy, to reduce your majesty,
 “and your kingdoms, to the base and unnatural
 “slavery of their monarch, the pope: and next,
 “that your majesty, upon this undeniable evi-
 “dence, may timely and speedily apply your royal
 “authority, for disbanding their forces, suppress-
 “ing their power, and disappointing their bloody
 “and merciless projects.

“And for this end, we are, with gre ater earn-
 “estness than before, constrained to fall down
 “again before your majesty, and, in all humility to
 “renew the supplication of the late general as-
 “sembly, and our own former petition in their
 “name, for unity of religion, and uniformity of
 “church-government in all your majesty’s king-
 “doms, and, to this effect, for a meeting of some
 “divines to be holden in England, unto which,
 “according to the desire of your majesty’s parlia-
 “ment, some commissioners may be sent from this
 “kirk; that, in all points to be propounded and
 “debated, there may be the greater consent and
 “harmony. We take the boldness to be the more
 “instant in this our humble desire, because it con-
 “cerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in his
 “glory, your majesty in your honour, the kirk of
 “England (which we ought to tender as our own
 “bowels, and whose reformation is more dear
 “unto us than our lives) in her happiness, and the
 “kirk of Scotland in her purity and peace; former
 “experience and daily sense teaching us, that,
 “without the reformation of the kirk of England,
 “there is no hope or possibility of the continuance
 “of reformation here.

“The Lord of heaven and earth, whose vice-
 “gerent your majesty is, calleth for this great
 “work of reformation at your hands; and the
 “present commotions and troubles of your ma-
 “jesty’s dominions are either a preparation, in the
 “mercy of God, for this blessed reformation and
 “unity of religion, (which is the desire and ex-
 “pectation of all your majesty’s good subjects in
 “this kingdom,) or, which they tremble to think
 “upon, and earnestly deprecate, are (in the justice
 “of God, for the abuse of the gospel, the tolerating
 “of idolatry and superstition, against so clear a
 “light, and not acknowledging the day of visita-
 “tion) the beginning of such a doleful desolation,
 “as no policy or power of man shall be able to
 “prevent, and as shall make your majesty’s king-
 “doms, within a short time, as miserable as they
 “may be happy by a reformation of religion.
 “God forbid that, whilst the houses of parliament
 “do profess their desire of the reformation of
 “religion in a peaceable and parliamentary way,
 “and pass their bills for that end in the particulars;
 “that your majesty, the nurse-father of the kirk
 “of Christ, to whose care the custody and vindic-
 “cation of religion doth principally belong, should,
 “to the provoking of the anger of God, the stop-
 “ping of the influence of so many blessings from

“Heaven, and the grieving of the hearts of all the
“godly, frustrate our expectation, make our hopes
“ashamed, and hazard the loss of the hearts of all
“your good subjects; which, next unto the truth
“and unity of religion, and the safety of your
“kingdoms, are willing to hazard their lives, and
“spend their blood, for your majesty's honour
“and happiness.

“We are not ignorant, that the work is great,
“the difficulties and impediments many; and that
“there be both mountains and lions in the way;
“the strongest let, till it be taken out of the way,
“is the mountain of prelacy: and no wonder, if
“your majesty consider, how many papists, and
“popishly affected, have, for a long time, found
“peace and ease under the shadow thereof; how
“many of the prelatical faction have thereby their
“life and being; how many profane and worldly
“men do fear the yoke of Christ, and are unwilling
“to submit themselves to the obedience of the
“gospel; how many there be, whose eyes are
“dazzled with the external glory and pomp of the
“kirk; whose minds are miscarried with a conceit
“of the governing of the kirk by the rules of
“human policy; and whose hearts are affrighted
“with the apprehensions of the dangerous con-
“sequences, which may ensue upon alterations.
“But when your majesty, in your princely and
“religious wisdom, shall remember, from the
“records of former times, how against the gates of
“hell, the force and fraud of wicked and worldly
“men, and all panic fears of danger, the Christian
“religion was first planted; and the Christian kirk
“thereafter reformed: and, from the condition of
“the present times, how many, from the expe-
“rience of the tyranny of the prelates, are afraid
“to discover themselves, lest they be revenged
“upon them hereafter, (whereas prelacy being re-
“moved, they would openly profess what they
“are, and join with others in the way of reforma-
“tion,) all obstacles and difficulties shall be
“but matter of the manifestation of the power
“of God, the principal worker; and means of
“the greater glory to your majesty, the prime
“instrument.

“The intermixture of the government of pre-
“lates with the civil state, mentioned in your
“majesty's answer to our former petition, being
“taken away, and the right government by assem-
“blies, which is to be seen in all the reformed
“kirks, and wherein the agreement will be easy,
“being settled; the kirk and religion will be more
“pure, and free from mixture, and the civil govern-
“ment more sound and firm. That government
“of the kirk must suit best with the civil state,
“and be most useful for kings and kingdoms,
“which is best warranted by God, by whom kings
“do reign, and kingdoms are established. Nor
“can a reformation be expected in the common
“and ordinary way, expressed also in your
“majesty's answer. The wisest and most religious
“princes have found it impossible, and implying a
“repugnancy, since the persons to be reformed,
“and reformers, must be diverse; and the way of
“reformation must be different from the corrupt
“way, by which defection of workmen, and cor-
“ruption in doctrine, worship, and government,
“have entered into the kirk. Suffer us therefore,
“dread sovereign, to renew our petitions for this
“unity of religion, and uniformity of kirk-govern-
“ment, and for a meeting of some divines of both

“kingdoms, who may prepare matters for your
“majesty's view, and for the examination and ap-
“probation of more full assemblies. The national
“assembly of this kirk, from which we have our
“commission, did promise, in their thanksgiving
“for the many favours expressed in your majesty's
“letter, their best endeavour to keep the people
“under their charge in unity and peace, and in
“loyalty and obedience to your majesty, and your
“laws; which, we confess, is a duty well beseem-
“ing the preachers of the gospel.

“But we cannot conceal how much both pastors
“and people are grieved and disquieted with the
“late reports of the success, boldness, and strength
“of popish forces in Ireland and England; and
“how much danger, from the power of so malicious
“and bloody enemies, is apprehended to the re-
“ligion and peace of this kirk and kingdom, con-
“ceived by them to be the spring, whence have
“issued all their calamities and miseries. Which
“we humbly remonstrate to your majesty as a
“necessity requiring a general assembly, and do
“earnestly supplicate for the presence and assist-
“ance of your majesty's commissioner, and the
“day to be appointed; that, by universal consent
“of the whole kirk, the best course may be taken
“for the preservation of religion, and for the avert-
“ing of the great wrath, which they conceive to
“be imminent to this kingdom. If it shall please
“the Lord, in whose hand is the heart of the
“king, as the rivers of waters, to turn it whither-
“soever he will, to incline your majesty's heart to
“this through reformation; no more to tolerate
“the mass, or any part of Romish superstition, or
“tyranny; and to command that all good means
“be used for the conversion of your princely
“consort, the queen's majesty, (which is also
“the humble desire of this whole kirk and king-
“dom,) your joint comforts shall be multiplied
“above the days of your affliction, to your in-
“credible joy; your glory shall shine in bright-
“ness, above all your royal progenitors, to the
“admiration of the world, and the terror of your
“enemies: and your kingdoms so far abound in
“righteousness, peace, and prosperity, above all
“that hath been in former generations, that they
“shall say, *It is good for us, that we have been*
“*afflicted.*”

This petition was not stranger in itself, than in
the circumstances that attended it; for it was no
sooner (if so soon) presented to the king, than it
was sent to London, and printed, and communi-
cated with extraordinary industry to the people;
that they might see how far the Scottish nation
would be engaged for the destruction of the
church; and the messenger who presented it, Mr.
Henderson, confessed to his majesty, that he had
three or four letters to the most active and sedi-
tious preachers about London, from men of the
same spirit in Scotland. Upon this provocation,
the king might have very reasonably proceeded
against Mr. Henderson, who was neither included
in his safe conduct, (as the lord Lowden and the
rest of the commissioners were,) nor had any au-
thority from the lords of the council of that king-
dom, (who were qualified with large powers,) to
countenance his employment; being sent only
from the commissioners of the general assembly,
(who were not authorized by their own constitu-
tions, to make any such declaration,) and there
being then no assembly sitting; which itself, with

all their new privileges, could not, with any colour of reason, or authority, have transacted such an instrument. However the king, who well knew the interest and influence the clergy had upon the people of that kingdom; and that, whilst they pretended to remove them from all secular employment, they were the principal instruments and engines, by which the whole nation was wrought to sedition; resolved, not only to use the person of Mr. Henderson very graciously, and to protect him from those affronts, which he might naturally expect in a university, (especially, having used some grave and learned doctors with great insolence, who went civilly to him to be informed what arguments had prevailed with him, to be so professed an enemy of the church of England, and to give him some information in the argument; with whom he superciliously refused to hold any discourse,) but to return an answer with all possible candour to the petition itself; and so, before he entered upon the other address, made by the lord Lowden and the rest, he returned (after very solemn debates in council, where the earl of Lanerick the secretary for Scotland, and other lords of Scotland, who were of the privy-council, were present, and fully concurred, with many expressions of their detestation of the manners of their countrymen, yet with assured confidence that they would not be corrupted to any act of hostility) to Mr. Henderson, and, with all expedition, by other hands into Scotland, this answer; which likewise I think fit to insert in the very words, that posterity may know how tender and provident the king always was, to prevent any misunderstanding of him and his actions with that people; and consequently any commotions in that kingdom; which was the only thing, he feared, might contribute to, and continue, the distractions in this.

His majesty's answer to the late petition presented unto him by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, from the commissioners of the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

"We received lately a petition from you, by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, to the which we intended to have given an answer, as soon as we had transacted the business with the other commissioners, addressed to us from the conservators of the treaty of that our kingdom. But finding the same to be published in print, and to be dispersed throughout our kingdom, to the great danger of scandalizing of our well affected subjects; who may interpret the bitterness and sharpness of some expressions, not to be so agreeable to that regard and reverence, which is due to our person, and the matter itself to be reproachful to the honour and constitution of this kingdom: we have been compelled, the more strictly to examine, as well the authority of the petitioners, as the matter of the petition itself, and to publish our opinion of both, that our subjects of both kingdoms may see how equally just, and sensible, we are of the laws and honour of both our kingdoms.

"And first, upon perusal of the petition, we required to see the commission, by which the messenger who brought the petition, or the persons who sent him, are qualified to intermeddle in affairs so foreign to their jurisdiction, and of

"so great concernment to this our kingdom of England. Upon examination whereof, and in defence of the laws and government of this our kingdom, which we are trusted and sworn to defend, we must profess that the petitioners, or the general assembly of our church of Scotland, have not the least authority, or power, to intermeddle or interpose in the affairs of this kingdom, or church; which are settled and established by the proper laws of this land, and, till they be altered by the same competent power, cannot be inveighed against without a due sense of us, and this nation; much less can they present any advice or declaration to our houses of parliament against the same; or, to that purpose, send any letters, as they have now done, to any ministers of our church here; who, by the laws of this land, cannot correspond against the same.

"Therefore, we do believe that the petitioners, when they shall consider how unwarranted it is by the laws of that kingdom, and how contrary it is to the laws of this, to the professions they have made to each other, and how unbecoming in itself, for them to require the ancient, happy, and established government of the church of England to be altered, and conformed to the laws and constitutions of another church, will find themselves misled by the information of some factious persons here, who would willingly engage the petitioners to foment a difference and division between the two kingdoms, which we have, with so much care and industry, endeavoured to prevent; not having laboured more to quench the combustion in this kingdom, than we have to hinder the like from either devouring Ireland, or entering into Scotland; which, if all others will equally labour, will undoubtedly be avoided. But we cannot so easily pass over the mention of Ireland, being moved to it by the scandalous aspersions, that have been often cast upon us, upon that subject, and the use that hath been made of the woful distractions of that kingdom, as of a seminary of fears and jealousies, to beget the like distractions in this; and, which lest they may have farther influence, we are the more willing to make our innocence appear in that particular.

"When first that horrid rebellion began, we were in our kingdom of Scotland; and the sense we had then of it, the expressions we made concerning it, the commissions, together with some other assistance, we sent immediately into that kingdom, and the instant recommendation we made of it to both our houses of parliament in England, are known to all persons of quality there and then about us. After our return into England, our ready concurring to all the desires of both houses, that might most speedily repress that rebellion, by passing the bill of pressing, and in it a clause, which quitted a right challenged by all, and enjoyed by many of our predecessors, by parting with our rights in the lands escheated to us by that rebellion, for the encouragement of adventurers; by emptying our magazines of arms and ammunition for that service, (which we have since needed for our necessary defence and preservation,) by consenting to all bills for the raising of money for the same, though containing unusual clauses, which trusted both houses without us with the manner

“ of disposing it : our often pressing both houses,
 “ not to neglect that kingdom, by being diverted
 “ by considerations and disputes less concerning
 “ both kingdoms: our offer of raising ten thou-
 “ sand volunteers to be sent thither ; and our
 “ several offers to engage our own royal person, in
 “ the suppression of that horrid rebellion, are no
 “ less known to all this nation, than our perpetual
 “ earnestness, by our foreign ministers, to keep all
 “ manner of supplies from being transported for
 “ the relief of the rebels, is known to several
 “ neighbouring princes ; which if all good subjects
 “ will consider, and withal how many of the men,
 “ and how much of the money raised for that end,
 “ and how much time, care, and industry, have been
 “ diverted from that employment, and employed in
 “ this unnatural war against us, (the true cause of
 “ the present misery, and want, which our British
 “ armies there do now endure,) they will soon free
 “ us from all those imputations, so scandalously
 “ and groundlessly laid upon us ; and impute the
 “ continuance of the combustion of that miserable
 “ kingdom, the danger it may bring upon our
 “ kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the be-
 “ ginning of this doleful desolation, to those who
 “ are truly guilty of it.

“ For unity in religion, which is desired, we
 “ cannot but answer, that we much apprehend,
 “ lest the papists may make some advantage of
 “ that expression, by continuing that scandal with
 “ more authority, which they have ever heretofore
 “ used to cast upon the reformation, by interpret-
 “ ing all the differences in ceremony, government,
 “ or indifferent opinions between several protest-
 “ ant churches, to be differences in religion ; and
 “ lest our good subjects of England, who have
 “ ever esteemed themselves of the same religion
 “ with you, should suspect themselves to be es-
 “ teemed by you to be of a contrary ; and that the
 “ religion which they and their ancestors have
 “ held, ever since the blessed reformation, and in,
 “ and for which, they are resolved to die, is taxed,
 “ and branded of falsehood, or insufficiency, by
 “ such a desire.

“ For uniformity in church-government, we
 “ conceived the answer formerly given by us (at
 “ Bridgenorth, 13th October, 1642) to the former
 “ petition in this argument, would have satisfied
 “ the petitioners ; and is so full, that we can add
 “ little to it ; viz. that the government here esta-
 “ blished by the laws hath so near a relation and
 “ intermixture with the civil state, (which may be
 “ unknown to the petitioners,) that till a com-
 “ posed, digested form be presented to us, upon a
 “ free debate of both houses in a parliamentary
 “ way, whereby the consent and approbation of
 “ this whole kingdom may be had, and we and all
 “ our subjects may discern, what is to be left, or
 “ brought in, as well as what is to be taken away ;
 “ we know not how to consent to any alteration,
 “ otherwise than to such an act for the ease of
 “ tender consciences in the matter of ceremonies,
 “ as we have often offered ; and that this, and any
 “ thing else that may concern the peace of the
 “ church, and the advancement of God's true re-
 “ ligion, may be soberly discussed, and happily
 “ effected, we have formerly offered, and are still
 “ willing, that debates of that nature may be
 “ entered into by a synod of godly and learned
 “ divines, to be regularly chosen according to the
 “ laws and customs of this kingdom : to which we

“ shall be willing that some learned divines of our
 “ church of Scotland may be likewise sent, to be
 “ present, and offer, and debate their reasons.
 “ With this answer the petitioners had great rea-
 “ son to acquiesce, without enlarging the matter
 “ of their former petition only with bitter expres-
 “ sions against the established government and
 “ laws of their neighbour nation, (as if it were
 “ contrary to the word of God,) with whom they
 “ have so lately entered into a strict amity and
 “ friendship.

“ But we cannot enough wonder, that the peti-
 “ tioners should interpose themselves, not only as
 “ fit directors and judges between us, and our two
 “ houses of parliament, in business so wholly con-
 “ cerning the peace and government of this our
 “ kingdom ; and in a matter so absolutely in-
 “ trusted to us, as what new laws to consent, or
 “ not to consent to ; but should assume, and pub-
 “ lish, that the desire of reformation in this king-
 “ dom is in a peaceable and parliamentary way ;
 “ when all the world may know, that the proceed-
 “ ings here have been, and are, not only contrary
 “ to all the rules and precedents of former parlia-
 “ ments, but destructive to the freedom, privilege,
 “ and dignity of parliaments themselves : that we
 “ were first driven by tumults, for the safety of
 “ our life, from our cities of London and West-
 “ minster ; and have been since pursued, fought
 “ withal, and are now kept from thence by an
 “ army, raised and paid, as is pretended, by the
 “ two houses, which consist not of the fourth part
 “ of the number they ought to do ; the rest being
 “ either driven from thence by the same violence,
 “ or expelled, or imprisoned, for not consenting to
 “ the treasons and unheard of insolencies practised
 “ against us. And if the petitioners could believe
 “ these proceedings to be in a peaceable and par-
 “ liamentary way, they were unacquainted with the
 “ order and constitution of this kingdom, and not
 “ so fit instruments to promote the reformation
 “ and peace, they seem to desire.

“ We cannot believe the intermixture of the
 “ present ecclesiastical government with the civil
 “ state, to be other than a very good reason ; and
 “ that the government of the church should be by
 “ the rules of human policy, to be other than a
 “ very good rule, unless some other government
 “ were as well proved, as pretended, to be better
 “ warranted by [the word of] God.

“ Of any bills offered to us for reformation, we
 “ shall not now speak, they being a part of those
 “ articles upon which we have offered, and expect
 “ to treat : but cannot but wonder, by what autho-
 “ rity you prejudice our judgment herein, by de-
 “ nouncing God's anger upon us, and our hazard
 “ of the loss of the hearts of all our good subjects,
 “ if we consent not unto them. The influence of
 “ so many blessings from heaven upon the reigns
 “ of queen Elizabeth and our father of blessed
 “ memory, and the acknowledgment of them by
 “ all protestant churches, to have been careful
 “ nurses of the church of Christ, and to have ex-
 “ cellently discharged their duties, in the custody
 “ and vindication of religion ; and the affection of
 “ their subjects to them, do sufficiently assure us,
 “ that we should neither stop the influence of such
 “ blessings, nor grieve the hearts of all the godly,
 “ nor hazard the loss of the hearts of our good
 “ subjects, although we still maintain, in this king-
 “ dom, the same established ecclesiastical govern-

“ment which flourished in their times, and under
“their special protection.

“We doubt not, but our subjects of Scotland
“will rest abundantly satisfied with such altera-
“tions in their own church, as we have assented
“unto; and not be persuaded by a mere assertion,
“that there is no hope of continuance of what is
“there settled by law, unless that be likewise
“altered which is settled here. And our subjects
“of England will never depart from their dutiful
“affection to us, for not consenting to new laws,
“which, by the law of the land, they know we
“may as justly reject, if we approve not of them,
“as either house hath power to prepare for, or
“both, to propound to us. Nor are you a little
“mistaken, if either you believe the generality of
“this nation to desire a change of church-govern-
“ment, or that most of those, who desire it, desire
“by it to introduce that which you will only es-
“teem a reformation; but are as unwilling to sub-
“mit to what you call the yoke of Christ, and
“obedience to the gospel, as those whom you call
“profane and worldly men; and so equally averse
“both to episcopacy and presbytery, that, if they
“should prevail in this particular, the abolition of
“the one would be no inlet to the other; nor
“would your hearts be less grieved, your expecta-
“tions less frustrated, your hopes less ashamed,
“or your reformation more secured. And the
“petitioners, upon due consideration, will not find
“themselves less mistaken in the government of
“all the reformed churches, which, they say, is by
“assemblies, than they are in the best way of a
“reformation; which sure is best to be in a com-
“mon and ordinary way, where the passion or
“interest of particular men may not impose upon
“the public; but alteration be then only made,
“when, upon calm debates, and evident and clear
“reason, and convenience, the same shall be gene-
“rally consented to for the peace and security of
“the people; and those who are trusted by the
“law with such debates, are not divested of that
“trust, upon a general charge of corruptions,
“pretended to have entered by that way; and of
“being the persons to be reformed, and so unfit
“to be reformers. And certainly, the like logic,
“with the like charges and pretences, might be
“used to make the parliament itself an incapable
“judge of any reformation, either in church or
“state.

“For the general expressions in the petition
“against papists, in which the petitioners may be
“understood to charge us with compliance and
“even favour to their opinions; we have taken all
“occasions to publish to the world our practice
“and resolution in the true protestant reformed
“religion: and we are verily persuaded, there is
“no one subject in either of our dominions, who
“at all knows us, and hath observed our life, but
“is, in his soul, satisfied of our constant zeal and
“unremovable affection to that religion, and of
“our true dislike of, and hearty opposition to
“popery. And as we willingly consented, at our
“being in Scotland, to all acts proposed to us, for
“the discountenancing and the reforming the
“papists in that our kingdom; so, by our procla-
“mations for the putting of all laws severely in
“execution against recusants; and by not refusing
“any one bill, presented to us to that purpose, in
“this kingdom; and by our perpetual and public
“professions of readiness, with the advice of our

“two houses of parliament, prepared for us in a
“deliberate and orderly way, to find some expe-
“dient to perfect so good a work; we conceived,
“we had not left it possible for any man to believe
“us guilty of tolerating any part of the Romish
“tyranny or superstition; or to suspect, that the
“conversion of our dearest consort was not so
“much our desire, that the accession of as many
“crowns as God hath already bestowed on us,
“would not be more welcome to us than that day:
“a blessing, which it is our daily prayer to the
“Almighty to bestow upon us.

“But we might well have expected from the
“petitioners, who have, in their solemn national
“covenant, literally sworn so much care of the
“safety of our person, and cannot but know in
“how much danger that hath been, and still is, by
“the power and threats of rebellious armies, that
“they would as well have remembered the 23rd of
“October, as the 5th of November; and as well
“have taken notice of the army raised, and led
“against us by the earl of Essex, which hath actu-
“ally assaulted, and endeavoured to murder us;
“which we know to abound in Brownists, anabap-
“tists, and other sectaries; and in which we have
“reason (by prisoners we have taken, and the evi-
“dence they have given) to believe there are many
“more papists (and many of those foreigners) than
“in all our army; as have advised us, to disband
“out of the army of the earl of Newcastle, which
“is raised for our defence, the papists in that
“army; who are known to be no such number, as
“to endanger their obtaining any power of build-
“ing their Babel, and setting up their idolatry;
“and whose loyalty he hath reason to commend
“(though he was never suspected for favouring
“their religion) not before that of our protestants,
“but of such as rebel under that title; and whose
“assistance is as due to us, by the law of God and
“man, to rescue us from domestic rebellion, as to
“defend us from foreign invasion; which we think
“no man denies to be lawful for them to do. But
“we do solemnly declare, and protest, that God
“shall no sooner free us from the desperate and
“rebellious arms taken up against us, but we shall
“endeavour to free ourselves and kingdom from
“any fear of danger from the other, by disarming
“them, according to the laws of this land; as we
“shall not fail to send our commissioner to the
“assembly, at the time appointed for it by the laws
“of Scotland.

“To conclude, we desire and require the peti-
“tioners (as becomes good and pious preachers of
“the gospel) to use their utmost endeavours, to
“compose any distraction in opinions, or mis-
“understandings, which may, by the faction of
“some turbulent persons, be raised in the minds
“of our good subjects of that our kingdom; and
“to infuse into them a true sense of charity, obe-
“dience, and humility, the great principles of the
“Christian religion; that they may not suffer
“themselves to be transported with things that
“they do not understand, or think themselves
“concerned in the government of another king-
“dom, because it is not according to the customs
“of that in which they live; but that they dispose
“themselves, with modesty and devotion, to the
“service of Almighty God; with duty and affec-
“tion, to the obedience of us, and our laws;
“(remembering the singular grace, favour, and
“benignity, we have always expressed to that

"our native kingdom;) and with brotherly and Christian charity one towards another: and we doubt not but God, in his mercy to us and them, will make us instruments of his blessings upon each other, and both of us, of a great measure of happiness and prosperity to the whole nation."

The lord Lowden and the other lay-commissioners, who were persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior quality, gave the precedence to this petition, which they called matter of religion; and pressed not their own commission, till the king had declared and published his answer to that: and though they pretended not to have any authority to say any thing in that engagement of the commissioners of the assembly; yet the lord Lowden used all importunity, and arguments, to persuade the king in private, to consent to the alteration of the government of the church; assuring him, "that it would be a means, not only to hinder his subjects of Scotland from adhering to the parliament; but that it would oblige them to assist his majesty to the utmost, in the vindication of all his rights." But he quickly found the king too strongly fixed to be swayed in a case of conscience, by a consideration of convenience; and his lordship undertook to give no other arguments.

He betook himself then with his companions to their own proper and avowed errand; which consisted of two parts: the one, to offer "the mediation of the conservators of the peace of that kingdom, for the composure of the differences between the king and the two houses;" the other, "to desire his majesty, that he would send out his precepts to summon a parliament in Scotland." These desires, and any arguments to enforce them, they always delivered to the king himself in writing; declining any address to his ministers, or any debates with his council, lest it might seem to lessen the grandeur and absoluteness of the kingdom of Scotland. But the king always brought those papers, which he received from them, to his council; and received their advice, what answers to return. For the first, of mediation, they pretended a title and obligation to it, by a clause in the act of pacification made at the beginning of this parliament; which clause was, "That the peace to be then established might be inviolably observed in all time to come, it was agreed, that some should be appointed by his majesty, and the parliaments of both kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt the sitting of the parliaments, might be careful, that the peace then happily concluded might be continued; and who should endeavour by all means to prevent all troubles and divisions; and if any debate and difference should happen to arise, to the disturbance of the common peace, they should labour to remove or compose them, according to their power; it being supposed, that, for all their proceedings of this kind, they should be answerable to the king's majesty and the parliament: and if any thing should fall out that should be above their power, and could not be remedied by them, they should inform themselves in the particulars, and represent the same to the king's majesty, and the ensuing parliament; that, by their wisdoms and authority, all occasion and causes of troubles might be removed, and the peace of the kingdom might be perpetual to all posterity."

"And it was declared, that the power of the commission should be restrained to the articles of peace in that treaty."

This clause, and the whole statute, being carefully perused, and examined before his majesty in his council, the king returned an answer to them in writing.

"That he could not find any colour, or pretence of authority, to be granted by that act of parliament, by which the commissioners for Scotland could conceive themselves interested in a faculty of mediation; that the clause mentioned by them (besides that there was no such commission granted as was mentioned in that clause, nor any commissioners named for those purposes) related only to the differences that might grow between the two nations; and only upon the articles of that treaty, which, his majesty said, had been, and should be, inviolably observed by him. That the differences between his majesty and his two houses of parliament had not the least relation to the peace between the two kingdoms, but to the unquestionable and long enjoyed rights of his, which his rebellious subjects endeavoured, by force, to wrest from him; and concerned the fundamental laws of this kingdom; which, as they could not be supposed to be known to the conservators of the peace of Scotland, so they could not have any possible cognizance of them. That it might give great umbrage to his subjects of England, if he should consent to what they now proposed; and, instead of confirming and continuing the peace, breed jealousies between the nations; and therefore he could not admit of any such mediation as they proposed; but that he hoped the treaty, which he now expected, would beget so good an understanding between him and his two houses, that a peace might ensue; towards which he would expect nothing from his subjects of Scotland, but their prayers."

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their right by that clause; which, without any reason or argument to persuade others to be of their mind, they said, "they conceived, laid that obligation upon them of interposition;" to which the king still gave the same answer.

For their other demand of a parliament in Scotland, the case stood thus: The king, at his last being in Scotland, had, according to the precedent he had made here, granted an act for triennial parliaments in that kingdom; and, at the close of that present parliament, had ratified another act, by which a certain day was appointed, for the commencement of the next; which day was to be on the first Tuesday of June, in the year 1644, except the king should call one sooner; which he had power to do. So that the question was only, whether the calling a parliament sooner in that kingdom was like to advance his service, and to contribute to the peace of this? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no arguments, that such a convention could not then produce benefit to the king; the entire government of that people being in those persons, who had contrived those dismal alterations. On the other hand, all men thought it very happy for the king, that, without his consent, there could be no parliament in Scotland, till June 1644; which was more than fourteen months from this time: till when, how disinclined soever the whole nation should be, there was as much

assurance as could possibly be, from that people, that the parliament would not be able to procure any avowed supply from that kingdom: it being the express words in the late act of pacification, "that the kingdom of England should not denounce or make war against the kingdom of Scotland, without consent of the parliament of England;" as on the other part it was enacted, "that the kingdom of Scotland should not denounce or make war against the kingdom of England, without the consent of the parliament of Scotland. And in case any of the subjects of either of the kingdoms should rise in arms, or make war against the other kingdom, or subjects thereof, without consent of the parliament of that kingdom, whereof they are subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they should be held, reputed, and demanded, as traitors to the estates, whereof they are subjects. And, that both the kingdoms, in that case, should be bound to concur in the repressing of those that should happen to arise in arms, or make war, without consent of their own parliament."

So that whoever believed, that those people could be contained by any obligations, divine or human, thought it impossible, by these clear texts, that any forces could be raised there to invade England, and disturb his majesty, till June 1644; before which time, there was hope the king might so far prevail, that the spirit of the rebellion might be broken, and men return again to their understanding and allegiance. Therefore to that demand the king returned answer, "that against the time by which they could legally demand a parliament," (naming the day,) "he would issue out his writs, and there being no emergent cause to do it sooner, he would forbear to put his subjects there to that trouble, which those meetings, how necessary soever, would naturally carry with them."

When they perceived that they should not receive satisfaction in either of their proposals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the king was so wary in his answers, and so clearly expressed the reasons and justice of them, that they should have no arguments to apply to the passion or interest of their countrymen; which they expected at least; (for in that, in which he was most steadfastly resolved, the preservation of the government of the church, he expressed no more to them, than, "that being a matter of so great importance, and having so near relation to the civil government and laws of England, they could not be competent considerers of it; but that he would do what should be most safe, and necessary for the peace and welfare of his subjects, who were most concerned in it;") at last rather cursorily, and as matter of ceremony at parting, than of moment, they desired "the king's leave, and pass to go to London," having, as they said, "some business there before their return into their own country."

This was, by many, thought a thing of so small moment, that the king should readily grant it; since it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were necessarily to return through the enemy's quarters; and being once there, they might choose whether they would go directly home, or visit London. And therefore that request was thought but an instance of their modesty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their re-

quest. But the king looked upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appeared. And he well knew, there was a great difference between their going to London with his pass and license, and without it, which they might easily do. They had now publicly declared their errand, and claimed a title, and legal capacity to undertake the business of mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully received, and admitted to a power of umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the king should grant them his pass, it would, by their logic, more reasonably conclude his assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant propositions; and having that ground once, his majesty's not consenting to what those grave mediators would propose, and afterwards, as arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole nation to engage. And therefore the king expressly denied his pass and safe conduct; and told them plainly the reason why he did so; and required them, "since he had denied to consent to that, which could be the only ground of their going to London, that they should first return to those that sent them, before they attempted that journey: if they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of persons, whom his majesty would not countenance with his protection." And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to London, they could not have returned thence to Scotland, (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a voyage by sea,) without so much danger from the king's quarters in the north, (York and Newcastle being at his devotion,) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

Whilst this was in agitation, the committee from the parliament for the treaty, to wit, the earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierrepont, sir W. Armyn, sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, came to Oxford; who shortly took notice of the Scottish commissioners' desires, and also desired on their behalf, "that they might have his majesty's leave to go to London:" but being quickly answered, "that that request would not fall within either of the propositions agreed to be treated of," they modestly gave over the intercession: and in the end, the lord Lowden and his countrymen returned directly to Scotland, staying only so long in the garrisons of the enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such animadversions, and to entertain such communication, as they thought most necessary.

As soon as the committee arrived at Oxford, they were very graciously received by the king; his majesty always giving them audience in council, and they withdrawing into a private chamber prepared for them, whilst their proposals, which they still delivered in writing, were considered, and debated before the king. They declared, "that they were first to treat of the cessation, and till that was concluded, that they were not to enter upon any of the other propositions;" with which his majesty was well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had power to give, consent to the articles proposed by him; which he the rather believed, when they read the preamble to the articles; in which it was declared, "that the lords and commons being still carried on with a vehement de-

"sire of peace, that so the kingdom might be freed from the desolation and destruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelmed, had considered of the articles of cessation with those alterations, and additions, offered by his majesty; unto which they were ready to agree in such manner as was expressed in the ensuing articles." After which, were inserted the very articles had been first sent to the king, without the least condescension to any one alteration, or addition, made by him; neither had the committee power to recede, or consent to any alteration, but only to publish it, if the king consented in terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to treat upon the other propositions.

This the king looked upon as an ill omen; other men as a plain contempt, and stratagem, to make the people believe, by their sending their committee, that they did desire a treaty and a cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate both, and to cast the envy of it upon the king. Hereupon, the next day, the king sent a message to them, which he published, to undeceive the people; farther pressing "the weight and consequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience that proceeded from not granting their committee power to alter so much as verbal expressions: so that, if the king should consent to the articles as they were proposed, he should not only submit to great disadvantages; but some such, as themselves would not think reasonable to oblige him to. As by that article wherein they reserved a power to send out a fleet, or what ships they thought good, to sea; they were not at all restrained from sending what land forces they pleased, to any part of the kingdom; so that, when the cessation ended, they might have new and greater armies throughout the kingdom, than they had when it begun; which, he presumed, they did not intend; being a thing so unequal, and contrary to the nature of a cessation.

"Then in the articles they last sent, they styled their forces, the army raised by the parliament; the which if his majesty should consent to, he must acknowledge, either that he consented to the raising that army, or that he was no part of the parliament: neither of which, he conceived, they would oblige him to do. And therefore he desired, that their committee might have liberty to treat, debate, and agree upon the articles; upon which they and all the world should find, that he was less solicitous for his own dignity and greatness, than for his subjects' ease and liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just desire of his should not be yielded unto, but the same articles still insisted upon, though his majesty, next to peace, desired a cessation, yet, that the not agreeing upon the one might not destroy the hopes of, nor so much as delay, the other; he was willing to treat, even without a cessation, upon the propositions themselves, in that order that was agreed; and desired their committee might be enabled to that effect. In which treaty he would give," he said, "all his subjects that satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the rights, privileges, and liberties, due to them by the law, or that happiness in church and state, which the best times had seen, with such farther acts of grace, as might agree with his honour, justice, and duty to his crown, and which might not render him less able to protect his subjects,

"according to his oath, would satisfy them; his majesty was confident, in the mercy of God, that no more precious blood of this nation would be thus miserably spent."

This message produced liberty to the committee to enter upon the treaty itself, upon the propositions, though the cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they sent reasons to the king, why they consented not to the cessation in such manner, and with those limitations, as he had proposed. 1. They alleged, "that, if they should grant such a free trade, as the king desired, to Oxford, and other places, where his forces lay, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to keep arms, ammunition, money, and bullion, from passing to his army: however, it would be exceeding advantageous to his majesty, in supplying his army with many necessaries, and making their quarters a staple for such commodities, as might be vented in the adjacent counties; and so draw money thither; whereby the inhabitants would be better enabled by loans, and contributions, to support his army. As this advantage to him was very demonstrable, so it was very improbable that it would produce any supply to them; and, in a treaty for a cessation, those demands could not be thought reasonable that were not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to both parties. 2. That to demand the approving the commanders of the ships, was, to desire [to add] the strength of the one party to the other, before the differences were ended; against all rules of treaty. And to make a cessation at sea, was to leave the kingdom naked to foreign forces, and the ports open for his supplies of arms and ammunition. But for conveying any forces, by those means, from one part to the other, they would observe the articles by which that was restrained. 3. For the expression of the army raised by the parliament, they were contented it should be altered, and the name of the two houses used. 4. For the committing none, but according to the known laws of the land, that is, by the ordinary process of law, it would follow, that no man must be committed by them for supplying the king with arms, money, or ammunition; for, by the law of the land, the subject might carry such goods from London to Oxford: the soldiers must not be committed who do run from their colours, and refuse any duty in the army; no man should be committed, for not submitting to necessary supplies of money: so that if it should be yielded to, in his majesty's sense, they should be disabled to restrain supplies from their enemies, and to govern and maintain their own soldiers; and so, under a disguise of a cessation, should admit that which would necessarily produce the dissolving of their army, and destruction of their cause. And," they said, "it was not probable, that his majesty would suffer the same inconveniences by that clause; for that they believed he would interpret, that what his general did by virtue of his commission, was and would be done according to the known laws of the land; whereas he had denied, that those known laws gave any power to the two houses of parliament to raise armies; and so, consequently, their general could not exercise any martial laws. So that under the specious show of liberty and law, they should be altogether

“disabled to defend their liberties and laws; and
 “his majesty would enjoy an absolute victory and
 “submission, under pretence of a cessation and
 “treaty.” They said, “being, by a necessity in-
 “evitable, enforced to a defensive war, and therein
 “warranted both by the laws of God and man, it
 “must needs follow, that, by the same law, they
 “were enabled to raise means to support that war;
 “and therefore they could not relinquish that
 “power of laying taxes upon those who ought to
 “join with them in that defence, and the necessary
 “way of levying those taxes upon them, in case of
 “refusal; for otherwise their army must needs be
 “dissolved.”

Though these reasons were capable, in a sad and composed debate, of full answers, and many things would naturally have flowed from them, to disprove the practice and assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the people; and that the king, by not consenting to the cessation, as it was proposed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his affairs: and therefore his majesty sent them, as soon as he had weighed this late message, which he well discerned was not formed to satisfy him, but to satisfy the people against him, an answer; in which he explained the ill consequence of many of their assumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the people: however, he offered “to admit the cessation upon the matter of their own articles; so that he might not be understood to consent to any of those unjust and illegal powers, which they exercised upon the subjects.” But from henceforward, the houses declined any farther argument and debate concerning the cessation; and directed their committee, “to expedite the treaty upon the propositions:” the particulars whereof being transacted in the beginning of the year 1643, I shall refer the narrative to the next book; intending in this, only to comprehend the transactions to the end of 1642.

I am persuaded, if the king had, upon the receipt of the articles for the cessation, when they were first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would have proved very much to his advantage; and that his army would very much have increased by it, and the other been impaired; and that it would have been very difficult for the parliament to have dissolved it, if once begun, or to have determined the treaty. But besides the reasons before mentioned, the consideration of the northern forces, and the restraining them within their old quarters, who seemed to be in a condition of marching even to London itself, prevailed very far with the king; or rather (which indeed was the grand reason, and rendered every other suggestion of weight) the jealousy that they did not intend to consent to or admit any peace, but such a one as his majesty might not admit, made all the preliminary debates the more insisted on.

Before I conclude this book, I cannot but insert one particular, which by some men may hereafter be thought of some signification. It was now the time of the year, when, by the custom of the kingdom, the king's judges itinerant used to go their circuits throughout England and Wales, to administer justice to the people; and to inquire

into all treasons, felonies, breaches of the peace, and other misdemeanours, which were any where committed contrary to the known laws; and who were sworn to judge according to those known laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their profession.

The lords and commons now sent to the king a special message, “to advise, and desire him, that, in regard of the present distractions, which might hinder both the judges and the people from resorting to those places where such meetings might be appointed, the assizes and gaol-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferred, until it should please God to restore peace unto his people.”

The king returned them answer; “that the present bloody distractions of the kingdom, which he had used all possible means to prevent, and would still to remove, did afflict his majesty under no consideration more, than of the great interruption and stop it made in the course and proceedings of justice, and the execution of the laws; whereby his good subjects were robbed of the peace and security they were born to. And therefore, as much as in him lay, he would advance that only means of their happiness; at least, they should see that their sufferings that way proceeded not from his majesty; and since they might now expect, by the laws, statutes, and customs of the kingdom, the assizes and general gaol-delivery in every county, his majesty thought not fit to command the contrary; but would take severe and precise order, that none of his subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they repaired thither, by any of his forces, which rule he should be glad to see observed by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the laws, even those public calamities might have some abatement, and the kingdom recover its former peace and prosperity.”

But this answer was not more satisfactory than [others] they had usually received from him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old tried weapon, and made an ordinance, “that all judges, and justices of assize and nisi prius, and justices of oyer and terminer, and gaol-delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said commissions, or to hold or keep any assizes, or gaol-delivery, at any time during that Lent vacation; as they would answer the contempt and neglect thereof before the lords and commons in parliament.” And this was the first avowed interruption and suspension of the public justice, that happened, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the people occasion to believe, that what the parliament did (what pretence soever there was of fundamental laws) was not so warrantable by that rule, since they laboured so much to suppress that inquisition. It was not in the king's power to help this; for besides that the example of judge Mallet, who, the circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the bench by a troop of horse, as is before remembered, terrified all the judges, (and there were very few counties in England, in which they could have been secure from the like violence,) the records, upon which the legal proceedings were to be, were at London; and so the exercise of the law ceased throughout the kingdom, save only in some few counties, whither the king sent some judges of assize, and into others,

his commissions of oyer and terminer; by virtue whereof, the earl of Essex, and many others, were as legally attainted of high treason, as the wisdom of our ancestors could direct.

We shall in this place, and before we mention the treaty which shortly ensued, for in the time between the return of the commissioners to London, and the beginning of the treaty, this person [Mr. Hyde] (whom we shall hereafter mention under the style of chancellor of the exchequer) was preferred to that office, and because it was about the end of the year [1642-3], it being in February when he was sworn a privy-counsellor, we shall set down the state of the court and the state of the kingdom at this time, the names of those privy-counsellors who attended the king, or were in his service, and the names of those who were likewise of the council, but stayed and acted with the parliament against the king; and likewise the temper of the kingdom at that season, as it was possessed and made useful to either party; and then it will easily appear how little motive any man could have from interest or ambition, who was not carried by the impulsion of conscience and consideration of duty, to engage himself in the quarrel on the king's side.

The lord Littleton was keeper of the great seal of England, of whom so much hath been said before, that there is no need of enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profession of the law were very great, were not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the king's coming to Oxford, the king had confidence enough in him, to leave the seal in his custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service; his very ill fortune had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most men, that he gave little reputation to the council, and had little authority in it. He was exceedingly glad that his friend the chancellor of the exchequer was become a member of it.

The duke of Richmond, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the king's person of any man who was not descended from king James; so he was very worthy of all the grace and favour the king had shewed him; who had taken great care of his education, and sent him into France, Italy, and Spain, where he was created a grandee of that kingdom; and as soon as he returned, though he was scarce one and twenty years of age, made him a privy-counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both families, married him to the sole daughter of his dead favourite, the duke of Buckingham; with whom he received twenty thousand pounds in portion; and his majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his title, so he was at great ease in his fortune. He was a man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty spirit, and so punctual in point of honour, that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a resignation of himself to the king, that he abhorred all artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how powerful soever, failed in their duty to his majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as one that would have no quarter, upon so infamous terms, as but looking on whilst

his master was ill used. As he had received great bounties from the king, so he sacrificed all he had to his service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the war begun, engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service; in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived, with unspotted fidelity, some years after the murder of his master, and was suffered to put him into his grave; and died, without the comfort of seeing the resurrection of the crown.

The marquis of Hertford was a man of great honour and fortune, and interest in the affection of the people; and had always undergone hard measure from the court, where he received no countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a man of very good parts, and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages, and of a clear courage, of which he had given frequent evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a country life, where he lived in splendour, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for business: besides his particular friendship with the earl of Essex, whose sister he had married, his greatest acquaintance and conversation had been with those who had the reputation of being best affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously and furiously against the king. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the government established, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the parliament, never concurred with them in any one vote dishonourable to the king, or in the prosecution of the earl of Strafford. He did accept the government of the prince of Wales, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the king; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the office of a governor, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left York, as is remembered, to form an army for the king in the west, where his interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an army from the parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther west to Cornwall; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himself returned to the king at Oxford, about the time when the treaty began.

The earl of Southampton was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the king's cause. He was of a nature much inclined to melancholy, and being born a younger brother, and his father and his elder brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a boy, he was much troubled to be called *my lord*, and with the noise of attendance; so much he then delighted to be alone. Yet he had a great spirit, and exacted the respect that was due to his quality; he had never had any conversation in the court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions to have been severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the parliament,

no man was more courted by the managers of those designs. He had great dislike of the high courses, which had been taken in the government, and a particular prejudice to the earl of Strafford, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the king declined, and the prosecution of the earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a man of a great sharpness of judgment, a very quick apprehension, and that readiness of expression upon any sudden debate, that no man delivered himself more advantageously and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependence upon, the court, or purpose to have any; but wholly pursued the public interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the bedchamber; and received both honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a protestation, which both houses had ordered to be taken by all their members, they had likewise voted, "that no man should be capable of any preferment in church or state, who refused to take the same;" and he would shew how much he contemned those votes. He went with the king to York; was most solicitous, as hath been said, for the offer of peace at Nottingham; and was then with him at Edge-hill; and came and stayed with him at Oxford to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and, as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the war; which is all shall be said of him in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him, in the continuance of this discourse, there being always a fast friendship between him and the chancellor of the exchequer, which lasted to his death.

The earl of Leicester was a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the mathematics; and though he had been a soldier, and commanded a regiment, in the service of the States of the United Provinces, and was afterwards employed in several embassies, as in Denmark and in France, was in truth rather a speculative, than a practical man; and expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of: which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his life. He was, after the death of the earl of Strafford, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of king and queen, called from his embassy in France, to be lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland; and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem: and being, about the time of the king's coming to Oxford, ready to embark at Chester, for the execution of his charge, he was required to attend his majesty, for farther instructions, at Oxford; where he remained; and though he was of the council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not: for he was a man of honour, and fidelity to the king, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering and irresolution in his nature.

The earl of Bristol was a man of a grave aspect,

of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in affairs of great importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favour of king James to his person (for he was a very handsome man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by a good education at home and abroad, sent ambassador into Spain, before he was thirty years of age; and afterwards in several other embassies; and at last, again into Spain; where he treated and concluded the marriage between the prince of Wales and that infanta; which was afterwards dissolved. He was by king James made of the privy-council, vice-chamberlain of the household, an earl, and a gentleman of the bedchamber to the prince, and was then crushed by the power of the duke of Buckingham, and the prejudice the prince himself had contracted against him, during his highness's being in Spain; upon which he was imprisoned upon his return; and after the duke's death, the king retained so strict a memory of all his friendships and displeasures, that the earl of Bristol could never recover any admission to the court; but lived in the country, in ease, and plenty in his fortune, and in great reputation with all who had not an implicit reverence for the court; and before, and in the beginning of the parliament, appeared in the head of all the discontented party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable violences, and grew so much into their disfavour, that after the king was gone to York, upon some expressions he used in the house of peers in debate, they committed him to the Tower; from whence being released, in two or three days, he made haste to York to the king; who had before restored him to his place in the council and the bedchamber. He was with him at Edge-hill, and came with him from thence to Oxford; and, at the end of the war, went into France; where he died; that party having so great an animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in England, nor to compound for his estate, as they suffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a man of great parts, and a wise man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which he managed with good sufficiency; and had lived little in consort, so that in council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was too voluminous in discourse; so that he was not considered there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no man contributed more than his son, the lord Digby; who shortly after came to sit there as secretary of state, and had not that reverence for his father's wisdom, which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his piety towards him.

The earl of Newcastle was a person well bred, and of a full and plentiful fortune; and had been chosen by the king to be governor to the prince of Wales, and made of the council, and resigned that office of governor to the marquis of Hertford, for the reasons which have been mentioned. He was not at Oxford, but remained at Newcastle, with the king's commission to be general of those parts; being a man of great courage, and signal fidelity to the crown, of whom there will be more occasion hereafter to enlarge.

The earl of Berkshire was of the council, but not yet at Oxford; having been, about or before

the setting up of the standard, taken prisoner in Oxfordshire, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the commission of array in that county; but they afterwards set him at liberty, as a man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to Oxford, with the title and pretences of a man, who had been imprisoned for the king, and thereby merited more than his majesty had to give. His affection for the crown was good; his interest and reputation less than any thing but his understanding.

The lord Dunsmore had been made a privy-counsellor, after so many, who had deserved worse, had been called thither, to make an atonement; which failing, he could not be refused, who was ready to do whatever he was directed: he was a man of a rough and tempestuous nature, violent in pursuing what he wished, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with froward and discontented men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest reputation was, that the earl of Southampton married his daughter, who was a beautiful and a worthy lady.

The lord Seymour, being brother to the marquis of Hertford, was a man of interest and reputation; he had been always very popular in the country; where he had always lived out of the grace of the court; and his parts and judgment were best in those things which concerned the good husbandry, and the common administration of justice to the people. In the beginning of the parliament, he served as knight of the shire for Wiltshire, where he lived; and behaving himself with less violence in the house of commons, than many of his old friends did, and having a great friendship for the earl of Strafford, he was, by his interposition, called to the house of peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the crown; and when the king went to York, he left the parliament, and followed his majesty, and remained firm in his fidelity.

The lord Savile was likewise of the council, being first controller, and then treasurer of the household, in recompense of his discovery of all the treasons and conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be punished. He was a man of an ambitious and restless nature; of parts and wit enough; but, in his disposition, and inclination, so false, that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular malice to the earl of Strafford, which he had sucked in with his milk, (there having always been an immortal feud between the families; and the earl had shrewdly overborne his father,) had engaged him with all persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do him mischief. And so, having opportunity, when the king was at the Berks, and made the first unhappy pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as commissioners from the Scots, there was a secret intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal instrument to engage that nation to march into England with an army, which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a letter, signed with the names of several of the English nobility, inviting them to enter the kingdom, and making great promises of assistance; which

names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the parliament not so great as other men's, he insinuated himself into credit with somebody, who brought him to the king or queen, to whom he confessed all he had done to bring in the Scots, and who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand protestations "to repair all by future loyalty and service;" for which he was promised a white staff, which the king had then resolved to take from sir Henry Vane, who held it with the secretary's office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the king knew many had been false, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the king came to York, where this lord's fortune and interest lay, his reputation was so low, that the gentlemen of interest, who wished well to the king's service, would not communicate with him; and, after the king's remove from thence, the earl of Newcastle found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to Oxford; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the king put him again out of his place, and committed him to prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any man of quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

Of the lord Falkland, and sir John Colepepper, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never failed in his fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the ensuing discourse.

Secretary Nicholas was a very honest and industrious man, and always versed in business; which few of the others were, or had been. After some time spent in the university of Oxford, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived some years in France; and was afterwards secretary to the lord Zouch, who was a privy-counsellor, and warden of the cinque ports; and thereby he understood all that jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the admiral. And when that lord, many years after, surrendered that office to the king, to the end that it might be conferred upon the duke of Buckingham, his secretary was likewise preferred with the office; and so, in a short time, became secretary of the admiralty, as well as of the cinque ports; and was entirely trusted, and esteemed by that great favourite. After his death, he continued in the same place, whilst the office was in commission, and was then made clerk of the council, from whence the king called him to be secretary of state, after secretary Windebank fled the kingdom; upon his majesty's own observation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole life, a person of very good reputation, and of singular integrity.

There remain only two of the council then at Oxford, who are not yet named, sir John Banks, who had been attorney general, and was then chief justice of the common pleas, a grave and a learned man in the profession of the law; and sir Peter Wych, who had been ambassador at Constanti-

noble ; from whence he returned very little before the troubles, and gratified sir Thomas Jermyn very liberally for his white staff, when the court was very low, and so was made a privy-counsellor, and controller of the household. He was a very honest, plain man ; and died very shortly after the treaty, and was succeeded by sir Christopher Hatton, a person of great reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way utterly to lose.

This was the state of the king's council at Oxford when Mr. Hyde was made chancellor of the exchequer ; and amongst them there were not many who had been acquainted with the transaction of business, at least with business of that kind which they were then to be incumbent to ; and from the first entrance into the war, the soldiers did all they could to lessen the reverence that was due to them, thinking themselves the best judges of all counsels and designs, because they were for the most part to execute them : but they neither designed well nor executed, and it may be executed the worse, because they had too great a power in the designing ; the king himself too much inclining to them, out of too little esteem of many of his counsellors. At that time the king's quarters were only between Oxford and Reading, and some miles on the other side to Banbury, and the town of Newcastle in the north, and Pendennis in the west of Cornwall ; but in some months after, they were extended as far as Chester upon the Severn ; and the earl of Newcastle reduced all to York, and drove all who professed for the parliament into Hull ; and sir Ralph Hopton, with the assistance of sir Nicholas Slanning, Arundel, and Trevanion, made themselves masters of Cornwall, and afterwards advanced farther towards a conjunction with the king.

And here it will not be amiss to look back, and take a view of those persons who were of the king's council, and had deserted his service, and stayed in the parliament to support the rebellion ; and of the parliament's strength and power at that time in and over the kingdom. The earl of Northumberland may well be reckoned the chief of them, in respect of the antiquity and splendour of his family, his great fortune and estate, and the general reputation he had among the greatest men, and his great interest, by being high admiral of England. Though he was of a family, that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of fidelity to the crown, and his father had been long a prisoner in the Tower, under no less a suspicion than of having some knowledge of the gunpowder treason ; and after he was set at liberty, by the mediation and credit of the earl of Carlisle, who had, without and against his consent, married his daughter, he continued, to his death, under such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his northern estate : yet his father was no sooner dead, than the king poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful measure : he began with conferring the order of the garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his privy-council ; when a great fleet of ships was prepared, by which the king meant that his neighbour princes should discern, that he meant to maintain and preserve his sovereignty at sea, he sent the earl of Northumberland admiral of that fleet, a much greater than the crown had put to sea since the death of queen Elizabeth, that he might breed him for that service, before he gave him a more absolute command. And after he had,

in that capacity, exercised himself a year or two, he made him lord high admiral of England ; which was such a quick succession of bounties and favours, as had rarely befallen any man, who had not been attended with the envy of a favourite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great man, and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his unrashness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man ; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed ; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for ; and in debates of importance, he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the king as much above him, as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject ; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the king, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem, which usually insinuate themselves into such natures, made in him. And so after he was first prevailed upon, not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, (which is a very pestilent corruption,) he was, with the more facility, led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it ; which is as much as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

The earl of Pembroke hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his virtues were thought greater than they were, and his vices very little discerned. Yet, by what was then said, his nature and his parts might be well enough understood ; and as neither the one nor the other were improveable, so they were liable to be corrupted by any assaults ; his understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his nature being made up of very strong passions. Whilst there was tranquillity in the kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in pomp and greatness ; the largeness and plentifulness of his fortune being attended with reverence and dependence from the people where his estate and interest lay, and where indeed he was a great man ; getting an affection and esteem from persons who had no dependence upon him, by his magnificent living, and discoursing highly of justice, and of the protestant religion ; inveighing bitterly against popery, and telling what he used to say to the king ; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the court, that he might not be thought a slave to it. He had been bred from his cradle in the court ; and had that perfection of a courtier, that as he was not wary enough in offending men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his inferiors, and to impute it to his passion, and ask pardon for it ; which made him be thought a well-natured man. Besides, he had a cholerick office, which entitled him to the exercise of some rudenesses, and the good order of the court had some dependence upon his incivilities.

There were very few great persons in authority,

who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them, behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those debts; and his infirmities were so generally known, that men did not think they could suffer in their reputations by any thing he said; whilst the king retained only some kindness for him, without any value and esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the parliament, when he saw and heard a people stout enough to inveigh against the king's authority, and, to fall upon those persons whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two armies in the kingdom, and that the king had not the entire command of either of them; when the decrees of the star-chamber, and the orders and acts of the council, in all which he had concurred, (as his concurrence was all that he had contributed towards any counsel,) were called in question, and like to be made penal to those who would not redeem their past errors by future service; his fear, which was the passion always predominant in him above all his choler and rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the lord Say, to dispose of him as he thought fit, till the king took the white staff from him, and gave it to the earl of Essex, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himself to be absolved from all obligations and dependence upon the court, which he had lived too long in to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to them, by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertained the hope of obtaining the other superior white staff; which remained then in the king's hand by the departure of the earl of Arundel into the parts beyond the seas. But when he saw that staff given to the duke of Richmond, who was then made [lord] steward of the household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the lord Say proposed: and was so weak still, as to believe they never meant to rebel against the king; or that the king could long subsist, without putting himself into their hands. When they had any thing to do in the west, as the exercise of the militia, or executing any other ordinance, they sent him into the country, and shewed him to the people, under the conduct of two or three members of the house, in whom they could confide; and he talked "of the king's evil counsellors, who carried him from his parliament; and of the malignants; and against scandalous ministers;" whilst none of his old friends came near him. And when they were resolved no longer to trust the Isle of Wight in the hands of the earl of Portland, who had been long the king's governor there, and had an absolute power over the affections of that people, they preferred the poor earl of Pembroke to it, by an ordinance of parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a testimony of their favour; and so got into actual rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known, if any thing were necessary; and it cannot be avoided to mention him again hereafter, there being particular passages between him and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had great kindness for him, whilst he had any hope of reclaiming him, and even when that was

desperate, was never without a desire to serve him, having been formerly beholden to him for many civilities, when there was so great a distance between their conditions.

The earl of Essex hath been enough mentioned before; his nature and his understanding have been described; his former disobligations from the court, and then his introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the office he held in it, have been set forth; and there will be occasion, hereafter, to renew the discourse of him; and therefore it shall suffice, in this place, to say, that a weak judgment, and a little vanity, and as much of pride, will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable ambition will do. He had no ambition of title, or office, or preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own fortune: and, without doubt, no man in his nature more abhorred rebellion than he did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or transparent temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. His pride supplied his want of ambition, and he was angry to see any other man more respected than himself, because he thought he deserved it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his friendships, just and constant; and would not have practised foully against those he took to be enemies. No man had credit enough with him to corrupt him in point of loyalty to the king, whilst he thought himself wise enough to know what treason was. But the new doctrine, and distinction of allegiance, and of the king's power in and out of parliament, and the new notions of ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow theirs, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His vanity disposed him to be his excellency; and his weakness, to believe that he should be the general in the houses, as well as in the field; and be able to govern their counsels, and restrain their passions, as well as to fight their battles; and that, by this means, he should become the preserver, and not the destroyer, of the king and kingdom. And with this ill-grounded confidence, he launched out into that sea, where he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in.

The earl of Salisbury had been born and bred in court, and had the advantage of a descent from a father, and a grandfather, who had been very wise men, and great ministers of state in the eyes of Christendom; whose wisdom and virtues died with them, and their children only inherited their titles. He had been admitted of the council to king James; from which time he continued so obsequious to the court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever proposed, which he did not advance, and execute his part with the utmost rigour. No man so great a tyrant in his country, or was less swayed by any motives of justice or honour. He was a man of no words, except in hunting and hawking, in which he only knew how to behave himself. In matters of state and council, he always concurred in what was proposed for the king, and cancelled and repaired all those transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against him, as soon as

any such propositions were made. Yet when the king went to York, he likewise attended upon his majesty; and, at that distance, seemed to have recovered some courage, and concurred in all counsels which were taken to undeceive the people, and to make the proceedings of the parliament odious to all the world. But, on a sudden, he caused his horses to attend him out of the town, and having placed fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to London, with the expedition such men use, when they are most afraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the war was ended, and Cromwell had put down the house of peers, he got himself to be chosen a member of the house of commons; and sat with them, as of their own body; and was esteemed accordingly. In a word, he became so despicable to all men, that he will hardly ever enjoy the ease which Seneca bequeathed him; *Hic egregius majoribus ortus est, qualiscunque est, sub umbra suorum lateat; ut loca sordida repercussa sole illustrantur, ita inertes majorum suorum luce resplendeant.*

The earl of Warwick was of the king's council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the king, whom he had never served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his majesty had no esteem of, or ever purposed to trust; so his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of an universal jollity; and such a license in his words, and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out: so that a man might reasonably have believed, that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who, in the beginning of the troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers, in the time when there was authority to silence them, and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party; and got the style of a godly man. When the king revoked the earl of Northumberland's commission of admiral, he presently accepted the office from the parliament; and never quitted their service; and when Cromwell disbanded that parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the protector; married his heir to his daughter; and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him, that, when he died, he had the honour to be exceedingly lamented by him; and left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion.

The earl of Holland had grown up under the shadow of the court, and had been too long a counsellor before, and contributed too much to the counsels which had most prejudiced the crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed attendance. But he chose to stay with the parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice now, to say, that there

was a very froward fate attended all, or most of the posterity of that bed, from whence he and his brother of Warwick had their original; though he, and some others among them, had many very good parts and excellent endowments.

The earl of Manchester, of the whole cabal, was, in a thousand respects, most unfit for the company he kept. He was of a gentle and a generous nature; civilly bred; had reverence and affection for the person of the king, upon whom he had attended in Spain; loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a temper and disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface, those marks: insomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but performed always as good offices towards his old friends, and all other persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

And he was at last dismissed, and removed from any trust, for no other reason, but because he was not wicked enough. He married first into the family of the duke of Buckingham, and, by his favour and interest, was called to the house of peers in the life of his father; and made baron of Kimbolton, though he was commonly treated and known by the name of the lord Mandevile; and was as much addicted to the service of the court as he ought to be. But the death of his lady, and the murder of that great favourite, his second marriage with the daughter of the earl of Warwick, and the very narrow and restrained maintenance, which he received from his father, and which would in no degree defray the expenses of the court, forced him too soon to retire to a country life, and totally to abandon both the court and London; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his father underwent at court, the conversation of that family into which he was married, the bewitching popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, with the want of those guards which a good education should have supplied him with, by the clear notion of the foundation of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil government, made a great impression upon his understanding, (for his nature was never corrupted, but remained still in its integrity,) and made him believe that the court was inclined to hurt, and even to destroy the country; and from particular instances to make general and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always enemies to the church prevailed with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reformed; and that all means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true logic is, that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful, which are proposed to bring it to pass. No man was courted with more application, by persons of all conditions and qualities; and his person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted principles, than to those of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his piety administered some excuse to him; for his father's infirmities and transgressions had so far exposed him to the inquisition of justice, that he found it

necessary to procure the assistance and protection of those who were strong enough to violate justice itself; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his father's honour, and thereby to secure his own fortune; and concurred with them in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the court as unskilfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of high treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his intentions, at least, as innocent as any of the leading men.

And it is some evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved him to the end of the confusion; when he appeared as glad of the king's restoration, and had heartily wished it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of repentance as he did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy and hatred of Cromwell, as one who abominated the murder of the king, and all the barbarous proceedings against the lives of men in cold blood; the king upon his return received him into grace and favour, which he never forfeited by any undutiful behaviour.

The last of those counsellors which were made after the faction prevailed in parliament, who were all made to advance an accommodation, and who adhered to the parliament, was the lord Say; a man, who had the deepest hand in the original contrivance of all the calamities which befell this unhappy kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the monarchy, and less of levelling the ranks and distinctions of men. For no man valued himself more upon his title, or had more ambition to make it greater, and to raise his fortune, which was but moderate for his title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen nature; conversed much with books, having been bred a scholar, and (though nobly born) a fellow of New College in Oxford; to which he claimed a right, by the alliance he pretended to have from William of Wickham, the founder; which he made good by such an unreasonable pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that college hath been seldom without one of that lord's family. His parts were not quick, but so much above those of his own rank, that he had always great credit and authority in parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the court; and he had, with his milk, sucked in an implacable malice against the government of the church. When the duke of Buckingham proposed to himself, after his return with the prince from Spain, to make himself popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolved to embrace the friendship of the lord Say; who was as solicitous to climb by that ladder. But the duke quickly found him of too imperious and pedantical a spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in court, and lived narrowly and sordidly in the country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great malignity against the church and state, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and

to do their business with most security; and was in truth the pilot, that steered all those vessels which were freighted with sedition to destroy the government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the king, and made several undertakings to do great services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any preferment he could compass, whilst his friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the mastership of the wards shortly after the beginning of the parliament, and was as solicitous to be treasurer after the death of the earl of Bedford; and, if he could have satisfied his rancour in any degree against the church, he would have been ready to have carried the prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther fury; but he then found he had only authority and credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

The last of the counsellors who stayed with the parliament was sir Henry Vane; who had so much excuse for it, that, being thrown out of the court, he had no whither else to go; and promised himself to be much made of by them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by nature, and had not cultivated them at all by art; for he was illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of court, and had undergone some severe mortification, by the disfavour of the duke of Buckingham, in the beginning of the king's reign. But the duke was no sooner dead, (which made it believed that he had made his peace in his lifetime, for the king was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any man who was eminently in the duke's disfavour,) but he was again brought into the court, and made a counsellor, and controller of the household; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good subject. For he had no inclination to change, and in the judgment he had, liked the government both of church and state; and only desired to raise his fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, "that he never had desired other preferment; and believed, that marquis Hamilton," (with whom he had never kept fair quarter,) "when he first proposed to him to be secretary of state, did it to affront him; well knowing his want of ability for the discharge of that office." But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the king, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the earl of Strafford (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of revenge; which is a guest, that naturally disquiets and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and that disposed him to sacrifice his honour and faith, and his master's interest, that he might ruin the earl, and was buried himself

in the same ruin ; for which being justly chastised by the king, and turned out of his service, he was left to his own despair ; and, though he concurred in all the malicious designs against the king, and against the church, he grew into the hatred and contempt of those who had made most use of him ;

and died in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies, than by his own son ; who had been his principal conductor to destruction.

We now pass to the transactions in the treaty itself, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VII.

WHEN the treaty was first consented to by the two houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first proposition made by his majesty, and the first proposition made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his majesty, upon his own first proposition, which was, "That his own revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which had been taken, or kept from him by force, should be forthwith restored to him." To which the committee answered, "That the two houses had made use of his majesty's own revenue, but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his children, according to the allowance established by himself. And the houses would satisfy what should remain due to his majesty of those sums, which they had received ; and would leave the same to him for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his majesty would restore what had been taken for his use, upon any of the bills, assigned to other purposes by several acts of parliament, or out of the provision made for the war of Ireland : that all the arms and ammunition taken out of his magazines should be delivered into his stores, and whatsoever should be wanting, they would supply in kind, according to the proportions they had received : but they proposed, the persons, to whose charge those public magazines should be committed, being nominated by his majesty, might be such, as the two houses of parliament might confide in, and that his majesty would restore all such arms and ammunition, as had been taken for his use, from the several counties, cities, and towns.

"That the two houses would remove the garrisons out of all towns and forts in their hands,

"wherein there were no garrisons before these troubles, and slight all fortifications made since that time, and those towns and forts to continue in the same condition they were in before ; and that those garrisons should not be renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without consent of his majesty, and both houses of parliament. That the towns and forts, which were within the jurisdiction of the cinque ports, should be delivered into the hands of such a noble person, as the king should appoint to be warden of the cinque ports, being such a one as they should confide in. That Portsmouth should be reduced to the number of the garrison, as was at that time when the lords and commons undertook the custody of it ; and that all other forts, castles, and towns, in which garrisons had been kept, and had been since the beginning of these troubles taken into their care and custody, should be reduced to the same establishment they had in the year 1636, and should be so continued ; and that all those towns, forts, and castles, should be delivered up into the hands of such persons of quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by his majesty, as the two houses should confide in. That the warden of the cinque ports, and all governors and commanders of towns, castles, and forts, should keep the same towns, castles, and forts, respectively, for the service of his majesty, and the safety of the kingdom ; and that they should not admit into them any foreign forces, or any other forces raised without his majesty's authority, and consent of the two houses of parliament ; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces whatsoever raised without such authority and consent ; and they should seize all arms and ammunition provided for any such forces.

"They likewise proposed to the king, that he would remove the garrison out of Newcastle,

"and all other towns, castles, and forts, where
 "any garrisons had been placed by him since
 "these troubles; and that the fortifications might
 "be likewise slighted, and the towns and forts
 "left in such state as they were in the year 1636;
 "and that all other towns and castles in his hands,
 "wherein there had been formerly garrisons, might
 "be committed to such persons nominated by him,
 "as the houses should confide in, and under such
 "instructions as were formerly mentioned; and
 "that the new garrisons should not be renewed,
 "or the fortifications repaired, without the con-
 "sent of the king and both houses of parliament.
 "That the ships should be delivered into the
 "charge of such a noble person, as the king
 "should nominate to be lord high admiral of
 "England, and the two houses confide in; who
 "should receive that office by letters patents, *quam*
 "*diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power to
 "nominate and appoint all subordinate command-
 "ers and officers, and have all other powers ap-
 "pertaining to the office of high admiral; which
 "ships he should employ for the defence of the
 "kingdom, against all foreign forces whatsoever,
 "and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of
 "trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the
 "intercepting of all supplies to be carried to
 "the rebels; and should use his utmost en-
 "deavours to suppress all forces, which should
 "be raised by any person without his majesty's
 "authority, and consent of the lords and com-
 "mons in parliament, and should seize all arms
 "and ammunition provided for supply of any
 "such forces."

To this answer, by which they required at least
 to go whole sharers with him in his sovereignty,
 the king replied, "That he knew not what propor-
 tion of his revenue had been made use of by his
 two houses, but he had reason to believe, if
 much of it had not been used, very much re-
 mained still in their hands; his whole revenue
 being so stopped, and seized on, by the orders
 of one or both houses, even to the taking of his
 money out of his exchequer and mint, and bonds
 (forced from his cofferer's clerk) for the provi-
 sions of his household; that very little had come
 to his use for his own support; but he would be
 well contented to allow whatsoever had been
 employed in the maintenance of his children,
 and to receive the arrears due to himself, and to
 be sure of his own for the future. He was like-
 wise willing to restore all monies taken for his
 use, by any authority for him, upon any bills
 assigned to other purposes, being assured he
 had received very little or nothing that way:
 and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should
 be made by them for all those several vast sums,
 received, and diverted to other purposes, [by
 orders of one or both houses,] which ought to
 have been paid by the act of pacification to his
 subjects of Scotland, or employed for the dis-
 charge of the debts of the kingdom; or, by
 other acts of parliament, for the relief of his
 poor protestant subjects in Ireland. For what
 concerned his magazines, he was content that
 all the arms and ammunition, taken out of his
 magazines, which did remain in the hands of
 both houses, or of persons employed by them,
 should be, as soon as the treaty was concluded,
 delivered into the Tower of London; and that
 whatsoever should be wanting of the proportions

"taken by them, should be supplied by them, with
 "all convenient speed, in kind; which, he said,
 "should be committed to, and continued in, the
 "custody of the sworn officers, to whose places
 "the same belonged: and if any of those officers
 "had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit,
 "that trust, by any misdemeanours, his majesty
 "would by no means defend them from the justice
 "of the law. That he always intended to restore
 "such arms and ammunition, which he had been
 "compelled to take from any persons and places,
 "when his own had been taken from him; and
 "would make them recompense as soon as his own
 "stores were restored to him.

"To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting
 "all fortifications, and reducing all garrisons, which
 "had been made since the beginning of the trou-
 "bles, and leaving them in the state they were
 "before, the king fully and absolutely consented;
 "and that the old castles and garrisons should be
 "reduced to their ancient proportion and estab-
 "lishment: but for the governors and command-
 "ers of them, he said, that the cinque ports were
 "already in the custody of a noble person, against
 "whom he knew no just exception, and who had
 "such a legal interest therein, that he could not,
 "with justice, remove him from it, until some suf-
 "ficient cause were made appear to him: but he
 "was very willing, if he should at any time be
 "found guilty of any thing that might make him
 "unworthy of that trust, that he might be pro-
 "ceeded against according to the rules of justice.
 "That the government of the town of Portsmouth,
 "and all other forts, castles, and towns, as were
 "formerly kept by garrisons, should be put into
 "the hands of such persons, against whom no just
 "exceptions could be made; all of them being,
 "before these troubles, by letters patents granted
 "to several persons, against any of whom he knew
 "not any exceptions who should be removed, if
 "just cause should be given for the same. The
 "warden of the cinque ports, and all other gover-
 "nors and commanders of the towns and castles,
 "should keep their charges, as by the law they
 "ought to do, and for the king's service, and
 "safety of the kingdom; and they should not
 "admit into any of them foreign forces, or other
 "forces raised, and brought into them contrary
 "to the law; but should use their utmost en-
 "deavours to suppress such forces, and should
 "seize all arms and ammunition, which, by the
 "laws and statutes of the kingdom, they ought to
 "seize."

To that part which concerned the ships, the king
 told them, "That he expected his own ships should
 "be delivered to him, as by the law they ought to
 "be; and that when he should think fit to nomi-
 "nate a lord high admiral of England, it should
 "be such a person against whom no just exception
 "could be made; and if any should be, he would
 "always leave him to his due trial and examina-
 "tion; and he would grant his office to him by
 "such letters patents as had been used. In the
 "mean time he would govern the admiralty by
 "commission, as had been in all times accustomed;
 "and whatsoever ships should be set out by him,
 "or his authority, should be employed for the de-
 "fence of the kingdom against all foreign forces
 "whatsoever, for the safeguard of merchants,
 "securing of trade, guarding of Ireland, and the
 "intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the

“rebels; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces which should be raised, by any person whatsoever, against the laws and statutes of the kingdom, and to seize all arms and ammunition provided for the supply of any such forces.”

It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the king would reserve the disposal of those offices and places of trust to himself, which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with such a nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon their approbation, no man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by him. The committee, upon his answer, desired to know, “if he did intend, that both houses should express their confidence of the persons, to whose trust those places were to be committed; for that they were directed by their instructions, that, if his majesty was pleased to assent thereunto, and to nominate persons of quality to receive the charge of them, that they should certify it to both houses of parliament, that thereupon they might express their confidence in those persons, or humbly desire his majesty to name others, none of which persons to be removed during three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approved by both houses; and if any should be so removed, or die within that space, the persons, to be put in their places, to be such as the two houses should confide in.” The king answered, “That he did not intend, that the houses should express their confidence of the persons, to whose trusts those places should be committed, but only that they should have liberty, upon any just exception, to proceed against any such persons according to law; his majesty being resolved not to protect them against the public justice. When any of the places should be void, he well knew the nomination, and free election, of those who should succeed, to be a right belonging to and inherent in his majesty; and having been enjoyed by all his royal progenitors, he could not believe his well affected subjects desired to limit him in that right; and desired they would be satisfied with this answer, or give him any reasons to alter his resolution, and he would comply with them.”

They told him, “there could be no good and firm peace hoped for, if there were not a cure found out for the fears and jealousies; and they knew none sure, but this which they had proposed.” The king replied, “That he rather expected reasons grounded upon law, to have shewed him, that by the law he had not that right he pretended, or that they had a right superior to his, in what was now in question; or that they would have shewed him some legal reason, why the persons trusted by him were incapable of such a trust; than that they would only have insisted upon fears and jealousies, of which as he knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of the cure. That the argument they used might extend to the depriving him of, or at least sharing with him in, all his just regal power; since power, as well as forces, might be the object of fears and jealousies, and there would be always a power left to hurt, whilst there was any left to protect and defend.” He told them, “If he had as much inclination, as he had more right, to fears and

jealousies, he might with more reason have insisted upon an addition of power, as a security to enable him to keep his forts, when he had them, since it appeared it was not so great, but that they had been able to take them from him, than they to make any difficulty to restore them to him in the same case they were before. But, he said, as he was himself content with, so, he took God to witness, his greatest desire was, to observe always and maintain the law of the land; and expected the same from his subjects; and believed the mutual observance of that rule, and neither of them to fear what the law feared not, to be, on both parts, a better cure for that dangerous disease of fears and jealousies, and a better means to establish a happy and perpetual peace, than for him to divest himself of those trusts, which the law of the land had settled in the crown alone, to preserve the power and dignity of the prince, for the better protection of the subject, and of the law, and to avoid those dangerous distractions, which the interest of any sharers with him would have infallibly produced.”

The committee neither offered to answer his majesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh against them; but only said, “That they were commanded by their instructions, to insist upon the desires of both houses formerly expressed.” To which the king made no other answer, “than that he conceived it all the justice in the world for him to insist, that what was by law his own, and had been contrary to law taken from him, should be fully restored to him, without conditioning to impose any new limitations upon him, or his ministers, which were not formerly required from them by the law; and he thought it most unreasonable, to be pressed to diminish his own just rights himself, because others had violated and usurped them.” This was the sum of what passed in the treaty upon that proposition.

To the first proposition of the two houses, “That his majesty would be pleased to disband his armies, as they likewise would be ready to disband all their forces, which they had raised, and that he would be pleased to return to his parliament;” the king answered, “That he was as ready and willing that all armies should be disbanded, as any person whatsoever; and conceived the best way to it, would be a happy and speedy conclusion of the present treaty; which, if both houses would contribute as much as he would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And as he desired nothing more than to be with his two houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he could possibly do it with his honour and safety.”

The committee asked him, “if by a happy and speedy conclusion of the present treaty, he intended a conclusion upon the two first propositions, or a conclusion of the treaty in all the propositions of both parts.” The king, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of the armies, till all the propositions were agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered, “That he intended such a conclusion of, or in the treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to himself, and his subjects, of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance or growth of those bloody dissensions; which, he doubted not, might be obtained, if both houses

"would consent that the treaty should proceed without farther interruption, or limitation of days." They asked him, "What he intended should be a clear evidence to him, and his good subjects, of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance and growth of those bloody dissensions?" His majesty told them, "If the conclusion of the present treaty upon his first proposition, and the first proposition of both houses, should be so full, and perfectly made, that the law of the land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his majesty, and of themselves, and the rest of his subjects, there would be thence a clear evidence to him, and all men, of a future peace; and it would be such a conclusion as he intended, never meaning that both armies should remain undisbanded until the propositions on both sides were fully concluded." To the other clause of their own proposition concerning the king's return to the parliament, they said, "they had no instructions to treat upon it;" which the king much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat, or debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the forces in the north, where he had a great army, and they had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some propositions upon his return to the parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the king's absence from the houses, from whence they had taught the people to believe that most of the present evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first proposition, that their committee should have no instructions or authority to treat upon it. In the end, they received new instructions, "to declare to his majesty the desire of both houses, for his coming to his parliament; which, they said, they had often expressed with full offers of security to his royal person, agreeable to their duty and allegiance, and they knew no cause why he might not repair thither with honour and safety." When the king found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture, or invitation to him; and that the committee, who expressed willingness enough, had not in truth the least power to promote, or contribute to, an accommodation, lest they should make the people believe, that he had a desire to continue the war, because he consented not to their proposition of disbanding the armies, he sent this message, by an express of his own, to the two houses, after he had first communicated it to their committee.

Oxford, April 12th, 1643.

"To shew to the whole world, how earnestly his majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall make him desire the continuance of his army to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and until, things may be so settled, as that the law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his majesty, both houses, and his good subjects:

1. "As soon as his majesty is satisfied in his

"first proposition, concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing, but that the just, known, legal rights of his majesty, (devolved to him from his progenitors,) and of the persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them; unless any just and legal exception against any of the persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to his majesty) can be made appear to him:

2. "As soon as all the members of both houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in parliament, as they had upon the first of January 1641; the same, of right, belonging unto them by their birthrights, and the free election of those that sent them; and having been voted from them for adhering to his majesty in these distractions; his majesty not intending that this should extend either to the bishops, whose votes have been taken away by bill, or to such, in whose places, upon new writs, new elections have been made:

3. "As soon as his majesty, and both houses, may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and the high dishonour of parliaments, have formerly assembled about both houses, and awed the members of the same; and occasioned two several complaints from the lords' house, and two several desires of that house to the house of commons, to join in a declaration against them; the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable distractions, which have ensued; which security, his majesty conceives, can be only settled by adjourning the parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from London, the choice of which his majesty leaves to both houses:

"His majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent, that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both his houses of parliament at the time and place, at and to which the parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned: his majesty being most confident, that the law will then recover due credit and estimation; and that upon a free debate, in a full and peaceable convention of parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching, and printing against his majesty, and the established laws, which have been one of the chief causes of the present distractions, and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known rights of his majesty, and the property and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been published, or done, in or by colour of any illegal declaration, ordinance, or order of one or both houses, or any committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise arms without his majesty's consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it. And in such a convention his majesty is resolved, by his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to him, by bill, for the real good of his subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of recusants; for the education of the children of papists by protestants in the protestant religion; for the prevention of practices of papists against the state;

“and the due execution of the laws, and true levying of the penalties against them,) to make known to all the world, how causeless those fears and jealousies have been, which have been raised against him; and by that so distracted this miserable kingdom. And if this offer of his majesty be not consented to, (in which he asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on his side, and in which he defers many things highly concerning both himself and people, till a full and peaceable convention of parliament, which in justice he might now require,) his majesty is confident, that it will then appear to all the world, not only who is most desirous of peace, and whose fault it is that both armies are not now disbanded; but who have been the true and first cause, that this peace was ever interrupted, or those armies raised; and the beginning or continuance of the war, and the destruction and desolation of this poor kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interested, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to his majesty.”

To this message the two houses returned no answer to the king, but required the committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford with his majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the house of commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the king, and disinclined to the parliament; and this jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter from the earl of Northumberland to his wife, presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the king was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have distributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condescension in policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own power. And I have heard this alleged by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such artifices. The committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the parliament, or rather the power and superiority of the earl of Essex) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good men desired; and to believe, that if the king would have condescended so far, as to nominate the earl of Northumberland to be lord high admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the houses, that the treaty would have been continued, and his majesty been satisfied in all the other propositions. And the earl of Northumberland, to private friends, did make as full professions of future service to his majesty, and as ample recognitions of past errors and mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be sure what reception such professions and vows would find. But the king thought the power and interest of that committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer

such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: as the nominating the earl of Northumberland to be admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness, (from which imputation it concerned the king, at that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge,) upon promises and hopes, to have readmitted a man to a charge and trust, he had so fatally betrayed and broken, against more solemn promises and obligations, than he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the king to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I am one of those, who do believe that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the earl of Northumberland, with such other circumstances of kindness as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulness in him, (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the king; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their ways, when he had not their ends,) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two houses, (which could not but have produced some benefit to the king,) and that it might probably have procured some few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty; the avowed ground of denying it being, because the king had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a peace, or given the king any advantage, or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at sea being then the earl of Warwick, who had the possession of the fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the navy; whoever calls to mind what was done in the houses, during the time of the treaty, and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their tenants to pay any rent to them; that, under pretence of searching for arms, and taking away superstitious pictures, they caused the queen's chapel at Somerset-house (where she was to exercise her devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to London) to be most licentiously rifled; in which license with impunity, her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the house of commons, when they sent their messengers every day to Oxford without any formality or control, “that whatsoever person should come from Oxford, or any part of the king's army, to London, or the parts adjacent, without the warrant of both houses of parliament, or of the lord general the earl of Essex, he should be apprehended as a spy and intelligencer, and be proceeded against according to the rules and grounds of war:” by virtue of which order of the house of commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a servant of the king's, for discharging

the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be remembered in its place; all which, except the execution of that man, was transacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford.

Whosoever remembers the other proposition upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then presented to the king for his royal assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made, that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the church; and another bill for the calling an assembly of divines, nominated by themselves, (which was a presumption, as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom, as the most extravagant act they had done,) and consisting of persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable acts that had been done; and yet his majesty was required to promise to pass such other bills for settling church-government, as, upon consultation with that assembly of divines, should be resolved on by both houses of parliament: that all the other bills then presented to the king for his royal assent, and insisted on by their fourth proposition, though they had specious and popular titles, contained many clauses in them contrary to common equity, and the right of the subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known justice of the kingdom; and therefore, besides the time and circumstances of the passing those acts, (when the nation was in blood,) not like to meet with his majesty's approbation; I say, whosoever remembers and considers all this, (to say nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the resolutions of the two houses, and to receive the king's answer, which might as effectually have been done by any one single ordinary messenger,) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the king's consenting to make any one person among them high admiral of England, would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a present peace, and the king to his just authority and rights. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that, which follows next in order of story, will abundantly confute it.

On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the king's could procure an addition, the earl of Essex marched with his whole army from Windsor, and sat down before Reading; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the king should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther contentions. The earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand foot, and above three thousand horse, in as good an equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and had the command of the Tower of London, and all other stores of the kingdom. In the town

were above three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse consisting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed siege, being made only to secure a winter quarter, and never intended for a standing garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a council of war at Oxford, "that before the end of April," (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field,) "sir Arthur Aston should slight those works, and draw off his garrison to the king;" and that which made it less able to bear a siege, than the weakness of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which would not have held a brisk and a daring enemy four hours. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a supply. For the king had no port to friend, by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford; neither had he been yet able to set up any manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edgehill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ship called the Providence, before the setting up of his standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder: and this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and straitness of the king's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and, to say the truth, both officers and soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The soldiers without were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and this was the first siege that happened in England. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their general advised with his council of war, in what manner he should proceed, whether by assault or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. "The works were weak; the number of the assailants sufficient; all materials in readiness; the soldiers in the town full of apprehensions, and a very considerable party of the inhabitants disaffected to the garrison, who in the time of a storm would be able to beget a great distraction. That they might be able to storm it in so many places at once, that the number of the soldiers within would not be able to defend all; and if they prevailed in any one, their whole body of horse might enter, and be immediately masters of the town: if they prevailed this way, their army would have that reputation, and carry that terror with it, that no power of the king's would hereafter be able to abide it; but they might march over the kingdom, and subdue every part of it: whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of approach, those in the town would recover

“heart, and, after they had digested the present fears and apprehensions, contemn their danger; and their own soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous, would every day abate in courage, and their numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness and duty, as they should probably do by an assault.” On the other hand it was objected, “that the army consisted most of new levies,” (and in truth there were not, of all that gallant army that was at Edge-hill, among the foot, three thousand men,) “who would be hardly brought to begin upon so desperate service; that it was the only army the parliament had, upon which all their hopes and welfare depended; and if in the spring it should receive an eminent foil, they would not recover their courage again all the summer. That they were not only to look upon the taking of Reading, but, pursuing that in a reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture and condition to end the war by a battle with all the king’s forces; which would no doubt apply themselves to their relief; and no place under heaven could be so commodious for them to try their fortune in, as that. Whereas if they should hastily engage themselves upon an onslatt, and receive a repulse, and should be afterwards forced to rise to fight with the king, they should never make their men stand; and then their cause was lost.” For the danger of sickness among the soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardness, [it was urged,] “that though it were earlier in the year than the armies usually marched into the field, yet they had much better accommodation and provision than armies use to have; their horse (to whom that time of the year is commonly most formidable, through the want of forage) being plentifully provided for with hay and oats by the benefit of the river, and all supplies being sent for the foot out of London.”

And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the provisions made in a very regular way by the commissioners) of excellent victual ready dressed were every day sent in waggon and carts from London to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being persuaded, that the taking of Reading would destroy all the king’s hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these arguments and debates, (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides,) the major part of the council inclined, and with that the general complied, to pursue the business by approach. It was reported, that the officers of horse in the council were all for a storm, and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and oversight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the first part of this history, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made sergeant-major-general of the army, by the absolute power of the two houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the earl of Essex; though sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his lordship’s choice from the beginning, was preferred to be general of the ordnance.

The approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying so low, that they had many

batteries, from whence they shot their cannon into the town and upon their line at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that service than will be believed, and but one man of note, lieutenant colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg shot off by a cannon bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent sallies with good success; and very many soldiers, and some officers, of the enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to hospitals near London; and those that were sent to London, as many cart-loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it: the stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were very many soldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe those reports; so unfit the people were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the siege, sir Arthur Aston the governor being in a court of guard near the line which was nearest to the enemy’s approaches, a cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the governor in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction; so that the chief command was devolved to colonel Richard Fielding, who was the eldest colonel of the garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the king, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmot, the lieutenant general of the horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a regiment of five hundred foot into the town, but received advertisement from thence of the governor’s hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the king was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at Oxford.

The nimble and the successful marches of sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales, after his strange surprise of the lord Herbert’s forces near Gloucester, caused the king to send prince Maurice with a strong party of horse and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at Hynam; and to make the shame of those officers the less, with the spirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected, and reasonably well fortified, having a strong stone wall about it, and some cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality; and three or four hundred soldiers, besides the inhabitants well armed; yet, without the loss of one man on either side, to the admiration of all who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the town, and yield themselves prisoners upon quarter; which they

did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to Bristol.

From thence he marched to Worcester, where his conquests met some stop; for though the town was not so strong, nor the garrison so great, (I mean of soldiers; for the inhabitants were more,) as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the inhabitants had the courage to resolve not to admit any summons or messenger from him; and when his drum, against all signs made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when sir William Waller himself, to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work, before it, to hinder his entrance into the town,) they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some officers, and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, so avoided prince Maurice, (who took no less pains to meet with him,) that with some few light skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his party safe, and full of reputation, through Gloucester to the earl of Essex's army before Reading; himself being sent for to London, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deserve that style, where all necessary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the north; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a party little inferior in strength to an army was necessary to convey it; for though the earl of Newcastle, at that time, was master of the field in Yorkshire, yet the enemy was much superior in all the counties between that county and Oxford; and had planted many garrisons so near all the roads, that the most private messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the queen to Oxford, if her majesty were ready for that journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of powder, prince Rupert resolved in person to march towards the north, and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and [there being] hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the earl of Essex would not have taken the field till May) his highness, with a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, and six or seven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and settle there a garrison for the king, lay most convenient for that northern communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy's, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromicham, a town in Warwickshire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the king, as any place in England. It is before remembered, that the king in his march from Shrewsbury, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that people, had shewed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing license of the soldier, or by the severity of his own justice; which clemency of his found so unequal a return, that, the next day after his re-

move thence, the inhabitants of that place seized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick castle; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the king's service; and though it was never made a garrison by direction of the parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the king's good subjects, that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the king's forces.

In this posture prince Rupert now found them, having in the town with them at that time a troop of horse, belonging to the garrison of Litchfield, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful jurisdiction. His highness hardly believing it possible, that, when they should discover his power, they would offer to make resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important design, sent his quarter-masters thither to take up his lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for what was past:" but they had not consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him quarter in the town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies; and, distracted between both, suffered the assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their transgressions with paying a less mulct than might have been expected from their wealth, if their wickedness had been less.

In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of horse that was in it, the earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with swords and poleaxes; of which, within two or three days, he died. And but for which accident, (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation, than of passion for the cause in which he fell,) I should not have wasted so much paper in mentioning an action of so little moment, as was this of Bromicham: which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the soldier by the most odious revilings and reproaches of the person and honour of the king, that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several papers of memorials of his own obscene and scurrilous behaviour with several women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure.

And this man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that place against their sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From Bromicham, the prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to Litchfield, and easily possessed himself of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the close (which contained the cathedral church and all the clergymen's houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was so thick and strong, that no battery the prince could raise would make any impression; the governor, one colonel Rouswell, very resolute; and the garrison of such men as were most transported with superstition to the cause in which they were engaged, and in numbers equal to the ground they were to keep, [and] their provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in horse; his foot and dragoons being an inconsiderable force for such an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not thoroughly discerned and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and, to that purpose, drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to strengthen his handful of foot; and persuaded many officers and volunteers of the horse to alight, and bear their parts in the duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men; and killed and wounded many of the besiegers; and disappointed and spoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the prince having prepared all things in readiness for the assault, he sprung another mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible courage and resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, officers of prime quality; whereof the lord Digby, colonel Gerrard, colonel Wagstaffe, and major Leg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within, (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent, not suffering many to enter together, and no horse being able to get over,) that after they had killed colonel Usher, and some other good officers, and taken others prisoners, (for both colonel Wagstaffe and William Leg were in their hands,) they compelled the prince to consent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a gainer by the bargain. And so the garrison marched out with fair respect, and a princely testimony of having made a courageous defence; his highness being very glad of his conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and soldiers he much valued. At

this time, either the day before or the day after this action, prince Rupert received a positive order from the king, "to make all possible haste, with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from those parts, to the relief of Reading;" which was in the danger we but now left it. Upon which his highness, committing the government of Litchfield to colonel Baggot, a son of a good and powerful family in that county, and appointing his troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few servants came to Oxford to attend the king, whom he found gone towards Reading.

The importunity from that garrison for relief was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their preservation, that the king found it would not bear the necessary delay of prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his majesty in person, with those horse and foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford, or in any other garrison, advanced towards Reading; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that he might, with the assistance of the garrison, be able to force one quarter, and so draw out his men; and by the advantage of those rivers which divided the enemy, and by the passes, be able to retire to Oxford; for being joined, he could not have equalled one half of the enemy's army. When he drew near the town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which defended their post, and being quickly seconded by supplies of horse and foot from all their quarters, after a very sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the king's party, commanded by the earl of Forth himself, (the general,) consisting of near one thousand musketeers, was forced to retire to their body; which they did the sooner, because those of the town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the garrison, not seeing their relief coming, sent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for so many hours, upon which hostages were delivered; and a treaty begun, when the king came to relieve it. Upon the view of the enemy's strength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small forces of the king would not be able to raise the siege, or to join with those in the town; and in this melancholic conclusion his majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, some soldiers found means to escape out of the town, and colonel Fielding himself in the night came to the king, and told him the state they were in; and "that they were in treaty, and he believed might have very good conditions, and liberty to march away with all their arms and baggage;" which was so welcome news, that the king bid him, prince Rupert being then present, "that, if he could procure such conditions, he should accept them;" for indeed the men and the arms were all that the king desired, and the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The king continued still at Nettlebedd, a village seven or eight miles distant from Reading, to attend the success of the treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their redemption: but all men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon the treaty, the next day these articles were agreed on.

1. "That the governor, commanders, and soldiers, both horse and foot, might march out with flying colours, arms, and four pieces of ordnance, ammunition, bag and baggage, light match, bullet in mouth, drums beating, and trumpets sounding.

2. "That they might have free passage to his majesty's city of Oxford, without interruption of any of the forces under the command of his excellency the earl of Essex; provided the said governor, commanders, and soldiers, use no hostility until they come to Oxford.

3. "That what persons were accidentally come to the town, and shut up by the siege, might have liberty to pass without interruption; such persons only excepted, as had run away from the army under the command of the earl of Essex.

4. "That they should have fifty carriages for baggage, sick, and hurt men.

5. "That the inhabitants of the town of Reading should not be prejudiced in their estates, or persons, either by plundering or imprisonment; and that they who would leave the town, might have free leave, and passage, safely to go to what place they would, with their goods, within the space of six weeks after the surrender of the town.

6. "That the garrison should quit the town by twelve of the clock the next morning; and that the earl of Essex should provide a guard for the security of the garrison soldiers, when they began to march."

Upon these articles, signed by the earl of Essex, the town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the siege began,) and the garrison marched to the king, who stayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and passing through the enemy's guards, the soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarmed, and most of the waggons plundered, in the presence of the earl of Essex himself, and the chief officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the common men being so great. And as this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the war; insomuch as the king's soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be precise in the observation of agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exercised the same license; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated.

There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to besiege Oxford, where the king and the court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who desired still to strike at the root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the king's affairs into great confusion. For, besides that the town was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the court, and multitude of no-

bility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to loyalty, and reverence towards the person of the king, had no mind it should besiege the very place where the king himself was; and the earl of Essex himself, who was yet the soul of the army, had no mind to that enterprise: and so the army marched, as hath been said, directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned.

Though, at the instant, the parliament was highly pleased with the getting the town, and the king as well contented, when he saw his entire garrison safely joined to the rest of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the king's quarters, upon the assurance, that they had recovered full four thousand good men, whom they had given for lost,) yet, according to the vicissitudes in war, when the accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with its success. The king was no sooner returned to Oxford, but, upon conference between the officers and soldiers, there grew a whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, and that Reading had been betrayed," and from thence made a noise through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the same time, colonel Fielding, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the king to desire, "that an account might be taken of the whole business at a council of war for his vindication;" and the common soldiers, in a disorderly manner, "to require justice against him for betraying and delivering up the town to the rebels;" which they avowed with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, "as having frequent intercourse with the earl of Essex, and hindering and forbidding the soldiers to issue out of the town to join with the king, when he came to relieve them, albeit their officers had drawn them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead them;" and the like; with some rash and passionate words disrespectful to his majesty; so that he gave present order for his commitment, and trial at a court of war; the king himself being marvellously incensed against him, for that clause in the third article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the town, and shut up by the siege, to pass without interruption, wherein there was an exception of such persons who had run away from the earl of Essex's army, and by virtue of that exception some soldiers of that kind were taken after the rendering of the town, and were executed. And though the colonel excused himself, "as being no more concerned to answer for the articles, than every member of the council of war, by which they were agreed;" yet it was alleged, "that the council of war had been induced to consent to those articles, upon the colonel's averment, that the king had seen them, and approved of them." Whereas his majesty had never seen any articles in writing, but only consented, that they should march away with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the king more afflicted than he was with that clause, which he called no less "than giving up those poor men who, out of conscience of their rebellion, had betaken themselves to his protection, to be massacred and murdered by the rebels, whom they

“ had deserted ;” and, for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately published a proclamation, in which he took notice of that clause ; and declared to all the world,

“ That he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, consenting to that exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his service, and derogatory [to] his honour ; and that he would always choose to run any hazard or danger, the violence or treason of his enemies could threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw or deny his protection to any, who, being convinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should return to their duty, and betake themselves to his service. And as he had referred to a court of war the full examination of all the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that town, that so justice might be done accordingly ; so he did declare, that he would always proceed with all severity against such, as should, by the like dishonourable conditions, expose his subjects, and bereave them of his protection that had returned to their obedience to him.”

At the trial, it was objected against the colonel, “ that the town might have been longer defended, there being want of no necessary provision, and as much powder, at the giving it up, as there was when the enemy came first before it ; for, besides the first supply, sixteen barrels were put in during the skirmish, when the king came to relieve it : that several colonels pressed very earnestly to sally, when the king’s forces were engaged, and that they were expressly hindered and forbidden by him : that he frequently gave his pass to a woman to go out of the town, who went into the earl of Essex’s army, and returned again : that he persuaded the council of war to consent to the articles, by protesting that the king had well approved them, and reproached those officers who were of another opinion ;” with some other particulars of license and passion, which reflected more upon his discretion, than his honesty, or conduct.

He justified himself “ to have done nothing towards the delivery of the place, but upon full consideration, advice, and approbation of the council of war : that he was in his own conscience and judgment satisfied, that the substance of the articles were advantageous for his majesty’s service ; and though it was true, by that last supply of ammunition, their store was near as much as when the siege begun ; yet it was in all but thirty-two barrels, which would have lasted but few hours, if the enemy, who had approached within little more than pistol-shot of some parts of their works, should attack them in that manner as they had reason to expect ; and if they had held out longer, when it had appeared that the king was not strong enough to relieve them, they should not have been admitted to such conditions : and therefore, that he believed a hazard of so great a concernment was not to be run, when he well knew his majesty’s former resolution of slighting the garrison ; and that it would not be now done above a fortnight sooner than was intended : that he had no knowledge of his majesty’s approach, till the forces were engaged, when a truce was concluded, and their hostages in the enemy’s hands ; and therefore, that he conceived it against the law of arms to make any attempt from the town ; and before

“ they could sufficiently deliberate it in council, his majesty’s forces retired : that the woman, to whom he gave a pass, was one he often employed as a spy, with very good effect ; and he did believe, the advantage he received by it was greater than she could carry to the enemy by any information she could give : that he did persuade the council of war to consent to the conditions, because he believed them very profitable to his majesty, and he had averred only his majesty’s approbation of the general substance of the articles, never applied it to the clause of the third article, which he much desired to have altered, but could not obtain the consent of the enemy. If he had been intemperate, or passionate to any, who were of another opinion, or had used any passionate expressions in the debate, it proceeded only from his zeal to the service, and his apprehension of the loss of so many good men, upon whom he well knew the king much depended : that he might have committed many indiscretions, for which he desired pardon, but had not failed in point of fidelity : that, by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of seniority, not any ambitious design of his own : that he had, from time to time, acquainted sir Arthur Aston with the state and condition they were in ; and though his indisposition of health was such, that he would not give positive orders, he seemed to approve of all that was done ; and though, for the former reason, he refused to sign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of them.” The truth of it is, sir Arthur Aston was believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a condition to command as he pretended ; and that albeit his head was so much swoln, that he might not in person venture upon any execution, yet that his understanding, or senses, were not much distempered, or discomposed ; and that he only positively waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true, that, when he came to Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter, as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof, that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an article “ of not obeying orders,” (for in this agitation he had received some such, which he had not precisely observed,) “ sentenced to lose his head ;” which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the king ; but his regiment disposed to another ; and he never restored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished reputation for honesty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the service, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer, with the same courage, in the most perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the king’s armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alleged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonably to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it

is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

The inconveniences and mischiefs, that resulted to the king from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions in court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the king) were dated, and took their original; great animosities grew between the officers of the army; some being thought to have been too passionate and solicitous in the prosecution of the colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common soldiers in demanding [justice on] their officer; for from such a kind of clamour it began. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a person they favoured should not suffer; and of both these, some were more violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possessed the court, some believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law, upon another article, no mercy ought to be shewed to him; others as really supposing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few officers of the army did not know themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableness; and they again accusing the other of too much lenity and indulgence; whilst many gentlemen of honour and quality, whose fortunes were embarked with the king, grew extremely jealous, that the parliament had corrupted some of the king's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from punishment and discovery; and the soldiers again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon casual and accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

But these indispositions and distempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wish the humours had been impaired when the times mended,) and very many, who saw the king's condition very low in an instant, and believed the rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of Reading; though they had all still, but the town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the king himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the earl of Essex's advance towards Oxford, within four or five days after the loss of Reading, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army, to march away towards the north, to join with the earl of Newcastle. And if the earl of Essex had, at that time, but made any show of moving with his whole body that way, I do verily persuade myself, Oxford itself, and all the other garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an assurance of the earl's stay at Reading; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the siege: whereupon the king resolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down, about a mile from Abingdon; which was the head quarter for his horse.

When the season of the year grew ripe for taking the field, the earl of Essex found that his too

early march had nothing advanced his affairs; the soldiers having performed so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before Reading, had produced great sickness and diseases in his army, which had wasted abundance of his men; so that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new divisions and animosities arose there, to perplex their counsels. Their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the city believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the king had all his forces and army entire, and had only lost a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their general every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful orders they had sent him, by which, against all the advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The absurd and uncivil breaking off of the treaty with the king was urged by their commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the king's gracious disposition, and the temper of the council in Oxford, to be different from what the parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of jealousies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the earl of Northumberland, having discovered that Harry Martin had opened a letter, which he had writ from Oxford to his wife, to know what was included in it, took him aside, after a conference in the painted chamber between the two houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude answers in justification of it, the earl cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the parliament.

These and the like instances of distraction and confusion brought the reputation of that party low; and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an enemy; whilst the king's party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their spirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the news of some of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men being lost by the unexpected incursions of the king's horse; whereof some parties, by night marches, and unusual lanes, went often near London, and took many prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their houses, and in journeys they made; and who were put to ransom themselves with good sums of money: so that, after all those mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the king's army, and bringing the king back to his parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the city of London and Westminster, and to fortify it; lest the king's forces might break in

upon them; which made the people suspect the state of their affairs to be worse than in truth it was; and so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the house of commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the charge of the war, they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and as never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the sovereign power, they resolved it fit to make a new great seal, to be always resident with the houses. But the lords were not yet arrived at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abingdon, or Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action, save some small enterprises by parties, (in which the king got advantage; as the young earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horse and foot from Northampton, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon Banbury: and having routed their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the young earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father,) the king received from the earl of Newcastle, by a strong party of horse, a good and ample supply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As soon as this was arrived, and the king heard that his armies, both in the north and west, began to flourish, and thought himself well provided to encounter the earl of Essex, if he desired it; his majesty resolved once more to try, whether the two houses would incline to a reasonable peace; and to that purpose sent a message to them by an express servant of his own, in these words:

“ Since his majesty’s message of the 12th of April (in which he conceived he had made such an overture for the immediate disbanding of all armies, and composure of those miserable and present distractions, by a full and free convention of parliament, that a perfect and settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time, above a full month, procured no answer from both houses, his majesty might well believe himself absolved, both before God and man, from the least possible charge of not having used his utmost endeavours for peace: yet, when he considers, that the scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own kingdom; that all the blood, which is spilt, is of his own subjects; and that what victory soever it shall please God to give him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against him; when he considers, that these desperate civil dissensions may encourage and invite a foreign enemy, to make a prey of the whole nation; that Ireland is in present danger to be totally lost; that the heavy judgments of God, plague, pestilence, and famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural contention; and that in a short time there will be so general a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted through the whole kingdom, that even peace itself will not restore his people to their old temper

and security; his majesty cannot but again call for an answer to that his gracious message, which gives so fair a rise to end these unnatural distractions. And his majesty doth this with the more earnestness, because he doubts not the condition of his armies in several parts; the strength of horse, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammunition, (when some men lately might conceive he wanted,) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, nothing but the tenderness and love to his people, and those Christian impressions, which always live, and he hopes always shall dwell, in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them, as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the world, that they will no longer suffer their fellow-subjects to welter in each other’s blood; that they would remember by whose authority, and to what end, they met in that council, and send such an answer to his majesty, as may open a door to let in a firm peace, and security to the whole kingdom. If his majesty shall again be disappointed of his intentions therein, the blood, rapine and destruction, which may follow in England and Ireland, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motive of peace and accommodation.”

This message was received by the house of peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect and duty, and the messenger very civilly intreated by them: but when they communicated, it [to] the house of commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an address to the king suitable to his gracious invitation, that house was so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly) for the apprehension and commitment of the gentleman who brought the message; and declared, “ that they would proceed against him at a council of war,” upon the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the treaty was at Oxford, “ that any person coming from Oxford without their general’s pass, or one from the houses, should be punished as a spy;” to which order, as the peers never consented, so the king had never, till this commitment, notice of it; and themselves, after the making it, had sent several messengers to the king, without any formality of pass or trumpet.

The lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the house of commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only those, who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many, who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; and therefore they resolved to proceed with that vigour and resolution, that no reasonable man should believe it possible for the king to gain a peace but by subduing them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning any answer to the king’s message, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the queen of high treason, “ for assisting the king her husband with arms, and ammunition, in the prosecution of the war against them;” an attempt as unheard of among all the acts of their predecessors, and as unimagined as any thing they had yet ventured upon: their clergy sounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was possible; and they re-

solved, that assembly of divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the king's consent, should now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of some members of either house to that number.

There had been, some months before, a design of prince Rupert upon the city of Bristol, by correspondence with some of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the parliament; but it had been so unskilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the prince was near the town, with such a party of horse and foot, as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fiennes, son to the lord Say, and then governor of that city for the parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with all severity, and expedition, proceed against those conspirators," (as they called them;) and thereupon, by a sentence and judgment of a council of war, alderman Yeomans, who had been high sheriff of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bouchier, another citizen of principal account, were (against all interposition his majesty could make) both hanged; and all other imaginary acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword.

There fell out now an accident at London, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war, a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the king, and a covenant, and union among themselves, and throughout the city a prejudice to all moderate men, who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of accommodation and peace as stratagems upon the city and the parliament. Of this plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, "that I knew as much of it as most men."

There was of the house of commons, one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had, from the beginning of the parliament, been looked upon by all men, as a person of very entire affections to the king's service, and to the established government of church and state; and, by having no manner of relation to the court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the king and the two houses, that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some persons now of nearness about the king, with the king's approbation, he returned again to London; where he spake, upon all occasions, with great sharpness and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being overvoted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an argument against those, who were gone upon

pretence "that they were not suffered to declare their opinion freely in the house; which could not be believed, when all men knew, what liberty Mr. Waller took, and spake every day with impunity, against the sense and proceedings of the house." This won him a great reputation with all people who wished well to the king; and he was looked upon as the boldest champion the crown had in both houses; so that such lords, and commons, who really desired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at court so good, that he would be no ill evidence there, of other men's zeal and affection; and so all men spake their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions and ambition of particular persons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a brother-in-law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his sister, and was clerk of the queen's council, of very good fame for honesty and ability. This gentleman had good interest and reputation in the city, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the parliament, and wished to live under the same government they were born; and from those citizens received information of the temper of the people, upon accidents, in the public affairs. And Mr. Waller and he, with that confidence that uses to be between brethren of the same good affections, frequently imparted their observations and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both houses inclined to peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the company [they] used to converse with; Mr. Waller imparting the wishes and power of the well affected party in the city, to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. Tomkins acquainting those he durst trust of the city, that such and such lords and gentlemen, who were of special note, were weary of the distractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to such an honourable and honest peace, as all men knew would be most acceptable to the king. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wished well, that they should not be oppressed by the extravagant power of the desperate party; but that [if] they would so far assist one another, as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent or suppress those tumults, which seemed to countenance the distractions; and the houses would be induced to terms of moderation.

In this time the lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incensed against the Scots, and discontented with the parliament here, finding Mr. Waller in good esteem with the earl of Northumberland, and of great friendship with the earl of Portland, he entered into the same familiarity; and, being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions, and considerations, necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force, or to resist it; and wished "that they who

“ had interest and acquaintance in the city would endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform themselves of the distinct affections of their neighbours, that, upon any exigent, men might foresee whom they might trust;” and these discourses being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occasion, and conference with his companions, insisted on the same arguments; and they again conversing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this business, there were not above three who ever spoke together,) agreed, “ that some well affected persons, in every parish and ward about London, should make a list of all the inhabitants; and thereupon to make a reasonable guess of their several affections,” (which at that time was no hard thing for observing men to do,) and thence a computation of the strength and power of that party, which was notoriously violent against any accommodation.

I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a combination among the party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those ordinances of the twentieth part, and other taxes for the support of the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace, and discountenancing the other who petitioned against it, to prevail with the parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be, some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischief by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather mentioned, than proposed. For it is certain, very many who were conscious to themselves of loyal purposes to the king, and of hearty dislike of the parliament’s proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, and ruining prosecution of all men, by those of the engaged party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some jealousy, and quarrel picked, even a general massacre might be attempted of all the king’s friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the king’s army into London, which was most impossible to be contrived, or of raising an army there, and surprising the parliament, or any one person of it, or of using any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confessed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it; and not [have] contented themselves with making conclusions from questions that had been asked, and answers made, by persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance or correspondence; and joining what was said at London to somewhat done at Oxford, at another time, and to another purpose: for, before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

From the king’s coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously looked upon in London, had resorted to the king,

and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the king before that city with an army, they had entertained some discourse “ of raising, upon their own stocks of money and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, and joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who were likewise inclined to such an undertaking.”

Among these was sir Nicholas Crisp, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active spirited man, who had been lately prosecuted with great severity by the house of commons; and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace in the city. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still there, by which he gave the king often very useful intelligence, and assured him “ of a very considerable party, which would appear there for him, whenever his own power should be so near, as to give them any countenance.”

In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all, who were equally honest, would be equally bold, he desired his majesty, “ to grant a commission to such persons, whom he would nominate, of the city of London, under the great seal of England, in the nature of a commission of array, by virtue whereof, when the season should come, his party there would appear in discipline and order; and that this was desired by those, who best knew what countenance and authority was requisite; and being trusted to them would not be executed at all, or else at such a time as his majesty should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done with secrecy, equal to the hazard they should run who were employed in it.”

The king had no exception to it but “ the improbability that it could do good, and that was the less because the failing could do no hurt but to the undertakers.” The promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the trained bands, till the ordinance of the militia removed him; which rather improved, than lessened, his credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the king: however, they desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the king consented to it; referring the nomination of all persons to be named in the commission to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the instruction and advice of those who were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the king referred the preparing and despatch of the commission to sir Nicholas Crisp himself, who should acquaint no more with it than he found requisite; so, without the privacy or advice of any counsellor, or minister of state, he procured such a commission as he desired (being no other than the commission of array in English) to be signed by the king, and sealed with the great seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his custody, the lady Aubigny, by a pass, and with the consent of the houses, came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the king upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill; and she having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, sir Nicholas Crisp came to the king, and besought him, “ to desire that lady ” (who had a pass, and so could promise herself safety in her journey) “ to carry a small box ” (in which that commission

should be) "with her, and to keep it in her own custody, until a gentleman should call to her ladyship for it, by such a token: that token," he said, "he could send to one of the persons trusted, who should keep it by him till the opportunity came, in which it might be executed." The king accordingly wished the lady Aubigny to carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, "it much concerned his majesty's service;" and to deliver it in such manner, and upon such assurance, as is before mentioned: which she did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the king's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her ladyship herself, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else.

But about this time, a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument we are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time they were together; and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information, and discovery, would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned; and so went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all men with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the thirty-first of May, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their sermon, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pym; who thereupon, with some of the most active members, rise from their seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they sent guards to all the prisons, as Lambeth-house, Ely-house, and such places, where their malignants were in custody, with directions "to search the prisoners;" and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended, the houses met; and were only told, "that letters were intercepted going to the king and the court at Oxford, that expressed some notable conspiracy in hand, to deliver up the parliament and the city into the hands of the cavaliers; and that the time for the execution of it drew very near." Hereupon a committee was appointed "to examine all persons they thought fit; and to apprehend some nominated at that time." And the same night, this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins; and, the next day, such others as they thought fit.

Mr. Waller was so confounded with fear and apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any person of what degree or quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: what such and such ladies of great honour, to whom, upon the credit of his great parts, and very good reputa-

tion, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings of the houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them; what correspondence and intercourse they had with some ministers of state at Oxford; and how they derived all intelligence thither. He informed them, "that the earl of Portland and the lord Conway had been particular in all the agitations which had been with the citizens; and had given frequent advice and directions how they should demean themselves; and that the earl of Northumberland had expressed very good wishes to any attempt, that might give a stop to the violent actions and proceedings of the houses, and produce a good understanding with the king."

When the committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins, and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy; and, acquainting the houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared, (without naming any lords, or other persons, to be interested in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the lady Aubigny was one: and without communicating any of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the conspirators were brought to trial,) "that the original of this conspiracy was from the late London petition for peace," which was spoken of about Christmas last in the book precedent; "and that, under pretence of peace and moderation, a party was to be formed, which should be able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the parliament: that, to this purpose, some of those who were the principal movers and fomenters of that petition, did continue, in the nature of a committee, still to carry on the design: that they held intelligence in both armies, court, and parliament; took a general survey of the numbers and affections of the several inhabitants throughout the wards and parishes of the city, and places adjacent; and distinguished all under the titles of men affected, or averse to the king; or indifferent, and neutral persons, carried only by the success and power of the prevailers: that they were well instructed in the number and inclinations of the trained bands of London; the places where the magazines were kept; where the commanders for the parliament dwelt; had thought of places for rendezvous, and retreat, upon any occasion, and of colours, and marks of distinction between the different parties.

"That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the principal persons employed, and trusted to give advertisement to, and correspond with, the king's ministers at Oxford; and receive advertisements and commands from thence, for the completing the work; that they two held constant intelligence and intercourse with the lord Falkland, then principal secretary to the king; and that from him they received the signification of the king's pleasure; and that those directions, counsels, and encouragements had been principally sent by those messengers which had been employed by his majesty to the parliament, under the pretence of peace; and especially by Mr. [Alexander] Hambden; who came with the last

"message, and was a cousin-german to Mr. Waller. That the lady Aubigney, who had been lately at Oxford, had brought thence a commission to them from the king, by force of arms to destroy, kill, and slay the forces, raised by the parliament and their adherents, as traitors and rebels; and that they had lately sent a message to Oxford by one Hassel, a servant of the king's, to acquaint the lord Falkland, that the design was come to good perfection; unto which, answer was returned, that they should hasten it with all speed:

"That the particulars of the design appeared to be: 1. To seize into their custody the king's children. 2. To seize several members of both houses, the lord mayor, and committee of the militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial. 3. To seize upon the outworks, forts, Tower of London, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city. 4. To let in the king's forces to surprise the city, and to destroy all those who should oppose them by authority of the parliament. 5. By force of arms to resist all payments imposed by authority of parliament, raised for the support of the armies employed for their just defence, &c. to suspend, if not alter, the whole government of the city, and, with assistance of the king's force, to awe and master the parliament."

When both houses were awakened, and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on was, "a day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful delivery;" which shut out any future doubts, and disquisitions, whether there had been any such delivery; and, consequently, whether their plot was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, "that as the design was the most desperate, so the carriage was the most subtle, and among persons of reputation, and not suspected; and that there was reason to suspect, many members of both houses were privy to it; and therefore there ought to be all possible care taken to make the discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for the public defence: that if any part were left undiscovered, it might prove fatal to the commonwealth." This finding a full consent, it was propounded, "that a protestation might be drawn up, by which every member of the two houses might purge himself from any guilt of, or privy in, that conspiracy; and likewise oblige himself to resist and oppose any such combination." They who were under the character of moderate men, and usually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durst not oppose the expedient, lest they should be concluded guilty; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the house of commons, a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both houses, and afterwards by the city, and their army; for their jealousy was now spread over all their own quarters; which covenant, for the rareness of it both in title and style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms; which were these:

A sacred vow, and covenant, taken by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, upon the dis-

covery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this parliament and the kingdom: [the 6th of June, 1643.]

"Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this kingdom, a popish and traitorous plot for the subversion of the true protestant reformed religion, and the liberty of the subject; and, in pursuance thereof, a popish army hath been raised, and is now on foot in divers parts of this kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and horrid design, lately discovered by the great blessing and especial providence of God, of divers persons, to join themselves with the armies raised by the king, and to destroy the forces raised by the lords and commons in parliament, to surprise the cities of London and Westminster, with the suburbs; by arms to force the parliament; and finding by constant experience, that many ways of force, and treachery, are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and destruction the parliament and kingdom; and that which is dearest, the true protestant religion: and that, for the preventing and withstanding the same, it is fit, that all, who are true hearted, and lovers of their country, should bind themselves each to other in a sacred vow and covenant:

"I A. B. in humility, and reverence of the Divine Majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own sins, and the sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities and judgments that now lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own ways: and I do farther, in the presence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in order to the security and preservation of the true reformed protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, I will not consent to the laying down of arms, so long as the papists, now in open war against the parliament, shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof: and that I do abhor and detest the said wicked and treacherous design, lately discovered: and that I never gave, nor will give, my assent to the execution thereof, but will, according to my power, and vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like nature. And in case any other like design shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do in my conscience believe, that the forces, raised by the two houses of parliament, are raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the king; that I will, according to my power, and vocation, assist the forces raised and continued, by both houses of parliament, against the forces raised by the king without their consent: and will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this oath, in what they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the king, without the consent of both houses of parliament. And this vow, and covenant, I make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

Though many were much startled at this covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the preamble, and positive part, much which very few believed, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing war against the king, than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an absolute protestation against peace, till the king were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot, made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either house that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themselves, they sent their committee into the city, to acquaint them with their "happy discovery, and how miraculously God had preserved them, and to engage them in the same sacred vow, and covenant;" which was readily submitted to; and, by the industry of their clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was, with equal diligence and solemnity, transmitted to the army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their friends and enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest malignant.

Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins; Mr. Chaloner, a citizen of good wealth and credit, and most intimate with Tomkins; Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the king; one Hassel, a messenger of the king's, who passed often between London and Oxford, and sometimes carried letters and messages to the lord Falkland; and some citizens, whose names were in the commission sent from Oxford; by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity and cruelty, executed: the one on a gibbet, by his own house in Holborn; where he had long lived with singular estimation; and the other, by his house in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Hassel the messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in prison the night before his trial: and there being no evidence against Mr. Hambden, but what Mr. Waller himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him long after in prison, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally against those citizens whose names were in the commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent and privity; though the brand of being malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

And there is nothing clearer than that the commission sent from Oxford by the lady Aubigny, had not any relation to the discourses passed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and those citizens; or that they, who knew of one, had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an insurrection, as was alleged, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Tomkins, or some one of those lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the commission. Or if the king's ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a party which should suddenly seize upon the city and the parliament, they would never have thought a commission granted to some

gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commissioners were there,) and a few unknown private citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at Oxford, concerning the matter of the commission, than I have before set forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins sometimes writ to the lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautiousness of his own nature, never writ word,) and by messengers signified to him, "that the number of those who desired peace, and abhorred the proceedings of the houses, was very considerable; and that they resolved, by refusing to contribute to the war, and to submit to their ordinances, to declare and manifest themselves in that manner, that the violent party in the city should not have credit enough to hinder any accommodation." And the lord Falkland always returned answer, "that they should expedite those expedients, as soon as might be, for that delays made the war more difficult to be restrained." And if I could find evidence, or reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the king gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it; no man imagining, that if the king could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the foment, supporter, and indeed the life of the war; or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a parliament, had kindled a war against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance and countenance thereunto, either by public force, or private contrivance.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the earl of Portland, and the lord Conway, (for the accusation of the earl of Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incensed against him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was still very great,) who were both close prisoners; and, to that purpose, their lordships and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying, as he charging them, and there being no other witness but he against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon bail. Mr. Waller himself, (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his affliction, he had raised as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almost the same,) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of conscience, as his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding, (and that was not, till the heat and fury of the prosecutors was reasonably abated with the sacrifices they had made,) and, by drawing visitants to himself, of the most powerful ministers of all factions, had, by his liberality and penitence, his *preces* and his *lacrymæ*, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility and reverence, as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had ever had; and distributing great sums to them for their prayers and ghostly counsel; so satisfied them, that they satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the house of commons' bar; where (being a

man in truth very powerful in language ; and who, by what he spoke, and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good-will and benevolence of his hearers ; which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission, as their vulgar pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the major part, and be thought serious ; he laid before them “ their own danger and concernment, if they should suffer one of their own body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tried by the soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power hereafter, that they would both try those they would not be willing should be tried, and for things, which they would account no crimes ; the inconvenience and insupportable mischief whereof all wise commonwealths had foreseen, and prevented, by exempting their own members from all judgments but their own :” he prevailed, not to be tried by a council of war ; and thereby preserved his dear-bought life ; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration, as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully : and by having done ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the person, that he got them to compound for his transgressions, and to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their affairs wanted) for his liberty ; and so he had leave to recollect himself in another country (for his liberty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had made himself, to have leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the inestimable value of his parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach and scorn of none.

These high proceedings at London, and in the houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad ; but it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of monies, and more slow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people were generally more devoted to peace, than to the continuance of those distractions ; and the earl of Essex, by the great decay and sickness of his army, was not, in near six weeks, able to remove from Reading ; by which many men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his siege ; and that was the reason the earl gave for granting so good conditions : for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms ; neither feared he the king would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched towards Oxford ; but, in truth, rather to secure Buckinghamshire, which was now infested by the king’s horse, than to disquiet that place. And, to that purpose, he fixed his head quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county.

In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the parliament ; whereof many were men of good conduct and courage ; though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort colonel Urry was a man of name and re-

putation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edge-hill under Balfour, which had preserved their army there ; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves ; and being without any other affection for their service, than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the king ; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the earl of Brainford, the king’s general ; under whose command he had formerly served in Germany. Whilst the earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Urry came to Oxford, in the equipage that became a colonel of horse who had received good pay ; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the king, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to prince Rupert, acquainted him where the parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters ; and, to give a testimony of his fidelity to the king, he desired to march a volunteer with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy ; and the prince assigning a strong party for the service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town ; where a regiment of the parliament’s horse was quartered ; which they beat up, and killed or took most of the officers and soldiers ; and then fell upon those other quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success ; so he returned to Oxford with many prisoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

And as soon as he returned, he made another proposition to the prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame ; through which he had passed, when he came to Oxford, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were ; and assured the prince, “ that, if he went about it time enough, before there should be any alteration in their quarters, which he believed the general would quickly make, the enterprise would be worthy of it.” And the prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the ports of Oxford in the evening upon a Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence they expected no enemy, and so kept no guards there. A regiment of horse, and of foot, were lodged there ; which were cut off, or taken prisoners ; and all the horses and a good booty brought away. And from thence they marched backward to another quarter, within less than two miles of the general’s own quarters ; where his men lodged with the same security they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way ; and so met with the same fate the others had done ; and were all killed, or made prisoners. And having performed at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with prisoners and booty, and the sun being now rising, the prince thought it time to retire to Oxford, and so gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they came to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend, to favour their retreat.

But the alarm had been brought to the earl of Essex from all the quarters, who quickly gathered those troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the prince, and to entertain him in skirmishes, till himself should come up with the foot, and some other troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the prince had almost passed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrave field, from whence he was to enter a lane, which continued to the bridge; the enemy's horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open field, though his horse were all tired, and the sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in [June]. And so he directed, "that the guard of the prisoners should make what haste they could to the bridge, but that all the rest should return;" for some were entered the lane: and so he placed himself and his troops, as he thought fit, in that field to receive the enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more in number than the prince, and consisting of many of the principal officers, who, having been present with the earl of Essex when the alarm came, stayed not for their own troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that night, and morning, before the general could come up to have a share in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the prince entertained them so roughly, that though their fronts charged very bravely and obstinately, consisting of many of their best officers, of which many of the chiefest falling, the rest shewed less vigour, and in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the earl of Essex's body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the prince with his troops hastened his retreat, and passed the lane, and came safe to the bridge before any of the earl's forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the hedges a good way in the lane. And so the prince, about noon, or shortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, with most of the men he carried from thence, some few excepted, who had been killed in the action, whereof some were of name.

And the prince presented colonel Urry to the king with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of his counsel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man, who had not been very conversant with the nature and humour of those he destroyed. Upon which, the king honoured him with knighthood, and a regiment of horse as soon as it could be raised; and every body magnified and extolled him, as they usually do a man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a Scotchman, and professed a repentance for having been in rebellion against the king. And he deserves this testimony,

and vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his trust, and deserted the service of the parliament, and betrayed them to the king," which is not true. He had owned and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress and justice in some particulars from the parliament, in which the earl of Essex thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious; and had raised many enemies; and was besides of license, and committed many disorders of that kind; and had little other virtue than being a good officer in the field; regular and vigilant in marching, and in his quarters; which the parliament thought other men would attain to, who had fewer vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no longer;" and delivered up his commission to the earl of Essex; and being then pressed to promise, that he would not serve the king, he positively refused to give any such engagement; and after he had stayed in London about a month, and had received encouragement from some friends in Oxford, he came thither in the manner set down before.

The prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the spirits at Oxford very much, and for some time allayed the jealousies and animosities, which too often broke out in several factions to the disquiet of the king. It was visibly great in the number of the prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many officers were known, who were left dead upon the field, as colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the best officer of horse they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge. And one of the prisoners who had been taken in the action said, "that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse;" by which he concluded he was hurt. But the news the next day made the victory much more important than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the prisoners, there were taken colonel Sheffield, a younger son of the earl of Mulgrave, and one colonel Beckly a Scotchman; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private house in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves prisoners at Oxford. But the king's forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to Thame, by a strong party sent from the earl of Essex; and, between denying that they had pro-

mised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be prisoners, as much against the law of arms, as their taking arms was against their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompence for a defeat, could not but be thought a glorious crown of a victory, which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated, or cut off.

Many men observed (as upon signal turns of great affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the field in which the late skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrave field, was the same place in which he had first executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confessed by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning, after their quarters were beaten up, he was exceedingly solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy; and, being himself a colonel of foot, put himself among those horse as a volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay till their body came up, and he alone (being second to none but the general himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the transgression, about a year before.

He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises, and company, which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed on him, as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests

and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he left his opinions with those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, that is, the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament, he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begat many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration [of the government] in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, any expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, on all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp;

and of a personal courage equal to his best parts ; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend ; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less congratulated on the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him ; “ he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any mischief.” His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

The earl of Essex's army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies. The factions and animosities at London required his presence there ; and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance ; so that he marched directly from Thame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough ; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's. Whilst the affairs of the parliament were in this distraction, the king's recovered great reputation ; and the season of the year being fit for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter.

The end of the treaty, in which we left the chief commanders of the Cornish forces, with commissioners of the other western counties, was like that in other places ; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of oaths, and receiving the sacrament, circumstances in no other treaty, the parliament no sooner sent their votes and declarations to them, (the same which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkshire and Cheshire,) and some members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aside ; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied money, throughout Somerset and Devon, upon friends and enemies ; and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and cessation, James Chudleigh, the major general of the rebels, brought a strong party of horse and foot within two miles of Launceston, the head quarter of the Cornish, and the very next morning, the cessation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the commanders of the Cornish had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the cessation, in preparing the gentry of that country, and all the inhabitants, to submit to a weekly tax for the support of that power, which defended them ; over and above which, the gentlemen, and persons of quality, freely brought in all their plate to be disposed of to the public ; and though they foresaw, after the committee of parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore sir Ralph Hopton and sir Bevil Greenvil repaired to Launceston the day before the expiration of the treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them : yet, being to feed and pay their small forces out of one small county, they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppressed than was necessary : so that all that was done the first day was, by the advantage of passes, and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action, till the other forces came up ; which they season-

ably did towards the evening ; and then the enemy, who received good loss in that day's action, grew so heartless, that in the night they retired to Okington, fifteen miles from the place of their skirmish. After which many small skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success ; sometimes the Cornish advancing in Devon, and then retiring again ; for it appeared now, that a formed army was marching against them, so far superior in number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

Towards the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horse and dragoons, and five thousand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen brass ordnance, and a mortar-piece, and a very plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage, as could be provided by men who wanted no money ; whilst the king's small forces, being not half the number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at Launceston ; of whom the enemy had so full a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis castle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high hill, to which the ascents were very steep every way, near Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently disaffected to the king's service, they sent a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, under the command of sir George Chudleigh, father to their major general, to Bodmin, to surprise the high sheriff and principal gentlemen of the country ; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the king's party, but, under the awe of such a power of horse, to make the whole country rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the king. For his forces which marched from Launceston, with a resolution to fight with the enemy, upon any disadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the county, or any thing else that was in their power,) easily now resolved to assault the camp in the absence of their horse ; and, with this resolution, they marched on Monday, the fifteenth of May, within a mile of the enemy ; being so destitute of all provisions, that the best officer had but a biscuit a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

On Tuesday the sixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they disposed themselves to their work ; having stood in their arms all the night. The number of foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their several provinces. The first was commanded by the lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton ; who undertook to assault the camp on the south side. Next them, on the left hand, sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil were to force their way. Sir Nicholas Slanning and colonel Trevannion were to assault the north side ; and, on the left hand, colonel Thomas Basset, who was major general of their foot, and colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party ; each party having two pieces of cannon to dispose as they found necessary : colonel John Digby com-

manding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a sandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could on the enemy, if they charged; otherwise, to be firm as a reserve.

In this manner the fight began; the king's forces pressing, with their utmost vigour, those four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the clock in the afternoon; when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with courage: and therefore, by messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officer's courage, and resolution, was so well seconded by the soldier, that they began to get ground in all places; and the enemy, in wonder of the men, who outfaced their shot with their swords, to quit their post. Major general Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a soldier; and when he saw his men recoil from less numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of pikes, upon that party which was led by sir John Berkley and sir Bevil Greenvil; and charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; sir Bevil Greenvil, in the shock, being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion; they so reinforced the charge, that having killed most of the assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the major general prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage, as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their major general, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms, and others fled; dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself: their general, the earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horse, which in small parties, though it is true their whole number was not above six or seven score, might have done great mischief to the several parties of foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep hill,) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some said sooner, made all imaginable haste to Exeter, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp, and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther,

or with their whole body of horse, lest sir George should return from Bodmin with his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party since the unhappy distraction; for on the king's party were not lost in all above fourscore men; whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their major general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of brass ordnance, and a brass mortar piece; all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of powder, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit, and other excellent provisions of victuals; which was as seasonable a blessing as the victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army rested that night and the next day at Stratton; all care being taken by express messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that country, and to guard the passes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return of the enemy's horse and dragoons. But sir George Chudleigh had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the high sheriff, and gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the assistance of the king's party, and with little resistance entered Bodmin, but he received the fatal news of the loss of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haste and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horses a prey to the country people, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into Plymouth; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into Exeter.

The earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the parliament, "that he had been betrayed by James Chudleigh; and that, in the heat of the battle, when the hope of the day stood fair, he had voluntarily, with a party, run over to the enemy, and immediately charged the parliament forces; which begot in all men a general apprehension of treachery, the soldiers fearing their officers', and the officers their soldiers' revolt; and thereupon the rout ensued." Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his person; and was taken prisoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal so without colour cast on him, and entertained with more credit than his services had merited, (for, from the time of his engagement to the parliament, he had served not only with full ability,

but with notable success, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the Cornish army, and in a night-skirmish, at Bradock Down near Okington, struck a great terror into them, and disordered them more than they were at any other time,) wrought so far upon the young man, together with the kind usage and reception he found as a prisoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy, and one like to do the king good service if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been prisoner about ten days, he freely declared, "that he was convinced in his conscience and judgment of the errors he had committed;" and, upon promise made to him of the king's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast on him.

The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the cause which he served, or to comply with those arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when the war first broke out, he came thence into England, with a purpose to serve the king; and to that purpose, shortly after his majesty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his service: but he found the eyes of most men fixed on him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his family's sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the king, and for some errors of his own, in that plot, that was so much spoken of, to bring up the northern army to awe the parliament; in which business, being then a very young man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a name, he had expressed much zeal to the king's service, and been busy in inclining the army to engage in such petitions and undertakings, as were not gracious to the parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. Goring, as is before remembered, and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the court, and therefore, bringing no other testimony with him to Oxford, but of his own conscience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their western employment, where his nearest friends were thoroughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with force, and then with reason and civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline and integrity of the forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the cause for which they were engaged; the reputation and confession whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and straits, with which they were to contend.

The army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into Devonshire, not thoroughly resolved whether to attack Plymouth, or Exeter, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from Oxford, "that the king had sent prince Maurice, and the marquis of

Hertford, with a very good body of horse, to join with them; and that they were advanced towards them as far as Somersetshire; and that sir William Waller was designed by the parliament, to visit the west, with a new army, which would receive a good recruit from those who escaped from the battle of Stratton:" so that it was necessary for all the king's forces in those parts to be united in a body, as soon as might be: hereupon it was quickly resolved to leave such a party at Saltash and Milbrook, as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incursions of Plymouth, and with their army to march eastward; their number increasing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory; many volunteers coming to them out of Devonshire, and very many of their prisoners professing, they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the king against those who had wronged both; who, being entertained under some of their own converted officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great honesty and courage. And so making no longer stay by the way, than was necessary for the refreshing of their troops, the Cornish army, for that was the style it now carried, marched by Exeter, where the earl of Stamford, with a sufficient garrison, then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small garrisons, whereby that town, full of fear and apprehension, might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the parliament, under colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed themselves; hoping sir William Waller would be as soon with them for their relief, as the Cornish would be to force them; which [regiment] being easily dispersed, they stayed there to expect new orders from the marquis of Hertford.

When the loss of Reading was well digested, and the king understood the declining condition of the earl of Essex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at Oxford; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful party in Cornwall stood, whither the parliament was making all haste to send sir William Waller, to check their good success; his majesty resolved to send the marquis of Hertford into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, who confidently undertook, if the marquis went through those counties, with such a strength as they supposed the king would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the parliament should be able to send. When the marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton; so that there was no danger of the marquis's being able to join with that little Cornish army; and then there appeared indeed a visible body worthy the name of an army. This put some persons upon desiring, that prince Maurice (who was yet in no other quality of command, than of a private colonel of horse, but had always behaved himself with great courage and vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a command of that army. Hereupon the king assigned him, and his highness willingly accepted to be lieutenant general under the marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought only fit to have the

superior power over those western counties, where his fortune lay, and the estimation and reverence of the people to him was very notorious. So the prince and the marquis, with prince Maurice's, and the earl of Carnarvon's, and colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horse (the earl being general of the cavalry) advanced into the west; and staying only some few days at Salisbury, and after in Dorsetshire, whilst some new regiments of horse and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into Somersetshire, being desirous to join with the Cornish as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful force. For sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the marquis's first entrance into the west, he had an unspeakable loss, and the king's service a far greater, by the death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper, and excellent understanding; who, besides that he had a great interest in the marquis, being his cousin-german, and so, out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the service, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorset, for which he served as one of the knights in parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that Poole and Lyme, (two port towns in that county, which gave the king afterwards much trouble,) if he had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving gentry of that shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the king's advantage, owed little to their assistance.

About the middle of June, prince Maurice, and the marquis, with sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about one thousand new levied foot, and seven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somersetshire, nearest the edge of Devonshire; where, according to order, they were met by the Cornish army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; so that, officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an army of seven thousand men; with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all sorts, and so good a reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the men whose courage had alone vindicated the king's cause in the west, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the marquis's party was in numbers, it was supplied with all the general officers of a royal army, a general, lieutenant general, general of the horse, general of the ordnance, a major general of horse, and another of foot, without keeping suitable commands for those who had done all that was past, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the chief officers of the

Cornish army, by joining with a much less party than themselves, were at best in the condition of private colonels. Yet the same public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among inferior officers, and common soldiers; and were, with equal candour and estimation, valued by the prince and marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being the fairest, largest, and richest town in Somersetshire; but withal as eminently affected to the parliament, where they had now a garrison; but they had not yet the same courage they recovered afterwards: for the army was no sooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a house of the Portmans, two miles from the town, but the town sent two of their substantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the garrison, (the prisoners in the castle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, imprisoned there as malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there,) that the garrison fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a less town, but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day, from thence; so that the marquis was possessed, in three days, of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Lutterel, was, with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the king; into which the marquis put him, that took it, as governor; as he well deserved.

The government of Taunton he committed to sir John Stawell, a gentleman of a very great estate in those parts; and who, from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged himself and his children for the king; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the parliament. The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon Edmund Windham, high sheriff of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of good personal courage, and unquestionable affection to the cause. The army stayed about Taunton seven or eight days, for the settling those garrisons, and to receive advertisements of the motion or station of the enemy; in which time they lost much of the credit and reputation they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of license, obliging them to solemn and frequent actions of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage, and thereupon sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally considered as the general of that army, though it was governed by such a commission as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was second to no man's; the horse, that came now with the marquis, having lived under a looser discipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unvisited by an army, and yielding some excuse to this by the eminency of their disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved; and by their license hindered those orderly levies,

which should have brought in a supply of money, for the regular payment of the army. And this extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy, or shadow of it, between the lord marquis and prince Maurice; the first, as being better versed in the policy of peace, than in the mysteries of war, desiring to regulate the soldier, and to restrain him from using any license upon the country; and the prince being thought so wholly to incline to the soldier, that he neglected any consideration of the country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with unity and alacrity, eastward, to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable body, within less than twenty miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at Oxford, to prepare the supplies for the west, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the parliament foresaw, that if all the west were recovered from them, their quarters would by degrees be so straitened, that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the western ports at their devotion, those in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, especially in the clothing parts of Somersetshire, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want men, if they sent a body of horse, and some arms, to countenance them; with the last of which they had stored the sea-towns, which were in their hands, sufficiently. And therefore they resolved, that, though they could not easily recruit their army, they would send some troops of horse, and dragoons, into the west, to keep up the spirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of sir William Waller, a member of the house of commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

Sir William Waller had been well bred; [and,] having spent some years abroad, and some time in the armies there, returned with a good reputation home; and shortly after, having married a young lady, who was to inherit a good fortune in the west, he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the same family, who had the honour to be a menial servant to the king in a place near his person; which, in that time, was attended with privilege and respect from all men. These two gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, sir William Waller received such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster-hall, that he got witnesses to swear "that it was in the hall itself," the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the court made the prosecution to be very severe; insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous: and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so con-

curring in the house of commons with all those counsels which were most violent, he was employed in their first military action, for the reducing of Portsmouth; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before: and when the earl of Essex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with some troops made a cavalcade or two into the west, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose quarters, but had surprised a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the lord Herbert of Ragland near Gloucester; in which he took above twelve hundred prisoners, with all the officers; being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great reputation with the parliament and the city; and was called William the Conqueror. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon sir William Waller, as a man more for their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with so great expedition and secrecy, that the marquis of Hertford was no sooner joined to the Cornish troops, (in which time Bridgewater, and Dunstar, and some other places, were reduced from the parliament,) before he was informed that sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from Bristol, and the parts adjacent, which were all under the parliament, than the marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held most counsellable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards Oxford; which they were now inclined to do.

Though sir William Waller himself continued still at Bath, yet the remainder of those horse and dragoons that escaped out of Cornwall, after the battle of Stratton, and such other as were sent out of Exeter for their ease, when they apprehended a siege, and those soldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alexander Popham, Strode, and the other deputy lieutenants of the militia for Somerset, rallied; and with the trained bands, and volunteer regiments of the country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy, before break of day, fell upon a regiment of dragoons, quartered a mile eastward from the town; and gave so brisk an alarm to the king's army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the battle of Stratton,) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little skirmishes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the king's forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that city likewise; and drew their whole body, appearing in number as considerable as their pursuers, to the top of a hill, called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the march having been long, the marquis, with all the foot, and train, stayed at Wells; but prince Maurice, and the earl of Carnarvon, with sir Ralph Hopton, and sir John Berkley, and two regiments of horse, resolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who suffered them,

without interruption, to gain the top of the hill, level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horse, to give their foot and baggage leisure and security, retired together as the prince advanced. This and the natural contempt the king's horse yet had of the enemy, which in all skirmishes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them over those large hills farther than before; till the enemy, who were anon to pass through a lane, and a village called Chewton, were compelled, before their entrance into the lane, to leave their reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was no sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the garrison at Bristol, had directed this body which was in Somerset, to retire before the king's forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong party of horse and dragoons, to assist their retreat; which, by the advantage of a fog, had marched without being discovered: so that the earl of Carnarvon, being a stranger in the country and the ways, pursued the flying enemy into sir William Waller's quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh body of horse and dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the village; choosing rather, with very good reason, to attend the enemy in the plain heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came to him, broken and chased by the enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of horse and dragoons, much stronger than the prince's party, who had only his own, and the earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with some gentlemen volunteers. The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair hills, being pursued with a fresh party much superior in number. Therefore he took a gallant resolution, to give the enemy a brisk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilst the earl rallied his, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the prince in the head of his regiment charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impression. But almost half the enemy's horse, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about, and charged the prince in the rear; and at the same time the earl of Carnarvon, with his rallied regiment, charged their rear; and all this so thoroughly performed, that they were mingled pallmall one among the other, and the good sword [was] to decide the controversy, their pistols being spent in

the close. The prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off; and the enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the earl of Carnarvon; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in these skirmishes threescore or fourscore men lost on the prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many prisoners.

At Wells the army rested many days, as well to recover the prince's wounds, being only cuts with swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increased by those who were chased out of the west; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of provisions, and passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from London, were arrived with him. On the other side, the marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an enemy, but to secure himself at his rear, that the disaffection of the people behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of sir William Waller, might not take fresh courage. Though Cornwall was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from Plymouth, yet Devonshire was left in a very unsafe posture: there being only a small party at Columb-John, a house of sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exeter, to control the power of that city, where the earl of Stamford was; and to dispute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country, but with any power that might arrive by sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the parliament had sent directions to the earl of Warwick their admiral, "to attend the Devonshire coast with his fleet, and take any advantage he could," the marquis, by the advice of the council of war, sent sir John Berkley back into Devonshire, with colonel Howard's regiment of horse, to command the forces which were then there, and to raise what numbers more he could possibly, for the blocking up that city, and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the army sir James Hamilton's regiment of horse and dragoons; which had been left in Devonshire; and, by the license they took, weakened the king's party; so that, by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days' rest at Wells, the army generally expressing a handsome impatience to meet with the enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the prince and marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four miles of Bath. And now no day passed without action, and very sharp skirmishes; sir William Waller having received from London a fresh regiment of five hundred horse, under the command of sir Arthur Haslerig: which were so prodigiously armed, that they were called by the other side the regiment of lobsters, because of their bright iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers; and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the king's horse; who, being unarmed, were

not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with.

The contention was hitherto with parties; in which the successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as sir William Waller, upon the first advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of sir James Hamilton's, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the king's forces beat a party of his from a pass near Bath, where the enemy lost two field-pieces, and near an hundred men. But sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his army together in; and so in his choice not to fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the king's forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great distress of provision; the country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which, having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the marquis and prince Maurice advanced with their whole body to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the enemy from their place of advantage, their chief business being to hinder them from joining with the king. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the enemy, till they had quitted their advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, with the straits they endured for want of provisions, and their want of ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge-skirmishes, and upon their guards, being so near as could have been in battle, would not admit that patience; for sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the king, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdown, which looked towards Marsfield, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

It was upon the fifth of July when sir William Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raised breast-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the king's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia, and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and so retired again towards their old quarters: which sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the king's forces; which they did thoroughly, the regiment of cuirassiers so amazing the horse they charged, that they totally routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the king's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after sir

Nicholas Slanning, with three hundred musketeers, had fallen upon and beaten their reserve of dragoons, prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horse, and winging them with the Cornish musketeers, charged the enemy's horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musketeers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged; yet the Cornish foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have leave to fetch off those cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of musketeers were sent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horse and musketeers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horse, and routed; then sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a party of horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for them; and his musketeers on the left; himself leading up his pikes in the middle; and in the face of their cannon, and small-shot from the breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in the third charge his horse failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a poleaxe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the musketeers fired so fast upon the horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two wings, who were sent to clear the woods, having done their work, and gained those parts of the hill, at the same time they beat off their foot, and became possessed of the breast-works; and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon, to ascend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won; the enemy retiring about demi-culverin shot, behind a stone wall upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order.

Either party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The king's horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a show of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart volley of small-shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise: which the prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field;" which was true; so that, as soon as it was day, the king's army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory: sir William Waller being marched to Bath, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of arms, and ten

barrels of powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this battle, on the king's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain, than common men; and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of sir Bevil Greenvil; who was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall; and his temper and affections so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.

Very many officers and persons of quality were hurt; as the lord Arundel of Wardour, shot in the thigh with a brace of pistol bullets; sir Ralph Hopton, shot through the arm with a musket; sir George Vaughan, and many others, hurt in the head of their troops with swords and poleaxes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to visit the hurt men, and to put the soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his horse, with other officers and soldiers about him, near a wagon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among [whom] sir Ralph Hopton and sergeant major Sheldon were miserably hurt; of which, major Sheldon, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage, and as great gentleness of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters to Marsfield; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune, (sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the soldiers' darling,) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford; and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the marquis, but, withal, a desire of a regiment or two of fresh horse, and a supply of ammunition; whereupon the earl of Crawford with his regiment of horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at Marsfield, it being understood that sir William Waller was still at Bath, (his army having been rather surprised and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the Cornish foot, than much weakened by the number slain, which was not greater than on the king's

part,) and that he had sent for fresh supply from Bristol; it was concluded, rather to march to Oxford, and so to join with the king's army, than to stay and attend the enemy, who was so near his supplies: and so they marched towards Chippenham. But when sir William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his men; and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loss of sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the spirits of the soldiers; and having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset, which joined about Bath, in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he followed the marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath, as the other from Marsfield.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in distance, the prince and the marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and presented themselves in battalia to the enemy; being very well contented to fight in such a place, where the success was to depend more on their foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their horse, which were at best weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and resolute. But sir William Waller, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horse, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well armed, and well bodied, very vulgarly spirited, and officered: so that having stood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the prince and marquis, the next day, advanced towards the Devizes; sir Nicholas Slanning, with great spirit and prudence, securing the rear with strong parties of musketeers; with which he gave the enemy, who pressed upon them very smartly, so much interruption, that sir William Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a trumpet to the marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own choosing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the marquis carried the trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the rear; the enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the army safely reached the Devizes.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage, and improvement of numbers; sir William Waller having dispersed his warrants over the country, signifying "that he had beaten the marquis," and requiring the people "to rise in all places for the apprehension of his scattered and dispersed troops;" which confidence, men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest victory; and so they flocked to him as the master of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards Oxford, but over a campaign of many miles, where the stronger in horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the lord marquis and prince Maurice should that night break through, with all the horse, to Oxford; and that sir Ralph Hopton (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the earl of Marlborough, who was general of the artillery, the lord Mohun, and other good officers of foot, should stay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the general might return with relief from Oxford; which was not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the horse got safe away into the king's quarters, and the prince and marquis, in the morning, came to Oxford; by which time sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the least fortification or defence, but small ditches and hedges; upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed to hinder the entrance of the horse, which was principally apprehended. Sir William Waller had soon notice of the remove of the horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole force close to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with horse, foot, and cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the earl of Crawford's marching with a supply of powder, according to order, after the first notice of the battle of Lansdown, he sent a strong party of horse and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horse towards Oxford, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his ammunition, and a troop or two of his horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of question; and thereupon sent a trumpet into the town to summon the besieged, to let them know, "that he had cut off their relief, and that their state was now desperate; and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the parliament, with whom he would mediate on their behalf." They in the town were not sorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honour at any rates. When the enemy came first before the town, and the guards were supplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store; whereupon diligent officers were directed to search every house in the town, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable match, as very well endured that sharp service. Then the compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole body were upon perpetual

duty together, neither officer or soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the chief officers was most necessary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this message; and returned, "that they would send an officer to treat, if a cessation were agreed to during the time of the treaty;" which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the party of the besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the debate, and might imply courage and resolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter, and civil usage to the officers, and leave to the common soldiers to return to their houses without their arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the parliament. These being terms many of the officers would not have submitted to in the latest extreme, the treaty ended; after those in the town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours' sleep, and so long time sparing of ammunition. The truth is, sir William Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the parliament, "that their work was done, and that, by the next post, he would send the number and quality of his prisoners;" neither did he imagine it possible that any relief could have been sent from Oxford; the earl of Essex, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole army at Thame, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the king to omit any thing, that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the marquis and prince arrived at Oxford, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their friends, though the queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the king had appointed to meet her two days' journey for her security, his majesty resolved to take only his own guards of horse, and prince Rupert's regiment, for that expedition; and sent the lord Wilmot with all the rest of the horse, to march that very day, in which the advertisement came to him, towards the Devizes; so that the marquis and the prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the lord Wilmot, that night, moved towards the work; and prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer, but the lord Wilmot commanding in chief, appeared, on the Wednesday about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the town.

The lord Wilmot had with him fifteen hundred horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair campaign about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the prince himself, the earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, partly because they were tired, and dispersed; and partly because it was not desired to have many of those who might have their old terror still upon them. The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the

foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the town; and put themselves in battalia upon the top of a fair hill, called Roundway-down; over which the king's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town: they within conceived it hardly possible, that the relief, they expected from Oxford, could so soon arrive; all the messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the siege; and therefore suspected the warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended, into the open field; and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, [they] waited a surer evidence, that their friends were at hand; which shortly arrived; and assured them, "that the prince was by, and expected them."

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced; but sir William Waller had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the lord Wilmot, that without such shifts and traverses, as might give his men some apprehension, he could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were somewhat more than musket-shot off in order of battle.

Here sir William Waller, out of pure gayety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the horse and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole body of horse, from his foot, to charge the enemy; appointing sir Arthur Haslerig with his cuirassiers apart, to make the first impression; who was encountered by sir John Byron, in whose regiment the earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which sir Arthur Haslerig received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and, in a full career, chased upon their other horse. And at the same time, the lord Wilmot charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden alterations the accidents of war introduce, the whole entire body of the triumphant horse were so totally routed and dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious down; every man shifting for himself with greater danger by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer; and after the rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their horses, down the precipices, than by the sword. The foot stood still firm, making shew of a gallant resistance; but the lord Wilmot quickly seized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the Cornish foot, who were by this come from the town, were ready likewise to charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken prisoners, very few escaping; the Cornish retaining too fresh a memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves of those who had contributed the least

thereunto. Sir William Waller himself, with a small train, fled into Bristol, which had sacrificed a great part of their garrison in his defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed the king's whole affairs, so that all clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle slain, on the enemy's part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the skirmishes and pursuit; with all their cannon, being eight pieces of brass ordnance; all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual; eight and twenty foot ensigns, and nine cornets; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horse, with two small field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Cornish came up; though the foot were suffered to stand in a body uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came; that they might be refreshed with a share in the conquest,) against a body of full two thousand horse, five hundred dragoons, and near three thousand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Cornish had great reason to think their deliverance, and victory at Roundway, more signal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, save that the first might be thought the parent of the latter, and the loss on the king's party was less; for in this there were slain very few; and, of name, none but Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young gentleman; who was always a volunteer with the lord Wilmot, and among the first upon any action of danger.

Besides the present fruit of this victory, the king received an advantage from the jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the officers of the parliament armies. For sir William Waller believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the earl of Essex, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse his glories; and complained, "that he, lying with his whole army within ten miles of Oxford, should suffer the whole strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a party to follow them, or to alarm Oxford, by which they would have been probably recalled." On the other hand, the earl, disdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with "unsoldierly neglects, and want of courage, to be beaten by a handful of men, and to have deserted his foot and cannon, without engaging his own person in one charge against the enemy." Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but, from the enmity that proceeded from thence, the king often afterwards reaped very notable and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the king met the queen upon the field near Keinton, under Edge-hill, where the battle had been fought in October before; and before their majesties came to Oxford, they received the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raising their fallen spirits to a height too proportionable, as though

they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transportation to either extremes was too natural upon all the vicissitudes of the war; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the victory to some men, that it had been obtained under the command and conduct of Wilmot; who was very much in prince Rupert's disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the king, but much beloved in all the good fellowship of the army; which was too great a body. It was now time for the king's army, victorious in so many encounters, to take the field; upon what enterprise, was the question. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at London. They had seen the copy of his warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the action at Lansdown; in which he declared, "that he had routed the marquis's army, and was in pursuit of them; and therefore commanded the justices of peace, and constables, to give order for the apprehension of them, as they fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the marquis would be sent up prisoner: and now to hear that this whole invincible army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is,) brought them to their wits end; [so] that they could little advance the recruiting the earl of Essex's army; who in his person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the earls of Northumberland and Holland, and others who were most weary of the war, and would be glad of peace upon easy terms.

The king's army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those forces which attended the queen; for her majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, and one thousand horse, with six pieces of cannon, and two mortars, and about one hundred waggons. So that as soon as their majesties came to Oxford, the earl of Essex, who had spent his time about Thame and Aylesbury, without any action after that skirmish in which Mr. Hambden was slain, save by small parties, of which there was none of name or note, but one handsome smart conflict between a party of five hundred horse and dragoons, commanded by colonel Middleton, a Scotchman, on the parliament party, and a regiment of horse, commanded by sir Charles Lucas, on the king's; where, after a very soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such actions, the king's party prevailed, returning with some prisoners of name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their enemy, not without some loss of their own: [the earl, I say,] retired with his army broken, and disheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the king, till he should be recruited with horse, men, and money; and suffering no less in the talk of the people, (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse,) for not interposing to hinder the queen's march to Oxford, and joining with the king, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the lord Wilmot went from thence to the ruin of sir William Waller.

After which defeat, the lord Wilmot retired to Oxford to attend his majesty; and the Cornish army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the marquis and

prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of Bath, which was quitted, upon the overthrow of Waller; that garrison being withdrawn to reinforce Bristol. At Bath they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new orders from the king; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the state he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the city of Bristol; to which prince Rupert was most inclined, for being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the king's service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent citizens. And the disesteem generally of the courage of Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; and so the marquis and prince Maurice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength, before Bristol, on the Somersetshire side, when prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it, on the Gloucestershire side.

On the four and twentieth of July, both armies sat down before it; quartering their horse in that manner, that none could go out or in to the city, without great hazard of being taken; and the same day, with the assistance of some seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the ships that were in King-road; which were not only laden with things of great value, as plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many persons of quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to London; and so were all taken prisoners. The next day, prince Rupert came to his brother, and the marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being assembled, it was debated, "in what manner they should proceed, by assault or approach."

There were in the town five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons; the line about the town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in others. The castle within the town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several: the officers of the Cornish were of opinion, "that it was best to proceed by way of approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no army of the enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many men; and, if they were beaten off, all their summer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make up the spirit of the army for a new action. Besides, they alleged, the well affected party in the city, which was believed to be very great, would, after they had been closely besieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon the soldier, and be able to do more towards the surrender, than they could upon a storm; when they would be equally sensible of the disorder of the soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the other; and the too late example of the executed citizens would keep men from offering at any insurrection in the city."

On the other hand, prince Rupert, and all the officers of his army, very earnestly desired to assault it; alleged "the work to be easy, and the soldiers fitter for any brisk attempt, than a dull patient design; and that the army would be more weakened by the latter than the former: that the city, not having yet recovered the consternation of sir William Waller's defeat, was so full of horror, that it would make a very weak defence: that there was no soldier of experience in the town, and the governor himself not like to endure the terror of a storm: whereas, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long upon them with a wall between, they would grow confirmed and resolute, and courage would supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all kinds of provisions within the town, they would grow strong and peremptory, whilst the besiegers grew less vigorous, and disheartened." These reasons, and the prince's importunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the town, that must not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to assault the town the next morning at three places on the Somersetshire side, and at three places on the Gloucestershire side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, without any circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the Gloucestershire side, where prince Rupert was, might be stormed, the graff being shallow, and the wall, in some places, low and weak; which could not be easily approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground; on the other side the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient and dangerous to storm, by reason of a plain level before the line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with no other provisions fit for such a work, but the courage of the assailants, both armies fell on. On the west side, where the Cornish were, they assaulted the line in three places; one division led by Sir Nicholas Slanning, assisted with colonel John Trevannion, lieutenant colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers; too great a number of such officers to conduct so small a party as five hundred men, if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: another division, on the right hand, was led by colonel Buck, assisted by colonel Wagstaffe, colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded the regiment of the lord marquis Hertford, with other officers of the field: and the third division, on the left hand, led by sir Thomas Basset, who was major general of the Cornish. These three divisions fell on together with that courage and resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the common soldiers, after their chief officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the lord Grandison, colonel general of the foot, was beaten off, the lord Grandison himself being hurt;

and the other, led by colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. The enemy, as soon as they saw the line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their posts; so that the prince entered with his foot and horse into the suburbs; sending for one thousand of the Cornish foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to Fromegate, losing many men, and some very good officers, by shot from the walls and windows; insomuch as all men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet passed, and where their horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and soldiers, the city beat a parley; which the prince willingly embracing, and getting their hostages into his hands, sent colonel Gerard and another officer to the governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, these articles were agreed on, and signed by all parties.

1. "That the governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, together with all the officers both of horse and foot, now within and about the city of Bristol, castle, and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, provided it be their own goods: and that the common foot soldiers march out without arms, and the troopers with their horses and swords, leaving their other arms behind them, with a safe convoy to Warminster; and after, not to be molested in their march, by any of the king's forces, for the space of three days.

2. "That there may be carriages allowed and provided to carry away their bag and baggage, and sick and hurt soldiers.

3. "That the king's forces march not into the town, till the parliament forces are marched out; which is to be at nine of the clock.

4. "That all prisoners in the city be delivered up; and that captain Eyres and captain Cookein, who were taken at the Devizes, be released.

5. "That sir John Horner, sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other knights, gentlemen, citizens, and other persons, that are now in the city, may, if they please, with their goods, wives, and families, bag and baggage, have free liberty to return to their own homes, or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride, and travel with the governor and forces: and such of them, and their families, as shall be left behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, may have liberty, so soon as they can conveniently, to depart this town with safety; provided that all gentlemen, and other persons, shall have three days' liberty to reside here, or depart with their goods, which they please.

6. "That all the inhabitants of the city shall be secured in their persons, families, and estates, free from plundering, and all other violence, or wrong whatsoever.

7. "That the charters and liberties of this city may be preserved; and that the ancient government thereof, and present governors and officers, may remain and continue in their former con-

"dition, according to his majesty's charters and pleasure.

8. "That, for avoiding inconveniences and distractions, the quartering of soldiers be referred or left to the mayor, and governor of the same city for the time being.

9. "That all such as have carried any goods into the castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth.

10. "That the forces, that are to march out, are to leave behind them all cannon, and ammunition, with their colours, and such arms as is before expressed."

The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was first offered, they in the town kept no guards, nor observed any order; but their soldiers run away to the prince, and many of his soldiers went into the town,) his highness was possessed of Bristol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example at Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that garrison was now here. So that they, with some colour of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by their example, used great license to the soldiers, who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it; and charged colonel Fiennes to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment; and thereby his convoy was not ready; and at another gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the city itself: for many of colonel Fiennes' soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the king's army, instructed their new friends, who were most disaffected; so that one whole street upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little justice done upon the transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more discredited the king's forces, and his cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquid esse crederet et in hostem nefas*. I wish I could excuse those swervings from justice and right, which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

This reduction of Bristol was a full tide of prosperity to the king, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no standing garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of Somersetshire,) and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except some towns in Pembrokeshire) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of Bristol, and consequently of the charge that always attends those fears; and restored to the trade with Bristol; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the king might very well have said, what king Pyrrhus

heretofore did, after his second battle, by the city of Asculum, with the Romans, where he won the victory; "If we win another at this price, we are utterly undone." And truly his majesty's loss before this town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several assaults, of common men, but such as were tried and incomparable foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality.

On the Cornish side fell, besides major Kendall, and many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, colonel Buck, a modest and a stout commander, and of good experience in war: who having got over the graff, and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and perished in the graff; sir Nicholas Slanning, and colonel John Trevannion, the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great conductors, (for they both were of the house of commons,) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen came into Cornwall, joined with them; and being both of singular reputation, and good fortunes there, the one in possession, the other in reversion after his father, they engaged their persons and estates in the service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and descending to all capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slanning was governor of Pendennis castle, upon the credit and security whereof, the king's party in that country first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and most obliging behaviour, and a courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: they were both young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to sir Bevil Greenvil, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with musket bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice of their sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of great signification to the cause.

On the north side, of prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage; by whom, his excellent lieutenant colonel Moyle was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a window after they had entered the suburbs. There were hurt, the lord viscount Grandison, nephew to

the great duke of Buckingham, who was colonel general of the king's foot; colonel John Bellasis, since lord Bellasis; colonel Bernard Ashley; colonel sir John Owen; and many other officers of name, of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the lord Grandison; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion, that the court, or camp, could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour, as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person; his affection, and zeal, and obedience to the king, was such as became a branch of that family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, that the very obligations of gratitude to the king, on the behalf of his house, were such, as his life was but a due sacrifice:" and therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable, than he engaged all his brethren, as well as himself, in the service; and there were then three more of them in command in the army, when he was so unfortunately cut off.

As soon as the news of the taking of Bristol came to the king at Oxford, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for the success, which was immediately and publicly performed, his majesty assembled his privy-council, to consider how this great blessing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace; and that this might be the last town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last victory added great lustre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the parliament; where the jealousies and apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

Upon the news of the lord Fairfax's being defeated in the north, they resolved presently to send a committee of the two houses into Scotland, "to desire their brethren of that kingdom presently to advance with an army for their relief;" which was thought so desperate a cure, that the lords naming the earl of Rutland, and lord Grey of Warke, for that embassy, the earl upon indisposition of health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower; and, in the end, they were compelled to depute only commoners to that service: and so sir William Armyne, young sir Henry Vane, and two more, assisted with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were embarked in that negotiation; upon which, they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the king, that there was, some few desperate per-

sons only excepted, even a universal desire of peace; and the earl of Essex himself, writing to the speaker of the house of commons, of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horse, men, and money, advised, "that they would think of sending some reasonable propositions to the king, for the procuring a safe peace;" which being the first intimation he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity and correspondence with those lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe messages they received from him, for his vindication from the foul aspersions and calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his unactivity after the winning Reading, whilst the queen marched securely to Oxford, and sir William Waller was destroyed; as if "he would think of some way of righting himself, if they were not sensible on his behalf."

How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might consent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the king's consultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the last treaty, and when the king had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any answer from them to his last messages; but instead thereof his messenger imprisoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and still in custody, and a declaration, "that whosoever should be employed by his majesty, on any message to them, without their leave, should be proceeded against as a spy," (so that though they pretended to be his great council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his majesty,) he advised with his council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen the reverence and reputation of them with the people:" for the superstition towards the name of a parliament was so general, that the king had wisely forborne to charge the two houses with the treason and rebellion that was raised, but imputed it to particular persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that all the members who stayed there, and sat in either house, being guilty of so many treasonable acts, thereby the parliament was actually dissolved, by the same reason as a corporation, by great misdemeanour and crime, might forfeit their charter; and therefore that the king should, by his proclamation, declare the dissolution of it, and then consider whether it were fit to call another." But this opinion was generally disliked, both "because it was conceived not to be just; for the treason of those who were present could not forfeit the right of those who were away; neither was it evident, that all present consented to the ill that was done; and the king's declaring a parliament to be dissolved, contrary to an act of parliament, was believed, would prove an act so ungracious to the people, for the consequences of it, that the king would be an exceeding loser by such an attempt; and that many, in such a case, would return thither, who out of conscience had withdrawn from that assembly."

In conclusion, the advice was unanimous, "that his majesty should declare the orders and proceedings of one or both houses to be void, by reason the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of parliament; and therefore require

“his good subjects no longer to be misled by “them:” and, to that purpose, the king had issued his proclamation six weeks before this happy turn in his affairs, so that he could not now send a message to them, as to two houses of parliament, lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes, and the increase of his strength, that he aimed at no less than a perfect victory, and the ruin of those who had incensed him, (by which insinuations they, who could not forgive themselves, endeavoured to make all others desperate,) he was resolved to publish such a declaration to the whole kingdom, that both houses, and [their] army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. And to that purpose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of Bristol, his majesty published this ensuing declaration; which being short, I shall enter in his own words.

His majesty's declaration to all his loving subjects, after his victories over the lord Fairfax in the north, sir William Waller in the west, and the taking of Bristol by his majesty's forces.

“As the grievances and losses of no particular persons, since these miserable bloody distempers have disquieted this poor kingdom, can be compared to the loss and damage we ourself have sustained, there having been no victory obtained but in the blood of our own subjects, nor no rapine or violence committed, but to the impoverishment and ruin of our own people; so, a blessed and happy peace cannot be so acceptable and welcome to any man, as to us. Almighty God, to whom all the secrets of our heart are open, who hath so often and so miraculously preserved us, and to whose power alone we must attribute the goodness of our present condition, (how unhappy soever it is with reference to the public calamities,) knows, with what unwillingness, with what anguish of soul, we submitted ourself to the necessity of taking up defensive arms. And the world knows with what justice and bounty we have repaired our subjects, for all the pressures and inconveniences they had borne, by such excellent laws, as would for ever have prevented the like; and with what earnestness and importunity we desired to add any thing, for the establishment of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom. How all these have been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed, by faction, sedition, and treason, by those, who have neither reverence to God, nor affection to men, but have sacrificed both to their own ends and ambition, is now so evident, that we hope, as God hath wonderfully manifested his care of us, and his defence of his and our most just cause; so he hath so far touched the hearts of our people, that their eyes are at last opened to see how miserably they have been seduced, and to abhor those persons, whose malice and subtlety had seduced them to dishonour him, to rebel against us, and to bring much misery and calamity upon their native country.

“We well remember the protestation voluntarily

“made by us, in the head of that small army we “were master of in September last, to defend and “maintain the true reformed protestant religion: “and if it should please God, by his blessing upon “that army, to preserve us from this rebellion, that “we would maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and govern by the known laws of the land; for whose defence, in truth, “that army was only raised, and hath been since “kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable “time to renew that protestation than now, when “God hath vouchsafed us so many victories and “successes, and hath rendered the power of those, “who seek to destroy us, less formidable than it “hath been, (so that we shall probably not fall “under the scandalous imputation, which hath “usually attended our messages of peace, that “they proceed from the weakness of our power, “not love of our people,) and when there is more “freedom in many counties, for our good subjects “to receive true information of their own and our “condition; the knowledge whereof hath been, “with equal industry and injustice, kept from “them, as other acts of cruelty have been imposed on them.

“We do therefore declare to all the world, in “the presence of Almighty God, to whom we must “give a strict account of all our professions and “protestations, that we are so far from intending “any alteration of the religion established, (as hath “been often falsely, scandalously, and against the “conscience of the contrivers themselves of that “rumour, suggested to our people,) or from the “least thought of invading the liberty and property “of the subject, or violating the just privileges of “parliament, that we call that God to witness, *who hath covered our head in the day of battle*, that we “desire from our soul, and shall always use our “utmost endeavour, to preserve and advance the “true reformed protestant religion, established in “the church of England; in which we were born, “have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God, “shall resolutely die: that the preservation of the “liberty and property of the subject, in the due “observation of the known laws of the land, shall “be equally our care, as the maintenance of our “own rights; we desiring to govern only by those “good laws, which, till they were oppressed by “this odious rebellion, preserved this nation happy. “And we do acknowledge the just privileges of “parliament to be an essential part of those laws, “and shall therefore most solemnly defend and “observe them. So that, in truth, if either religion, law, or liberty, be precious to our people, “they will, by their submission to us, join with us “in the defence of them; and thereby establish “that peace, by which only they can flourish, and “be enjoyed.

“Whether these men, that be professed enemies “to the established ecclesiastical government, who “reproach and persecute the learned orthodox ministers of the church, and into their places put “ignorant, seditious, and schismatical preachers, “who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and “impiously profane God's worship with their scurrilous and seditious demeanour, are like to advance that religion; whether those men, who “boldly, and without the least shadow or colour of “law, impose insupportable taxes and odious excises upon their fellow subjects, imprison, torment, and murder them, are like to preserve the

“ liberty and property of the subject : and whether
 “ those men, who seize and possess themselves of
 “ our own unquestionable revenue, and our just
 “ rights, have denied us our negative voice, have,
 “ by force and violence, awed and terrified the
 “ members of both houses, and lastly have, as far
 “ as in them lies, dissolved the present parliament,
 “ by driving away and imprisoning the members,
 “ and resolving the whole power thereof, and more,
 “ into a committee of a few men, contrary to all
 “ law, custom, or precedent, are like to vindicate
 “ and uphold the privileges of parliament, all the
 “ world may judge.

“ We do therefore once more conjure our good
 “ subjects, by their memory of that excellent peace
 “ and firm happiness, with which it pleased God to
 “ reward their duty and loyalty in time past ; by
 “ their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which
 “ no vow or covenant, contrived and administered
 “ to and by themselves, can cancel or evade ; by
 “ whatsoever is dear and precious to them in this
 “ life, or hoped or prayed for in the life to come,
 “ that they will remember their duty, and consider
 “ their interest, and no longer suffer themselves to
 “ be misled, their prince dishonoured, and their
 “ country wasted and undone by the malice and
 “ cunning of those state impostors ; who, under
 “ pretence of reformation, would introduce what-
 “ soever is monstrous and unnatural both to reli-
 “ gion and policy : but that they rather choose
 “ quietly to enjoy their religion, property, and
 “ liberty, founded and provided for by the wisdom
 “ and industry of former times, and secured and
 “ enlarged by the blessings upon the present age,
 “ than to spend their lives and fortunes to purchase
 “ confusion, and to make themselves liable to the
 “ most intolerable kind of slavery, that is, to be
 “ slaves to their fellow subjects ; who, by their
 “ prodigious, unheard of acts of oppression and
 “ tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence what
 “ they are to expect at their hands.

“ And let not our good people, who have been
 “ misled, or, through want of understanding, or
 “ want of courage, submitted themselves to un-
 “ warrantable and disloyal actions, be taught, by
 “ these seducers, that their safety now consists in
 “ despair ; and that they can only secure them-
 “ selves for the ills they have done, by a resolute
 “ and peremptory disobedience. Revenge and
 “ blood-thirstiness have never been imputed to us,
 “ by those, who have left neither our government,
 “ or nature, unexamined, with the greatest bold-
 “ ness and malice. And all those who, since those
 “ bloody distractions, out of conscience have re-
 “ turned from their evil ways to us, have found,
 “ that it was not so easy for them to repent, as for
 “ us to forgive. And whosoever have been misled
 “ by those whose hearts from the beginning have
 “ designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their
 “ past crimes by their present service and loyalty,
 “ in the apprehending or opposing such who shall
 “ continue to bear arms against us, and shall use
 “ their utmost endeavours to reduce those men to
 “ their due obedience, and to restore this kingdom
 “ to its wonted peace, shall have cause to magnify
 “ our mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed
 “ against so just and gracious a sovereign. Lastly,
 “ we desire all our good subjects who have really
 “ assisted, or really wished us well, now God hath
 “ done such wonderful things for us, vigorously to
 “ endeavour to put an end to all these miseries,

“ by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, or
 “ arms, to our aid ; that so we being not wanting
 “ to ourselves, may with confidence expect the
 “ continuance of God's favour, to restore us all to
 “ that blessed harmony of affections, which may
 “ establish a firm peace ; without the speedy
 “ obtaining of which, this poor kingdom will be
 “ utterly undone, though not absolutely lost.”

What effect this proclamation produced, at least
 what accident fell out shortly after the publishing
 it, we shall have occasion anon to remember, when
 we have first remembered some unfortunate pas-
 sages, which accompanied this prosperity on the
 king's part ; for the sunshine of his conquest was
 somewhat clouded, not only by the number and
 quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and mis-
 understandings of those who were alive. There
 was not, from the beginning, that conformity of
 humour and inclinations between the princes and
 the marquis of Hertford, as had been to be wished
 between all persons of honour, who were engaged
 in a quarrel that could never prosper but by the
 union of the undertakers. Prince Maurice, and,
 on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impul-
 sion,) prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew
 of the king's should be lieutenant general to the
 marquis, who had neither been exercised in the
 profession of a soldier, nor even now punctually
 studied the office of a general : on the other hand,
 the marquis, who was of the most gentle nature to
 the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the impe-
 rious, it may be liked not the prince's assuming to
 himself more than became a lieutenant general, and
 sometimes crossing acts of his with relation to the
 governing and disposing the affairs of the country,
 in which he knew himself better versed than the
 prince ; and when Bristol was taken, where the
 marquis took himself to command in chief, being a
 town particularly within his commission, and of
 which he was besides lord lieutenant, he thought
 himself not regardfully enough used, that prince
 Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without
 his advice, but concluded the articles without so
 much as naming him, or taking notice that he was
 there. And therefore with as little ceremony to
 his highness, or so much as communicating it to
 either of the princes, the marquis declared that he
 would give the government of that city to sir Ralph
 Hopton. Prince Rupert on the other hand con-
 ceived the town won by him, being entered on that
 side in which he commanded absolutely, and the
 Cornish on the other part absolutely repulsed ; and
 therefore that the disposition of the command and
 government of it wholly belonged to him. But
 when he heard the resolution of the marquis con-
 cerning sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put
 into the scale with any private man, he gave over
 the design of conferring it upon any of the pretend-
 ers ; and by the same messenger, by whom he ad-
 vertised his majesty of the good success, he desired,
 “ that he would bestow the government of that
 “ city, reduced by him, upon himself ;” the which
 the king readily consented to, not suspecting any
 dispute to be about it. And shortly after an ex-
 press arrived likewise from the marquis, with an
 account of all particulars, and that his lordship had
 designed sir Ralph Hopton to be governor of the
 new-got city.

Then, and not before, the king understood what
 strait he was in ; and was exceedingly perplexed to
 find an expedient to compose the difference that he

saw would arise. He had passed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to dispose the government was very just : so he had a very just esteem of the marquis, who had served him with all fidelity, and who clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his majesty : and, it could not be denied, no subject's affection and loyalty gave a greater lustre to the king's cause, than that of the marquis ; and that which was a circumstance of infinite moment, was the nominating sir Ralph Hopton ; who as he was a person of high merit from the king, so he was the most gracious and popular to that city, and the country adjacent ; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the king's nature, and his politic foresight into his affairs. And (as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the minds and affections of his own court and council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his interest and reputation in the kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the king's business : and many were very much troubled to see prince Rupert, whose activity and courage in the field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the civil government, as such a command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend : and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought "the king was, by counsel and precept, "to reform and soften the prince's understanding "and humour ; and to persuade him, in compliance with his service, to decline the contest, and "suffer the marquis to proceed in his disposition, "which, on all parts, was acknowledged to be "most fitly designed."

Others again were of opinion, "that the right "of disposing the command to whomsoever he "thought fit, entirely belonged to prince Rupert ; "and therefore (besides that the king had, by the "same messenger who brought the suit, returned "his consent) that he could not be reasonably "refused, when he desired it for himself ; which "would take away all possible imagination of disrespect from sir Ralph Hopton, who could not take "it ill, that the prince himself had taken a command, that was designed to him : that the eyes "of the army were upon his highness, whose name "was grown a terror to the enemy, as his courage "and conduct had been very prosperous to the "king ; and if, after so happy and glorious an "achievement, he should now receive a repulse in "so reasonable a pretence, though it would not "lessen his own duty or alacrity in the service, it "might have an unhappy influence upon his reputation and interest in the army ; which could "receive no diminution without apparent damage "to his majesty : and therefore, that some means "should be used to the marquis, to wave his title, "and to consent that the prince should enjoy his "desires : "so that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, seemed, and indeed were, passionately engaged against the

thing they were to persuade. So that the king discerned that all depended upon his own royal wisdom ; and therefore resolved to take a journey in his own person to Bristol, and there to give such a rule as he should find most necessary ; to which, he presumed, both persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

That which the king proposed to himself was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the marquis, by making sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing ; upon obliging whom the king's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least public service by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not ; and therefore that he was not only, in his own princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his service, but to give evidence to all men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into Bristol, which was performed with all decent solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the marquis, and in private desired him to consent, that he might perform his promise to his nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his lordship otherwise had determined of it ; without speaking at all of any other title he had to it, but by his majesty's promise ; he established prince Rupert in the government of Bristol ; who immediately sent a commission to sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the air,) to be his lieutenant governor ; signifying likewise to him, by a confidant who passed between them, "that though he was now engaged "for some time, which should not be long, to keep "the superior title himself, he would not at all "meddle in the government, but that he should be "as absolute in it, as if the original commission "had been granted to him."

Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that his name was at all used, and exposed, as an argument of difference and misunderstanding between persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the marquis (who by the king's persuasions was rather quieted than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that he would refuse the commission from prince Rupert, both, as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferred on him ; and so that he should vindicate the title, which the king himself was loath to give a judgment upon. And he was the more troubled, because he found that, by submitting to this charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the marquis out of a kind of revenge for his having deserted the enterprise, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and deserting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own advice, as well as his full consent ; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to

prince Maurice than to his lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this commission, with what specious circumstances of duty and submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable disturbances and interruptions in the king's affairs; and that the marquis, to common understandings, had, to obey the king, declined the contestation, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful prince of that house, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. So that he resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this war, to let him whom he professed to serve, choose in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the commission from prince Rupert; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

The king found it now high time to resolve, to what action next to dispose his armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that season unfortunately lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more men by storming the city, than afterwards by plundering it: those soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of pillage, never quietly again submitting to the carriage of their arms.

The question was first, "whether both armies should be united, and march in one upon the next design?" And then, "what that design should be?" Against the first, there were many allegations.

1. "The condition of the west: Dorsetshire and Devonshire were entirely possessed by the enemy; for though sir John Berkley with a daring party kept Exeter, and colonel John Digby the north part (which was notoriously disaffected) from joining with Plymouth, which would else quickly have grown into an army strong enough to infest Cornwall, yet they had no place to retire to upon distress; and all the ports upon the western coasts were garrisoned by them, which, upon the fame of the approach of the king's forces, and the loss of Bristol, might probably be, without much resistance, reduced.

2. "The Cornish army was greater in reputation, than numbers; having lost many at Lansdown, and the assault of Bristol, and, by the death of their chief officers, very many were run away since; besides they pretended some promise made to their country (which they conceived not to be enough secured against Plymouth) of returning speedily for the reduction of that town; so that if they were compelled to march eastwards, to which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they would moulder away so fast, that there would be little addition of strength by it. Whereas if they marched

"westward, it would be no hard matter to gather up those who were returned, and to be strong enough in a very short time, by new levies, for any enterprise should be thought reasonable to be undertaken." To which was added, "that having lost those officers, whom they loved and feared, and whose reverence restrained their natural distempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny; and had expressed a peremptory aversion to the joining, and marching with the king's army." And the truth is, their humours were not very gentle and agreeable, and apt to think that their prowess was not enough recompensed, or valued. For though the king affected to make all possible demonstrations to them, of an extraordinary high esteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained, (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune,) an honest pride in their own natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. "The great number of the king's horse; which was so glorious a body, that when that part of it which was joined to the Cornish was away, he should march with at least six thousand horse, which were as many as would be able to live on any country within a due distance of quartering.

4. "Lastly, some correspondence with the chief gentlemen of Dorsetshire, who were ready to join with any considerable party for the king, and had some probable hopes, that the small garrisons upon the coast would not make a tedious resistance."

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both armies had been kneaded into one, prince Maurice could have been but a private colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the king to keep them divided; and so he gave order to the earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester (the chief town in that county, and the most malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison) with the horse and dragoons, and the next day to prince Maurice to march after with the foot and cannon; his majesty keeping with him the marquis of Hertford to attend his own person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some inconveniences by withdrawing the marquis from that employment, the opinion of the soundness of his religion, and integrity of his justice, rendering him by much the most popular man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his lordship, upon whose honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his crown upon his fidelity, as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the prince and the marquis would never agree together; and that there were persons about them, who would foment their dispositions to each other, with any hazard to his service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army, than by the persuasions of his counsel; and that the roughness of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour from the mar-

quis's mind; his majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his counsels, and the true grounds of his resolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and groom of his stole, and that he would always have his company and advice about him;" with which the marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest men were sorry for the king's election; and though the marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive constitution, nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good scholar, and had a good judgment,) and less to the temper of this time, and the office of a general, insomuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his honour, and were not worthy of such a trust; yet they thought the prince's inexperience of the customs and manners of England, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controlled: and I am of opinion, that if the prince had waited on his majesty in that army, and never interposed in any command, not purely martial, and the marquis been sent with those forces into the west with the lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Bristol to intend his health, and to form that new garrison; which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted,) and some other steady persons, who might have been assigned to special provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the king's own motion with that army. There was not a man, who did not think the reducing of Gloucester, a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the king, if it might be done without a great expense of time, and loss of men: "It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire, on the north part of England; and if it could be recovered, his majesty would have the river of Severn entirely within his command; whereby his garrisons of Worcester, and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol; and the trade of that city thereby so advanced, that the customs and duties might bring a notable revenue to the king, and the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich and populous county, which hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter, than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison holding not only the whole forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloucester, absolutely in obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none of the gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own houses,) might be wholly the king's quarters; and by how much it had offended and disquieted the king, more than other counties, by so much the more money might be raised upon them." Besides the general weekly contributions, the yeo-

manry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price, (and these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and undertook great levies of men, if this work were first done,) there was another argument of no less, if not greater, moment than all the rest: "if Gloucester were reduced, there would need no forces to be left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then drawn to the marching army, and the contributions and other taxes assigned to the payment of it." Indeed the king would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom, to have contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful siege; whilst the parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed from, were very much strengthened by, those fears,) and recruit their army; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantage, as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloucester might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The governor of that garrison was one colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, who had, in the late northern expeditions prepared by the king against Scotland, been an officer in the king's army, under the command of [colonel] William Leg; and, in the beginning of these troubles, had been at York with inclination to serve the king; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money, and fewer officers; and was easily made lieutenant colonel to the earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation to render himself acceptable among the common people, was by his lordship, when he went into the west, left governor of that city [of Gloucester], where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave, and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon. And Will. Leg, who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of prince Rupert, had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to Gloucester, with such a letter of kindness and overture to Massy, as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the king's and the army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the governor, in a very high style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to persuade him to break a trust, which, to save his life, he would never do;" with much discourse "of his honour and reputation, which would be always dear to him." But the messenger said withal, "that, after the governor had given him this letter, and some sharp reproaches before company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place where he was by himself; and

“ then he told him, that it was most necessary he
 “ should write such an answer as he had done ;
 “ which was communicated to those, who else
 “ would have been jealous what such a messenger
 “ should come to him about ; but that he should
 “ tell Will. Leg, that he was the same man he had
 “ ever been, his servant ; and that he wished the
 “ king well ; that he heard prince Rupert meant
 “ to bring the army before that town ; if he did,
 “ he would defend it as well as he could ; and his
 “ highness would find another work than he had
 “ at Bristol ; but if the king himself came with his
 “ army, and summoned it, he would not hold it
 “ against him : for it would not stand with his
 “ conscience to fight against the person of the
 “ king ; besides that in such a case, he should be
 “ able to persuade those of the town ; which other-
 “ wise he could not do.”

This message turned the scale ; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great objection against the king’s marching that way with his army ; since it would be still in his power to pursue any other counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprisoned, the messenger who came to him on such an errand. Hereupon the king resolved for Gloucester, but not to be engaged in a siege ; and so sent his army that way ; and the next day (having first sent sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him baron Hopton of Stratton, in memory of the happy battle fought there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it. On Wednesday the tenth of August, the king ranged his whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it ; and then, being about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent a trumpet with this summons to the town.

“ Out of our tender compassion to our city of
 “ Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice
 “ by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be
 “ compelled to assault it, we are personally come
 “ before it to require the same ; and are graciously
 “ pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other
 “ persons within that city, as well soldiers as
 “ others, know, that if they shall immediately sub-
 “ mit themselves, and deliver this our city to us,
 “ we are contented, freely and absolutely to par-
 “ don every one of them, without exception ; and
 “ do assure them, in the word of a king, that they,
 “ nor any of them shall receive the least damage
 “ or prejudice by our army in their persons or
 “ estates ; but that we will appoint such a gover-
 “ nor, and a moderate garrison to reside there, as
 “ shall be both for the ease and security of that
 “ city, and that whole county. But if they shall
 “ neglect this proffer of grace and favour, and
 “ compel us, by the power of our army, to reduce
 “ that place, (which, by the help of God, we doubt
 “ not, we shall be easily and shortly able to do,)
 “ they must thank themselves for all the calamities
 “ and miseries must befall them. To this message
 “ we expect a clear and positive answer, within
 “ two hours after the publishing hereof ; and by
 “ these presents do give leave to any persons, safely
 “ to repair to and return from us, whom that city
 “ shall desire to employ unto us in that business :
 “ and do require all the officers and soldiers of
 “ our army, quietly to suffer them to pass accord-
 “ ingly.”

Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bald visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad ; for it was impossible such ambassadors could bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty, or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, “ they had brought an answer from the godly city “ of Gloucester to the king ;” and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the king to violate his own safe-conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, in these very words :

August 10th, 1643.

“ We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and
 “ soldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto
 “ his majesty’s gracious message return this hum-
 “ ble answer : That we do keep this city, accord-
 “ ing to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the
 “ use of his majesty, and his royal posterity :
 “ and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly
 “ bound to obey the commands of his majesty,
 “ signified by both houses of parliament : and
 “ are resolved, by God’s help, to keep this city
 “ accordingly.”

This paper was subscribed by Wise the mayor, and Massy the governor, with thirteen of the aldermen, and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison ; and as soon as their messengers returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the king resolved, all the suburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire ; so that there was no doubt, the king was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates, and new resolutions ; to which men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at Bristol. This indignity and affront to the king prompted thoughts of revenge ; and some thought the king so far engaged, that in honour he could not do less than sit down before the town, and force it ; and these inclinations gave countenance and credit to all those plausible informations, “ of small provi-
 “ sions in the town, either of victual, or ammuni-
 “ tion ; that, where the town was strongest, there
 “ was nothing but an old stone wall, which would
 “ fall upon an easy battery ; that there were many
 “ well affected people in the town, who, with those
 “ who were incensed by the burning of the suburbs,
 “ and the great losses they must sustain thereby,
 “ would make such a party, that as soon as they
 “ were distressed, the seditious party would be
 “ forced to yield.” It was alleged, “ that the
 “ enemy had no army ; nor, by all intelligence,
 “ was like to form any soon enough to be able to
 “ relieve it ; and if they had an army, that it was
 “ much better for his majesty to force them to
 “ that distance from London, and to fight there,
 “ where he could be supplied with whatsoever he
 “ wanted, could choose his own ground, where his
 “ brave body of horse would be able to defeat any
 “ army they could raise, than to seek them in their
 “ own quarters.”

Above all, the confidence of the soldiers of the best experience moved his majesty ; who upon riding about the town, and taking a near view of it,

were clear of opinion, that they should be able in less than ten days by approach, for all thoughts of storming were laid aside upon the loss at Bristol, to win it. This produced a resolution in his majesty, not one man in the council of war dissuading it. And so the king presently sent to Oxford for his general the earl of Brentford "to come to him, with all the foot that could be spared out of that garrison, and his pieces of battery, and to govern that action:" prince Rupert wisely declining that province, and retiring himself into the generalship of the horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which should attend that service. At the same instant, orders were despatched to sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the lord Herbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of that people, as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) "to draw all his men to the forest side of the town;" where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the king was engaged before Gloucester; and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London, to breathe, and compose themselves; and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable.

The direful news of the surrender of Bristol, which was brought to the two houses on the 31st of July, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a sentence of death, after a vast consumption of money, and confident promises of destroying all the king's forces by a day, every tax and imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the earl of Essex was at the same time returned to Kingston, within eight miles of them, with his broken and dismayed troops, which himself would not endure should have the title of an army. So that the war seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their general talking more, and pressing for reparation, and vindication of his honour from imputations and aspersions, than for a recruit of forces, or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his disinclination to peace, when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wisdom, for having feared "it would come to this." The king's last declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified "as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his clemency and justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good successes, and power almost to have what he would, that he renewed all those promises, and protestations for the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament; which had been out of their perverseness discredited before, as proceeding from the low condition he was in; and whereas they had been frightened with their representation of their own guilt, and the implacableness of the king's nature, as if he meant an utter conquest of them, his majesty had now offered all that could be honestly desired, and had expressed himself a prince not delighted with blood and revenge, but an indulgent father to the most disobedient children." In this reformation of understanding, the lords in their house debated nothing but expedients for peace: there

were not of that body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the war; and the earl of Essex had sufficiently declared, "that he was weary of it," and held closest and strictest correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an accommodation. So that, on the fifth of August, they desired a conference with the commons; and declared to them, "that they were resolved to send propositions to the king, and they hoped, they would concur in them:" the particulars proposed by them were,

1. "That both armies might be presently disbanded, and his majesty be entreated to return to his parliament, upon such security as should give him satisfaction.

2. "That religion might be settled with the advice of a synod of divines, in such a manner as his majesty, with the consent of both houses of parliament, should appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by sea and land, might be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ships of the kingdom, put into such hands as the king should appoint, with the approbation of both houses of parliament: and his majesty's revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such part, as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his children, and not otherwise.

4. "That all the members of both houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere compliance with his majesty, and no other matter of fact against them, might be restored to their places.

5. "That all delinquents, from before the tenth day of January, 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides.

6. And lastly, "That there might be an act of oblivion, for all by-gone deeds, and acts of hostility."

When this conference was reported in the house of commons, it begot a wonderful long and a hot debate, which lasted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the king at all, and therefore would not have the particular propositions so much as considered: "They had received much prejudice by the last treaty at Oxford, and therefore must undergo much more now their condition was much lower: the king had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no parliament; for if they were not free, they could not be a parliament; so that till that point were vindicated, they could not treat in any safe capacity, but would be looked upon under the notion of rebels, as his majesty had declared them. They had sent members into Scotland to require assistance, which that kingdom was preparing with all brotherly affection and forwardness; and after such a discovery, to treat for peace, without their privacy, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the city of London had expressed all imaginable readiness to raise forces for sir William Waller;

"and the counties near London were ready to rise as one man, whereby the earl of Essex would be speedily enabled to march, with a better army than ever he had, to give the king battle, except this discourse of peace did extinguish the zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the people."

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the king's successes suggested answers enough. "They had been punished for breaking off the treaty of Oxford, when they might have had better terms than now they could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure of aid from Scotland, neither was it almost possible it should come time enough to preserve them from the ruin at hand. And for the city of London, though the common and meaner sort of people, who might promise themselves advantage by it, desired the continuance of the distractions, yet it was evident the most substantial and rich men desired peace, by their refusal to supply money for the carrying on the war; and if they should judge of the common people by their forwardness to engage their own persons, they had reason to believe they had no mind to the war neither; for their general was forced to retire even under their own walls, for want of men to recruit his army. However, the sending reasonable propositions to the king would either procure a peace, and so they should have no more need of an army; or, being refused, would raise more men and money, than all their ordinances without it." These reasons and arguments prevailed; and after the debate had lasted till ten of the clock at night, it was resolved upon the question, and carried by nine and twenty voices, "That they should insist upon the propositions, and send to his majesty."

And without doubt, if they had then sent, (as, if the power had been in the two houses of parliament, they had done,) a firm peace had immediately ensued: for besides that if a treaty and cessation had been in that conjuncture entered upon, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, only a security for those who had been faulty, which the king would gladly have granted, and most religiously observed; the fourth proposition, and consent to restore all members to their places in parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being Sunday, the seditious preachers filled all the pulpits with alarms of "ruin and destruction to the city, if a peace were now offered to the king;" and printed papers were scattered through the streets, and fixed upon gates, posts, and the most public places in the city and suburbs, requiring "all persons well affected to rise as one man, and to come to the house of commons next morning; for that twenty thousand Irish rebels were landed;" which information was likewise given that day in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewise set up, it was declared, "that the malignant party had overvoted the good, and, if not prevented, there would be a peace."

When the minds of the people were thus prepared, Pennington, their own lord mayor, though on Sunday, (on which they before complained the

king used to sit in council,) called a common council; where a petition was framed to the house of commons, taking notice "of propositions passed by the house of peers for peace, which if consented to, and allowed, would be destructive to religion, laws, and liberties; and therefore desired that house to pass an ordinance, according to the tenor of an act of their common council," (which they appointed to be annexed to their petition,) "which was for the vigorous prosecuting the war, and declining all thoughts of accommodation." With this petition, and such an attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the lord mayor himself, who, from the time of his mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the house as a member, came to the house of commons, and delivered it, with such farther insinuations of the temper of the city, as were fit for the purpose; the people at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, and telling the members of both houses, as they passed by them, "that if they had not a good answer, they would be there the next day with double the number." The lords complained of the tumults, and sent to the commons to join with them in their suppression; instead whereof the commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks "for their petition, advice, and courage;" and rejected the propositions for peace.

This raised a new contest in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing peace, as they did of first raising the war. And therefore the wise and sober part of it would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late act of the common council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Chaloner, and the advantage which was presently taken against any man who was moderately inclined, frightened all men from appearing in person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the women expressed greater courage than the men; and having a precedent of a rabble of that sex, appearing in the beginning of these distractions with a petition to the house of commons, to foment the divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens came to the house of commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they charged among the silly women, as an enemy worthy of their courage, and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the peers and the commons first absented themselves from the houses, and then removed into those quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the king; and some of them came directly to Oxford.

Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the spirits of their gene-

ral; whose indisposition troubled them more than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed sir William Waller with wonderful kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to London, after the most total defeat that could almost be imagined, (for though few of his horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their service,) with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the king prisoner with him; so he was immediately chosen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the defence of the city; and it was now declared, "that they would forthwith supply him with a good body of horse and foot, to take the field again, and relieve their distressed friends in the west." Then another ordinance was passed to raise a vast army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, (who had been always steady to his first principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation,) in order to opposing the earl of Newcastle, and to take charge of all the associated counties; which were Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and (by a new addition) Lincoln; and for the speedy raising men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved generals, there was an ordinance passed both houses for the pressing of men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the people, they should be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the king's consent to an act this parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the free-born subjects to march out of the county in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other ordinances to press great numbers of men, to serve both under the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the earl of Essex discern, that they had another earl to trust to, and more generals than one at their devotion, they sent a formal committee of both houses to him, to use all imaginable art, and application to him, to recover him to his former vigour, and zeal in their cause. They told him "the high value the houses had of the service he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and losses he had for their sakes undergone: that he should receive as ample a vindication for the calumnies and aspersions raised on him, as he could desire, from the full testimony and confidence of the two houses; and if the infamous authors of them could be found, their punishment should be as notorious as their libels: that no other forces should be recruited till his were made up; and that all his soldiers' arrears should be paid, and clothes presently sent for his foot."

Whether these reasons, with the jealousy of the earl of Manchester, upon whom he plainly saw the violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the lord Say and Mr. Pym, of the desperateness of his own condition, with an opinion, by the conclusions upon the differences between the two princes and the marquis of Hertford, that the marquis's services were not enough

valued by the king, (which many desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the earl,) or whether he had not courage enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the spirit to appear champions for peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which hath been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, [that is,] for the members of both houses who were of one mind, upon that signal riot, and compelling the house of commons to renounce their former resolution of propositions to the king, to have gone to the earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the common council's taking notice of their counsels, and overruling their conclusions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the houses to consent to such an agreement as the king would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the king, as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their general frustrated that design, and put them to other resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the houses, and possibly suspecting the earl of Essex might discover some of their overtures, many of the lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford, or into the king's quarters; the earl of Portland, and the lord Lovelace, (of whose good affections to his service the king had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more service, than any where else,) directly to Oxford; and the lord Conway shortly after them; the earl of Clare into Worcestershire, and from thence, by the king's free acceptance, to Oxford; there being no other objection against his lordship, than his staying so long amongst them; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the court, rendered him to his majesty's opinion under a very good character. The earls of Bedford and Holland, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the king's garrison at Wallingford, from whence the governor gave advertisement of their arrival; the earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the house, retired for his health to his house at Petworth in Sussex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the king's quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the people, they ordered the divines of the assembly to repair into the country to their cures, especially in the counties of the association under the earl of Manchester, to stir up the people, with all their eloquence, to rise as one man against their sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power, which might contribute to the raising men or money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the king had given them more time than

they expected, to compose all disorders and divisions among themselves, by his staying with his army before Gloucester; which was the greater blessing, and preservation to them, because at the same time there were sudden insurrections in Kent against their ordinances and jurisdiction, in defence of the known laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the king's army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

The fame of all these distractions and disorders at London exceedingly disposed men in all places to reproach his majesty's stay before Gloucester; his friends at London desiring that his majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those distractions; and the lords of the council at Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the king would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to restrain his motion: whereas, in truth, it was a miserable army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before Bristol; and when that part of it was marched with prince Maurice into the west, and which could not have marched any other way, the king had not much above six thousand foot to march with, though he left none at Bristol, but obliged the lord Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small army to have marched towards London; though it is true the horse was a noble body, and superior in number to that of the foot.

There was likewise another circumstance, that few men were then acquainted with: upon the first news of the taking of Bristol, his majesty, before he left Oxford, had sent an express to the earl of Newcastle, who was then engaged before Hull, "that if he found the business of Hull to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it blocked up at a distance, which might restrain excursions into the country, and march with his army into the associated counties;" which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, which had associated themselves, by some agreement, to serve the parliament; though the better part of all those counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the king, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the earl would bring his army through those counties towards London, his majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his majesty came before Gloucester, and before he took the resolution to sit down before it, that express returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with his commands, in marching with his army into the associated counties, for that the gentlemen of the country, who had the best regiments, and were among the best officers, utterly refused to march, except Hull were first taken; and that he had not strength enough to march and to leave Hull securely blocked up:" which advertisement, with the consideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Gloucester, and the concurrence of all the officers, that it would speedily be taken, produced that resolution of attempting it, notwithstanding that

the queen herself writ so importunately against it, that his majesty thought it necessary to make a journey himself to Oxford, to convince her majesty, and to compose some distempers which were risen among his council there, upon the news of the arrival of some of the lords mentioned before in those quarters.

The king was newly set down before Gloucester, when the governor of Wallingford sent notice to Oxford, of the arrival of those two earls; to whom the lords of the council returned direction, "that they should stay there, till the king's pleasure was understood;" to whom the secretary had sent the information, and desired his majesty's will concerning their reception. The king well knew, any order he should give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the earl of Bedford having served in person against him, as the general of the rebels' horse; and the earl of Holland, in the king's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his majesty commanded, "that his privy-council should debate the matter among themselves, and present their opinion and advice to him; and he would then determine what kind of entertainment they should have." The opinions at the board were several; some thought, "that his majesty should receive them very graciously, and with all outward expressions of his acceptance of their return to his service; and that the demeanour of all others to them should be such, as might make them think themselves very welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away too: so that the numbers and quality of those who stayed behind would probably in a short time be so small, that they would have no reputation in the kingdom to continue the war." Many differed diametrically from this: and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or security of the king, that they thought it not fit "to admit them presently to the king's or queen's presence, till, by their good carriage and demeanour, they should give some testimony of their affections: they had both taken the late covenant, of which one clause was, to assist the forces raised by the parliament, against the army raised by the king; with many reproaches, and known scandals upon that army. If they had felt a true remorse of conscience for the ill they had done, they would have left that party, when that covenant was to be imposed upon them; which since they did not, that they came now was to be imputed rather to the king's success, and the weakness of that power which they had hitherto served, than to any reformation of their understanding, or improvement of their allegiance: and that it was great reason, that they who had given such arguments of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves, should raise a confidence in their loyalty and affection by some act equal to the other; and therefore that none who had taken that covenant should be admitted to the presence of the king, queen, or prince, before he had taken some other oath or covenant, declaring an equal hatred and abhorring of the rebellious arms which were taken up against his majesty, and the counsels by which they were taken up."

It was said, "that the good or ill reception of these lords could have no influence upon the actions or deliberations at Westminster, or London, or any considerable persons there: that they were but single men, without any considerable dependence upon them. Whilst they had reputation and interest enough to do good or hurt, and the king's condition needed their attendance, they chose to be engaged against him; but now, when they were able to do him no more harm, they came to receive benefit and advantage from him: that it was a common argument men used to allege to themselves for their compliance with, and submission to, the commands of the parliament; that, if they did otherwise, their severity and rigour was so great, that they and their families were sure to be ruined; but, if the king prevailed, he was gracious and merciful, and would remit their offences whensoever they cast themselves at his feet; which presumption if they should see confirmed in this example, it would make the observation of conscience and loyalty of no price, and encourage those who were risen against him, and exceedingly dishearten those who had been honest and faithful from the beginning: that there could ensue no inconvenience from any reservedness and coldness towards them; for they durst not return to London, having now made themselves odious to that party, and had no hope but from the acceptance of his majesty; which they should merit before they found." There was a third opinion between these extremes, that they should be neither courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiss the king's and queen's hands, and to dispose themselves as they thought fit; and so to leave the rest to their future demeanour: and to resolve which of these opinions to follow, was another motive for his majesty's sudden journey to Oxford.

The king found greater alterations in the minds and spirits at Oxford, than he expected after so much great success as had befallen him; and that success was it, that had made the alteration; it being the unlucky temper of that place, and that company, to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again, upon any victory, the most elated, and the most apt to undervalue any difficulties which remained. The taking Bristol had so possessed them with joy, that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done, but to take possession of London; which they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both houses were come to Oxford, which assured them, "the violent people there were even in despair; and after the news came of the surrender of Bristol, that they had only kept up their spirits [in hopes] that the king would engage his army in the siege of Gloucester, which some of them had seemed to promise their friends would be the case:" from whence they would infer, "that the king was betrayed, and that they who had persuaded him to undertake that design were corrupted by the parliament." And the envy and jealousy of all this fell upon sir John Colepepper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that engagement,

and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the queen; who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her interest in the king, and that prince Rupert was chief in that conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the king still in the army, and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehension the queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the king, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that letter, without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before Gloucester was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the king stayed at Oxford, was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford; which had been agitated in the council with great passion before the king's coming. The king caused the council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the earls of Bedford and of Holland should be admitted to come into Oxford, or obliged to return from whence they came? or, if admitted, how they should be received, or countenanced by their majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated "the carriage and foul ingratitude of the earl of Holland, from the beginning of the parliament; and the earl of Bedford's being general of the horse in the earl of Essex's army; and now when the parliament was low, and they had lost their credit and interest there, they were come to the king, whom they had so much offended; and expected to be as much, it may be, more made of, than they who had borne the heat of the day; which would so much reflect upon the king's honour, that men would be exceedingly discouraged to serve him." Some moved, "that they might be detained, and kept prisoners of war, since they came into the king's quarters without any pass;" others as plainly and more vehemently pressed, "that they might not be suffered to come to Oxford, or where the king or queen should be; but permitted to live in some other place within the king's quarters, until they should manifest their affections by some service." They who thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed "that they might be suffered to come to Oxford, that thereby they might be kept from returning to the parliament," (which appeared to most to be liable to many exceptions,) "but that being at Oxford, they should not come to court; and that no privy-counsellor should visit them."

In this whole debate, the chancellor of the exchequer, who seldom spoke without some earnest-

ness, was the only man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the lord Savile) who advised confidently, "that they might be very graciously received by both their majesties, and civilly be visited and treated by every body; that other men might, by the entertainment they received, be encouraged to desert the parliament too." He said, "it would be too great a disadvantage to the king, and to his cause, that whilst the parliament used all the industry and artifices, to corrupt the duty and affection of the subject, and had their arms open to receive and embrace all, who would come to them, his majesty should admit none to return to him, who had been faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have done; that if the king had a mind to gratify and oblige the parliament, he could not do it more to their hearts' desire, than by rejecting the application of these lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded." There was one argument against their admission urged very loudly, "that it would disturb the peace of the place;" the earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army, which infested the marquis of Hertford, at his being at Sherborne, when the marquis had sent Harry Seymour, as is mentioned before, with a challenge to the earl to fight with him; which the earl reasonably declined at that time; and said, "he would be ready, when the business of the parliament should be over, to wait upon the marquis when he should require it." And some men, who were near enough to the marquis's counsels, undertook to know, that if the earl of Bedford should be in Oxford, the marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The king, during the whole debate, did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed towards the earl of Holland. He said, "that he was bound to his good behaviour, by being under the common reproach of inclining too much to those who had used him worst; of which he would not be guilty:" however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any persons desperate; and therefore gave order, "that the governor of Wallingford should permit them to continue their journey to Oxford; where all men might use what civilities they pleased to them; and that himself and the queen would do that towards them, which, upon their application and address, they should think fit:" and though this determination was given, without the least discovery of grace towards the persons of those lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the table; which was evident enough by their countenance. The next morning the king returned to the army.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the counsels at Westminster, from the time of the treaty, and the very abrupt breaking of it; and the earl of Northumberland, resenting the affront done to him by Martin, had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards in the defeat of Waller, and the taking of Bristol, had given every man courage to say what he would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's discovery, and obliging all men to take a desperate engagement, which they durst not refuse, for fear of being

declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: but above all, the prosperity of the king's affairs made every body wish to come into his quarters. A great number of the house of commons, who were known always to wish well, came to Oxford: and of the peers, the earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the king, and had stayed in the house of peers by his majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. Waller to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to Oxford, [as is said before,] together with the lord Conway, and the lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the king; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by swallowing that vow, and oath, which could only set them free, and which they made haste to answer for to the king. The return of the earl of Essex to London in ill humour, had given opportunity to the earl of Holland, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The earl of Bedford had given up his commission of general of the horse, and quitted the service, and never had any affection to their ways in his judgment, which was not great. The earl of Clare had been with the king at York, and had his leave to return to London, to intend his own particular affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious counsel against the king, but was looked upon as a man, not only firm to the principles of monarchy, but of duty to the person of the king. He was a man of honour, and of courage, and would have been an excellent person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate; he was weary of the company he kept, and easily hearkened to the earl of Holland, in any consultation how to recover the king's authority, and to put an end to the war. The earl of Essex was, as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent proceedings of those who swayed the parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men, and the matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the remedy, as he did upon the disease.

Their end and design was, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate men, that is who desired a peace, and to return to their duty to the king, (which was much the major part of both houses that remained at Westminster, after so many of both were gone to the king,) might all go to the army; and thereupon the general, and they, to write to the parliament together, and to send such propositions to them, as the parliament should transmit to the king, as the conditions of peace. If the king should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the parliament would refuse to transmit those propositions to the king, or to consent to a peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was first begun, and would join themselves to the king to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture,

when the authority and credit of the earl of Essex was not yet eclipsed, and before an independent army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent party by the parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the earl of Holland for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The earl of Holland, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the time of the queen's landing, privately made offer of his service to the queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. Jermyn; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own service, made great promises of notable service; and Mr. Jermyn easily persuaded her majesty, "that it was much better for her to restore an old servant, whom she knew so well, to her confidence, (though he had stepped out of the way,) than to rely upon the fidelity of any of those who were now about the king, and who were all upon the matter strangers to her, at least not enough known by her;" and then, "that, by laying hold upon this opportunity, she would, at her first coming to the king, carry his restoration with her, possess herself of the whole frame of his business, because all other designs would be laid aside; and so all the good, which would redound to the king and kingdom from this new negotiation, must, by the consent of all the world, be attributed to her majesty's wisdom and conduct." And this appearing hopeful to her majesty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the earl assured not only to be restored to his former station in all respects, but to a title to new interest. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the earl of Essex, that the king's affairs prospered, and that Bristol was now taken, and the queen come to Oxford, he resolved himself to go thither, and prevailed with the earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well received. The earl of Clare made his journey by himself, out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford, at the time appointed: the earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is mentioned. The earl of Northumberland, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own house at Petworth in Sussex; by which he thought he shewed aversion enough to the counsels at Westminster, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other lords at Oxford was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the lord Conway's negotiation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford, was declared but the night before the king returned to the army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend

at Wallingford, and with the disputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received so particular information, that the earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the chancellor [of the exchequer] before he came to Oxford, taking notice of "the affection he had shewed to him in his advice to the king." Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: so that the one had a lodging at Magdalen college in Oxford, of which house he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol college, where he had a daughter, who spared him part of her lodgings. But for any application to them by the lords, or persons in authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their duties to the queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or willingness enough to shew them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which she detested: nor did Mr. Jermyn, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please all, and displease none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, no doubt, said more in his letters of correspondence and advice, than he had authority to do; it being his custom to write and speak what was most grateful to the persons;) so that the earl of Holland, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the chancellor of the exchequer, when there were the lord Cottington, and two or three other privy-counsellors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him: which offended the chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged him to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise have exercised; and he did visit him again, and make all professions and offers of kindness and service to him; which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the king's service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The intelligence from London brought, every day, the resolution of the parliament, "to relieve Gloucester;" and that, if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the trained bands of the city would march out with the general for that service; whereupon the three earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after some days' stay in Oxford, thought it necessary to offer their service to the king in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies; and so went together to Gloucester; where the king received them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

Whilst the king continued before Gloucester, his forces in the west moved with a full gale and tide of success. The earl of Carnarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Bristol, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county, before his highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the prince had marched more slowly, he had perfected that work. Upon the surrender of Bristol,

many of the gentlemen, and others of that county, who were engaged in that city for the parliament, had visited their houses and friends, in their journey to London, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the cavaliers, (as most men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them,) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts, and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and being desired by the magistrates, "to view their works and fortifications, and to give his judgment of them;" after he had walked about them, he told them, "that those works might keep out the cavaliers about half an hour;" and then told them strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol; "and that the king's soldiers made nothing of running up walls twenty foot high, and that no works could keep them out;" which he said not out of any purpose to betray them, (for no man wished the king's army worse success,) but had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the earl of Carnarvon came no sooner near Dorchester with his horse and dragoons, (which, it may be, was understood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Bristol,) but the town sent commissioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended by the spirits of these people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the king, England had not,) with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the earl's coming had before frightened sir Walter Earl, who had for a long time besieged Corfe castle, (the house of the lord chief justice Banks, defended by his lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen, and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance, and their own security,) from that siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to London, than generals use to do, who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed. And now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion) infused the same spirit into Weymouth, a very convenient harbour and haven: and that example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland, (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance,) to all which the earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his majesty's protection.

Hither prince Maurice came now up with his foot and cannon, and neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the only two garrisons then left in their possession, stayed with his army about Dorchester and Weymouth some days, under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here the soldiers, taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places, used great license; neither was there care taken to observe those articles

which had been made upon the surrender of the towns; which the earl of Carnarvon, who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts, took so ill, that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the king before Gloucester; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this license, which was much spoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts; or whether the absence of the marquis of Hertford from the army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehension that there would not be much lenity used towards those who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, seemed less formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror, which had possessed and seized upon their spirits, was so violent that it could not continue, and so men grew less amazed, I know not: but those two small towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconsiderable, returned so peremptory a refusal to the prince's summons, that his highness resolved not to attack them; and so marched to Exeter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more distressed, than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of sir John Berkley, who being sent from Wells by the marquis of Hertford, as is before remembered, to govern the affairs of Devonshire, with one regiment of horse, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had so increased his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed strong quarters within less than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates; when the earl of Stamford was within, with a strength at least equal in number to the besiegers.

The parliament commended the relief of this place, by special instructions, to their admiral, the earl of Warwick; who after he had made show of landing men in several places upon the coast, and thereby compelled sir John Berkley to make quick and wearisome marches with horse and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left those who attended their landing about Totness, turned about, and with a fresh gale made towards the river, that leads to the walls of Exeter; and having the command of both sides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the earl presumed that way he should be able to send relief into the city: but the admirable diligence and providence of sir John Berkley had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in some security from the cannon of the ships; and made great haste with his horse to hinder their landing; and so this attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their ships, upon the land forces, the tide falling, the earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exeter that way.

But whilst all the king's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coast, to wait upon the earl of Warwick, the garrison of Plymouth increased very fast, into which the fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the north parts of Devonshire gathered

apace into a head for the parliament; Barnstable and Bediford being garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plymouth, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exeter, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the city had been as active for their own preservation. Sir John Berkley having notice of this preparation and resolution, sent colonel John Digby (who had, from their first entrance into Cornwall, commanded the horse) with his own regiment of horse, and some loose troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He chose Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raised horse, and a regiment of foot, raised by his old friends in Cornwall; so that he had with him above three hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. Those of Bediford and Barnstable, being superior in number, and apprehending that the king's successes eastward might increase his strength and power there, and weaken theirs, resolved to try their fortune; and joining themselves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horse, under the command of colonel Bennet, hoped to surprise colonel John Digby at Torrington; and he was upon the matter surprised: for albeit he had notice in the night from Barnstable, "that the forces drew out thence to Bediford in the night, and that they intended to fall on his quarters early in the morning;" and thereupon he put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that enclosed county, could be most advantageous for his horse, having, through all the little enclosures, cut gaps, through which his horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his small parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his horse to their several quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himself into the town with the foot.

And within less than an hour, he received the alarm, "that the enemy was within half a mile of the town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the avenues, himself went to the horse out of the town, resolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The colonel, whose courage, and vivacity upon action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his small party of horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several parties, and distributed them into several little closes, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the enemy stood, a forlorn hope of fifty musketeers advanced towards that ground where himself was; and if they [had] recovered the hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself, taking four or five officers into the

front with him, charged that forlorn hope; which immediately threw down their arms, and run upon their own body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a stand, or their horse offering once to charge, the whole body routed themselves, and fled; colonel Digby following the execution with his horse, till their swords were blunted with slaughter, and his numbers overburdened with prisoners; though the foot out of the town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their enemies.

In this action (for it cannot be called a battle; hardly a skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken prisoners; and those that fled contributed more to the victory, than the prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the country, and scarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their conversion, than any sermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horse, got into Bediford and Barnstable; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and fear that seized upon them, and that nobody saw above six of the enemy, that charged them;" which proved a greater dismay to their friends, than their defeat.

At this time came prince Maurice to Exeter, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the fort at Appledore, which commanded the river to Barnstable and Bediford, being delivered to colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, those two towns shortly after submitted to his majesty, upon promise of pardon, and such other articles as were of course; which colonel Digby saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the spirits and temper of that people, that all the persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the articles; colonel Digby, within very few days, increased his small party to the number of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; with which he was by prince Maurice ordered to march to Plymouth, and to block up that place from making incursions into the country.

The loss of all their garrisons on the north coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exeter, (to whom the earl was not superior,) to treat with the prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant city was delivered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after prince Maurice came thither, into the king's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new argument of trouble to the king, upon a difference between prince Maurice and the marquis. The earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the prince,

and had taken Dorchester and Weymouth, before his highness came up to the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; but the latter was the best port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The marquis had made some promise of the government thereof, when it should be taken, (of which they made no doubt,) to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one, who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it, without lessening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Maurice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the prince came thither, sir Anthony, hearing that the marquis came not with the army, but remained some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the king left it; and applied himself to the marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the town was taken before the king had declared to him, that he should not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as general of it. He conferred with the chancellor [of the exchequer] upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. And sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, "that, after so much charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country." It was evident, that if he returned with the commission from the marquis, (which he was most inclined to give him,) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the king, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the king. And besides his desire to gratify the marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his majesty's service, to engage a person of such a fortune and interest, so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the king; and wrote to the lord Falkland, "to take sir John Colepepper with him, if he found any aversion in the king, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him." But his majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from any degree of

"credit with the king, and was made incapable of doing him farther service; that his fidelity should never be lessened towards him," (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought,) "but since he was become so totally useless to the king, and to his friends, he hoped his majesty would give him leave to retire to his own house; where, he doubted not, he should be suffered to live privately and quietly, to pray for the king." The chancellor knew well the nature of the marquis, which would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent on him at Bristol, and used all freedom to the marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the king, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his majesty, that he gave a commission to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to be governor of Weymouth; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person, who, he understood, was designed to that government. However, the marquis received it as a seasonable act of favour to himself, and, in a short time after, came from Bristol to Oxford, to attend upon his majesty according to his command.

At Gloucester the business proceeded very slowly: for though the army increased wonderfully there, by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the king had neither money nor materials requisite for a siege, and they in the town behaved themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the king's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received; and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the sallies, the horse got between the town and them, so that many prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the governor always gave the party that made the sally, as much wine and strong water as they desired to drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the king lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of much greater name, there was no one officer run from the town to him, nor above three common soldiers, which is a great argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of men before the town, both from the walls, and by sickness, (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected,) a very great license broke into the army, both among officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the inhabitants. Insomuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries for a regular provision; and many

countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the king's, till they had paid good sums of money, for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army, and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of Gloucester. All overtures of peace were suppressed, and the city purely at the devotion of those who were most violent, who had put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the king's going into the north, his majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two houses, made sir John Coniers lieutenant of the Tower of London; who was a soldier of very good estimation, and had been the lieutenant general of his horse in that last preparation against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the best officers of horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof he was so impartial, that those prisoners who suffered most for his majesty, found no more favour or indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his majesty's only fort which he could not apply to his service, he desired leave from the houses, "to go into Holland," where his education had been, and his fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The proposition was not unwelcome to the houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the custody of the Tower of London, to the lord mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. And this compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure they had put the city under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an appetite to peace.

The earl of Essex now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of Gloucester, whereas before sir William Waller was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the king, and recovered those officers and soldiers again to him, who had absented by his connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for colonel Massy found means to send many messengers out of the town, to advertise the straits he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their ordinance of pressing, though executed with un-

usual rigour, insomuch as persons of good fortunes, who had retired to London, that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in custody, till they paid so much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a peremptory resolution not to fight, that they only increased their numbers, not their strength, and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for men, but to those who had so constantly supplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they still alarmed with the king's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their trained-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as Gloucester should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within, as with the enemy without their city.

Upon such arguments, and the power of the earl of Essex, so many regiments of horse and foot as he desired were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of August, he marched out of London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Aylesbury, where he was met by the lord Grey, and other forces of the associated counties, from thence he marched by easy journeys towards Gloucester, with an army of about eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It would not at first be credited at the leaguer, that the earl of Essex could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some alarm to Oxford, where the queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Gloucester, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must march over a campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the king's body of horse would distress, if not destroy his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither provision for man nor horse; and if he should, without interruption, be suffered to go into Gloucester, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to London, without being destroyed in the rear by the king's army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before Gloucester, their galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of ammunition in the town; yet the lord Wilmot was appointed, with a good party of horse, to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he should advance towards Gloucester, and to give such impediments to their march, as in such a country might be easy to do; prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse, upon the hills above Gloucester, to join, if the earl of Essex should be so hardy as to venture.

The earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leicester and Bedford, the last recruits upon which he depended, he marched steadily all over that campaign, which they thought he feared, towards Gloucester; and though the king's horse were often within view, and entertained him with light skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the king's horse still retiring before him, till the foot was compelled to raise the siege, in more dis-

order and distraction than might have been expected; and so with less loss, and easier skirmishes, than can be imagined, the earl, with his army and train, marched to Gloucester; where he found them reduced to one single barrel of powder; and all other provisions answerable. And it must be confessed, that governor gave a stop to the career of the king's good success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the parliament had time to recover their broken forces, and more broken spirits; and may acknowledge to this rise the greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

The earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the king's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without a connivance from the king's commissaries, could not have been done. All this time the king lay at Sudley castle, the house of the lord Chandois, within eight miles of Gloucester, watching when that army would return; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of despair than election, in those eaten quarters; and, to open them a way for their retreat, his majesty removed to Esham, hoping the earl would choose to go back the same way he came; which, for many reasons, was to be desired; and thereupon the earl marched to Tewkesbury, as if he had no other purpose. The king's horse, though bold, and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: so that the earl of Essex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkesbury, four and twenty hours before the king heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure guides, reached Cirencester before the breaking of the day; where he found two regiments of the king's horse quartered securely; all which, by the negligence of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war, on the king's part,) he surprised, to the number of above three hundred; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of provisions, prepared, by the king's commissaries, for the army before Gloucester, and which they neglected to remove after the siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehensive of hunger than of the sword; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the earl, having no farther apprehension of the king's horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open campaign, and being at the least twenty miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed county of North Wiltshire, his direct way to London. As soon as the king had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the

supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of; and himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the foot, prince Rupert, with near five thousand horse, marched day and night over the hills, to get between London and the enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne Chase, intending that night to have reached Newbury, prince Rupert, besides their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse, so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the parts of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.

In this conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the enemy, and of the king's party none of name, but the marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and put himself as a volunteer upon this action, into the lord Jermyn's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and among those the lord Jermyn received a shot in his arm with a pistol; owing the preservation of his life from other shots to the excellent temper of his arms; and the lord Digby a strange hurt in the face, a pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the bullet had dropped out before the pistol was discharged: and may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that gallant person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his life, than any man I know.

By this expedition of prince Rupert, the enemy was forced to such delay, that the king came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the license which many officers and soldiers took whilst the king lay at Esham, were much lessened, being above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his siege from Gloucester. And when the earl, the next day, advanced from Hungerford, hoping to recover Newbury, which prince Rupert with his horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two miles of the town, he found the king possessed of it; for his majesty, with his whole army, was come thither two hours before: this put him to a necessity of staying upon the field that night; it being now the seventeenth day of September.

It was now thought by many, that the king had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former oversights, omissions, or neglects, and that by the destroying the army which had relieved Gloucester, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in

the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garrison of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the king's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in battle, but upon such grounds as should give an assurance of victory. But, contrary to this resolution, when the earl of Essex had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his army in battalia, upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within less than a mile of the town, and ordered his men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate courage of some young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, strong parties became successively so far engaged, that the king was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at least an equal game to play.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the assailants. The king's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London trained bands, and auxiliary regiments, (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service, beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation,) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of that army that day. For they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest; and when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily, that, though prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about: of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected.

It was fought all that day without any such notable turn, as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the king's horse made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were so immovable, that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the battle was so sudden, and without order, that, during the whole day, no use was made of the king's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did very great execution upon the king's party, both horse and foot. The night parted them, when nothing else could; and each party had then time

to revolve the oversights of the day. The enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore, in the morning early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the king's side there was not that caution which should have been the day before; and though the number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot a day, might have been looked for, yet very many officers and gentlemen were hurt: so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adversary. The earl of Essex finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to London, and took that way by Newbury, which led towards Reading; which prince Rupert observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes; and then with a strong party of horse, and one thousand musketeers, followed his rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many prisoners. However the earl, with the gross of his army, and all his cannon, got safe into Reading; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading to the king's forces: which was presently possessed by sir Jacob Ashley, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and made again a garrison for the king: his majesty and prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garrison under the command of colonel Boys in Donnington castle (a house of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the seat of Geoffery Chaucer, within a mile of Newbury) to command the great road, through which the western trade was driven to London.

At this time sir William Waller was at Windsor, with above two thousand horse, and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befall the earl of Essex, as he had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway hill: otherwise, if he had advanced upon the king to Newbury (which was not above twenty miles) when the earl was on the other side, the king had been in great danger of an utter defeat; and the apprehension of this was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in battle.

The earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage; in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the relief of Gloucester, his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the king was not without some signs of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when

he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seemed to crown the work, fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much [as they were] in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the west, and his army much stronger, in horse and foot, than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the king's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, and some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were, on the other, above twenty officers of the field, and persons of honour, and public name, slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt.

Here fell the earl of Sunderland, a lord of great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the king's person, under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day in the king's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge, was taken away by a cannon bullet.

This day also fell the earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged, and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the body with a sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a person, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations, than our common travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey, and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles begun, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse, that was raised for the king's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier; no man more diligently obeying, or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discernor and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy; and he had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities, and that license, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west, when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Weymouth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession, and an excellent soldier, and by

his death the king found a sensible weakness in his army.

But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues, for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland; a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war, than that single loss, it must be most infamous, and execrable to all posterity.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

Before this parliament, his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was lord deputy; so that, when he returned into England, to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation; and therefore was to make a pure election of his company; which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not

ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests, and others of the Roman church, he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister arts, they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house, and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short parliament, he was a burgess in the house of commons; and, from the debates which were then managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom; or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitancies, which had been most grievous to the state; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules, that he could not endure the least breach or

deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules, for reasons of state; or judges to transgress known laws, upon the title of conveniency, or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge, as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and was only misled by the authority of those, who, he believed, understood the laws perfectly; of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was scarce controverted, had been true, "that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom had been treason," a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a morosity to the court, and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the king's or queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the king sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed "doing him service," his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which, from a stoical and sullen nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men, might very well have been interpreted by the king as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the court, than most men have done to procure an office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the king's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his council; not that he was in truth averse to the court or from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the king's person, and

had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man, that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in parliament, he had any bias to the court, or that the king himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the king had a purpose to make him a counsellor," for which there was, in the beginning, no other ground, but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et eligit*;) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be overruled, by the advice and persuasions of his friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the king intended to make him secretary of state, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends, "that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place; for that the most just and honest men did, every day, that which he could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, *ad amussim*, that he believed those necessary concessions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life: which he acknowledged fit, and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments; and was, in truth, so precise in the practice principles he prescribed to himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived in *republica Platonis, non in face Romuli*.

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that it [his refusal] might bring some blemish upon the king's affairs, and that men would have believed, that he had refused so great an honour and trust, because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the king made choice of him, before other men, especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the house of commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the king's command, and became his secretary, with as humble and devout an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he con-

tinued in that office, that was to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or such generals as such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wound themselves into such trusts and secrets, as enabled them to make discoveries for the benefit of the state. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such instruments must be void of all ingenuity, and common honesty, before they could be of use; and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound, and corruption of human society, as the cherishing such persons would carry with it." The last, he thought "such a violation of the law of nature, that no qualification by office could justify a single person in the trespass;" and though he was convinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time, that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to shift it from himself; when he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling he was to resign any thing in his nature to an obligation in his office.

In all other particulars he filled his place plentifully, being sufficiently versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, in *tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*. Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the house of peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, "that he was no friend to the church, and the established government of it;" and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary, than prepared to answer the allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having only known him enough to observe his passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or other indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the court, or state: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his letting himself to those expressions, which implied a disesteem of him, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops, did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole government of the church by bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than

the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs, would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press the other;" which, in that particular, misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men; and was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government, (holding them most ridiculous,) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he was not without appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops, which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him a strange cheerfulness and companionship, without at all affecting the execution that was then principally to be attended, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, necessary: insomuch that at Edge-hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: insomuch as a man might think, he came into the field only out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, and before he came to age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was converted by the complete inactivity of that summer: and so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the north; and then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the king's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so ex-

actly unreserved and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had intended before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, (who were strangers to his nature and disposition,) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

The truth is, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even demissiveness and submission to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture, than his own election had done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the house of commons, such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the speaker might, in the name of the whole house, give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad the king should have bought it at any price;" which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the king to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (as he delighted to visit the trenches

and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood against it, he would say merrily, "that his office could not take away the privileges of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger;" but withal alleged seriously, "that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard, than other men; that all might see, that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person."

In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: whosoever leads such a life, needs not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.

[Now to go on with the course of our history:] the earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity,) and was the next day visited, at Essex house, by the speaker and the whole house of commons, who declared to him, "that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to him, for his incomparable conduct and courage; and that they had caused their acknowledgment to be entered in their journal book, as a monument and record of his virtue, and their gratitude." A day or two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both houses, who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value was sent to colonel Massy, and, which made the letter of more value, a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over and above what was due to him for his pay, and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the earl of Essex and sir William Waller might administer hope or suspicion, that some division might grow amongst themselves, and, from thence, that the king might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which sir William was all submission and humility, and his excellence full of grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity, which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they

were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which they had not before a full confidence.

Though the king's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and was pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his majesty, under the command of sir Jacob Ashley, major general of the army, an excellent officer; so that the parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring, as the loss of Bristol and most of the west amounted to; for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by prince Maurice,) yet, notwithstanding all this, the earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great soldierly, and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

On the contrary, upon the king's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny in the army, anger and jealousy among the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The siege of Gloucester was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the earl of Essex in all the march over so open a country, was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmot, whom prince Rupert did in no degree favour: nor was the prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the vale of Gloucester, without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the king's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

But then all men renewed their execrations against those, who advised the engagement before Gloucester; the officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the councils, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the master of the rolls, who spoke most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal, that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, this last action might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the city was so much united to the parliament, that it supplied their army with such a body of their trained bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his majesty have approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his miserable army? and would not the whole body of the trained bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned.

But no reason could ever convert those, who looked upon that undertaking at Gloucester, as the ruin of the king's affairs.

The temper of the court was no better than that of the army: and the king was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours, or offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the king, made their modesty an argument of their merit to the queen; and assured her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in her absence, because they had always resolved never to receive any thing, but by her bounty." Many pretended former promises and engagements for creations of honour, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest, who had that promise, were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. And by this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good will; and so, they who received the favours were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men, who, they thought, did not merit them better than themselves, thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their own ambition, but purely to satisfy their friends; who withdrew their kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the king, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between them and other men." Princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify few, and when so many stand upon the same level in pretences, and are apt to feel the preferring of one, as an affront and disobligation to the rest.

There was no particular that gave the king more unquietness, than the presence of my lord of Holland. The three earls [I before mentioned] had attended the king before he rose from Gloucester, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the king's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbury, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to Oxford with his majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other two had no cause to complain; the king, upon all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and sent the chancellor of the exchequer to the earl of Clare, "that he had liberty, and might be present at the councils of war;" where the peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the merit of coming to the king now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him; to have been in the same

condition he was in the bedchamber, and in the council, and in the king's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance from the queen before he came, at least from Mr. Jermyn, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission; and the very deferring of this was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to Oxford.

He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton college; where the queen lay, and where the king was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their majesties looked well upon him, and spake to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the king went aside with him to the window, in the same room, where they spake a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. Jermyn, who was about this time made a baron, was very frequently with him. The king was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers, (as sure none was equal to him in that function and mystery,) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly: yet she complied so far with the king's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of malice and prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish, what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the marquis of Hertford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the king's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of groom of the stole; of which the king took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to readmit the old officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the queen's looking less graciously upon the marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the lord Jermyn, with some passion, spake to the chancellor of the exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for the marquis, who was master of so great a fortune, to affect such a low preferment, and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence:" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the [other] lords, and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the court as it had been, or the queen herself possessed of so absolute a power, as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her person with all duty and reverence.

The earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his wisdom and experience;

nor had ever made the least apology to the king for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same confidence and assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favour; and that he retained still the old artifice of court, to be seen to whisper in the king's and queen's ear, by which people thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the market; so his majesty protested that the earl of Holland had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the company to the end or corner of the room, and, at first, expected and apprehended, that he would say somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had never then said one word, but what he might have spoke in the circle; with which," he said, "he was the better pleased; and that he believed, he had not been more particular with his wife, save that he used to entertain her with discourses of the wisdom and power of the parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in foreign parts; which," his majesty said, "was a strange discourse for a man to make, who had so lately left them, because he thought the king's condition to be the better of the two."

The earl had a friend, who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and services that would consist with the king's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such revolutions, and who spake often to the earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the king, and of what importance his good reception would have been; "that there were many of considerable reputation and interest in the house of commons," (whom he named,) "who intended to have followed, and that the earl of Northumberland expected only his advice;" his friend asked him, "whether he had done all things, since he came to the king, which might reasonably be expected from him?" He said, "he thought he had done all could be expected from him, in bringing himself to the king; and, since his coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof he had not received thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his office had been kept unbestowed near two years, and a promise made to him, that he should be restored to it, it was to be bestowed upon another, to make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not prove for his majesty's honour or advantage."

His friend asked him, "whether he had asked it of the king, or informed him of the promise that was made to him?" He said, "he had done neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the king's grace, and would not extort it by a promise, which, it might be, his majesty was not privy to." The other replied very plainly to him, "that if he thought he had never committed any fault against the king, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he were guilty of any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, or how unma-

liciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some confession and apology to his majesty; nor could his majesty, with the safety of his honour, avow the receiving him into any trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving any offices from his friends, or the queen's own declared interposition on his behalf, till he had performed that necessary introduction." He told him, "if he would follow his advice, he believed he might receive some effect of it;" which was, "that he should send to desire a private audience of his majesty in some room, where nobody might be present; which would not be refused him; and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the parliament gave to all men, who had exceeded the common rules, in their administration of the trust they had from his majesty; as he could not deny he had done in many particulars for the advancement of his majesty's service) confess, that he had not been hardy enough to contemn that power, but had been so much in awe of it, that he chose rather to presume upon his majesty's goodness, than to provoke their jealousy and displeasure; and so had complied with them more, than in his duty and gratitude to his majesty he ought to have done; for which he begged his pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt, he should wipe out the memory of past offences by some new services, which should be beneficial to his majesty;" and he told him, "that he would do very well, if he would sue out his pardon, as the earl of Bedford had done; who had asked it of the king when he first kissed his hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the great seal of England."

The earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, "He did not think, though he would not justify all that he had done, his transgressions were of that magnitude, that they required such a formality of asking pardon; that his case was very different from that of the earl of Bedford, who had been in arms, and a general officer in the field against the king; whereas he had only sat in the parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had failed in his attendance upon his majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had received so many marks of it before he deserved it, that might well transport a very faithful servant into a discontent that would not become him. That as soon as he found himself restored to any proportion of his majesty's grace and confidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble apologies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his transgressions, as could be expected from him, and such as he believed would reconcile the king's goodness to him: but to make the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it." However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same subject.

Being, upon conference with some other friends, advised the same, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly,) so that he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the king's affairs, or liked the court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain,

he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses, (nor could he draw it from any other place,) he delayed it so long, till the king found it reasonable to confer the office he had so long promised, upon the marquis of Hertford; and then withdrawing himself, for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a private lodging; after a few days, with the help of a dark night and a good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without farther considering him, than as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour, or his own generous nature: for he published a declaration in print, of the cause of his going to, and returning from Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed, "that his compassion and love to his country had only prevailed with him to go to the king, in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a peace with his parliament; which, from the time of his coming thither, he had laboured to do; but that he found the court so indisposed to peace, and that the papists had so great a power there," (using many expressions dishonourable towards the king and his council,) "that he resolved to make what haste he could back to the parliament, and to spend the remainder of his life in their service:" which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since they usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence, from whence they departed with a purpose of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the earl doth not absolve the king's council from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the king, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a universal peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Petworth, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the king, if by the lord Conway's negociation, and the earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former station: and the two earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace; and returned again to their own habitations in London, without farther mark

of displeasure, than a restraint, from coming to the house of peers, or being trusted in their counsels.

The committee from the two houses of parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before, in the distraction of their affairs, when sir William Waller was defeated, and the earl of Essex's army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an assembly of their kirk, and a convention of the estates, (which is the parliament,) without, and expressly against, the king's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time, when, by their late act of parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the king had refused to convene them sooner. The kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in; and they again ruled and disposed by a few, who were thoroughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the king's service, or disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared zeal, and good-will to the parliament of England, was a common evidence.

So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain a good opinion with them: a committee was appointed, both out of the convention of estates, and the assembly, "to treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the peace and happiness of both kingdoms." These men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said, "they well understood how much the fate of Scotland was involved in what should befall the parliament in England; and that if the king prevailed by force, and, by the power of his army, oppressed those friends, who had expressed a tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason to expect the same army should be applied to the revenge of those indignities they would easily persuade his majesty, he had suffered from that his native kingdom: and therefore they needed no arguments to persuade them to commiserate the estate of their brethren of England; or to convince them, that their case was their own, and their mutual safety bound up together: but that those politic arguments and considerations would have no influence upon the people, who had such a natural affection and loyalty to their sovereign, as no earthly consideration would be able to prevail with them to lessen their obedience towards his majesty; and that, albeit there was no visible party and faction, that appeared in the kingdom for the king, yet that there were many well wishers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of the present reformation; who, as soon as there should be any preparation for an army to march into England, would be ready, upon the specious arguments of duty to his majesty, and of peace to their country, and might be able to

“ give great disturbance to the expedition, or to
 “ disquiet the realm, when the most eminently
 “ affected were marched towards the relief of their
 “ distressed neighbours; except some obligation
 “ of conscience were laid upon the people; who
 “ only preferred what they called their piety to
 “ God, before their inclination to their prince, and
 “ the setting up the kingdom of Jesus Christ,
 “ before the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction.”

For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed,
 “ that a covenant might be agreed upon between
 “ the two kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of
 “ prelacy, which that kingdom was satisfied to be a
 “ great obstruction to the reformation of religion;
 “ and the two houses of parliament had discovered
 “ a sufficient aversion from that government, by
 “ having passed a bill for their utter abolition, and
 “ in the place thereof to erect such a government,
 “ as should be most agreeable to God’s word,
 “ which they doubted not would be their own
 “ presbytery; and that the people being cemented
 “ together by such an obligation, would never be
 “ severed and disjoined by any temptation.”

There was an easy consent, from the committee of the English, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the king; and this form being presently communicated to the convention of estates, and the assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution, and to provoke the consent of the two houses at Westminster, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification, “ that that people were in such a forwardness
 “ to advance, that they would be in England as
 “ soon as they could be reasonably expected.” And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon the discipline of the late commotions, and the wise presage and foresight of that people, there was nothing requisite to their march, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed “ rather to decline being engaged in the
 “ quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the
 “ two houses would concur with them; for though
 “ there had been a bill passed, before the last
 “ treaty with the king, to that purpose, yet they
 “ well knew that most of the peers, and persons
 “ of quality and interest in the other house, were
 “ willing to depart from that overture. Besides,
 “ that amongst those who raged jointly against
 “ episcopacy, there were so many opinions, that it
 “ would be no less difficult to establish their pres-
 “ bytery, than to root out the other government,
 “ to which they intended by their covenant equally
 “ to oblige them: so that upon this proposition,
 “ which was according to the known temper of
 “ that nation, they should preserve themselves
 “ plausibly, and without seeming to desert their
 “ confederates, from bearing any part in the pre-
 “ sent troubles. However, it would visibly take
 “ up so much time, that if there were no ebb in
 “ the king’s prosperity and success, he might well
 “ finish his work, and this interposition be inter-
 “ preted for a politic stratagem to amuse the
 “ English.” But if this was their stratagem, they

met with people too frank hearted, and unscrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the covenant no sooner came to Westminster, but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known what success the earl of Essex would have in the relief of Gloucester, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men’s affections and consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments in a new case, that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their assembly of divines, to return their opinion “ of the lawfulness of taking it in
 “ point of conscience.”

The assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their king, and submission to the church of England, by their appearance and presence in that convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the house of commons: for doctor Featly, (upon whose reputation in learning they had raised great advantages to themselves,) having made many speeches in the assembly in the behalf of “ the order of
 “ bishops, and their function, and against the
 “ alienation of church-lands, as sacrilege,” and especially inveighed against “ the liberty that was
 “ taken in matter of religion, by which so many
 “ sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach
 “ of the protestant doctrine, if not of Christianity
 “ itself,” had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit, that they doubted not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him, “ that he
 “ had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to
 “ Oxford, or that he was to go thither himself,
 “ and if he had any occasions to use his service
 “ thither, he would faithfully execute his com-
 “ mands.” The doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the king’s affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, who waited on his majesty; and by this artifice, the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The letters contained many apologies for himself, “ for being engaged in such a congregation, to
 “ which he submitted purely out of conscience,
 “ and for the service of the king and church, in
 “ hope that he might be able to prevent many ex-
 “ travagancies, and to contain those unruly spirits
 “ within some bounds of regularity and modera-
 “ tion;” of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his grace, “ to procure a good opinion
 “ from the king towards him, and some bishopric
 “ or deanery for his recompense.” About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this covenant was transmitted, these letters were produced, and a charge against that doctor, “ for betraying the trust reposed in him,
 “ and adhering to the enemy;” and thereupon the poor man was expelled the assembly of divines,

both his livings (for he had two within a very small distance of London) sequestered, his study of books and estate seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *assembly of godly and learned divines* had before their eyes when this covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing "they had received satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and piety of it." Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, met together at the church, with great solemnity to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the earl of Essex's triumphant return to London, and this religious exercise.

There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this oath was such, and in the matter and consequence of it of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, yea of those kingdoms, yea of all the kingdoms of the world: that it could be no other, but the result and answer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three kingdoms should be thus born, or rather new born, in a day: that they were entering upon a work of the greatest moment and concernment to themselves, and to their posterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of their forefathers before them. That it was a duty of the first commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest order and rank of duties; therefore must come forth attended with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the greatest simplicity, and plainness of spirit, in respect of those with whom they covenanted. That it was to advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of men;" with many such high expressions, which can hardly be conceived, without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

It will be here most necessary, that posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated for the meridian of a third kingdom, (for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it,) to insert this league and covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

"We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof, in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, (whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies,) we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. "That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive

“ of their plagues ; and that the Lord may be one,
 “ and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. “ We shall, with the same sincerity, reality,
 “ and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to
 “ preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to
 “ preserve and defend the king’s majesty’s person
 “ and authority, in the preservation and defence of
 “ the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms ;
 “ that the world may bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty ; and that we have no
 “ thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty’s
 “ just power and greatness.

4. “ We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or
 “ shall be, incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion,
 “ dividing the king from his people, or one of the
 “ kingdoms from another, or making any factions
 “ or parties among the people, contrary to this
 “ league and covenant ; that they may be brought
 “ to public trial, and receive condign punishment,
 “ as the degree of their offences shall require or
 “ deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both
 “ kingdoms respectively, or others having power
 “ from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. “ And whereas the happiness of a blessed
 “ peace between these kingdoms, denied in former
 “ times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been
 “ lately concluded and settled by both parliaments,
 “ we shall, each one of us, according to our places
 “ and interest, endeavour, that they may remain
 “ conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the
 “ wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in
 “ the precedent articles.

6. “ We shall also, according to our places and
 “ callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty,
 “ and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all
 “ those that enter into this league and covenant,
 “ in the maintaining and pursuing thereof ; and
 “ shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly,
 “ by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror,
 “ to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed
 “ union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to
 “ a detestable indifference or neutrality in this
 “ cause, which so much concerneth the glory of
 “ God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour
 “ of the king ; but shall, all the days of our lives,
 “ zealously and constantly continue therein, against
 “ all opposition, and promote the same according
 “ to our power, against all lets and impediments
 “ whatsoever. And what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal
 “ and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed ; all which we shall do as in
 “ the sight of God.

“ And because these kingdoms are guilty of
 “ many sins, and provocations against God, and
 “ his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our
 “ present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof ; we profess and declare, before God and the
 “ world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for
 “ our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms ; especially, that we have not, as we ought,
 “ valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that
 “ we have not laboured for the purity and power

“ thereof ; and that we have not endeavoured to
 “ receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy
 “ of him in our lives, which are the causes of other
 “ sins and transgressions so much abounding
 “ amongst us : and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and
 “ all others under our power and charge, both in
 “ public and in private, in all duties we owe to
 “ God and man, to amend our lives, and each one
 “ to go before another in the example of a real
 “ reformation ; that the Lord may turn away his
 “ wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these
 “ churches and kingdoms in truth and peace.
 “ And this covenant we make in the presence of
 “ Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a
 “ true intention to perform the same, as we shall
 “ answer at that great day, when the secrets of all
 “ hearts shall be disclosed ; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit,
 “ for this end ; and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning
 “ under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian
 “ tyranny, to join in the same, or like association
 “ and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the
 “ peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and
 “ commonwealths.”

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. Henderson, (the sole ecclesiastical commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland,) who magnified what they had done, and assured them “ of great success after it, by the experience
 “ of that nation, who, from their union in their
 “ first covenant, found nothing hard they proposed
 “ to themselves ;” and told them, “ that were that
 “ covenant now painted upon the wall within the
 “ pope’s palace, it would doubtless put him into
 “ Belshazzar’s quaking condition ;” the speaker and commons (having first set their hands to the
 “ covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their
 “ house ; and observing that many of their members
 “ were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy
 “ to be guessed, they ordered, “ that, as soon as
 “ they came into the house, the covenant should
 “ be tendered to them ; and whosoever refused to
 “ take it, should be proceeded against, as a disaffected person, in such manner as the house
 “ should think fit.”

And they farther made a special order, “ that all
 “ the ministers of parish-churches within London
 “ and Westminster, the suburbs, and the whole
 “ line of communication, should read and explain
 “ the covenant to their several congregations, and
 “ stir them up, the next fast day, to the cheerful
 “ taking of it :” and particular care was taken,
 “ that all the students of the inns of court should be
 “ persuaded to receive it. But, over and above these
 “ general directions, there was a particular ceremony
 “ and application to recommend this covenant to the
 “ city and corporation of London, and another use
 “ to be made of it. The covenant was not only to
 “ bring, but to keep men together, and the taking
 “ it had only inclined the Scots to march to their
 “ assistance ; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinburgh, before they would stir ; and how to advance this great sum, was not easy to resolve. All
 “ their ordinances for levying of money were spent ;

their issues and disbursements so vast, that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already spent, that they had no capital for future security.

The judicature of the house of peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of justice Berkley) had helped them all they could. Justice Berkley, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the parliament, upon a charge of high treason, and since the beginning of the war, permitted by them to sit as sole judge in the king's bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment; and by their lordships fined the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon an abatement of half, and his liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the king alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron Trevor, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

And to that purpose, a committee of lords and commons, with some of their divines of the assembly, was sent to the guildhall, where the mayor had called a common council for their reception, to recommend to them "the wonderful advantage and strength their party should gain by taking, and being united in, this covenant; and the desperate condition they were like to be in without it: if the Scots came not to their assistance, which, without this obligation, they could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelmed by the enemy; or at least to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with them; which yet they could not tell how it would be observed and kept. On the other hand, by this famous accession of strength of a whole nation, they should undoubtedly be able to master the war, and to make those who had been the causers of it, defray the charge; and so all the public debts being discharged out of the estates of delinquents and malignants, the kingdom would not be at all impoverished, and the peace, which should hereafter be made with the king, would be sure to be inviolably observed by the strength of this union; and therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

"It was," they said, "neither covetousness, nor want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own, desired an advance of money before they drew their army into England, but pure necessity, and the poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their soldiers together for the good of this. And if there had been money enough in that country to have been procured upon the public stock and revenue, or the mortgage of private estates, to which all men were forward for the public good, their love to their brethren here

"was such, that they would neither have asked nor received money for their assistance, after it had proved effectual; much less, before the yielding it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly inclination, they freely offered the engagement of their own estates, for the repayment of the money that should be advanced:" which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money, in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, "a nation, that had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than any nation this day upon the face of the earth had done; a nation, that had reformed their lives for so small a time, more than ever any people, that they knew of, in the world had done; a nation, that God had honoured by giving as glorious success unto, as ever he did unto any:" and very earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinburgh; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as masters of Newcastle already. With such an alacrity all these things were transacted.

That violent party in the parliament, which never intended any peace with the king, and had more desperate mutations in their purposes, than they avowed, even amongst those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not think themselves secure in the affection of the people, nor in those who had the greatest trust in their affairs. They had seen the great changes in the houses, in the city, and in the country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller, and the loss of Bristol: and though the earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of no principles which they liked, or who desired no other alterations in the court or government, but only of the persons who acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as swallowed up by the king's power, to move, "that they might send into Scotland to their brethren there, to join with them, and to assist them with an army, that they might, by such a conjunction, have an appui that might make them so considerable, as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which might preserve them from ruin:" which proposition, being for so common an interest and benefit, had received a general concurrence; and so that committee of both houses had been sent into Scotland, to put them in mind "of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be for the Scots long to enjoy the great concessions they had obtained from the king, when the parliament of England, by whose friendship, power, and authority, they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such conditions for their particular preservations, as the king would think fit to give them, and as they may merit by accepting; and therefore that the parliament expected and desired that they would forthwith give them such an

“assistance as might be sufficient to preserve them both, which could be no other way than by immediately sending a good army into England, which would countenance and support their friends in the north, and keep the earl of Newcastle from being able to march towards London on that side; whilst the king encompassed them on the other, which was the present design.” Sir Harry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the other need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. [But they were not a little startled, when they found this message had obliged them to a present expense of a hundred thousand pounds, before there was any visible relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt, and to purposes they really abhorred.]

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions, than that this covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two houses, when all the leading persons in those councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the sole end of this covenant,) as they were to the king or the church. And he who contributed most to it, and who, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the covenant, and the presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which excelled in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation; and very near brought their purpose to pass.

The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them, whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the king's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion: nor had they any such face of authority, as to invite them to it. Without a parliament, they could not propose it; the king had absolutely

refused to call a parliament, and it was yet above a year to come, before a parliament could be assembled without the king's consent; and in that time, the king might have the better of his enemies. The commissioners of the parliament had not been long at Edinburgh, before they prevailed with the council to call a parliament; which duke Hamilton, and others, who pretended great devotion to the king, and were of the council, had promised the king to oppose, and said, “they were powerful enough to prevent.” When it came to the point, duke Hamilton, being, one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, “that the absolute refusal to suffer a parliament to be called, would not quiet the debate, nor secure the king, but more inflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send out their summons for a parliament to assemble, at the day they thought fit; and then, as they who would serve the king would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared would be so considerable, that they would not dare to sit, but presently disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it odious to the people; as men who desired illegally to engage the nation in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public peace.”

A summons was accordingly sent out to call a parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the king, applied themselves to duke Hamilton, (whose advice and orders the king himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, “that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their friends with them, whereby they might make a good body of horse, and so, with their arms in their hands, they would declare against the legality of that parliament, and the meeting in it:” and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting at the funeral of a lady, which was to be within some days, when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them, “he believed it must come shortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet time, and that such a meeting would frighten the people, and increase the number in parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions.” And he said, “he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being absent at that time of the meeting of the parliament, since their mere absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat, would carry the reputation of a parliament, and the people would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations and affections.”

He proposed therefore to them, “that they might all resolve to be present, and take their places; and that, when the house should be sat, and any man should stand up to propose the

"taking any business into consideration, he (the duke) would first make his protestation against proceeding in so illegal a convention, and then they should all make the same protestation; and, he did hope, that the number of the protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting; and thus they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in arms; towards which he would make the best preparation he could; and desired them to do the like."

The earl of Kinoul, and some others, made exceptions against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the duke told them, "the king liked the other way better;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, which he had received from his majesty; and read them so much of it, as contained his approbation, "that they should meet in the parliament;" with which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time, that his majesty was betrayed.

The parliament met at the day; and duke Hamilton, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the lords, who had been always most engaged against the king, were very warm; and demanded, "that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did protest against the parliament;" whereupon his brother the earl of Lanrick, who was secretary of state to the king, stood up, and said, "that he hoped that noble lord's affection to his country was better known, than that any man could imagine he would protest against the parliament of the kingdom;" and then the duke explained, and excused himself; and said, "he meant no such thing:" and so they declared, "that they would treat with the commissioners, who were sent from the parliament of England;" and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the war against the king; but that, as a few men cozened the parliament at Westminster, by persuading them, "that they desired only a safe peace," till, by multiplication of indignities, they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a number in Scotland, that overreached the parliament there, by persuading, "that they never intended to do any thing against the king, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render them very odious to the whole English nation, if, after they had received so many obligations from the parliament [there], to whose protection they owed their religion, and all that they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to treat with them, and to assist them, by their interposition, to procure a good peace for them with the king; which would be a great honour to them; and would be as great an obligation to his majesty, as to the parliament; that this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any engagement in a war," not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the parliament [at Westminster]. Thereupon they told the commissioners from the parliament, "that it would be impossible to engage that nation in a joint concurrence with

them, against the king, but by the influence and authority of their kirk; and that it would be as impossible to procure the consent of their kirk, except by making it evident to them, that the government of the church in England should be reduced to the same model with theirs in Scotland; and that episcopacy should be totally extirpated; and that deans and chapters should be utterly abolished; without which," they said, "they could never think their own government securely established; but if such a promise might be solemnly made, their kirk would be thoroughly engaged, and the nation, to a man, would enter into the quarrel."

Sir Harry Vane was not surprised with the proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon, the covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many extravagant conditions proposed, for the payment of the army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money, or honour, was insisted upon, and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible, in making all necessary preparations. The covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest friends, both in the parliament and the army, had not any mind to change the government of the church; to which the people of England were not generally disaffected.

Sir Harry Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow commissioners, signed the whole treaty; whereby it was provided, "That the covenant should be taken throughout all his majesty's dominions; that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster for the carrying on of the war with equal authority; that there should be no treaty of peace with the king, without the joint consent of the parliaments of both kingdoms;" and many other particulars, very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of Gloucester; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the parliament at Edinburgh resolved to raise a great army, and to invade England; and their old general Lesley, who had so solemnly promised the king, not only "never to bear arms against him, but to serve him, let the cause be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time, duke Hamilton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first proclamation was prepared, in the king's name, for a general rendezvous of all men, from such an age to such an age, at

such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the earl of Lanrick put the king's signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the king an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the king, having come away from thence, after the first day's meeting of their parliament, (and when the duke had broken his promise to them,) and informed his majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the king's army in the encounters with the enemy's: for those under the king's commanders grew insensibly into all the license, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they again, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety; which begat courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy, with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the king and government, with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

In the beginning of the troubles, the king had very prudently resolved with himself, to confer no honours, or bestow any offices or preferments, upon any, till the end and conclusion of the service; and if that resolution had continued, he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war, shortly after, made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased, but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one; and that whosoever, by his service, had deserved a reward of money, had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent, that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable, that the king should not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and not so much extolling their own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: the soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other body of men; and thinking the king's crown depended wholly

on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with, but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the council of state, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power is purely and naturally subordinate; and by the authority and prudence whereof, provision could be only reasonably expected, for the countenance and support of the army.

The general and prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and custom of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and the public ministers, or with their rights: and the prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned, the peaceable and civil arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of soothsaying, "that Octavius lost his life by trusting to it, and that Marius prospered the better, because he did not altogether despise it," may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the case of the earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent; yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of the vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues what can be imagined,) will, in some conjuncture of time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince (who had great parts of mind, as well as vigour of body, and an incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom thereby, than that roughness and unpolishedness of his nature; which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things, which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and thence making an unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the councils, by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of some particular counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem of the acts of that board; which must be accounted venerable, as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

And I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in council, or think them of less moment, upon undervaluing the persons of some counsellors, and from the particular infirmities of the men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of that, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that their advice and opinions are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom, as it is in beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception cannot be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more catching than another, whose symmetry is more faultless; so there are many men, who in this particular argument may be unskilful, in that affected, who may seem to have levity, or vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation,

(a very crooked rule to measure any man's abilities, as giving a better measure of the humour, than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight, and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance may be contributed.

And no question, all great enterprises and designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, and equally for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear, in debates of great moment, animadversions of more weight and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation is not so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon very well understood himself, when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety.* And though it were confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the success, and the success on the interpretation, we see those counsels most prosperous, whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly acknowledged and received. And he hath had but small experience in the managing affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only succeeded amiss, because they were not communicated to those, who had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, that they were long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore men have been often willing enough, any single advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some one man, who has thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the objection of secrecy and despatch seems to favour a small number, and a reservation of communicating, yet (except in those few cases, which in their nature are to be consulted, and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency will be greater by a necessary delay, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the levity of a counsellor, (futile and malicious natures ought not to be supposed to be admitted into that rank of men,) than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those, (admitting there could be no benefit from their information,) who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from, the success, at least the reputation. And from this root much of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil councils proceeded. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members; so the jealousy and indisposition of some counsellors contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the order; and in them, upon the king.

Amongst those who were nearest the king's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to court as usually ushered

in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal interest with any, in their master's estimation. And these were sure to find no more charity from the court, than from the army; and having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spake; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public policy and transactions. It were to be wished, that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge, and all other qualifications, necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service; when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, temper and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand unchaste attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too vile for such a trust,) and the caution, that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former; and therefore [is], with a more exact guard upon a man's self, to be avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a stock of innocency that cannot be impaired, and a firm confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice; but to believe, that, by being preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them, to suffer more than other men would do; and that the best way to convince scandals, and misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. And there is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience; when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they free themselves from the errors, or infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no man think, that is once entered into the list, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these conflicts and assaults; or by any

stubborn or impetuous humour, suppress and prevail over them : but let him look upon it as purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a vindication ; and by performing all the duties of his place to the end with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe, he was worthy of it the first hour, which is a triumph very lawful to be affected.

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the king's designs ; so no particular man was more disquieted by them, than the king himself ; who, in his person, as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented humours of court and army. His majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war, by his gentleness, and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of majesty, which he had, in his former life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses, and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him ; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humours of all ; and how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his majesty was put both to inform and temper their understandings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the service he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended so, "to quit the service, and "to travel into some foreign kingdom." He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a king to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks, which preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wisdom, that *there was no more spirit in her*. And no doubt, whosoever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and preeminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no man think, that the king had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy ; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and the many artifices which were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out, that he should have

it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it ; and upon this vogue he had a title ; and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the king's disfavour to him ; and thereby he should lose the ability, and credit, without which he could do no farther service. Another suggested, that his friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hardhearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired ; and he commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity ; neither was there a better, or another reason for some men's preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures, to find forward men had so good fortune, that the want of success began to be imputed to want of wit.

I remember, once, a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had "served the king, without any private designs, or "other thoughts, than the discharge of his own "duty, and rendering the performance of that "duty acceptable to his majesty ; yet that, to his "unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been "misrepresented to the king, and that his majesty "had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and "desired me to learn what the ground of the pre-judice was, and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove it." I had a very good opinion of the person, and believed the king had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions ; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, "that he had his "advertisement from a sure hand, which was to "be concealed, and not doubted ; that, upon my "inquiry, I would find it true, though he could "not imagine the cause." I promised him, "I "would press the king very heartily in it, and if "there were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed his majesty would be so gracious to let "me know it ;" and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and besought his majesty, "if any ill "offices had been done him, or that any prejudice "towards him was lodged in his royal breast, that "he would graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it "was, and that he would allow him an access, to "clear himself from any imputations." The king very cheerfully assured me, "that he had not only "a very good opinion of that gentleman, but that "he was most assured, he had no real suspicion to "the contrary ;" and therefore bad me "proceed "to the other part of my business." I told him, "I had no more, and that I was sure, I should "make a very happy man by satisfying him of "what I found." Then said the king, "You are "not thoroughly instructed, for the other half of "this business must be a suit." I replied, "if "that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I "suspected myself." The gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in umbrage ; and when I gave him pregnant assurance to the contrary, with the men-

tion of some expressions the king had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, "that I had made him abundantly happy, and that he doubted not there was no just ground for the other reports, but only the malice of those who wished them true; yet, that they had lessened his credit abroad, even with his friends; and that he found there was no way to keep up his reputation and interest in the world, whereby he might be able to do the king service, (which was all he looked after,) but the receiving some testimony of the king's good opinion, which would be a public evidence, that the other discourses were false." I was surprised, and as much out of countenance, as he should have been; and advised him "to patience, and to expect the king's own time, and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which would give an ill relish to any obligation." He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the king very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, "that, without some such earnest of his majesty's goodness, he should not be able to continue in his service;" which probably was one of the modestest addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the king's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation and trouble from the indisposition and humours of his own people, than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times, than of the persons, or the narrative of the matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best expedient his majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloucester, and to reduce some towns in Pembroke-shire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the parliament ships, begun to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

In the beginning of October, prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance sir Lewis Dives, whilst he fortified Newport Pannel, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first news of it, the earl of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's; and the trained bands of London, and their auxiliary regiments, marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advance-

ment whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, sir Lewis Dives drew off his forces from Newport Pannel; and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there; which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties, which had expressed a violent affection to the parliament, in truth, added little strength to the king; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's.

In the mean time, the power of the parliament was least manifest in the west, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of Exeter; the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the king's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party. Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the surrender of that town, his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the west had not before seen,) besides a body of horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time, colonel John Digby was before Plymouth, with above three thousand foot, and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount Stamford in honour of that earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement.

The first error the prince committed after the reducing of Exeter, was staying too long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plymouth, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his approach: for the town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being, in time of peace, the greatest port for trade in the west; and, except Bristol, greater than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town, was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were, before the troubles, under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the most; and [were] only intended for a security, and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of sir Jacob Ashley, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy, as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other

provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls; less for the receiving a recruit; and the garrison itself being by time, marriages, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that sir Jacob Ashley being sent for to the king, before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the king in Cornwall, after the appearing of sir Ralph Hopton, and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plymouth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence, when it grew first evident, that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in *Ælian*, that when in one of the states of Greece, Micippus's sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded, that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government; so when the two houses of parliament first produced a sovereign power, to make, and alter, and suspend laws, before they raised an army, or made a general, or declared war; when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and modest council, had once brought forth that lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and naturally concluded by all wise and sober men, that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end; and rapine, blood, and desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the king's power to mend the condition of either of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through, if that be not apparent; and that it was rather an error of the former times, that those places needed any supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The parliament was very glad Plymouth was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their committee; which was appointed to reside there for his assistance, and to conduct the affairs in those parts. Of that committee, sir Alexander Carew was one; a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who served in parliament as knight for that county, and had, from the beginning of the parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury, to which their confidence was applied, as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed; and a sufficient gar-

rison put into it. The mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.

After the battle of Stratton, and that the king's forces prevailed so far over the west, that Bristol was taken by them, and Exeter closely besieged, sir Alexander Carew begun to think his island and fort would hardly secure his estate in Cornwall; and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better, than it should continue the stronger; and having originally followed no other motives, than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and, by them, to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the king, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon, and a full remission of his offences. Sir John Berkley, who then lay before Exeter, was the next supreme officer, qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he, instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon any defect of forms, (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition, to his own satisfaction,) defer the consummating the work; which hereafter, possibly, might not be in his power to effect:" designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt*; and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured, that his pardon was passed the great seal of England; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the mayor, and the rest of the committee; and, according to the diligence used in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plymouth: and from thence, by sea, sent to London; where what became of him, will be remembered in its place.

Shortly after this accident, colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the people were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melancholy with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must object them to some suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience; and that a man, who had been before precipitate

against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of Exeter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out, and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Insomuch as the mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the king: and it was by many then believed, that if prince Maurice had then marched from Exeter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault; for his highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dartmouth; which was looked upon "as an easy work, and a harbour, which, being got, would draw a very good trade: and that short work being performed, Plymouth would have the less courage to make resistance; and if it should, it were much fitter for the winter, which was now drawing on," (for it was more than the middle of September,) "than the other, by reason of the conveniency of good accommodation for the soldiers, near about it; which could not be had about Dartmouth."

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to Dartmouth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation, and the absence of all those helps which use to contract a confidence, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a season of rain, and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more ran away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same colonel Chudleigh, of whom we spake before, was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the king's service,) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the prince, having placed a garrison there, under the command of colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but, with all convenient expedition, marched to Plymouth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the west had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer to be governor; who eased the mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, after he had joined with colonel Digby, to that with which he had marched from Exeter to Dartmouth; yet with much confidence to reduce that town, before the winter should be over.

Though the king's success, and good fortune, had met with a check in the relief of Gloucester, and the battle of Newbury, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole summer's service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Berkshire, (which half was lost too upon the loss of Reading in the spring,) and the parties, which appeared for him in other counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole west; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plymouth was the only place, in all Devonshire, unreduced; and those forces shut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset with Bristol, the second county in the kingdom, entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Poole and Lyme; all the rest was declared for the king. And in every of these counties, he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammunition, and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing, and rather a town or two in Hampshire, than any possession of the county; that people being generally undevoted to them: the whole principality of Wales, except a sea town or two in Pembroke-shire, was at his devotion; and that unfortunate obstinate town of Gloucester only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull, as the king had been from Gloucester, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, than the parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland, was only to incline the king to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the king with a purpose of bringing in foreign forces to awe and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people, by whose affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to changes they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary propositions, which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The king himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who, the king well knew, had more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland, was now dead; and the king of France hi-

self likewise; and those old ministers of state who had been long in the bastille, or banished, were now set at liberty, and recalled, and in favour; the queen mother made regent; who professed great personal kindness to the queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the king and she suffered, that she seemed sensible, that France had contributed too much to them, and to think, that the interest, as well as honour, of that crown was concerned to buoy up the monarchy of England; with intimations, "that the king himself should direct what way he would be served by that crown." The first evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of monsieur la Ferté Senneterre, the ambassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the parliament, and done the king all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some English priests and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the king; with a full assurance, "that the parliament would allow them liberty of conscience." This minister his majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise [given] to our queen, "that she should nominate what person should be employed in his place; who should wholly guide himself by her instructions:" and her majesty was led to make choice of monsieur le conte d'Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a prince of the house of Lorraine, and so allied to the king, and grand escuier of France; and had been their late fortunate general in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador, whose business was to mediate a peace.

His reception at London was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state, by the absence of the king; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The king expected that, by this ambassador, the crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his majesty's behalf; and if the parliament should not return to their regular obedience, that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom; and that they would really assist his majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade; but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France.

When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his lordship, "to impart to the messieurs of parliament, that he had made known to their majesties, the affectionate desire the king his master, and the queen his mistress, had to contribute all good offices, in the pro-

curement of peace and tranquillity in this kingdom; to which he found the desires of their majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to know, if his lordship thought the two houses did correspond in the same intention: if they did, after they should make him understand the subject that had obliged them to take up arms, he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients, as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm."

After the earl of Northumberland had informed the house of peers of this representation, it was, at a conference, imparted to the house of commons, and an answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the earl of Northumberland to the ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *prince of Harcourt*, and *grand escuier of France*; but omitted that of *extraordinary ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the king, or queen regent of France, that he was by them employed extraordinary ambassador into England.

The answer itself was, "that the lords and commons in parliament did, with all due respects, accept of the affectionate desires of the king, and queen regent of France, to contribute good offices towards the procuring a happy peace; and that, when the said monsieur le prince d'Harcourt should make any such propositions to the parliament, by authority from their majesties of France, they would give then such an answer to the same, as might stand with the interest of both kingdoms, and their late solemn league and covenant." The lords proposed, "that there might be a committee appointed to treat with the ambassador:" but the commons would by no means consent to it, "till he should make it manifest, that he had authority from his master to treat with the parliament;" and withal they declared, "that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular member of either house; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the speaker of either or both houses of parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him." The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the privity and approbation of the king) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his majesty had, by his late proclamation, declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford, and some perfunctory addresses to the houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his master's behalf, of their proceedings.

They were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons, after the death of the former cardinal; yet, that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left; and that the cardinal Mazarin, a person of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered, how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest, that the king of England should not have all his

subjects in perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I say, these men believed count Harcourt's instructions privately were no other, than the last ambassador's; whom the king had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the court of France, very much trusted by both their majesties, and by his quality, and near relation to so great a trust, his long conversation in that court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favour and particular estimation of the queen regent, and in the opinion of the cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit, that he should at the same time come into England; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London, a messenger from the parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though the ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at Oxford or Paris.

At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after general overtures, and declarations of the resolution of that crown, "to give his majesty all possible assistance for his reestablishment," he proposed a league offensive and defensive with the king. His majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a committee of his council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador, upon all necessary articles, which should attend such a treaty; declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present loan of money, and a supply of a good proportion of arms and ammunition; and likewise that the crown of France would declare against his subjects of England and Scotland, who would persist in rebellion; according to an article ratified in the last treaty of the league now in force."

The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging, "that he was, upon the matter, a minister of both their majesties; and was to receive command from them, and wholly to attend their service; and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate with their majesties themselves:" and shortly after waved any farther mention of the league, with a French compliment, "that it would

"not appear a generous thing, to press the king to any act in this his distress, which he had made scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the fortune of both crowns were equally prosperous: but that his master and mistress would frankly contribute all that could be reasonably expected from them, towards his majesty's restoration and establishment; and afterwards expect such a return of affection from his majesty, as the greatness of the obligation should merit in his princely estimation." And at the same time, the queen regent and cardinal positively denied to the lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his majesty in France, that ever the count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the indignities offered to him by the parliament, made many men believe, that this ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment, than extinguish, the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in England, he did not, in the least degree, advance the king's service; and, at his return, left the parliament more united amongst themselves against the king, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland; who produced no alteration in the affections of that people, to the king's advantage.

The return of the three earls [formerly mentioned] to London in the winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the king in the spring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two houses at Westminster. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the earl of Holland, when he saw his place in the bedchamber conferred upon the marquis of Hertford, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the king's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the parliament at London; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the king, was a hope to incline his majesty to a treaty of peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the Oxford councils; and that the king had still about him some counsellors, who would never consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; and that he hard they had persuaded the king to make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland; which affected his conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his life by it, he would return to the parliament;" professing exemplary fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their favour.

It may be, his discourse of Ireland, or the king's averseness to peace, wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the king's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses, as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing members of both houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the king would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government, and followed new leaders of their

own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the king; and looked only upon the footing which those doves, which went first out of the ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: and it is a way, that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body, that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary, than are united to one just interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by tampering with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

And the reasons were unanswerable, which the old consul Fabius in Livy, lib. 24, gave, in the case of Cassius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion, "that he should be looked upon as a common enemy; and bound, and sent to Hannibal, as a perfidious person, who knew neither how to be a friend nor an enemy." Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged *in medio ardore belli, tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, "that their principal care must be, that none of their friends and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, might return again into their obedience and protection: for, *si abire a Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the state of Rome, from whom, in the late misfortunes, many had revolted, must become very desperate."

Such was the king's condition, the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the king not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. And whatever damage his majesty sustained, that unfortunate earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off, nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

And verily, there must be thought to be some dislike, in the very primary law of nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts;

though, in the change, there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority, to preserve such men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless, the lords favour thee not*, was the profession of king Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* will be always an argumentation to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party: and the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, "that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war was ended; *tum consultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pænæ, an hic reditus veniæ.*" And as it fares thus in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections, and alterations in religion: for as, among the Jews, the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, "that no proselyte should be eligible into the court of their Sanhedrim;" and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them: *Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave*, was an aphorism amongst them. So our observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into some jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant and delightful; which, it may be, is only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions.

The lords and commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the king's: new and stricter orders were made for the general taking the covenant; and an ordinance, "that no man should be in any office or trust in their armies, or the kingdom, or of the common council of London, or should have a voice in the election of those officers, but such who had taken the covenant; nor even they who had taken the covenant, if they had been formerly imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of malignancy, or adhering to the king." And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters, as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the great seal of England. The commons had often pressed the house of peers to concur with them, "in the making a new great seal; as the proper remedy against those mischiefs, which, by the absence of it, had befallen the commonwealth;" declaring, "that the great seal of England, of right, ought to attend upon the parliament;" in which the peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th of Edward III. by which, the counterfeiting the great seal of England is, in express terms, declared to be high treason; and it had been in all

times before understood to be the sole property of the king, and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the king's own disposal, where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

This dissent of the lords hindered not the business; the commons frankly voted, "that a seal should be provided," and accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their house, according to the same size and effigies, and nothing differing from that which the king used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of November they sent again to them, to let them know, "they had a great seal ready, which should be put into the custody of such persons as the two houses should appoint; and if they would name some peers, a proportionable number of the other body should join in the executing that trust." All objections were now answered, and without any hesitation their lordships not only concurred with them to have a seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance; by which they declared, "all letters patents, and grants made by the king, and passed the great seal of England, after the 22d of May in the year 1642, (which was the day the lord keeper left the house, and went with the great seal to York to the king,) to be invalid, and void in law; and henceforward, that their own great seal should be of the like force, power, and validity, to all intents and purposes, as any great seal of England had been, or ought to be; and that whosoever, after publication of that ordinance, should pass any thing under any other great seal, or should claim any thing thereby, should be held and adjudged a public enemy to the state."

At the same time, the earls of Rutland and Bul-
lingbrook, of the peers, Mr. Saint-John, (whom they still entitled the king's solicitor general, though his majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon sir Thomas Gardner; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his recorder's place of London, for having so done,) sergeant Wild, (who, being a sergeant at law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a seal,) Mr. Brown, and Mr. Prideaux, two private practitioners of the law, were nominated "to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the like power and authority, as any lord chancellor, or lord keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, for the time being, had had, used, or ought to have." The earl of Rutland was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust; and therefore excused himself in point of conscience: whereupon they nominated, in his room, the earl of Kent, a man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The seal then was delivered, in the house of commons, to their speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the house attending him, to the speaker of the peers, at the bar in that house. The six commissioners were then, in the presence of both houses, solemnly sworn, "to execute the office of keepers of the great seal of England, in all things according to the orders and directions of both houses of parliament." And thereupon the seal was delivered by the two speakers to them, who carried it, according to order, to the house of the clerk of the parliament, in the old palace; where it was kept locked up in a chest; which could not be

opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty, a patent to be sealed to the earl of Warwick, of lord high admiral of England; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The king had published several proclamations, for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the judges who were ready to perform their duty, could not regularly keep the courts at Oxford; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the sworn judges, who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, justice Bacon in the king's bench, justice Reeve in the common pleas, and baron Trevor in the exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the parliament, knowing the law and their duties, men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) "to find an opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands of the several judges." Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to justice Reeve, and baron Trevor; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

And the houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a council of war, as spies;" which was done at Essex-house. The messengers alleged, "that they were sworn servants to his majesty for the transaction of those services, for which they were now accused; and that they had been legally punishable, if they had refused to do their duties, the term being to be adjourned by no other way." Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were, within few days after, carried to the old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Kniveton, was without mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be expected from a man of such condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon, or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because, about the same time, an ordinance was

made, "that whosoever went to Oxford, or into any of the king's quarters, without leave from one of the houses, or a pass from their general, or whosoever had any correspondence with any person in the king's quarters, by writing letters, or receiving letters from thence, should be proceeded against as a person disaffected to the state; and his person committed, and his estate sequestered; and should be liable, according to the circumstances, (of which themselves would be only judges,) to be tried as spies."

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so, about the same time, they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less revered amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Gloucester, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which colonel Fiennes having not patience to bear, he desired, being a member of the house of commons, and of a swaying interest there, "that he might be put to give an account of it at a court of war, which was the proper judicature upon trespasses of that nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned and reprehended. This begat greater passion and animosity in the persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the authority and interest of the colonel and his father; which, by degrees, brought faction into the house of commons, and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. Pryn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition, out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the colonel with cowardice and treachery; and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fiennes, besides the credit and reputation of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the house of commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those councils, after Mr. Hambden's death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon sir William Waller as an enemy, who, [by his] misfortune at Roundway-down, having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to

the king, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his best; and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his majesty would weigh down all objections of disservice to the parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war, at St. Alban's, where the earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, "for not having defended Bristol so well, and so long, as he ought to have done." And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the general, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom; so that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the church and state, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see, that no titles or relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit, and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them, in those counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, who knew all their intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities, both in the parliament and the army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a man so thoroughly engaged, that no provocations could make him less of their party, or less concerned in their confederacy.

Nothing troubled the king so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and most solemn professions of particular men, without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. And the circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the earl of Newcastle, who was lately created a marquis, had been compelled with his army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers, as by the season of the year, to quit his design upon Hull, and to retire to York; and the garrison at Hull had made many strong inroads into the country, and defeated some of his troops; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county. However, the marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the northern parts, where the writer of this history was never present, nor had

any part in those counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper person will employ himself in.

In these straits, the king considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his majesty directed should be both consulted in the council. The one was, "that all the peers who were then in Oxford, or in the king's service, might subscribe a letter to the council of state in Scotland; whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole nobility, and house of peers, were in the king's service, and disavowed all those actions which were done against him, by the pretended authority of the two houses; which possibly might make some impression upon the nation of Scotland, though it was well enough known to their seducers." A letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the rebellion in England, under the reputation of the houses of parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the major part of the members of both houses, and expressly against all the laws of the land:" it put them in mind of "their obligation to the king," and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist from their unjust and unwarrantable purpose; since they could have no excuse for prosecuting the same, from the authority of parliament." The letter was perused, and debated in the council, and afterwards in the presence of all the peers; and being generally approved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those peers, and privy-counsellors, who were then in Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies, or in the king's quarters, and to be then sent to the marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it, with those peers who were in those parts, was to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the peers who followed the king, there was only one who refused to sign this letter, the earl of Leicester; who, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the marquis of Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the king's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was, did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischief, he did not intend. For both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the marquis of Hertford in the government of the prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the king could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent prince was committed to the earl of Berkshire, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy temper of the court at

that time, to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the king nor queen were not at all deceived, nor was the earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the lord Jermyn, "how astonishing a thing it was to all the nation, to see the prince committed to such a governor," he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, "it was of no moment, who had the name and style of governor, since the king and queen meant to be his governor, and firmly resolved that he should never be out of their presence, or of one of them:" when, within little more than a year after, the king found it necessary to sever the prince from him, and lived not to see him again: and he then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a governor over him.

The other expedient proposed by the chancellor was, "that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to parliaments, and believed that the laws and liberties of the people could not be otherwise preserved, than by their authority, and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade men that what they did was against law, when they were persuaded that their very doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual to convince them, that they who did those monstrous things were not the parliament, but a handful of desperate persons, who, by the help of the tumults raised in the city of London, had driven away the major part of the parliament, and called themselves the parliament, who were, in truth, much the less, and the least considerable part of it; which would appear manifestly, if the king would issue out a proclamation, to require all the members who had left the parliament at Westminster, to repair to Oxford by such a day; where his majesty would be willing to advise with them in matters of the greatest importance, concerning the peace, and distractions of the kingdom: and by this means he might, in many things, serve himself by their assistance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both houses, whose names would be quickly known and published, how few remained at Westminster, who carried on the devouring war, so grievous to the whole kingdom."

The king was at first in some apprehension, that such a conflux of persons together of the parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the governors of the parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace, to trust any to make politic propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being con-

sented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed, "that persons, who had that duty to obey his majesty's summons, in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would [not] bring ill and troublesome humours with them, to disturb that service which could only preserve them: but, on the contrary, would unite, and conspire together, to make the king superior to his and their enemies. And as to the advancing any propositions of peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose, there could be no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, or look upon them under any notion, but as private persons, and deserters of the parliament, without any qualification to treat, or to be treated with: which would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by degrees, stir up more animosities between them." And the king discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious and detestable; and summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, except only such who, having command in his majesty's armies in the north, and in the west, could not be dispensed with, to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next.

The king was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more extraordinary assistance, to resist that torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. When he saw therefore, that it was not in his power to compose the distractions of England, or to prevent those in Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he began to think of any expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that, towards the procuring it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the counsel of that state, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

The lords justices, and council, had sent a short petition to his majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his catholic subjects, then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his majesty, "that he would appoint some persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his majesty." Hereupon the king authorized by his commission the lord

marquis of Ormond, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the marquis, finding that this petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat; which reformed their application, and made it more submissive.

In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels, the lords justices, and council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two houses of parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his majesty to send. In-somuch as that board, by their letters of the fourth of April, this present year, advertised the speaker of the house of commons, "that they had been compelled, for the preservation of the army, to take money from all who had it, and to wrest their commodities from the poor merchants, whom they had now, by the law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in victuals, or other needful commodities: and that there were few of themselves, or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to others to suffer, and by their descending, against their hearts, far below the honour and dignity of that power they represented under his royal majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find bread for the soldiers for the space of one month: that they were then expelling thence all strangers, and must instantly send away for England thousands of poor despoiled English, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place; and therefore, they said, they did again earnestly and finally desire (for their confusions would not now admit the writing of many more letters, if any) some supplies of victual and munition might, in present, be hastened thither to keep life, until the rest might follow; there being no victuals in store; nor one hundred barrels of powder; which, according to the usual necessary expenses, besides extraordinary accidents, would not last above a month."

A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and expostulations thereupon, concluded, "that if their lordships would take them into their timely considerations, before their urgent wants made them desperate, they would serve them readily and faithfully; but if their lordships would not find a way for their preservations there, they humbly desired they might have leave to go where they might have a better being; and if they refused to grant that, they themselves must then take leave to have recourse

"to that first and primary law, which God had
"endued all men with, the law of nature, which
"taught all men to preserve themselves."

The king was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement; apprehending the state of his protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two houses of parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply, that at least the rebels might make no farther progress in victory, against his protestant subjects. About the end of May, the lords justices and council, having received no probable hope of assistance from the parliament, sent an address immediately to his majesty, that himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the lords justices, and every member of the council-board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which his majesty afterwards took, I think necessary in this place to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

"May it please your most excellent majesty:

"As soon as we your majesty's justices entered
"into the charge of this government, we took into
"our considerations, at the board, the state of
"your army here; which we find suffering under
"unspeakable extremity of want of all things
"necessary to the support of their persons, or
"maintenance of the war, here being no victuals,
"clothes, or other provisions requisite towards
"their sustenance; no money to provide them of
"any thing they want; no arms in your majesty's
"stores to supply their many defective arms; not
"above forty barrels of powder in your stores; no
"strength of serviceable horses being now left
"here; and those few that are, their arms for the
"most part lost, or unserviceable; no ships arrived
"here to guard the coast, and consequently no
"security rendered to any that might, on their
"private adventures, bring in provisions of vic-
"tuals, or other necessaries towards our subsist-
"ence; and, finally, no visible means, by sea or
"land, of being able to preserve for you this king-
"dom, and to render deliverance from utter de-
"struction to the remnant of your good subjects
"left here.

"We find, that your majesty's late justices, and
"this board, have often, and fully, by very many
"letters, advertised the parliament in England of
"the extremities of affairs here, and besought
"relief with all possible importunity; which also
"have been fully represented to your majesty,
"and to the lord lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary
"Nicholas, to be made known to your majesty:
"and although the winds have of late for many
"days, and often formerly, stood very fair for
"accessions of supply forth of England hither, and
"that we have still, with longing expectations,
"hoped to find provisions arrive here, in some
"degree answerable to the necessities of your
"affairs; yet now, to our unspeakable grief, after
"full six months waiting, and much longer pa-
"tience, and long suffering, we find all our great

"expectations answered in a mean and inconsider-
"able quantity of provisions, viz. threescore and
"fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen ton of
"cheese; being but the fourth part of a small
"vessel's lading, which was sent from London,
"and arrived here the fifth day of this month,
"which is not above seven or eight days' provi-
"sion, for that part of the army which lies in
"Dublin, and the out-garrisons thereof; no money
"or victual (other than that inconsiderable pro-
"portion of victual) having arrived in this place,
"as sent from the parliament of England, or
"from any other fort of England, for the use
"of the army, since the beginning of November
"last.

"We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto
"prosperous and successful in your majesty's
"affairs here, and should be still hopeful, by the
"mercy of God, under the royal directions of your
"sacred majesty, to vindicate your majesty's ho-
"nour, to recover your rights here, and take due
"vengeance on those traitors, for the innocent
"blood they have spilled, if we might be strength-
"ened, and supported therein, by needful supplies
"forth of England; but these supplies having
"been hitherto expected to come from the parlia-
"ment of England, (on which if your majesty had
"not relied, we are assured you would, in your
"high wisdom, have found out some other means
"to preserve this your kingdom,) and so great
"and apparent a failure having happened therein,
"and all the former, and late, long continuing
"easterly winds, bringing us no other provisions
"than those few cheeses and butter, and no ad-
"vertisements being brought us of any future
"supply to be so much as in the way hither,
"whereby there might be any likelihood that con-
"siderable means of support for your majesty's
"army might arrive here, in any reasonable time,
"before we be totally swallowed up by the rebels,
"and your kingdom by them wrested from you:
"we find ourselves so disappointed of our hopes
"from the parliament, as must needs trench to
"the utter loss of the kingdom, if your majesty,
"in your high wisdom, ordain not some present
"means of preservation for us. And considering
"that if now, by occasion of that unhappy and
"unexpected failing of support from thence, we
"shall be less successful in your services here
"against the rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were
"enabled with some means to serve you, we have
"been, the shame and dishonour may, in com-
"mon construction of those that know not the
"inwards of the cause, be imputed to us, and not
"to the failings that disabled us: and considering
"principally, and above all things, the high and
"eminent trust of your affairs here, deposited with
"us by your sacred majesty, we may not forbear,
"in discharge of our duty, thus freely and plainly
"to declare our humble apprehensions, to the end
"your majesty, thus truly understanding the ter-
"ribleness of our condition, may find out some
"such means of support, to preserve to your ma-
"jesty and your royal posterity this your ancient
"and rightful crown and kingdom; and derive
"deliverance and safety to the remnant of your
"good subjects yet left here, as in your excellent
"judgment you shall find to be most for your
"honour and advantage. And so praying the
"King of kings to guide and direct you for the
"best, in this high and important cause, and in

“all other your counsels and actions, we humbly
“remain :

*From your majesty's castle of Dublin,
the 11th of May, 1643.*

There was no sober man in Ireland or England, who believed it to be in the king's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew, that he had neither money, victual, ammunition, or shipping, to supply them: and therefore his majesty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that state to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this letter, he received advice and information, from some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the rebellion, “that there was no reasonable hope of preserving
“his protestant subjects, and his own interest in
“that kingdom, but by treating with the rebels,
“and making a peace, or truce, with them.” The king well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into any treaty with those rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, the rebellion, against all human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a peace with them: besides that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland, without the consent of his two houses of parliament in England. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the parliament would not, or could not; so that it seemed only in his election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those acts of parliament which he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not, that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two houses might cooperate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such cooperation, the two houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies, which had been raised by those very acts, for the relief of Ireland, in the maintenance of the armies which had given his majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those acts; and therefore that his majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those covenants on his part.

Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of July, the king writ to the lords justices in Ireland, “that they should issue out a commission,
“under the great seal of Ireland, to the marquis
“of Ormond to treat and conclude a cessation of

“arms with the rebels, upon such articles and
“conditions as he should judge most reasonable;
“and during that cessation, that such agents as
“they should make choice of, should have access
“to his royal person, to present their own propo-
“sitions for peace:” so careful was the king not to infringe that act of parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves: there being no colourable clause in it, by which it was not in his majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respited in such a manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence from the parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that kingdom.

Hereupon the lord marquis of Ormond, being then only general of the horse there, entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny; to whose jurisdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused, and approved by the lords justices and council, without whose advice the marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, being present likewise at the treaty, “that it was most necessary for the preservation
“of that kingdom, that a cessation should be
“made for a year, upon those articles and con-
“ditions; and the rebels undertaking to pay to
“his majesty's use, thirty thousand and eight
“hundred pounds sterling, within a short time;
“whereof fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds
“in ready money, and the other fifteen thousand
“pounds, one half in money, and the other half
“in good beefs, at thirty pounds the score;” a cessation of arms was concluded by the marquis; and published, with the articles and conditions, by the lords justices and council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

This cessation was no sooner known in England, but the two houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined; persuading the people, “that the rebels were now brought to their last
“gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine, that,
“like cannibals, they eat one another, and must
“have been destroyed immediately, and utterly
“rooted out, if, by the popish counsels at court,
“the king had not been persuaded to consent to
“this cessation.” It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the king used in meddling at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by papists, to the zeal of the queen on the behalf of her own religion; then that the chief managers, and conductors of their counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their

own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth were not so: as I found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such assurance, believe that the king had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland, at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the king to consent to it, two letters; the one, of expostulation from the two houses to the lords justices and council, which was received by them after the cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that board thereunto; with the contents whereof, the king, nor any of his council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words.

To our very good lords, the lords justices, and council, for the kingdom of Ireland.

"Our very good lords,

"The lords and commons in parliament have commanded us to let you know, they have seen your letter of the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the house of commons, accompanied with an act of state, in the preamble whereof is an expression to this effect; that your present difficulties are occasioned through the failure of the houses of parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war. This letter, and act of council, were sent by his majesty from Oxford; to whom they believe you have sent copies of both, and have just cause to suspect, that there is an impious design now on foot, to sell for nought the crying blood of many hundred thousands of British protestants, by a dishonourable, unsufferable peace with the rebels; and then to lay the blame and shame of this upon the parliament; a plot suitable to those counsels that have both projected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion: for those who contrived the powder treason, intended to lay it on the puritans. And although they cannot think your lordships intended to further this design by this expression, yet they have cause to believe, you have forgotten the present condition of this kingdom; the supplies they have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their own wants: what relief going thither hath been taken away by sea and land, and by whom; and what discouragements have been given them in return: so that, as your lordships do truly observe the protestant party in that city desirous to contribute, in all things, towards preservation of that kingdom, and that all the opposition therein is from those of the popish party; so ought you justly to conclude, that the protestant party in this kingdom have contributed, and are still endeavouring to contribute, monies, ammunition, victuals, and other necessaries, for the saving of that kingdom: and that the popish and malignant party here, now in arms against the parliament and kingdom, have not assisted, in the least measure, this pious work; but, on the contrary, do hinder and oppose the same: neither should

"your lordships conceive, that only the charge of that war was referred to, and undertaken by, the parliament, as if their part was to be your bankers, only to provide money for you to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war; although an act of parliament hath invested them with that power; which they must assume and vindicate as the means to save that kingdom; and shall bring to condign punishment those there, who, in this conjuncture of affairs, have advised the commission to hear what the rebels can say, or propound, for their own advantage; the letters to divest their committee of an authority given them by both houses; and that advised the late alteration of government there; as enemies to the weal of both kingdoms, and fautors of that rebellion. In the last place, we are forbidden to tell you, what supplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other necessaries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, for the support of the officers and soldiers there, and by whose incessant care; lest they should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This being all we have in command for the present, we bid your lordships farewell, and remain,

"Your lordships' friends to serve you,

"*Grey of Warke,*

"*Speaker of the house of peers pro tempore;*

"*William Lenthall,*

"*Speaker of the commons house in parliament.*

"The lords and commons will examine the demeanour of the ships appointed to guard those coasts; and might have expected a copy of Mountrose's letter to Colonel Crawford, which came to your hands before the 10th of June; and, happily, would discover the treasons of the rebels, sent by your enemies to destroy you; as well as a complaint of those sea-captains, sent by your friends to defend you; whose neglects and misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, according as their demerits shall appear."

Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.

To our very good lord, the lord speaker of the right honourable the lords house of parliament, in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, esq. speaker of the honourable commons house in parliament, in the said kingdom.

"Our very good lord, and Mr. Speaker of the commons house in parliament,

"Your joint letters of the fourth of July last directed to us, were so long in coming, as they came not to our hands until the sixth of October. By those your letters, you signify, that the lords and commons in parliament have commanded you to let us know, that they have seen our letters of the tenth of June, directed to the speaker of the house of commons, accompanied with an act of state, in the preamble whereof there is an expression to this effect; that our present difficulties were occasioned through the failure of the houses of parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war: to which expression, it seems, exception is taken, and interpretations made thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was intended by us; and, as we conceive, otherwise than the true sense of those words can bear. It

“ is true, that when we were necessitated to set
 “ on foot the new imposition, raised here in nature
 “ of an excise, towards keeping this army from
 “ perishing by famine, it became necessary to
 “ express, in the act of council whereby we ordered
 “ it, the reasons inducing us to set on foot here a
 “ thing so unknown to his majesty's laws, and
 “ gracious government, and the difficulties where-
 “ with we contended, which did necessitate that
 “ resolution; and in expressing those difficulties,
 “ we used that expression, to shew whence our
 “ difficulties were occasioned; and that we have
 “ therein declared the truth, we crave leave to
 “ mind you of some particulars.

“ If we should look so far back as to repeat the
 “ substance of many despatches sent from this
 “ board, since the beginning of this rebellion; some
 “ to our very good lord, the lord lieutenant of this
 “ kingdom; some to the lords, and others, mem-
 “ bers of both houses, his majesty's commissioners
 “ for the affairs of this kingdom; and some to the
 “ speaker of the commons house of parliament
 “ there; it would prove a voluminous work; and
 “ therefore we forbear to look farther back into
 “ those despatches, than to the time when the
 “ committee sent thence hither, were here; who,
 “ at their arrival here, in the end of October 1642,
 “ brought with them some money and provisions,
 “ but far short of that which the necessities of this
 “ army required; and indeed so inconsiderable,
 “ in respect of those necessities, as even before
 “ that committee departed, they saw the money
 “ they had brought, wholly issued; and the high
 “ and unavoidable necessity of a farther, speedy,
 “ and plentiful supply of money, and other pro-
 “ visions. By letters from this board of the
 “ twentieth of January 1642, and directed to the
 “ speaker of the commons house of parliament
 “ there, it was signified thither, that the provisions
 “ of victuals here were then at the very bottom;
 “ that that committee then here, had certified
 “ thither those wants; that if a personal supply of
 “ victual arrived not here very speedily, the army
 “ could not subsist, but must have been constrained
 “ to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, and
 “ utter destruction of the few subjects here: that
 “ the want of treasure here, to pay the army, en-
 “ forced this board to issue victual to the common
 “ soldier, and others, towards their pay, which did
 “ the sooner exhaust the magazine of victual; that
 “ the captains, and other officers, not having relief
 “ that way, were reduced to great extremities, as
 “ had been formerly often represented thither;
 “ and therefore this board, by the said letters,
 “ then moved, that treasure might be sent us
 “ speedily, so to redeem the officers from the
 “ calamities they suffered, and this board from
 “ their unsupportable clamours; and to enable
 “ the payment, in some part, in money to the
 “ common soldier; so to make the victual we then
 “ expected, to hold out the longer.

“ It was also by those letters then advertised
 “ thither, that the extremities of the officers of the
 “ army had begotten so much discontent amongst
 “ them, as divers colonels, and others of them,
 “ presented at this board a remonstrance, whereof
 “ a copy was then sent enclosed in the said letters;
 “ which remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and
 “ perplex us, lest it might beget such distractions
 “ amongst us, as might give too much advantage
 “ to the rebels. But, after full debate thereof at

“ this board, it was here directed, that in present,
 “ to render some subsistence to the officers, until
 “ treasure arrived forth of England, every man in
 “ this city should bring in half of his plate, to be
 “ paid for it when treasure arrived; whereupon
 “ some plate was brought in, and applied towards
 “ the army. This board did also signify by those
 “ letters, that without some speedy relief forth of
 “ England, the burden here was become too heavy
 “ to be borne; and therefore, in discharge of our
 “ duty to God, to our gracious sovereign, to that
 “ kingdom, and to this, we held ourselves bound
 “ clearly to make known, that unless we were
 “ speedily supplied from thence with money, arms,
 “ and victual, it would be impossible for us any
 “ farther to prosecute this war, or to preserve from
 “ sudden confusion this state and government: so
 “ highly did the discontent of the officers, and the
 “ disorder of the soldiers, threaten us, that it might
 “ be easily apprehended, what, in all human pro-
 “ bability, must become of us, when it was then
 “ evident, that here was no money, nor any pos-
 “ sibility of procuring any in this city; when our
 “ victuals were spent; when a great part of the
 “ army had no arms; which we doubted, and
 “ feared, for the reasons in those letters expressed,
 “ that the soldiers would make prey of us and this
 “ city at last; and when we saw that the destruc-
 “ tion, then threatened against us, must then go
 “ farther, even to the loss of this crown, and
 “ kingdom; and to the highly endangering of that
 “ kingdom also; which, for the honour of his
 “ majesty, and the English nation, we by our said
 “ letters desired might, by the wisdom of that
 “ honourable house, be speedily prevented, by
 “ hastening away, with all possible speed, supply
 “ of money, arms, and victuals.

“ By other letters of this board, directed to Mr.
 “ Speaker, and dated the said 20th of January
 “ 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was
 “ become of absolute necessity, that there should
 “ be sent us from thence, speedily, six hundred
 “ able light geldings for recruits, to be defalked
 “ out of the entertainments of those who should
 “ receive them. By other letters from this board,
 “ of the same date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it
 “ was signified thither, that we had contracted an
 “ agreement here with Theodore Schout, and
 “ Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Tyrenes,
 “ in London, or Daniel Wibrant, in Amsterdam,
 “ should receive seven thousand eight hundred
 “ fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings;
 “ for which the said Theodore and Jacob had
 “ undertaken, by their agreement with us, to buy
 “ in Holland, and to transport from thence hither,
 “ at their own charge and adventure, several pro-
 “ portions of arms mentioned in a docket, then
 “ sent enclosed in our said letters; and they un-
 “ dertook so to secure it by insurance, and provide
 “ such a ship of force, as we might be assured to
 “ have all those arms arrive here by the tenth of
 “ March now last past. And we, by our said
 “ letters, earnestly besought that the said sum of
 “ seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and
 “ thirteen pounds three shillings might, by order
 “ of that honourable house, be speedily paid to
 “ the said Tyrenes, or Wibrant, that those pro-
 “ visions might arrive here by the tenth of March;
 “ that we might not lose the advantage of the then
 “ next spring, for recovering of such of the sea-
 “ ports, and other places of importance, as the

“rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effectually
 “in this war. Those letters also moved for other
 “provisions of war, which we conceived might be
 “had in England in reasonable time. And we
 “then sent a docket of those also; desiring earn-
 “estly they might be sent us speedily. And
 “although there was an agent sent from hence in
 “November 1641, to solicit the despatches sent
 “from hence, who attended at London, when
 “those our letters were sent hence; yet of so
 “great importance was that despatch, requiring
 “instant and speedy answer and supply from
 “thence, as we adjudged it necessary to give
 “special instructions to the lord Conway, and
 “others, (besides that agent then there attending,)
 “to move his majesty, and solicit the houses of
 “parliament, to hasten unto us, with all possible
 “speed, the provisions in those letters contained:
 “and that there might nothing be omitted, that
 “by solicitation could be obtained, there were
 “agents also sent thither from the army to solicit
 “for them. By letters from this board of the
 “twentieth of February 1642, directed to Mr.
 “Speaker, we again desired, with all possible
 “earnestness, that the provisions of all sorts,
 “expressed in those three letters of the twentieth
 “of January, and the dockets therewith sent,
 “might be hastened to us; and that the said
 “seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and
 “thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be
 “provided in Holland, might be speedily paid.
 “And in those last letters we again signified our
 “miserable and unspeakable want of victuals,
 “arms, munition, money, shoes, and other neces-
 “saries; and that if the supplies we moved for
 “came not speedily, we were unavoidably in dan-
 “ger to be as much devoured by our own wants,
 “as by the sword of the rebels; and that our
 “want of corn was so much the more, in regard
 “that, in confidence to be plentifully supplied
 “forth of England, we caused great destruction
 “to be made of corn; there being indeed nothing
 “conducting more to the destruction of rebels,
 “than the burning of all corn.

“We also then signified the necessity of sending
 “a farther supply of powder and match; and we
 “declared, that no words could sufficiently express
 “the greatness of the danger we should incur, if
 “our supplies came not speedily: that the plate
 “brought in amounted not to one thousand two
 “hundred pounds; a sum very inconsiderable
 “towards relief of the officers. By letters of this
 “board of the twenty-fifth of February 1642,
 “directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that when
 “our means from thence failed, and our credits
 “could hold out no longer, we were constrained,
 “towards relief of the army, to force from the
 “protestant merchants here, as well English as
 “strangers, not only the commodities they had
 “brought hither, but the native commodities also;
 “undertaking to them that they should receive
 “payment at London; which failing, that those
 “that would supply us were disheartened, and
 “durst not come hither with commodities; where-
 “fore we again, by those letters, besought speedy
 “supply from thence; declaring that otherwise the
 “army and we must perish; and so far we were
 “transported with grief, in the consideration of
 “the high extremities of this kingdom, and army,
 “as we did, by those letters, lament for the shame
 “and dishonour, which we then foresaw would

“reflect upon the English nation, if then, after so
 “long and often forewarnings, given by us to that
 “honourable house, this kingdom were lost, and
 “that for want of supplies from thence; wherein
 “we then declared, that all the comfort left us
 “was, that we had done our parts, and discharged
 “our duties to God, to his majesty, and to all his
 “kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with
 “us in so heavy a loss.

“By letters from this board, dated the twenty-
 “third of March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker,
 “we signified that our wants enforced us to dis-
 “tribute the soldiers, for their victuals, in and
 “throughout this city and suburbs; which, we
 “signified, could not long hold, considering the
 “poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid
 “utter confusion, we did again and again beseech
 “most earnestly, that, above all things, victuals
 “and munition might be sent us speedily; and
 “that money, arms, clothes, shoes, and other
 “provisions might also be sent; declaring, that
 “if they yet came speedily, the kingdom, and his
 “majesty's forces here, might be thereby redeemed
 “out of part of their distresses; and we enabled,
 “by the blessing of God, to give his majesty such
 “an account of this kingdom, as would be for the
 “glory of the king our master, and the honour of
 “the English nation, in the subduing this horrid
 “rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in
 “no other respect, was then grown very terrible:
 “and we did again call for the provisions, moved
 “for by our several former letters of the twentieth
 “of January, and twentieth of February, and for
 “the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred
 “fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for
 “arms to be provided in Holland, and those also
 “which we expect from London; declaring, that
 “unless those supplies came, we should be dis-
 “abled from doing service on the rebels the then
 “next spring, or the then succeeding summer;
 “and must undoubtedly put the rebels into a
 “condition of prevailing against us, which we
 “well believed the kingdom of England would
 “never have permitted against so faithful servants
 “and valiant soldiers, as his majesty yet had
 “here.

“By those letters also we signified, that it was
 “necessary that there should be here, at this har-
 “bour of Dublin, by the middle of April, at least
 “two ships of good strength; and that the ships
 “designed for guarding the other parts of the
 “coasts of this kingdom, should be hastened away
 “with all possible speed. By letters from this
 “board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the fourth
 “of April 1643, we represented again the unspeak-
 “able miseries of the officers and soldiers, for
 “want of all things; and all those made the more
 “insupportable, in the want of food; and that this
 “city was then apparently found to be unable to
 “help us, as it had formerly done; and repeated
 “again, in as lively terms as we could, the high
 “extremities fallen, and increasing upon us; de-
 “claring, that we were enforced to see, who had
 “any thing yet left him not taken from him, to
 “help us; and that although there were but few
 “such, and some poor merchants, whom we had
 “formerly, by the law of necessity, utterly undone;
 “yet, that we were forced to wrest their commo-
 “dities from them: that there were few here, of
 “ourselves or others, that had not felt their parts
 “in the enforced rigour of our proceedings towards

“preserving the army; and we earnestly desired, that his majesty, and the English nation, might not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being relieved suddenly; but that yet, although it were then even almost at the point to be too late, supplies of victuals, and munition, in present might be hastened hither, to keep life, until the rest might follow: declaring also, that there was no victual in the store, and that there would not be an hundred barrels of powder left, when the out-garrisons, as they must then instantly have been, were supplied; and that the residue of our provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise that England could not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves against Ireland; but in the loss of it, must look for such enemies from hence, as would perpetually disturb the peace of his majesty, and his kingdom of England; and among them, by sea and land, as we had often formerly represented thither; which mischiefs we signified might yet be prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled, from thence, with means to overcome this rebellion.

“We then also again renewed our requests for the provisions mentioned in our letters of the twentieth of January, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected from London: we then also sent, enclosed in our letters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of writing, signed by sundry officers of the army, which was in a style threatening much danger; whereby appeared the high necessity of hastening treasure hither to pay them, and the rest of the officers, and provide victual for the soldiers. On the tenth of April 1643, we received letters from Mr. Speaker, of the seventeenth of March, in answer to our letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February. Those letters from Mr. Speaker advised free trade and truck to be given to merchants, by taking our native commodities, that cannot be manufactured here, for their corn, and other victuals, and carrying them into England, or other places not prohibited. And by our letters directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the twenty-second of April, in answer to his said letters of the seventeenth of March, we made it appear, that that design could not hold to derive benefit to this army. By those our letters we signified also, that the necessities of the army still pressed us, by degrees, to break the merchants here, by wresting their commodities from them, upon promise of satisfaction in England: that the failing of that satisfaction in England, as it had undone them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the service here: that we engaged the word of this state, to procure payment to many others, out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of England, (which courses, though very hard, did help us for a time;) that when those failed, we begun at ourselves, then at others, then at all fraternities, and corporations, as bakers, brewers, butchers, vintners, and the like; then at all particular persons observed to have any visible substance, not being able to spare poor men, who (to gain a poor living) made profession, some of selling hot waters, and some of cutting tobacco: that in the end, all

“other means failing, we had recourse to the only native commodity, hides; seizing on all that could be found, either on ship-board, ready to be exported hence, (with purpose in some of the owners of them to return victuals hither; which we were not able to wait for,) or on shore; prepared for ship-board; and made use of them to get the army in a few days' bread, still hoping provisions of victual might come to keep them alive; which did draw upon us infinite clamour.

“And by the said letters we earnestly besought, that before we should be utterly swallowed up in the confusion of affairs, wherewith we were beset, the destruction of this state, and army, and kingdom, being then no less feared to arise from the army, though sent hither for their preservation, than from the fury of the rebels, if that honourable house would not look back into all our several letters sent thither, which we then declared should for ever acquit us before God, and the world; as having discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, and to this his kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often representing thither the evils then ready to seize upon this state, the army, and the kingdom, and the means of preventing them; yet at last they would be pleased to review our said several letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February, of the twentieth of January, twenty-third of March, and fourth of April. We then also signified that the soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted tumults and mutiny, plundered divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well English and protestants, as others: that we apprehended those disorders but beginnings of what, we doubted, would then shortly ensue, even the ransack of this city, if, by supplies forth of England, it were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge left, either for the army, or other English here: that we were not able to send out the soldiers, for want of money to furnish ordinary necessities, and of ammunition: wherefore we then again earnestly moved, that some means might be found for complying with our desires, in those our several letters expressed; certifying, that the state of affairs here could not possibly admit the least deferring; and that no help was to be expected from hence; as we had often, and fully, in former letters, signified thither: that if it were not immediately supplied forth of England with powder, we should not be able to defend ourselves, or offend the rebels; and that, above all things, munition, money, and victuals, were, of necessity, to be sent in the first place; and the other provisions to be sent after, which also we certified most needful to be done with all possible speed.

“By our letters of the sixth of May 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary it was, that the intended establishment should be considered there, and put into such a way as to be made perfect, and, receiving his majesty's gracious approbation, might be sent hither; which we desired to be hastened, that the officers, who daily labour in the public services, might the better know what they are to have; of which establishment we have not yet had any return. By our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May 1643, we signified, that although by letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th day of March, it was advertised hither, that six weeks' provi-

"sion of victuals, for each province, was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or if it was come, that it was a supply far below that which was necessary to be then sent hither. And we then again repeated the miserable condition of this army, through want of all things, especially money, victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that there were not above forty barrels of powder in the store, (a mean and inconsiderable quantity for this army, on whom depends the preservation of the kingdom,) and we again desired, in case of so high and eminent danger, and that with all possible importunity, that a course might be then instantly taken for hastening away powder with all speed, and that the other provisions also of all sorts, mentioned in our former several letters of the 20th of January, 20th and 25th of February, the 23d of March, and the 4th and 22d of April, might be also hastened away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred and fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected from London, might be paid.

"By those letters also we signified, that we could not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on the English nation, that the season of the year should be so far entered into, and yet (notwithstanding all the representations, often, and timely enough made thither of affairs here) no means put into our power to make use thereof, in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but instead thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld ourselves sunk deeply into a gulph of confusion, and distress of affairs, being equally in danger to be devoured through our wants, or to be destroyed by the rebels, for want of needful habiliments of war to enable our defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore we again pressed to be redeemed from the terribleness of our condition, by such timely accessions of supplies forth of England, as were contained in our said former despatches.

"By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of May 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the chirurgeons of this army; there being a great want thereof for the cures of wounded men. And then we sent, and employed sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member of this army, purposely to solicit the means of our relief, that so we might omit nothing that we conceived might conduce to the hastening of our expected supplies. And by our letters of the 16th of May, then sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that the kingdom was then in more danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely supplies out of England; and we desired most earnestly, that his despatch might be hastened for our preservation, that, if it were possible, the king and kingdom of England might yet then be preserved from that irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour, which must necessarily accompany and follow the loss of this kingdom.

"And here we may not omit to mention, that we prevailed with divers persons to advance provisions to us, at several times, to answer the crying necessities of this army; and to some we

"gave our bills, in nature of bills of exchange, and to others, our own bonds, undertaking repayment at London by the parliament there; which we did in confidence to find ready payment there accordingly: and we do not yet hear that those bills of exchange, or bonds, are yet paid there; but we find some of the parties ready to sue and implead us here, for those debts, though contracted only for the public service.

"Which proceeding of this board, from time to time, we thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that we have discharged those duties which we owe to his majesty, and to the trust of his majesty's affairs here, in representing thither fully, and timely, and often, the wants and extremities to which this kingdom and army were reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for relief and preservation of both; and yet in all that time, namely, from the said twentieth day of January 1642, to the tenth of June 1643, which is the day of the date of our letters, to which yours of the 4th of July is an answer, or from that time to this, there arrived here, as sent from the parliament of England, towards the relief of this army, and for maintenance of this war, but the particulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds of butter; forty-nine thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of cheese; four hundred forty-seven barrels and a half of wheat and rye; three hundred threescore and seven barrels of pease; and three hundred fifty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of match, thirty-eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of shot, and three hundred threescore and fourteen barrels of powder; of which provisions of munition, there were three hundred and one and forty barrels of powder, and five hundred fifty-five pound two quarters and four and twenty pound of match, which was the munition we had contracted for here, and in the way, coming from Holland, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set free there by the mediation of his majesty, and the houses of parliament in England, but the price thereof stands charged on the said houses of parliament.

"This was not above a week's provision, or thereabouts, of victuals, for the army in Lemster, being fifteen regiments of foot, and twenty-two troops of horse, and four troops of dragoons, besides train of artillery, and four hundred firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in supplying us, and that failure was not occasioned through any neglect on our parts, in not representing thither the wants and extremities endured by this army; and the means of their supply is, as we conceive, very clear by those several despatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing, that the charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by, the houses of parliament of England, and that by those despatches they fully understood the condition of affairs here, we offer it to any man's consideration, whether or no we had not just cause to conceive, and accordingly to express in that act of council, that our difficulties, which were necessary to be mentioned in that act, were occasioned

“ through the failure of the houses of parliament in England.

“ And whereas you write, that the lords and commons in parliament do believe we have sent copies of our said letters and act of council to his majesty, it is true, that we have so done; and therein acquitted ourselves towards that duty which we owe him; and had failed in our duties, if we had done otherwise. But how from that, as we conceive, necessary and true expression of ours in the said act of council, or from our sending a copy thereof, and of our said letters, to his majesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your letters seem to infer) there is such an impious design now on foot, as your letters mention, we confess we do not understand, or any design at all other than the needful settling here of the imposition, in nature of an excise, in those our letters and act of council mentioned; without which this army could not have subsisted to this time; and was pressed by the committee from the parliament here, but then avoided; our hopes being then more, and our necessities not so great as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your letters, that the lords and commons in parliament there have done us the right, by your said letters, to signify that they cannot think we intended, by that expression, to farther the design in your letters mentioned, so we hold it necessary to declare, that we neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the present condition of that kingdom; but we have a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament with bleeding hearts, the woful condition of that kingdom, and how God's hand is still stretched out against us, in those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort ourselves with hope, that God, in mercy to his majesty, and to all his kingdoms and people, will at length, in his own good time, answer the prayers and tears of us his majesty's servants, and many thousands of others his good subjects there, and here, continually poured out for his majesty, and his kingdom, in removing that heavy judgment, and settling peace and tranquillity there, to the glory of God, the honour of his majesty, and the joint happiness of all his subjects, in all his kingdoms and dominions.

“ Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts sent hither by the parliament, but do very well remember them. But we confess we know not what relief coming hither hath been taken away, either by sea or land, or by whom, or what discouragement hath been given them in return: only we have heard, that the shipping, employed by the rebels at Wexford, did give them some interruption at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of duty in those who commanded the ships designed for the guard of the coasts of this kingdom: and the said ship bound hither from Holland with munition, which we had contracted for here, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Calais, and afterwards set free there, by the mediation of his majesty and the houses of parliament in England. And we find that some ships, sent hither it seems at first with provisions from London, and other ships bound hither with provisions on private men's adventures, were taken away even from this harbour, a few days before the cessation of arms here, as they were coming in, and carried to Liverpool, by one captain Dausk, a person employed by the

“ two houses of parliament there, in the command of a ship; and that ship commanded by Dausk, and other ships employed at Liverpool, do now, and have a long time stayed on that side, laden with provision of victuals, coals, and other necessary relief bound from thence hither to be sold; which, if they had arrived here, would have brought great relief to this army, and the inhabitants in this city, though on the adventure of the bringers; which we hold necessary to represent thither, to the end that their uncharitableness towards those poor men that would adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards this distressed army and city, and many of his majesty's protestant subjects therein, might appear so, as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to offend in that kind.

“ And whereas you write, that we should not conceive that only the charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by, the parliament, as if their part were to be our bankers, only to provide monies for us to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war; we confess we neither did, nor do conceive the parliament there to be bankers for us; but did esteem them, as those to whom the king our master referred the charge of this war, and to whom, as so intrusted by his majesty, this board, from time to time, made application; and if any advice had come from them, concerning the managing of the war, we should have endeavoured to have made the best use thereof, for the furtherance of his majesty's service here. And here we hold it necessary to declare, that when we understood, that his majesty, at the humble desire of the lords and commons of parliament in England, had, in April 1642, granted a commission to some members of both houses, for ordering and disposing all matters there, for the defence, relief, and recovery of this kingdom; and that his majesty commanded all his officers, ministers, and subjects of his kingdoms of England and Ireland, to be obedient, aiding, and assisting to the said commissioners in the due execution of the said commission; and that by his majesty's instructions, annexed to the said commission, his majesty gave it in charge to those commissioners, to advertise his lieutenant of Ireland, the council, and other governors and commanders here, what they conceived to be needful for the prosecution of the war in the best manner, for the defence of this his kingdom, and ease of the great charges and expenses, which, by occasion of this rebellion, lay upon his loving subjects of his kingdom of England: we therefore, by our letters of the seventh of June 1642, directed to those his majesty's commissioners, besought, among other things, present and particular direction for the prosecution of the war; which yet we have not received: only we had advice from thence, to send some forces into Connaught; which was done; and for sending some forces into Munster, which, by our letters of the thirteenth of September 1642, to the commissioners there, we signified was not possible for us to do, unless we were plentifully supplied of those things, whereof the wants then certified thither did then disable us.

“ Concerning the commission in your letters mentioned, it was not to hear what the rebels would say, or propound for their own advan-

“tage, as your letters mention; but his majesty
 “having received an humble petition, in the name
 “of the recusants of Ireland, desiring to be heard,
 “his majesty thought it not unjust, or inconven-
 “ient for him, to receive from them what they
 “could say unto him; to whom they insinuated
 “that they would yet yield due obedience. And
 “therefore his majesty, by his commission under
 “the great seal of England, (wherein he declared
 “his extreme detestation of the odious rebellion,
 “which the recusants of Ireland have, without any
 “ground or colour, raised against him, his crown,
 “and dignity,) authorized some of his ministers
 “here, to hear at large what the petitioners should
 “say, or propound; which his majesty, by the
 “said commission, directed that the petitioners,
 “or the principal of them, authorized by the rest,
 “should set down in writing under their hands;
 “and the commissioners to send the same to his
 “majesty; whereupon his majesty by the said
 “commission declared, he would take such farther
 “consideration, as should be just, honourable, and
 “fit for his majesty: and that that course gave
 “not the least interruption to the proceeding of
 “the war, appears by this, that on the eighteenth
 “of March (being in the time the commissioners,
 “authorized by his majesty, gave meeting to those
 “of the other side, upon that commission) the
 “lord marquis of Ormond, though one of those
 “commissioners, in his return from Rosse with
 “about two thousand five hundred foot, and five
 “hundred horse of his majesty’s army, fought with
 “the army of the rebels, consisting of about six
 “thousand foot, and six hundred and fifty horse,
 “and obtained a happy and glorious victory against
 “them; and the rebels’ army being defeated, and
 “wholly routed, and their baggage and munition
 “seized on, his majesty’s forces lodged that night
 “where they had gained the victory, as by former
 “letters of this board, of the fourth of April 1643,
 “directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly signified
 “thither: which we thus repeat, to manifest that
 “that commission, or the meeting thereupon, gave
 “not any manner of interruption to the proceed-
 “ing of the war.

“Concerning the letters you mention, to divest
 “the committee of both houses there of an au-
 “thority given them by both houses, we remember
 “that his majesty, by his letters of the third of
 “February 1642, understanding that the then
 “justices and council had admitted, without his
 “order or knowledge, to sit in council with them
 “in this his kingdom, Mr. Robert Goodwin and
 “Mr. Reynolds, and that thereby they were be-
 “come so bold, as to take upon them to hear, and
 “debate of matters treated of in council, his ma-
 “jesty, by his said letters, signified by his express
 “command, that they should not be permitted to
 “sit, or be present any more at his majesty’s
 “council-table here; but if they had any business,
 “his majesty willed, that they should attend as
 “others of their quality: which his majesty’s plea-
 “sure was humbly obeyed by his said justices and
 “council, with that duty and submission, which
 “was due from them to his royal commands. And
 “as his majesty, by his said letters, required, that,
 “if those persons had any business, they should
 “attend, as others of their quality; so, if they had
 “afterwards offered any business at this board,
 “they should have been heard therein; which was
 “also signified to them before their departure

“hence. And now, upon this occasion, we having
 “perused the copies they delivered at this board,
 “of the order of both houses dated the sixth of
 “October 1642, and of their instructions, do find
 “indeed, that, by the said order, the said Robert
 “Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have
 “the credence, power, and esteem of a committee
 “sent hither by the advice and authority of both
 “houses of parliament; and that, by the said
 “instructions, they were to be admitted to be pre-
 “sent, and vote at all consultations concerning
 “the war; yet there is nothing in the said order,
 “or instructions, for admitting them to sit, or be
 “present at his majesty’s council-table; which is
 “that which his majesty, by his said letters, re-
 “quired, should not be permitted; which cannot
 “be conceived to be a divesting them of any au-
 “thority given them by both houses.

“And as to the late alteration of government
 “here, expressed in your letters, although his ma-
 “jesty in his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter
 “one of those governors, which he had placed
 “here, which was no more than he and his royal
 “predecessors had usually done in all ages, as
 “often as they thought fit, yet that made no alter-
 “ation in the government; but it in all times
 “continued, and still continues, the same, though
 “in other persons.

“That part of your letters which declares, that
 “you are forbidden to tell us what supplies of
 “money, victual, ammunition, and other neces-
 “saries, were then in a good forwardness to be
 “sent hither for the support of the officers and
 “soldiers here, requires no answer on our parts,
 “other than this truth, that they are not yet
 “arrived here. Concerning Mountrose’s letters to
 “colonel Crawford, we know of no treason to be
 “discovered thereby; but for the sea-captains in
 “your letters mentioned, it is certain that their
 “neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment,
 “which we desire they may find rather to their
 “correction, than to their ruin.

“Thus we have given answer to those parts of
 “your letters, which, we conceived, concerned us;
 “whereby, we hope, both houses of parliament
 “there will now remain satisfied, as in the neces-
 “sity and justice of our actions, so in the truth
 “and candour of our intentions, in those particu-
 “lars to which your said letters seem to take
 “exception. And so we remain,

From his majesty’s castle of Dublin, 28th of Oct.
 1643.

“Your lordships’ very loving friends,
Jo. Borlase. Hen. Tichborne. Rich. Bolton, Canc.
La. Dublin. Ormond. Roscommon.
Ant. Midensis. Ed. Brabazon. Char. Lambert.
Geo. Shurley. Ger. Lowther. Tho. Rotherham.
Fr. Willoughby. Tho. Lucas. Ja. Ware.
G. Wentworth.

The distractions in Ireland being, by this means,
 in some degree allayed, and both parties having
 time to breathe, the king, in the next place, con-
 sidered how he might apply that cessation to the
 advancement of his affairs in England. One of
 the principal motives that induced that cessation,
 was the miserable state of the army there, ready,
 through extreme wants, to disband; so that there
 being now less use of them there, and an impos-
 sibility to keep them, his majesty had it only in
 his election, whether he should suffer them there

to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own assistance in England; to which he was assured, that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom; but that they had called over their old general, the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this; and that there were also arts and industry used, by some agents for the parliament, to persuade the English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

So that [the king] directed the marquis of Ormond, to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose, shipping was sent; with direction, that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the lord Capel; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of sir William Bruerton; who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of sir Thomas Middleton, and sir John Gell, was grown very strong; being backed by Lancashire, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed by the lord Hopton; who was forming a new army, to oppose sir William Waller; who threatened an inroad into the west; or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance.

The court [at Oxford] was much increased by the queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London, insomuch as a sworn messenger of the chamber, sent to London with a writ, and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been said before,) and executed by martial law; and the two houses caused a great seal to be made with the king's image and inscription, and put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts were continued in Westminster-hall, for the despatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the king's proclamation. The money, which the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied with in the beginning of the war, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London, had shut the door against farther supply, so that all men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of parliament; which, being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expectation, what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

According to the king's proclamation, the members of both houses of parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the day appointed; (except such as could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties, where the armies were;) who were graciously and solemnly welcomed by his majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a parliament; when his majesty told them:

"That he had called them to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions; and that he desired to receive any advice from them, which they thought would be suitable to the miserable and distracted condition of the kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at Westminster, and which, with all their other privileges, they should enjoy at Oxford, though they could not in the other place;" with many expressions of grace towards them, and confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their counsels, both lords and commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients, in order to peace; most men believing, according to the reason and conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was greater, to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than, in that treaty, to agree on such conclusions which might be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible, that men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the king to send a gracious message and overture to the two houses, they presently remembered and considered what his majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his majesty, except through the hands of the earl of Essex their general. From thence they entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, experience, observation, and interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his majesty towards peace, was the conscience [those at Westminster had] of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence, that no peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the king's party; which must be security for the accomplishment of it. And from the reasonableness of this assertion, they entertained an assurance, that the earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them

in promoting the overture; which was all they desired: for that would remove those forms, which, as so many rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the lords and commons, the members of both houses, resolved to write a letter to the earl of Essex, in their own names, which, with the king's consent, was by trumpet sent to him, within four days after their meeting. The letter was in these very terms.

"My lord,

"His majesty having, by his proclamation of the twenty-second of December, (upon the occasion of the invasion threatened, and in part begun, by some of his subjects of Scotland,) summoned all the members of both houses of parliament, to attend him here at Oxford, we whose names are underwritten are here met and assembled, in obedience to those his majesty's commands. His majesty was pleased to invite us, in the said proclamation, by these gracious expressions, that his subjects should see, how willing he was to receive advice, for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to restore it to its former peace and security (his chief and only end) from those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This most gracious invitation hath not only been made good unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense, which possesses his royal heart, of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his honour, or with the future safety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call us to be witnesses of his actions, and privy to his intentions,) should we not testify, and witness to all the world, the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot but confess, that amidst our highest afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations of our country, and those farther dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected to some cheerful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have not determined this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be happy instruments of our country's redemption, from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessing of peace.

"And we being desirous to believe your lordship, however engaged, a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or public piety, that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very

"point of invading it, you will cooperate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with, those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest desire of ours; that they joining with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat of such a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

"This address we should not have made, but that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he hath not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement of the present distractions; which is so heartily desired, and prayed for, by us, and which may make us,

"Your &c."

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This letter was subscribed by his highness the prince, the duke of York, and three and forty dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons of the house of peers, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription: albeit it was known that many lords and commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty peers absent with his majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies, in the kingdom; and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty peers, who either sat in the parliament, or were engaged in their party; that is to say, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrook; the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Warke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrick, Rochfort, and Robarts; who were present, or had proxies there.

The trumpeter found the earl of Essex at his house in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both houses, that committee which they called the committee of safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scottish commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to him for his advice: and in the end, [the trumpeter] returned with this short letter to the earl of Forth, the king's general.

"My lord,

"I received this day a letter, of the twentieth of this instant, from your lordship, and a parchment subscribed by the prince, duke of York, and divers other lords and gentlemen; but it neither having address to the two houses of parliament, nor therein, there being any acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My lord, the maintenance

“ of the parliament of England, and of the privileges thereof, is that for which we are all resolved to spend our blood; as being the foundation whereupon all our laws and liberties are built. I send your lordship herewith a national covenant, solemnly entered into by both the kingdoms of England and Scotland; and a declaration passed by them both together, with another declaration of the kingdom of Scotland. I rest
“ Your lordship’s &c.”

What the covenant was, being the same particularly set down before, I need not mention; and the declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the king.

That declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was, to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, “ It was most necessary, that every one, against all doubting, should be persuaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his undertaking, and of the goodness of the cause maintained by him; which they said was no other, than the good of religion in England, and the deliverance of their brethren out of the depths of affliction; the preservation of their own religion, and of themselves from the extremity of misery, and the safety of their native king, and his kingdoms, from destruction and desolation. Any one of which, (they said,) by all law divine and human, was too just cause of taking of arms; how much more, when all of them were joined in one? And therefore, they wished any man, who did withdraw, and hide himself in such a debate and controversy, to consider, whether he were not a hater of his brethren, against Christian and common charity; an hater of himself and his posterity, against the law and light of nature; an hater of the king, and his kingdoms, against loyalty, and common duty; and a hater of God, against all religion, and peace.”

They said, “ the question was not, nor need they dispute, whether they might propagate their religion by arms; but whether, according to their power, they ought to assist their brethren in England, who were calling for their help, and were shedding their blood in defence of that power, without which religion could neither be defended nor reformed; nor unity of religion with them, and other reformed kirks, be attained. So that, they said, the question was no sooner rightly stated, but it was as soon resolved; and concluded, *that the Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the mighty.* They said, the question could not be, as their enemies would make it, whether they should enter into England, and lift arms against their own king, who had promised and done as much, as might secure them in their own religion, and liberties: but whether against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, their adherents prevailing in England and Ireland, they were not bound to provide for their own preservation. That they might well have known, from their continual experience,

“ ever since the time of their first reformation, especially after the two kingdoms were united under one head and monarch, and from the principles of their own declarations, in the time of their late troubles and dangers, that they could not long, like Goshen, enjoy their light, if darkness should cover the face of other reformed kirks: that Judah could not long continue in liberty, if Israel were led away in captivity; and that the condition of the one kirk and kingdom, whether in religion or peace, must be common to both.

“ They said, the question was not, whether they should presume to be arbitrators in the matter, now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his majesty and the houses of parliament; which might seem to be foreign and extrinsical to that nation, and wherein they might be conceived to have no interest; but whether, their mediation and intercession being rejected by the one side, upon hope of victory, or suppose by both sides, upon confidence of their own strength and several successes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue their native king, his crown, and posterity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and to preserve his people and kingdom from ruin and destruction. If every private man were bound in duty to interpose himself as a reconciler and sequestrator between his neighbours, armed to their mutual destruction; if the son ought to hazard his own life for the preservation of his father and brother, at variance one against the other, should a kingdom sit still, and suffer their king and neighbouring kingdom to perish in an unnatural war? In the time of animosity, and appetite of revenge, such an interposing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood-run with passion, did discern things right, it would be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of thanksgiving to God, and to the instruments which had kept from shedding blood, and from revenge.”

With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatsoever could be said against them, they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining against their native and natural king, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood, which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

The other declaration, mentioned in the earl’s letter, was a declaration passed, and published in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new league and covenant, and about the very time that this overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scottish dialect and spirit; talked, “ how clearly the light of the gospel shined amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own counsels and strength; but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his people. It was his own truth and cause, which they maintained against the heresy, superstition, and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his name, the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the preservation of his church, was

"their aim, and the end which they had before their eyes. It was his covenant, which they had solemnly in both nations sworn, and subscribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the like grounds and considerations, being confident that this war, wherein both nations were so firmly united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve with courage and constancy to the end to do their part; and the Lord, who had stirred up their spirits, displayed his banner before them, and given the alarm, do that which seemeth him good."

They gave now "public warning to all men to rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext of indifferency; but that they address themselves speedily to take the covenant, and join, with all their power, in the defence of this cause against the common enemy; and by their zeal, and forwardness hereafter, to make up what had been wanting through their lukewarmness; this they would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety; otherwise they did declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country; and that they were to be censured and punished, as professed adversaries, and malignants."

Then they proclaimed "a pardon to all those who would before such a day desert the king, and adhere to them, and take the covenant;" and concluded, "that they made not that declaration from any presumption, or vain glorying in the strength of their armies and forces, but from the sense of their duty, which was required and expected from the high places, and public relations, wherein they stood; and from the assurance they had of the assistance of God, by whose providence, the trust and safety of those kingdoms was put into their hands at this time; having, after long and grave consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay down arms, till truth and peace, by the blessing of God, be settled in this island, upon a firm foundation for the present and future generations; which, they said, should be esteemed of them an abundant reward of all that they could do, or suffer in that cause."

These were the declarations which the earl of Essex, together with the covenant, sent, as an answer to that letter from the prince of Wales, and those lords and gentlemen; which might have been the foundation of an honest and honourable peace to all the king's dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did gallant or prosperous act in the remainder of his life; but whereas before, he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies, of a right good general, upon the conclusion of the business of Gloucester; he never, after his taking this covenant, and writing this letter, did one brave thing; but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

And we the rather extracted these short clauses of those two declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after

they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion, which their ancestors and themselves had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness, than almost any nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against; they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner, that all sober Christians stand scandalized, and amazed at; and [should] be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as could only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much out of that popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain English, refuse to admit of any peace. So the earl of Forth was advised to write again to the other general, for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the earl of Essex returned answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best endeavours; and when a safe conduct should be desired for those gentlemen, mentioned in his letter, from his majesty to the houses of parliament, his lordship would, with all cheerfulness, shew his willingness to farther any way that might produce that happiness, which all honest men prayed for; which is a true understanding between his majesty, and his faithful and only council, the parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his majesty to the houses of parliament, (together with some intimation in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many, that the earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the houses with the overture, and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace, that the proposition would not be rejected; though no particular person, or combination of men, had the courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the field, as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was enclosed to the earl of Essex, to be by him managed.

"Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruin, by the advice of the lords and commons of parliament, assembled at Oxford, we do propound, and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed, and authorized by you, to meet, with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint, and authorize to treat of the ways and means to settle the present dis-

“tractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a
 “happy peace: and particularly, how all the mem-
 “bers of both houses may securely meet in a full
 “and free convention of parliament, there to treat,
 “consult, and agree upon such things, as may con-
 “duce to the maintenance and defence of the true
 “reformed protestant religion, with due considera-
 “tion to all just and reasonable ease of tender
 “consciences; to the settling and maintaining of
 “our just rights and privileges, of the rights and
 “privileges of parliament, the laws of the land,
 “the liberty and property of the subject, and all
 “other expedients, that may conduce to that
 “blessed end of a firm and lasting peace both in
 “church and state, and a perfect understanding
 “betwixt us and our people: wherein no endea-
 “vours or concurrence of ours shall be wanting,
 “and God direct your hearts in the way of peace.”

“*Given at our court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.*”

This message being signed by his majesty, was superscribed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster; which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the lords and commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three days' debate in the houses, and with the Scottish commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, this answer was returned to his majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation.

“May it please your majesty:

“We the lords and commons assembled in the
 “parliament of England, taking into our con-
 “sideration a letter sent from your majesty, dated
 “the 3d of March instant, and directed to the
 “lords and commons of parliament assembled at
 “Westminster, (which, by the contents of a letter
 “from the earl of Forth unto the lord general the
 “earl of Essex, we conceive was intended to our-
 “selves,) have resolved with the concurrent advice
 “and consent of the commissioners of the king-
 “dom of Scotland, to represent to your majesty,
 “in all humility and plainness, as followeth: That
 “as we have used all means for a just and safe
 “peace, so will we never be wanting to do our
 “utmost for the procuring thereof; but when we
 “consider the expressions in that letter of your
 “majesty's, we have more sad and despairing
 “thoughts of attaining the same than ever, be-
 “cause thereby, those persons now assembled at
 “Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have de-
 “serted your parliament, are put into an equal
 “condition with it. And this present parliament,
 “convened according to the known and funda-
 “mental laws of the kingdom, (the continuance
 “whereof is established by a law consented unto
 “by your majesty,) is in effect denied to be a par-
 “liament; the scope and intention of that letter
 “being to make provision how all the mem-
 “bers, as is pretended, of both houses may securely
 “meet in a full and free convention of parliament;
 “whereof no other conclusion can be made, but
 “that this present parliament is not a full, nor
 “free convention; and that to make it a full and
 “free convention of parliament, the presence of
 “those is necessary, who, notwithstanding that
 “they have deserted that great trust, and do levy

“war against the parliament, are pretended to be
 “members of the two houses of parliament.

“And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let
 “your majesty know, that seeing the continuance
 “of this parliament is settled by a law, which (as
 “all other laws of your kingdom) your majesty
 “hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our
 “allegiance to your majesty, (these obligations
 “being reciprocal,) we must in duty, and accord-
 “ingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes,
 “to defend and preserve the just rights and full
 “power of this parliament; and do beseech your
 “majesty to be assured, that your majesty's royal
 “and hearty concurrence with us herein will be
 “the most effectual and ready means of procuring
 “a firm and lasting peace in all your majesty's
 “dominions, and of begetting a perfect under-
 “standing between your majesty and your people:
 “without which, your majesty's most earnest pro-
 “fessions, and our most real intentions concerning
 “the same, must necessarily be frustrated. And
 “in case your majesty's three kingdoms should,
 “by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleed-
 “ing condition, tending, by the continuance of
 “this unnatural war, to their ruin, your majesty
 “cannot be the least nor the last sufferer. God
 “in his goodness incline your royal breast, out of
 “pity and compassion to those deep sufferings
 “of your innocent people, to put a speedy and
 “happy issue to these desperate evils, by the joint
 “advice of both your kingdoms, now happily
 “united in this cause by their late solemn league
 “and covenant; which as it will prove the surest
 “remedy, so it is the earnest prayer of your ma-
 “jesty's loyal subjects, the lords and commons
 “assembled in the parliament of England.

“*Grey of Warke,*

“*Speaker of the house of peers in parliament*
 “*pro tempore:*

“*William Lenthall,*

“*Speaker of the house of commons in parliament.*
 “*Westminster, the 9th of Mar. 1643.*”

The hope of peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for the providing of money to supply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought upon; though there was a considerable part of the kingdom within the king's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who began to practise all the license of war. The nobility and gentry, who were not officers of the army, lived for the most part in Oxford; and all that they could draw from their estates, was but enough for their own subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a parliament; and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the king's honour, or name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the envy and clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

They appointed all the members of the commons, “to bring in the names of all the gentlemen
 “of estate, and other persons who were reputed to
 “be rich, within their several precincts; and what
 “sum of money every body might be well able to

“supply the king with, in this exigent of the public state.” And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a sum; “the letter to be subscribed by the two speakers of the houses, to the end that the people might know, that it was by the advice of the members of parliament assembled there; which was as much the advice of parliament, as could be delivered at that time in the kingdom.” When the way and method of this was approved by the lords, and his majesty likewise consented to it; they began, the better to encourage others, with themselves; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both houses, “for such sums as they were well disposed to furnish;” which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means, there was a sum raised in ready money, and credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the king to provide for the next campaign; which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early; the parliament having raised vast sums of money, and being like to bring many armies into the field. All, who were to furnish money upon these letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the king having called the officers and workmen of his mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in; his majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and cloth, and shoes, and shirts, were provided for the army.

The two houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is an order of both houses, laid an imposition, which they called an excise, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. And this was the first time that ever the name of payment of excise was heard of, or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed, and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford, as a good expedient to be followed by the king; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the provision of arms and ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, “that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then laid down, and utterly abolished;” which few wise men believed it would ever be.

The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those, whom his majesty had called to advise him. But when

they found the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the king, the church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they published a declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned “all the indirect passages, and the acts of violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the obligations upon them in conscience, and law, to adhere to his majesty; and the misery which the other party had already brought upon the kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow those conclusions; and with a greater unanimity and consent, than was ever known in so great a council, where there were so many persons of honour, and judges, and others learned in the law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting voice, they declared,

1. “That all such subjects of Scotland, as had consented to the declaration, entitled the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the present expedition into England, had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England, and broke the act of pacification.

2. “That all his majesty’s subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales are both by their allegiance, and the act of pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland as had, or should enter upon any part of his majesty’s realm and dominions, as traitors, and enemies to the state; and that whosoever should abet, aid, or assist the Scots in their invasion, should be deemed as traitors, and enemies to the state.

3. “That the lords and commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes, or consent, to the raising of forces under the command of the earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding, or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war against the king, and were therein guilty of high treason.

4. “That those lords and commons remaining at Westminster, that had given their votes and consents for the making and using a new great seal, had thereby counterfeited the king’s great seal, and therein committed high treason.

5. “That the lords and commons remaining at Westminster, who had given their consents to the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had therein committed high treason: and that in these three last crimes, they had broken the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the king and kingdom.”

Over and above these sharp and high conclusions, in a diameter contrary to all the proceedings of parliament, they entered upon a way of raising a present sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the putting his majesty’s armies into an equipage to take the field early in the spring; so that the engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the king exceedingly strengthened by the lords and commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause, than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels, nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement.

It had been very happy for the king, if the winter had been spent only in those counsels which

might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it; and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to colonel John Bellasis, son to the lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplary industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent, with a full confidence to take it, and so to cut off all correspondence between his majesty and the marquis of Newcastle. And sir Thomas Fairfax from Hull, in the head of a strong party, had fallen upon a quarter not far from York, commanded by colonel John Bellasis at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the colonel himself. This was the first action for which sir Thomas Fairfax was taken notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme general under the parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the city of York had upon it; insomuch that the marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to draw his army, and with a part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire.

Upon the cessation in Ireland, the king made the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant of that kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the winter season (when the parliament ships could not attend that coast) to transport those regiments of foot as might be well spared during the cessation, and which could not be supported there, to Chester; from whence his majesty could easily draw them in the spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The lord Byron then commanded Chester, and that county; and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of those troops; which was a right good body of foot, and being excellent men, both officers and soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their landing; and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy; who at that time began to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed, and being a people who had

been used to little ease in Ireland, the king having given the lord Byron leave to employ them in such services as might secure that country, the season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous for action; and in the space of a month reduced, by assault and storm, many places of notable importance, as Howarden-castle, Beeston-castle, Crew-house, and other places of great strength; and encountering the whole body of the rebels, at Middlewich in Cheshire, broke and defeated them with great slaughter; and drove all that survived, and were at liberty, into Nantwich; the single garrison they had then left in Cheshire: and into which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garrisoned from the beginning of the troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected of that county, and the counties adjacent. The pride of the late success, and the terror the soldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in January when the lord Byron came with his army before the town, and summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the king's affairs, there being, between that and Carlisle, no one town of moment (Manchester only excepted) which declared against the king; and those two populous counties of Chester and Lancaster, if they had been united against the parliament, would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots.

These considerations, and an opinion that the town would yield as soon as summoned, brought the army first thither; and then a passionate fancy of honour, contempt of the enemy within, and of any other who could attempt their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised batteries, and undertook a formal siege against the town. The seventeenth day of January they made a general assault upon five several quarters of the town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage opposed from within, and near three hundred men lost, and spoiled in the service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the assailants, no less than the besieged, desiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the Irish (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that body of foot, though there was not an Irishman amongst them) supposing themselves superior to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

In this confidence, supply came too soon to the town, and confusion to the king's forces: for sir Thomas Fairfax, upon his victory at Selby, brought out of Yorkshire a good body of horse to Manchester; and, out of that place, and the neighbour places, drew near three thousand foot, with which joining with sir William Bruerton, and some other scattered forces from Staffordshire and Derby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich, before he was looked for; the Irish being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had advertisement of his motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by alarms to force them to rise

from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above its banks, that the lord Byron, with the greatest part of the horse, and the foot which lay on one side of the town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by sir Thomas Fairfax on the one side, and from the town on the other, were broken; and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap, and, the horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow lanes, and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the chief and considerable officers of foot, near fifteen hundred common soldiers, and all their cannon and carriages: the lord Byron with his horse, and the rest of the foot, retiring to Chester. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another reason for this defeat, besides the providence of God, which was the effect of the other, than the extreme contempt and disdain this body had of the enemy; and the presumption in their own strength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the officers were persons of signal virtue and sobriety; and, in their own natures, of great modesty and piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which success, valour, and even the conscience of the cause, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to presumption. To give fresh life to those counties, according to a resolution formerly taken, prince Rupert was sent general into those parts; the lord Byron being his lieutenant general; his highness having a desire to command a body apart from the king's army, upon some private differences and dislikes, which grew up in most places to the disturbance of the public affairs.

There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the king was the last man in believing; and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit, and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party, and his command in that army; and at the king's being in Scotland, after the pacification, had made full tender of his service to his majesty; and was so much

in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the earl of Argyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the king.

Upon the beginning of the parliament at Edinburgh, and the manifestation that duke Hamilton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been mentioned before,) he privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the king few days before the siege was raised from Gloucester, and gave his majesty the first clear information, of the carriage and behaviour of duke Hamilton, and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the king for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult: but as soon as the king retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbury, and had fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland; and heard that duke Hamilton, and his brother, the earl of Lanrick, were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford; his majesty was very willing to hearken to the earl of Mountrose, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that they durst make no propositions for the advancement of the king's service, except they might be first assured, that no part of it should be communicated to duke Hamilton; nor he suffered to have any part or share in any action that should depend upon it; for that they were most assured that he had always betrayed his majesty; and that it had been absolutely in his power to have prevented this new combination, if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they might be secure in that particular, they would make some attempt under his majesty's commission in their own country, as might possibly make some disturbance there." His majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the duke than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him farther mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very good opinion of the earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, his majesty appointed the lord keeper, his two secretaries, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to examine the earl of Mountrose, the earl of Kinnoul, the lord Ogilby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse duke Hamilton, or his brother Lanrick of; and to take their examinations in writing; that so his majesty might discover, whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better, what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy, as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

Upon their examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude, that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty as he ought to have done. The earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the

particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, (who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances,) and with others of that party; and when he did nothing to hurt or incommode the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the act of oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the king in the parliament of both kingdoms: and, so much as to question what was so forgot, might raise a greater fire, than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland, it was manifest that the duke had absolutely opposed all overtures of force, and for seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the king, and all the lords, in consenting to the meeting of the parliament, called and summoned against the king's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this, the king's approbation and consent had been shewed to them, by the duke, under the king's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw this mischief.

The case was this; the duke had given the king an account, after he had himself promised the king that the parliament should never be assembled, (which his majesty abhorred,) "that though some few hot and passionate men desired to put themselves in arms, to stop both elections of the members, and any meeting together in parliament; yet, that all sober men who could bear any considerable part in the action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains as they could to cause good elections to be made, and then to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such a major part, that they might more advantageously dissolve the meeting as soon as they came together, than prevent it; however, that then would be the fit time to protest against it, and immediately to put themselves into arms, for which they would be well provided at the same time;" and to this state he desired the king's positive direction. And his majesty, in answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of all his friends, he would not command them to do that which was against their judgment; but would attend the success; and was content that they should all appear in the parliament at its first meeting:" and the duke had shewed the lords those words in the king's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion, or had given that counsel, but had still detested the expedient when proposed.

Then the duke's carriage in the parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the king for his own determination. His majesty had some thoughts of sending to the marquis of Newcastle to stop the duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come

nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the king, "to keep their chambers;" and had a guard attended them. The king resolved to consult the whole affair then with the council-board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that end directed that a transcript might be prepared, of all the examinations at large; and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the board, if it should be thought necessary; his majesty at that time inclining to have both the lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town, the earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the privy-chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready; with which the earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London; where he was very well received. Hereupon the king informed the board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Bristol, and from thence to Exeter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall leave him.

About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of Jo. Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported; which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand, or head, deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his life, than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry, than supplied by nature, or adorned by art. He had been well known in former parliaments; and was one of those few, who had sat in many; the long intermission of parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions. And this gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions that had been imputed to Arminius; and this gave him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the church, or the growing power of the clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England. In the short parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for besides the exact knowledge of the forms, and orders of

Viele Spitzern gegen Pym

*Bedenkung Stimmt: obwohl = Mitleid
keine Verurteilung: der Absicht d. Pym - Tod*

that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that parliament, he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state; and as soon as this parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Saint-John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the house of commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and for some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both houses, when it was resolved to make the earl of Bedford lord high treasurer of England, the king likewise intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the house, which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing, which, upon his conversion to the court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

In the prosecution of the earl of Strafford, his carriage and language was such that expressed much personal animosity; and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer; Mr. Pym gave him money to buy him a satin suit and cloak; in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things, which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, [which hath been before mentioned,] to hinder the transportation of those regiments of Ireland into Flan-

ders, upon the disbanding that army there; which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the king, with the lord Kimbolton, and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation, and when the earl of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the end of December, before the Scots entered; and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

The arrival of the prince elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues, than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and received and cherished by the king with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the king left London, he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the king many days' notice of his resolution, that prince elector left the court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men; who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the king as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the king, and imputed it to his conscience, "that he knew of some such designs of his majesty, as he could not comply with." At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the king,) he arrived at London, and was received with ceremony; lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his majesty; and a particular direction by both houses, "that he should be admitted to sit

*Shelton
Bristol*

Hobbes

Agg. f

“in the assembly of divines;” where, after he had taken the covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the king took no other notice, than sometimes to express, “that he was sorry on his nephew’s behalf, that he thought fit to declare such a compliance.”

The defeat of colonel John Bellasis at Selby by sir Thomas Fairfax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scottish army, had so let loose all the king’s enemies in the northern parts, which were lately at the king’s devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a greater distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, [which] had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within its own walls, but kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the king at Oxford; whilst the marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege, if he should be forced to continue within those walls.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury, and Chester, and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the lord Byron, the king found it necessary to send prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse, and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he

should attempt the relief of Newark: which, being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and York. In Newark, the garrison consisted most of the gentry of the county, and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege, but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the king to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so handsome a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory, in the enlargement of their quarters. So that his highness resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he besieged them in their own intrenchment, with his horse, before his foot came within four miles. And in that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, he, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms, or any carriage or baggage. And so he relieved Newark, and took above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was a victory as prodigious, as any happened throughout the war: and with this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22d of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VIII.

AS the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the king, in the diminution and loss of those forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the enemy the year ensuing; so the spring entered with no better

presage. When both armies had entered into their winter quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending sir William Waller into the west, put the king upon the reso-

lution of having such a body in his way, as might give him interruption, without prince Maurice's being disturbed in his siege of Plymouth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of the garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced; and where his reputation and interest was very great; by which he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; the which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of sir Charles Vavasour, and sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse under the command of captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol, since the cessation, the lord Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither sir John Berkley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time have grown to a pretty army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham; and quartered there, till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the party, in all places, which wished well to the king, (which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties; and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia, and other committees of parliament,) had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest, that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the king, and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Sussex, and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance into their country, they would undertake, in a short time, to make great levies of men for the recruit of his army; and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they would be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the country in the king's obedience."

Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family, and fair fortune in Sussex, had then a regiment of horse in the lord Hopton's troops, and the king had made him high sheriff of Sussex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him, in his regiment, many of the gentlemen of that country of good quality: and they all besought the lord Hopton, "that he would, since Waller was not like to advance, at least send some troops into those parts, to give a little countenance to the levies they should be well able to make;" assuring him, "that they would, in the first place, seize upon Arundel castle;

"which, standing upon the sea, would yield great advantage to the king's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his majesty's devotion." These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires: of all which, he gave such an account to the king, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot, under good officers; for that quarter of Sussex, which he meant to visit, was a fast and enclosed country, and Arundel castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

It was about Christmas, and the king had no farther design for the winter, than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the west, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early; which he knew the rebels resolved to do: yet the good post the lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Sussex, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The king had great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent; insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and Sussex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the earl of Manchester; and might, by the spring, be an argument of that distraction to the parliament, that they might not well know to what part to dispose their armies; and the king might apply his own to that part and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These and other reasons prevailed, and the king gave the lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Sussex, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that Waller should not make advantage, upon that enterprise, to find the way open to him to march into the west. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the west. Waller was then quartered at Farnham, and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of great strength; and drew his army into the town; and, within three or four days, went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits, than his letters had been able to do.

When the lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no farther upon the troops, and was fully assured that sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the gentlemen of

Sussex; and marched thither, with such a body of horse and foot, as he thought competent for the service. And the exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its situation was very strong; and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were very strong, and the graff broad, and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied all assaults; and might, without putting themselves to any trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long restraint; and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. And so upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the soldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place more worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.

The lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to sir Edward Ford, high sheriff of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men; besides many good officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay; as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

The news of sir William Waller's return to Farnham with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the lord Hopton to leave Arundel castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of insolent and pragmatical natures, not like to conform themselves to those strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things aside, to draw in store of provisions of all kinds, both for the numbers they were already, and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them;" all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress he had made in Sussex, and his taking

Arundel castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the king had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent, and all other places; and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the apprentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their master's service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of sir William Waller was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries, to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. And then they appointed the earl of Essex to give his orders to sir William Balfour, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who, with this great addition of forces, made haste to his other troops at Farnham; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the lord Hopton's army lay quartered, which was at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his master-piece,) all the night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great village called Alton, where a troop or two of horse, and a regiment of foot of the king's lay in too much security. However, the horse took the alarm quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the head quarter; whither the lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arundel. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with wonderful celerity, the hard frost continuing, he marched with all his army to Arundel castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish. And, instead of increasing the magazine of victual

by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided. The governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command, amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; and so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison, till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men.

The lord Hopton sustained the loss of this regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to have relieved Arundel castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: but that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the west: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late victories, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the earl of Essex's army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the auxiliary regiments of London that he would dismiss them.

Upon the news the king received of the great supply the parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the earl of Essex's army, and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as he could draw out of Oxford, and the neighbour garrisons. And the earl of Brentford, general of the army, who had a fast friendship with the lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his majesty was very glad, and cherished that disposition, and was desirous that so great an officer might be

present in an army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with officers of great experience. And so the general, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the lord Hopton in agony for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and confounded with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arundel castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the general, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends; the general being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about Alresford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The king's army consisted of about five thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller, with sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were upon the matter equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed; no man wanting any weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *lobsters*, was so formidable, that the king's naked and unarmed troops, among which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression.

The king's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken: whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to Reading: the enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon this success, to have been immediately admitted into that castle; which was his own inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march farther; and within three or four days they left him, and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the king's side, besides common men, and many good officers, there fell that day the lord John Stewart, brother to the duke of Richmond, and general of the horse of that army; and sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse that stayed with them, and did their duty; and carried to Reading; and the next day to Abingdon, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon either of them.

The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms, when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders; being of an ancient catholic family; and had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own prince; and, from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. And the death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme, of the king's counsels: for whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part; he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive part; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Alresford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with prince Rupert; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great success at Newark, with a strong body both of horse and foot, from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat, and the rage among the officers and soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days,) when he received great instance from the earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was

already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a strong body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises, "that within so many days after the siege should be raised, with any defeat to the enemy, he would advance his highness's levies with two thousand men, and supply him with a considerable sum of money." And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the king at Oxford; from whence his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince, (before his departure from Newark; hoping still that his highness would be able to despatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts, be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry; raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy; and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter,) the marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire, with his whole army, within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with.

From the time that the ruling party of the parliament discerned that their general, the earl of Essex, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; and in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such officers, as would probably not only observe their orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that there were so many disaffected persons of the nobility, and principal gentry, in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a body start up there for the king; which, upon the success of the marquis of Newcastle, whose arms then reached into Lincolnshire, might grow very formidable." For prevention whereof, they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the earl of Warwick, and the power of his clergy, they most confided in,) Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntingdon; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this association they had made the earl of Manchester general, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the earl of Essex. And under him, they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers, who never intended to be subject again to the king, and avowed other principles in conscience and religion, than had been before publicly declared.

And to this general they gave order "to reside within that association; and to make levies of men, sufficient to keep those counties in obedience:" for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret treaty made by sir Harry Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army,

that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers, as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that army under the earl of Manchester, than for the other under the earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots' first entrance into Yorkshire, the earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee of the parliament, whereof sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another committee of the Scottish parliament always in that army; there being also now a committee of both kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war.

The marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of general Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the enemy; and then sent an express to the king, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that post for the term of six weeks, or two months; in which time he hoped his majesty would find some way to relieve him." And upon receipt of this letter, the king sent orders to prince Rupert, that "as soon as he had relieved the lord Derby, and recruited, and refreshed his army, he should march, with what expedition he could, to relieve York; where being joined by the marquis of Newcastle's army, there was hope they might fight the enemy: and his majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the field, without expecting the prince."

All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the king's condition appeared very sad; and which was in more disorder by the queen's being now with child, which wrought upon her majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great forces raised, and in readiness, by the parliament, much greater than they yet ever had;" which was very true; and "that they resolved, as soon as the season was ripe, which was at hand, to march all to Oxford." She could not endure to think of being besieged there; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the west; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged everybody to submit. So, about the beginning of April, she began her journey from Oxford to the west; and, by moderate journeys, came well to Exeter; where she intended to stay till she was disburdened; for she was within little more than one month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any alarm, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of April, when it concerned the king with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his majesty to do, in those exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence, that Waller was still designed for the western expedition, made the king appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot, and above four thousand horse. There that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting Reading, and some other garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the field forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the king returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of parliament who had been called thither, and done all the service they could for the king, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the king's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following.

Then, that his majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should take the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a colonel whom the king had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several colleges and halls of the university; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the king went into the field, till he returned again to Oxford; and all the lords declared, "that, upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their servants upon their horses, to make a good troop for a sudden service;" which they made good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the earl of Essex's army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the king's army removed from Marlborough to Newbury; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading, or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions,

what should be done with the garrisons when the king should take the field; and the king himself was irresolute upon those debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to prince Rupert by letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers, and received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the garrisons of Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and Banbury, should be reinforced and strengthened with all the foot; that a good body of horse should remain about Oxford, and the rest should be sent into the west to prince Maurice." If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the king, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the king himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the general, who was made earl of Brentford; the lord Wilmot, who was general of the horse; the lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the king's army, but now present; sir Jacob Astley, who was major-general of the army; the lord Digby, who was secretary of state; and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls; for none of the privy council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution, or prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The general, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very

deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the king.

Wilmot was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had, from the beginning of the war, been very averse to any advice of the privy-council, and thought fit that the king's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his majesty. Whilst prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity against him, made any thing that Wilmot said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the king himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person, or esteem of his parts. But now, by the prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old general, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good fellowship, (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company,) made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had, in truth, a very great interest; which he desired might appear to the king, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most contradicted by the two privy-counsellors, the secretary, and the master of the rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest influence upon the king, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old general to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the king to the trouble of converting him.

The lord Hopton was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the license, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted; a virtue that none of the rest had: but, in the debates concerning the war, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander in chief; which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army.

Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised, of major general of the foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required,

and most cheerful, and present in any action. In council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two privy-counsellors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions; and being, in their parts, much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the king's judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The king's army had lain above three weeks at and about Newbury; in which time their numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the king was present. When it was known that both the parliament armies were marched out of London; that under Essex to Windsor; and that of Waller, to the parts between Hertford Bridge and Basing, without any purpose of going farther west; the king's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The king returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council, for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the houses; and there was much greater secrecy than before; none being admitted into any kind of trust, but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the earl of Essex; nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was, "that the two armies, which marched out together, should always be distinct; and should only not sever, till it appeared what course the king meant to take; and if he stayed in Oxford, it would be fit for both to be in the siege; the circumvallation being very great, and to be divided in many places by the river; which would keep both armies still asunder under their several officers." But if the king marched out,

which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was, "that the earl of Essex should follow the king, whither ever he went;" which they imagined would be northward; "and that Waller should march into the west, and subdue that." So that, having so substantially provided for the north by the Scots, and the earl of Manchester; and having an army under the earl of Essex, much superior in number to any the king could be attended with; and the third, under Waller, at liberty for the west; they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an end of the war that summer.

It was about the tenth of May, that the earl of Essex and sir William Waller marched out of London, with both their armies; and the very next day after the king's army had quitted Reading, the earl of Essex, from Windsor, sent forces to possess it; and recommended it to the city of London, to provide both men, and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the memory of what they had suffered for the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By this means the earl had the opportunity to join with Waller's army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with convenience or security. Nor did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each other.

The earl of Essex's army consisted of all his old troops, which had wintered about St. Alban's, and in Bedfordshire; and being now increased with four regiments of the trained bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Sussex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the king's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farringdon, and all the foot were put into Abingdon, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side from Wantage and Farringdon, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy, by beating up his quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and negligence of Wilmot. The earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abingdon; and upon the east part of the town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the general, early the next morning, marched with all the foot out of Abingdon, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his majesty was informed of it by sir Charles Blunt, the scout master general, whom the general had sent to acquaint the king with the resolution, he sent sir Charles Blunt back to the

general, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the king's infinite trouble, quitted; whither a party of Essex's army came the same night; and the next day, himself with all his foot entered the town; his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading, Abingdon; and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the king to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford; where they were to feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged, and the king from being enclosed in it.

This was the deplorable condition to which the king was reduced before the end of the month of May; insomuch that it was generally reported at London, "that Oxford was taken, and the king a prisoner;" and others more confidently gave it out, "that his majesty resolved to come to London:" of which the parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much, as of the king's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Essex, and into his protection; which they could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the committee of both kingdoms, who conducted the war, writ this letter to their general.

"My lord,

"We are credibly informed, that his majesty intends to come for London. We desire you, that you will do your endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his majesty intends at all to come to the armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the houses shall give direction."

So much jealousy they had of the earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the king could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase, or addition of force from the north, or from the west; prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire, for the relief of the earl of Derby, (besieged in his castle of Latham,) and prince Maurice being still engaged in the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town; which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this perplexity, the king sent the lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city; where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two armies lay so

long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction, which the king's forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to quarter the king's army, that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers, Cherwell, or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city; the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Cherwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted Abingdon, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the king's dragoons. But the next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at Sandford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon Bullington-green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot; and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the king's horse, without any great hurt on either side.

The next morning, a strong party of the earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Cherwell, at Gosworth-bridge; but were repulsed by the musketeers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their body. And now the earl being engaged, with his whole army, on the east side of the river Cherwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller; the king resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abingdon, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot were in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched through Oxford in the night towards Abingdon; and the earl of Cleveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself; where there were a thousand foot, and four hundred horse of Waller's army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners; but, upon the alarm, he was so overpowered, that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers, and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abingdon was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

Sir Jacob Astley undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the earl intended to force his passage; and presently cast up breastworks, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abingdon did not find the new bridge so well defended; but overpowering those guards, and having got boats, in which they put over their

men, both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the king's rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the king to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot, by Newbridge: the van whereof quartered at Ensham, and, the king's foot being drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Cherwell; and quartered that night at Blechingdon; many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the king seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people, his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon conditions, to the earl of Essex; which his majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of the earl of Essex, but he would be dead first." Word was given, "for all the horse to be together, at such an hour," to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abingdon; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over Newbridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot, and cannon, returned to their old post on the north side.

The king resolved, for the encouragement of the lords of the council, and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to leave his son the duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, "to do all he could to relieve them, before they should be reduced to extremity." He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice musketeers should be drawn out of the whole foot, under the command of sir Jacob Astley, and four experienced colonels; all which should, without colours, repair to the place where the horse attended to receive orders, and that the rest of the foot should remain together on the north side, and so be applied to the defence of Oxford, if it should be besieged."

All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the king, with the prince, and those lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse, and commanded foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by daybreak were at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the king rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage, and a train of artillery: so that he was content to refresh his men there; and supped himself; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight

reached Burton upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied troops, more rest and refreshment.

The morning after the king left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abingdon, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller, to send many of his men back, and to delay his own advance; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by noon. The earl of Essex had that morning, from Blechingdon, sent some horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the king was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and his horse made such haste, that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chipping Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway, when the king had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been, the night before, surprised by a strong party from Gloucester; the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners; most of the common soldiers making their escape, and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the king and Worcester, his majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Pershore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an arch, major Bridges, of the prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

The earl of Essex, when he saw the king was got full two days' march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose, called a council of all the principal officers of both armies, to attend him at Burford; where it was resolved, "that Waller, who had the lighter ordnance, and the less carriages, should have such an addition of forces, as Massey, the governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish him with; and so should pursue and follow the king wheresoever he should go; and that the earl of Essex, who had the greater ordnance, and the heavier carriages, should prosecute the other design of relieving Lyme, and reducing the west to the obedience of the parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point; and, "that the west was assigned to him, as his province, when the two armies should think fit to sever from each other." However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his general, "to march accord-

“ing to the advice of the council of war;” which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the earl of Essex, that they writ a very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him, “for not submitting to the directions which they had given;” and required him “to follow their former directions, and to suffer Waller to attend the service of the west.” Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the earl chose rather to answer their letter, than to obey their order; and writ to them, “that their directions had been contrary to the discipline of war, and to reason; and that, if he should now return, it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all places;” and subscribed his letter, “Your innocent, though suspected servant, Essex;” and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the west.

When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely-castle, the strong house of the lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage; and had for two years served the king very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the king, under pretence of travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the parliament; nor did he, in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his house; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as lieutenant colonel in the regiment of horse under the lord Chandois; and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected; and his fidelity as little questioned: and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the reward of his merit, after the return of the king; who made him first a sergeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the king’s bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up; and the governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, marched to

Evesham; where the evil inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the king left them, repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

The king rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings, and money for his soldiers: and then, upon good information, that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the king resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that city well provided, and in good heart, his majesty removed with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the river Severn between him and the enemy; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which the king was, made Waller conclude that his majesty intended his course to Shrewsbury, and to the more northern parts. And it is true, that, without any such resolution, orders were sent to Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and other garrisons, “that they should make all possible provisions of corn, and other victual; which they should cause, in great quantities, to be brought thither;” which confirmed Waller in his former conjecture, and made him advance with his army beyond the king, that he might be nearer Shrewsbury than he. But, God knows, the king was without any other design, than to avoid the enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot, and without cannon, propose reasonably to fight a battle: and he had too many good reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which Waller conceived him inclined to; and his majesty might well assume the complaint and expression of king David, “that he was hunted as a partridge upon the mountains;” and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this perplexity, it looked like the bounty of Providence, that Waller was advanced so far: upon which, the king took a sudden resolution, to return with all expedition to Worcester, and to make haste to Evesham; where having broke the bridge, and so left the river of Avon at his back, he might be able, by quick marches, to join with that part of his army, which he had left at Oxford; and might thereby be in a condition to fight with Waller, and to prosecute any other design. Upon this good resolution, care was taken for all the boats to come both from Bridgenorth and Worcester, that the foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Inso-much, that the next day, being embarked early in the morning, the foot arrived so soon at Worcester, that they might very well have marched that night to Evesham, but that many of the horse, which were quartered beyond Bewdley towards Bridgenorth, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both horse and foot should remain that night together at Worcester; which they did accordingly.

The next morning, the king found no cause to alter any thing in his former resolution; and received good intelligence, that Waller, without

knowing any thing of his motion, remained still in his old quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to Evesham; nor would he stay there; but gave order for the horse and foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the bridge, and made the inhabitants of the town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of Waller; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of shoes for the use of the soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the army marched that night to Broadway, where they quartered; and very early the next morning, they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind; for even in that season of the year, the ways in that vale were very deep.

Now the king sent colonel Fielding, and, lest he might miscarry, (for both from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Sudely-castle, the enemy had manyscouts abroad,) two or three other messengers, to the lords of the council at Oxford, to let them know "of his happy return;" and that he meant to quarter that night at Burford; and the next at Witney; where he did expect, that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the king found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to which majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the king, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to posterity, to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the king thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his majesty.

In the short time the king had been absent, the garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the king in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons, at a less distance from Oxford; and thereupon the garrison at Bostal-house, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done, but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a garrison into it; which, after the king had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the armies had done. This brought great com-

plaints and clamour from the country, and from the town, to the lords of the council; and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out, for labourers to work upon the fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the king, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bostal-house; and receiving encouragement from colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large,) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot, which the king had left there, with three pieces of cannon, and a troop of horse of the town, to obey his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church, and the outhouses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure; but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man; and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here the colonel left a garrison, that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but did very near support itself, by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of Aylesbury.

The earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire; and by his great civility, and affability towards all men, and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Inso-much that his forces rather increased than diminished; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much lessened, not only by the numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp encounters continued at Gosworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined, how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex, and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, consequently, in the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence towards the earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular.

When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himself master of Weymouth, if he could compass it without engaging his army before it; which he resolved not to do; however it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel Ashburnham, then governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and, to make way for him, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby

so much disobliged, that he quitted the king's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant under the hand of prince Maurice, "that, the town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland-castle, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the council of war, absolved from any crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it; and was thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the earl of Essex when he was near the town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to prince Maurice; and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme: from whence prince Maurice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot, and eighteen hundred horse; after he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

As soon as the king had joined his army at Witney, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies; but to visit the enemy's country; and so, the next day, he marched towards Buckingham, where he would stay and expect Waller, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing,) and from whence, if he appeared not, his majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if, upon intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the king stayed at Buckingham, and thought himself now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-loads of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from London to Coventry and Warwick; all which were very welcome to Buckingham,) a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. Wilmot continued still sullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an animosity against the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the king, "that those two counsellors might be excluded, and be no more present in councils of war;" which they promised to do.

Waller remained still in Worcestershire; upon

which it was again consulted, what the king was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the associated counties;" others, "to lose no time in endeavouring to join with prince Rupert." Wilmot, without ever communicating it with the king, positively advised, "that they might presently march towards London, and, now both their generals and armies were far from them, make trial what the true affection of the city was; and that, when the army was marched as far as St. Alban's, the king should send such a gracious message both to the parliament and city, as was most like to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding would be very much approved of by the army." This extravagant motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the king very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition, which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, "that such a message should be prepared, and then that he would communicate both that, and what concerned his march towards London, to the lords of the council at Oxford; that in so weighty an affair he might receive their counsel." To that purpose the lord Digby, and the master of the rolls, were sent to Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any approbation of the march, or the message by the lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, "that Waller had left Worcestershire, and marched, with what speed he could, to find his majesty;" which gave new argument of debate.

When the king had so dexterously deceived and eluded him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at all the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there: then he marched towards Gloucester, having sent to colonel Massey to send him some men out of Gloucester; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial, he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an addition of seven troops of horse, and about six hundred foot, from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. With this recruit he marched confidently towards the king; of which his majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley, when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the king passing his whole army through the town of Banbury, before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle, before the king could reach thither: so that the king lay that night in the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Cherwell being between the two armies.

The king resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood

two days; and, in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter farther into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved, but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the king's army was led by the general, and Wilmot: in the body was the king and the prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded foot, under colonel Thelwell, with the earl of Northampton's and the earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse. And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge, until the army was passed beyond it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the king, "that there was a body of three hundred horse within less than two miles of the van of the army, that marched to join with Waller; and that they might be easily cut off, if the army mended their pace." Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse, "that they should move faster," the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the king's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resistance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the king's rear, before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the earl of Cleveland, who was in the van of that division, and "of the enemy's having passed at Cropredy," (which was confirmed by the running of the horse, and scattered foot,) "and that there stood two bodies of horse without moving, and faced the army:" thereupon the earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage; losing a cornet, and many prisoners.

This alarm had quickly reached the king, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the earl of Cleveland. The king commanded the lord Bernard Stewart, a valiant young gentleman, who commanded his own guards, "to make haste to the assistance of the rear; and, in his way, to charge those two bodies of horse which faced his majesty." He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed by the earl of Cleveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accom-

pany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued.

The earl of Cleveland, after his short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the king had but half an hour before stayed and dined,) not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musket-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musket and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and chased them with good execution beyond their cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken; with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small brass and leather guns, charged with case-shot; most of their cannoneers were killed, and the general of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the king, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master gunner of England, with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the English nation,) and having never done the king the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be general of the ordnance in the army of sir William Waller; who was very much advised by him in all matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner Baker, lieutenant colonel to sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them; with many lieutenants, ensigns, and cornets, quartermasters; and above one hundred common soldiers; many more being slain in the charge. The earl pursued them as far as the bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which were placed there to make good their retreat; all which fled with them, or before. And so the earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost, in this notable action, two colonels, sir William Boteler, and sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

At the same time, the earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse, which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The lord Bernard, with the king's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew

up in a large field opposite to the bridge; where he stood, whilst the cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the king's quarters about a mile; the river of Cherwell, and some low grounds, being between both armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair, and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June,) and the king's army being now together, his majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and, to that purpose, sent two good parties, to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge, and the other pass a mile below; over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the king thither could make no impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the night came, and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a mile below, after a short resistance, gained it, and a hill adjoining; where after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the king was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious, that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed, "that sir Edward Walker" (who was both garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war) "should be sent to publish that his majesty's grace." But he wisely desired, "that a trumpet might be first sent for a pass;" the barbarity of that people being notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms, or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to sir William Waller, to desire "a safe conduct for a gentleman, who should deliver a gracious message from his majesty." After two hours' consideration, he returned answer, "that he had no power to receive any message of grace or favour from his majesty, without the consent of the two houses of parliament at Westminster, to whom his majesty, if he pleased, might make his addresses." And as soon as the trumpet was gone, as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the king's army, and as near the place as they could, where his majesty used to be.

When both armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two days, they both drew off to a greater distance

from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by Waller's still keeping more aloof from the king, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton, and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design, than of recruiting his army; and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable, that if the king, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quarters, had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the king, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, Waller's army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that number.

But the truth is, from the time that the king discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers, governed by Wilmot, at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much at liberty from two great armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans,) when she saw the earl of Essex before the walls of Exeter, and should be at the same time informed, that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex, in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him, before Waller should be in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a conjunction with prince Maurice; who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able, by the north of Devonshire, to meet the king, when he should know that he marched that way.

His majesty had no sooner taken this resolution, than he gave notice of it to the lords of the council at Oxford; and sent an express into the west, to inform the queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the lord Hopton, "to draw what men he could out of Monmouthshire, and South Wales, into Bristol; that himself might meet his majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that garrison." So, without any delay, the whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the west over the Cotswold to Cirencester; and so to Bath; where he arrived on the 15th day of July, and stayed there one whole day, to refresh his army; which stood enough in need of it.

The king had scarce marched two days westward, when he was surprised with terrible news

from the north; for, after he had, by an express from Oxford, received intelligence, "that prince Rupert had not only relieved York, but totally defeated the Scots, with many particulars to confirm it," (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public fires of joy for the victory,) he now received quite contrary information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble actions performed by prince Rupert in the relief of Latham, and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted,) in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault, which were too obstinately defended; the prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards York, with such expedition, that the enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side, in great disorder and consternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the officers, and, indeed, between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline; so that the prince had done his work; and if he had sat still, the other great army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his highness would take of them.

But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety [of counsel]: one side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision brought in abundantly out of the country, but the prince, without consulting with the marquis of Newcastle, or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia, on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the king's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken prisoners by the country, and Lesley their general fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford; and so received and spread as aforesaid,) yet the English horse, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, charged those on that side so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and charged as briskly, that, though both Fairfax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field; so that almost the whole body of the marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

The marquis himself, and his brave brother, sir Charles Cavendish, (who was a man of the

noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived,) charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen, who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But it was so late in the evening before the battle begun, that the night quickly fell upon them; and the generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performing very few compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together,) by prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship, and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct, courage, or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in the draught of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great generals, whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before,) their general made prisoner by a constable, and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers, and army, having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return: and though the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day,) there might probably many advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were friends to such deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolved, that morning, to march away with his horse, and as many foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that instant, repair to the sea-side, and transport himself beyond the seas;" both which they immediately performed; the marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamburgh: the prince,

with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of sir Thomas Glemham, the governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches, which were between the English and Scotch armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the marquis of Mountrose had kindled already a fire, which the parliament of Edinburgh could not quench. But the certain intelligence, "that the prince was "marched away without thought of returning, "and that the marquis had embarked himself," reconciled them so far, (and nothing else could,) that, after two days, they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town, that the governor, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

The times afterwards grew so bad, and the king's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the king, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the king, produced a letter in the king's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his majesty said, "that his affairs were in so very ill a state, "that it would not be enough, though his highness raised the siege from York, if he had not "likewise beaten the Scotch army;" which he understood "to amount to no less than a peremptory order to fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, "that the disadvantage was "so great, the enemy being so much superior in "number, it was no wonder he lost the day." But as the king's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle, as soon as the enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the marquis of Newcastle, and his officers; who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do. For he saw not the marquis, till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the marquis's army, who came out of the town, being placed upon the ground left by the prince, and assigned to them; which

much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared, by the prince's manner of drawing his army together to that ground, that his resolution was to fight: the speedy intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would, the next morning, have continued their march northward; and the earl of Manchester would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the king's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the king's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit, were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the prince had some secret intimation of the marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it

was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the king was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl of Newcastle (he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the king: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot, as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the king; which he was not able to supply.

And after the battle of Edge-hill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the king presently to make a general, who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it, as the earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself, than, at that present, any other man had: the earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the king, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed, or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in

which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war,) nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant general King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the privy-council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, especially after the queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the king himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the king, (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side,) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of prince Rupert; from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the king to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his majesty did believe, that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of king James:" and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious condescensions, he

would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the king's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him general King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, and conjunction with his countrymen;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the king of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the king's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the king's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the king and for his country, without farther inquiring what he had omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the king's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution, to follow the earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the earl of Essex had not made any long marches, and that the queen, upon the first news of the earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exeter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence, in a short time, her majesty embarked for France, (the prince of Orange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend the queen's commands in the harbour of Falmouth; and from thence her majesty transported herself,) his majesty marched more slowly, that he might

increase his army from Bristol, and other places; and making no doubt, but that he should be able to engage the army of the earl of Essex, who was already near Exeter, before he should be able to return to London; and prince Maurice, who had waited near two years without taking Lyme or Plymouth, the former of which was a little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch, was already withdrawn into Cornwall, having lost much reputation in those parts by his unsuccessful attempts.

The earl of Essex's good fortune now began to decline: and he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exeter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him, having left the king in so ill a condition, and sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he received the news of the "defeat sir William Waller [had] received;" and that the king was come with his whole army "into the west in pursuit of him, without being followed by Waller, or any troops to disquiet or retard his march;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

And the jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the parliament looking upon his march into the west, and leaving Waller, to whom they intended the other province, to follow the king, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the king; and the earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the parliament expressed for and towards his army, and the other under the command of the earl of Manchester; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the king, in a country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the king, either before he entered Devonshire, or else in Somersetshire; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the lord Roberts, who was a general officer in his army, of an unsociable nature, and impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army; but pressed, with his confidence, "that the army should continue its march to Cornwall;" where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the earl of Essex, with his army, would so unite that whole county to the parliament's service, that it would be easy to defend the passes into the whole county (which are not many) in such a manner, that the king's army should never be able to enter into Cornwall, nor to retire out of Devonshire without great loss,

"nor before the parliament would send more forces upon their backs."

The lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the parliament than the earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall; and so knew not the situation of the country: and some of the officers, and many others of that country, (as there were with him four or five gentlemen of that country of interest,) concurred fully with the lord Roberts, and promised great matters, if the army marched thither: whereupon the earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county; and pursued prince Maurice and those forces, which easily retired, westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

After the king had made a small stay at Exeter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the lady Dalkeith, (shortly after countess of Morton by the death of her husband's father,) who had been long before designed by both their majesties to that charge; and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concurrence of the whole people, upon which the earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the king to fight. He was, upon the matter, enclosed in and about Foy; whilst the king lay encamped about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes; in which the earl was more distressed, and many of his considerable officers taken prisoners. And here there happened an accident, that might very well have turned the king's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were in view. The king being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those counsellors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions, commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the officers. The counsellors, as hath been said before, were the lord Digby, secretary of state, and sir John Colepepper, master of the rolls, of whose judgment the king had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

General Ruthen, who by this time was created earl of Brentford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmot was lieutenant general of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army,

and had much more credit and authority in it, than any man; which he had not employed to the king's advantage, as his majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary officer in marches, and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows, and could by no means endure that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper should have so much credit with the king in councils of war.

The king had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him; and this he knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in Buckinghamshire; and, "that the king ought to send propositions to the parliament, in order to obtaining it;" and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals among the officers; and disposed them to petition the king, "to send to the parliament again an offer of peace; and that the lord Digby and sir John Colepepper might not be permitted to be present in councils of war;" implying, "that if this might not be granted, they would think of some other way." Which petition, though, by the wisdom of some officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the king, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the lord Digby ceased not to confirm his majesty; and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army, and Goring general of the horse; which Wilmot could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always superior to him in command; and yet would be such a mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the king time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he discoursed in all places, "that the king must send to the earl of Essex to invite him to a conjunction with him, that so the parliament might be obliged to consent to a peace; and pretended, that he had so good intelligence in that army, as to know that such an invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable to the earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with the parliament's behaviour towards him:" and he was so indiscreet, as to desire a gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond the seas, and must go through the earl's quarters, "that he would remember his service to the earl of Essex; and assure him, that the army so much desired peace, that it should not be in the

“power of any of those persons about the king to hinder it, if his lordship would treat upon any reasonable propositions.” All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented, in their full magnitude, to the king, by the lord Digby; and his majesty’s own aversion kindled any spark into a formed distrust. So that after the king came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up on the top of the hill, in view of the earl of Essex, who was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day, upon some new discourse Wilmot made out of pride and vanity, (for there was not, in all the former, the least formed act of sedition in his heart,) the knight marshal, with the assistance of Tom Elliot, who acted the part, arrested him in the king’s name of high treason; and dismounted him from his horse in the head of all the troops; and putting a guard upon him, he was presently sent prisoner to Exeter, without any other ill effect, which might very reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vapoured away.

The same day that Wilmot was arrested, the king removed another general officer of his army, the lord Percy; who had been made general of the ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated considerations; and put into that office the lord Hopton; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the lord Percy (who was the first that had been created a baron at Oxford upon the queen’s intercession; which obliged the king to bestow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the lord Wilmot; and was much a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf.

The very next day after these removals, colonel Goring appeared; who had waited upon the king the night before at his quarters, with letters from prince Rupert: and then the army being drawn up, his majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, “that, at the request of his nephew prince Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. Goring general of the horse; and commanded them all to obey him; and for the lord Wilmot, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his command in the army;” which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse, more than the king was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered

a petition, “that his majesty would give them so much light of the lord Wilmot’s crimes, that they might see that themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his orders;” which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the king had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them, that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmot himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The king had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his majesty. The lord Beauchamp, eldest son to the marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the earl of Essex, for himself; monsieur Richaute, a Frenchman, who had been his governor; and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the king, it was necessary to pass through the earl’s quarters. By him the king vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the earl, in which he told him,

“How much it was in his power to restore that peace to the kingdom, which he had professed always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the parliament had first taken up arms: for his majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends: but that since the invasion of the kingdom by the Scots, all his overtures of peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of a peace that might preserve it;” with all those arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The king desired, that a pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring this pass was recommended to monsieur Richaute.

The earl received his nephew very kindly; who delivered the king's letter to him, which he received and read; and being then told by the lord Beauchamp, that monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the king; the earl called him into his chamber, in the presence only of the lord Beauchamp, and asked him, "if he had any thing to say to him." Richaute told him, "that his principal business was to desire his permission and pass, that Mr. Harding might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him." The earl answered in short, "that he would not permit Mr. Harding to come to him, nor would he have any treaty with the king, having received no warrant for it from the parliament:" upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. Harding was to have urged, "of the king's desire of peace, of the concurrence of all the lords, as well those at Oxford, as in the army, in the same desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest by the Scots;" and other discourse to that purpose; "and of the king's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised." To all which the earl answered sullenly, "that, according to the commission he had received, he would defend the king's person and posterity; and that the best counsel he could give him was, to go to his parliament."

As soon as the king received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that part of a large heath upon which they stood, and retired to a hill near the park of the lord Mohun, at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the king had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the king's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next morning the king called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of sir Richard Greenvil; who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the enclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breastworks against the enemy. The king's head quarter was made at the lord Mohun's house, which the earl of Essex had kindly quitted, when the king's army advanced the day before. The horse were quartered, for the most part, between Liskeard and the sea; and every day

compelled the earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient spirit, that had possessed so many of the horse officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in Essex, in refusing to treat with the king, proceeded only from his jealousy, that when the king had got him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him for all the mischief he had sustained by him; and that if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat."

Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the general, and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, "that they had obtained leave of the king to send that letter to him." There they proposed, "that he with six officers, whom he should choose, would the next morning meet with their general, and six other officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself be present, that then six officers of the king's army should meet with six such as he should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that they, and every of them, who subscribed the letter, would, upon the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers, with their lives maintain that whatsoever his majesty should promise, should be performed; and that it should not be in the power of any private person whatsoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof." When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the king, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the king to consent that the officers should sign it; and that the general should send a trumpet with it; his majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the earl received their application: and so prince Maurice, general Goring, and all the superior officers of the army, signed the letter; which a trumpet delivered to the earl of Essex; who, the next day, returned his answer to them in these words: "My lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; I having no authority from the parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My lords, I am your humble servant, Essex."

"Listithiel, Aug. 10, 1644." This short surly answer produced the effect the king wished and expected; they who had been so over active in contriving the address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen.

Sir Richard Greenvil was now come up to the post where he should be; and, at Bodmin, in his march, had fallen upon a party of the earl's horse, and killed many, and taken others prisoners, and presented himself to the king at Boconnocke; giving his majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; above one hundred of which were of the queen's troop, (left behind when her majesty embarked for France,) under the command of captain Edward Bret; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county, from the time of the queen's departure, and much confirmed the trained bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the king's guards under the lord Bernard Stewart, and captain Bret was made major of that regiment.

Though the earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that Waller, or some other force sent from the parliament, would be shortly upon the king's back, as his majesty was upon his: and no question, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the king; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature; which whosoever was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose sir Richard Greenvil drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Listithiel, and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the king's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, sir Jacob Ashley, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View-Hall, another house of the lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put captain Page into one, and captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long

possessed of Foy, did not put strong guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the king had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army, or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still, without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the king, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight, or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either Waller himself, or some other forces, were already upon their march towards the west. With this resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner, that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon-Hill; which they no sooner quitted, than the king possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters, and did them great hurt; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the king's forces had a full prospect over all the other's quarters; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions: which when clearly viewed and observed, Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of St. Austel, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Listithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them,) but likewise were masters of the Parr near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the earl begun to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London, had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed, or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army, that it could never be brought to fight after: but when he had marched at a distance from the king, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his majesty was marched directly towards the west, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to London,

where he made grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received, and treated, as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the king's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the king's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his lieutenant general Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand horse and dragoons, to follow the king into the west, and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in his way Donnington-castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbury, in which there were a company or two of foot of the king's; and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it so well defended by colonel Bois, who was governor of it, that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the governor of Abingdon, to send an officer and some troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the west; and himself prosecuted his march to follow the king.

In Somersetshire, he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the king's army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait farther orders. To surprise these provisions he sent major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very like to have mastered them, when sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief, and after a very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the king's were killed, and among them major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father, he totally routed the enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more men are lost, than are killed, or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the earl of Essex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him despair of any succour that way.

When the earl found himself in this condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any provisions for his army; he resolved, that sir William Balfour should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof one was a Frenchman, came over

from them, and assured the king, "that they intended, that night, to break through with their horse, which were all then drawn on that side the river, and town of Listithiel; and that the foot were to march to Foy, where they should be embarked." This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given, "that both armies" (for that under prince Maurice was looked upon as distinct, and always so quartered) "should stand to their arms all that night; and if the horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both quarters;" the passage between them, through which they must go, being but a musket-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little cottage, that was well fortified; in which fifty musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to Goring, and all the horse; and the orders renewed, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees near the highway, to obstruct their passage.

The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day, the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the king's horse being at a greater distance. That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear; and killed some, and took more prisoners: but stronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their horses, became prisoners, Balfour continued his march even to London, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the king's army, and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the superior officer had failed in his duty.

The next morning, after the horse were gone, the earl drew all his foot together, and quitted Listithiel, and marched towards Foy; having left order for the breaking down that bridge. But his majesty himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the king presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins, and two other very good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the king. That day was spent

in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the king's horse had been more, whereof he had only two troops of his guards, (which did good service,) it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the king lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy, that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, lieutenant colonel to the earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Bocconocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the king's, came from the earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the earl embarked himself, with the lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy; and so escaped into Plymouth; leaving all his army of foot, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of major general Skippon; who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plymouth, he went on board a ship of the royal navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at London; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have shewed to him, if he had not only brought back his own army, but the king himself likewise with him.

The king consented to the parley; upon which a cessation was concluded; and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon; a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable; and about six thousand arms; which being done, "the officers were to have liberty "to wear their swords, and to pass with their own "money, and proper goods; and, to secure them "from plunder, they were to have a convoy to "Poole, or Southampton; all their sick and wounded "might stay in Foy till they were recovered, and "then have passes to Plymouth."

This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near the evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Listithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the king's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton; where the king's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand, "that they "had carried themselves with great civility to- "wards them, and fully complied with their obli- "gation."

Whilst the king was in the west, (though he had left Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provi-

sions and fortifications, and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the council,) and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the public schools to that purpose; and committing the custody of them to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers, that their guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the parliament armies were before the town, major general Brown, a citizen of London of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abingdon with a strong garrison; from whence, being superior in power, he infested Oxford very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortifications; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the king, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

The king had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and incomplacency. Upon the death of sir William Penniman, who had been governor of Oxford, to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a very good education, and well understanding the manners of the court, (the queen being then in Oxford,) her majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman catholic, prevailed with the king to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much detested, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the king well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his majesty had given an extraordinary commission to the lords of his council, to whose authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the king's direction, the lords disposed to assist the governor; and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: amongst them, colonel Gage was one; who having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the king; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford; and was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, both as a soldier and a wise man; of whom there will be hereafter more occasion to enlarge.

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable

extraction, his grandfather having been knight of the garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the archduke and duchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the lords of the council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

The garrison of Basing-house, the seat of the marquis of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three months, by a conjunction of the parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton; a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the king's march into the west, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the king sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the west, the council humbly desired his majesty, "that he would make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it," which his majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the lords of the council "to provide, in some manner, for his relief; and not to suffer his person, and a place from whence the rebels received so much prejudice, to fall into their hands." The lady marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the earl of Essex, and to the lady marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the service.

The council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the governor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any soldier, who understood command, would expose himself and the king's service to;" and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small garrison that was under his charge to be hazarded in the attempt." It was very true, Basing was near

forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of horse and foot at Abingdon, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of horse and dragoons quartered at Newbury; so that it appeared to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing: yet new importunities from the marquis, with a positive declaration, "that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant to his person, and to his religion;" and new instances from his lady prevailed with the lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this debate colonel Gage declared, "that though he thought the service full of hazard, especially for the return; yet if the lords would, by listing their own servants, persuade the gentlemen in the town to do the like, and engage their own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse might be raised, (upon which the principal dependence must be,) he would willingly, if there were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should give a good account of it:" which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person, of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland-house, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon,) the regiment of colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The lords mounted their servants upon their own horses; and they, with the volunteers, who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of colonel William Web, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with colonel Gage; and who, upon the catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of Oxford in the beginning of the night; and, by the morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his troops; which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he despatched an express to sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester; who had made a promise to the lords of the council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the siege before Basing, he would send one hundred horse and three hundred foot out of his garrison, for their assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters; whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house.

After some hours of refreshment in the morning, and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston,

a village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched, from the time they left Oxford, with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the parliament soldiers; and hoped, by that artifice to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston, found there some of the parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting, that the foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary and surbated.

Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from sir William Ogle, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his troops so far, in regard many of the enemy's horse lay between Winchester and Basing." This broke all the colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions; and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm; and gave them the word *St. George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the marquis, lest in his sallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the house, colonel Web leading the right wing, and lieutenant colonel Bunkly the left of the horse; and Gage himself the foot. They had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musketeers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the colonel only stayed to salute the marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was

only twelve barrels of powder, and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house; leaving one hundred foot to be led, by some officers of the garrison, to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house, as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder, and some muskets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains, Jarvis and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing-house; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house; and then, reasonably computing that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat to Oxford: which it was time to do: for besides that Norton had drawn all his men together, who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted; he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed, that the enemy from Abingdon had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbury, in two other villages upon the river Kennet; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, "that they should, by the next day noon, send such proportions of corn into Basing-house, as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand horse and dragoons sent to fire the towns." This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday the second night after he came thither, the marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford near a bridge which the enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe*; and then, marching by-ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading; and so escaped the enemy, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night; and the next day arrived safe at Oxford; having lost only two captains, and two or three other gentlemen, and common men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed they lost many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by enemies as well as friends, that it was as soldierly an action as had been per-

formed in the war on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander.

The next day after the army of Essex was gone, and dissolved, the king returned to his quarters at Boconnocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men; having sent, the day before, Grenvil, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plymouth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfour, and that body of horse; which, by passing over the bridge near Salt-ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-ash, which the enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of cannon, with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of those foot, excused his not fighting with Balfour when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too eager a pursuit, captain Samuel Wainman, a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a noble family. Thus Balfour, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the king's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the king had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that body of foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their arms; and so have made both officers and soldiers to become prisoners of war: by which the enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another army." But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the king's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August, and when a party of his majesty's horse surprised and seized the earl of Essex's own lieutenant colonel, and many other officers of name at Boconnocke, before his majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made; and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to those of the king's, (as it will appear anon,) when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the king's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the king's army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those enclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done

them little harm: besides the king very well knew at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency.

After this great victory, the king thought fit to renew his offer of peace; and sent a message to the two houses of parliament, to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message was sent by a trumpet to the earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the king was persuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: and if he could, by appearing before it, become master of it, which was not thought improbable, he would return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the west thoroughly reduced; for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it: for the earl of Essex had left the lord Roberts governor in that town; a man of a sour and surly nature, a great opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The king, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to sir Richard Grenvil, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in chancery, many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the lord Roberts and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side between them were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentlemen, sir Richard Grenvil, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the king's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had, in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature, or humour, not of kin

to him) to the brave sir Bevil Greenvil, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdown. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profession of a soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest general of that age, prince Maurice, and in the regiment of my lord Vere, who was general of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the end of the reign of king James, the war broke out between England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales, this gentleman served as a major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command, in the war that soon after followed against France; and, at the Isle of Rhee, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the duke of Buckingham, who was the general in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

His credit every day increased with the duke; who, out of the generosity of his nature, as a most generous person he was, resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk; yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own, near Plymouth; and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest marriage of the west. This lady, by the duke's credit, sir Richard Greenvil (for he was now made a knight and baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country; and where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being shortly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition; nor so great, as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unsociable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licenses in her own house, which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him; and was with all kindness received into that family, in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had, before her marriage with him, settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the earl of Suffolk, that the present right was

in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begat a suit in the chancery between sir Richard Greenvil and the then earl of Suffolk, before the lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve sir Richard Greenvil in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that, being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the earl appealed for reparation to the court of star-chamber; where sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the king; who gave the fine likewise to the earl: so that sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison; and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made, in that time, by the court of star-chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved, absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland. Among the first troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the parliament, (to whom the king had unhappily committed the prosecution thereof,) sir Richard Greenvil, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse; and was major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was, that he believed they had; and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true.

After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the parliament, for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the west, after the battle of Alresford, sir Richard Greenvil was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance theirs. He received from the parliament a great sum of money, for the making his equipage; in which he

always affected more than ordinary lustre; and sir William Waller communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire friend, and an officer of that eminence, [by] whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprise Basing-house, by a correspondence with the lord Edward Pawlet, brother to the marquis of Winchester, and then with him, as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. And for the better execution of this, sir Richard Greenvil was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage; which was very noble; a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: with those, when he came to Stanes, he left the Bagshot-road, and marched directly to Reading, where the king's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the king, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the king the whole design of the surprise of Basing; upon which the king sent an express immediately to the marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his brother, and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The marquis prevailed with the king, that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgments upon him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his proceedings against those of their party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

From Oxford he went quickly into the west, before he had any command there; declaring that he would assist colonel Digby; who, upon prince Maurice's departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plymouth; which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. And to him he had letters from the king, that he should put sir Richard Greenvil into the possession of his wife's estate, that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party; which the colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate: which was what he most set his heart upon.

One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the colonel; and dined with him; and the colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. And in his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with bur-

dens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own life, he was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than those of his family who had sharper parts,) charging them with such vigour as routed and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound, with a rapier, in the eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. And upon this accident sir Richard Greenvil was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the king's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon so private a person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the king's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The king was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; and in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the earl of Manchester to march towards the west with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle, before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six months together, required some rest and refreshment: the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the king marched from Plymouth, himself, attended only by his own troop, and the principal officers of the court, went to Exeter; appointing the army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton, and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of September.

His majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his army. His own body of foot,

which when he entered Cornwall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the king first viewed them at Kirton, was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenvil, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him, for the blocking of Plymouth; the rest were dwindled away; except, which was his usual artifice, he had encouraged them to stay for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to him, as many of them did; for his forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched eastward with the king. The king's horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds in money, which was presently distributed among the horse; and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings; which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into Somersetshire; where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the king left Exeter; which was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme; which were grown more insolent by the success they had had; and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exeter; and to restrain a stronger garrison in Taunton. For when prince Maurice raised his siege from Lyme, he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of sir John Stawel, a person of that notorious courage and fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore men in the castle to be kept by a lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison the earl put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, in both which they excelled, become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exeter were assigned, which were to receive orders from sir John Berkley, governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable; which was done during the king's stay at Exeter. The other of Taunton was more unhappily committed to colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater; who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the king stayed not a full week at Exeter; but hastened his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford, before the enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the money and

clothes (which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army, which had not had much rest.

It was the last of September, that the king marched from Chard; and quartered that night at a house of the lord Pawlet's, where prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and that he had left about two thousand horse under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the king would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those northern horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot, which were in Wales, under colonel Charles Gerrard, into Gloucestershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should still keep united, the prince from thence would be able to join with the king: but these orders were not executed in time. The king's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blandford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the king's, he retired to Shaftsbury, and those parts of Wiltshire adjacent. It concerned the king very much, before he left those parts, to relieve Portland-castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the earl of Essex's march that way. And to that purpose, he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland-castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his nephew prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dives was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne-castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Weymouth: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington-castle by Newbury, and Basing; which was again besieged by almost their whole army; and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by colonel John Fiennes, another son of the lord Say, with all the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry; and bravely defended by sir William Compton, full three months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the king came to Salisbury upon the fifteenth of October; where he understood, "that Waller lay at Andover with his troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as Reading with five thousand horse and foot, and four and twenty pieces of ordnance; and that four regiments of the trained bands of London were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the horse and foot of the earl of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting orders to join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford, which would have made a fair conclusion of the campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the king received letters from prince Rupert, in which he

declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his troops so soon as his majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington-castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the king to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller; who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the king, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex, in Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury at Langford, a house of the lord Gorges; where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the king appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon-park; and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was, (though his majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time,) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover, before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the king's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the king quartered that night at Andover. And the scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the king's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the king meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the siege of Donnington-castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford. And to that purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury; where he stayed with his army till they came up to him; and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington.

Donnington-castle had been (when Middleton from thence pursued his march into the west) left to the care of colonel Horton; who for some time was contented to block it up; but then finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abingdon and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of Sep-

tember; and made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury, and plied it so with his great cannon, that, after twelve days' continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if they gave up the castle before Wednesday at ten of the clock in the morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst them have his life spared." The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language; and sent him word, "he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive quarter." At this time, the earl of Manchester himself with his forces came to Newbury; and receiving no better answer to his own summons, than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service; and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle; and begun their approaches by saps; when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers; shot their chief cannoneer through the head, brought away their cannon baskets, and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery; and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the king's army; and thereupon they drew off their ordnance, and their trained bands of London being not yet come to them, the earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the king came to Newbury, the governor of Donnington attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the enemy, that his majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford, before he should relieve both Basing and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his majesty was well content that the earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford, "that colonel Gage, with some horse and foot from thence, should meet him;" which they did punctually; and came time enough to Banbury before they were expected: yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to fight. But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had

been sent out of the town the night before; and their foot, being above seven hundred, run out of Banbury upon the first advance of the king's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty; whilst the earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously charged and routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musketeers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their general, young Fiennes, continuing his flight, till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the enclosures, before colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken, in the chase, one field-piece, and three waggons of arms and ammunition; many slain; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers; some officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury; which had continued full thirteen weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent to them; and it was now relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the king two years before; being the 26th of October.

Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the king paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that service was performed, colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the king, had in the west, about the time the king entered into Cornwall, (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him,) desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service: but, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the king's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of the king's army, so they had advertisement of the earl of Northampton's being gone, with three regiments of horse, to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller, being united with Manchester, (with whom likewise the trained bands of London were now joined; all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior,) advanced towards the king, who had not half the number before the departure of the earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbury with a resolution to expect the return of that earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the king as soon as was possible, appeared as near as Thackham; so that his majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage [he had] of the town of Newbury and the river, the enemy would not speedily advance; and that in the mean

time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The king quartered in the town of Newbury; and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended by the river that runs under Donnington-castle, and in a house between that village and Newbury, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river of Kennet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were two open fields, where most of the horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen; and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all prince Maurice's foot, and some horse, and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up, which cleared the heath. And in this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On Sunday morning, the seven and twentieth of October, by the break of day, one thousand of the earl of Manchester's army, with the trained bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that was by Shaw; and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass that was near the house; that was intrenched where sir Bernard Astley lay; who instantly, with a good body of musketeers, fell upon the enemy; and not only routed them, but compelled them to rout two other bodies of their own men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm skirmishes in several parts; the enemy's army having almost encompassed the king's; and with much more loss to them, than to the king; till, about three of the clock in the afternoon, Waller with his own, and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river; which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, very many of them being gone off from their guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot, winged with horse, towards the heath; from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by reason the major part of them, upon confidence of security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbury; which they made good: at the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musketeers in the van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the king's horse stood, which at first received them in some disorder; but the queen's regiment of horse, commanded by sir John Cansfield, charged them with so much gallantry, that he routed that great body; which then fled;

and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the musketeers were slain, and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The king was at that time with the prince, and many of the lords, and other his servants, in the middle of that field; and could not, by his own presence, restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if sir John Cansfield had not, in that article of time, given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the king himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but, before they got thither, Goring, with the earl of Cleveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a hedge; and following them over that hedge, was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place; and having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand foot, of those under the earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw-house, and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by sir Jacob Astley and colonel George Lisle; and the house, by lieutenant colonel Page. They came singing of psalms; and, at first, drove forty musketeers from a hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently charged by sir John Brown, with the prince's regiment of horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanked that field, and gave fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, sir John Brown fell upon their rear, and killed many, and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several volleys, and then fell on them with the but-ends of their muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges, but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies behind them. At this time, a great body of their foot attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by lieutenant colonel Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion, that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the king, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered likewise in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him

round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his majesty, with the prince, and those lords who had been about him all the day, and his regiment of guards, retired into the fields under Donnington-castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the huge advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards Wallingford;" and to that purpose, all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington-castle; so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place; and receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come, or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his majesty himself with the prince, and about three hundred horse, made haste thither, and found prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The truth is, the king's army was not in so ill a condition, as the king conceived it to have been: that party which were in the field near Speen, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair moonshine night, the enemy, that was very near them, and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. And this was the last action between the armies; for about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the king's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington-castle; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages; and then prince Maurice, and the other officers, marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to sir Humphrey Bennet, (who had behaved himself very signally that day,) who, with his brigade of horse, marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy; who, in so light a night, could not but know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

Many made a question which party had the better of the day; and either was well enough with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy, than of the king's army; whereof were missing only sir William St. Leger, lieutenant colonel to the duke's regiment of foot; lieutenant colonel Topping, and lieutenant colonel Leake, both officers of horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers, in all places. The earl of Brentford, general of the army, was wounded on the head; sir John Cans-

field, sir John Greenvil, and lieutenant colonel Page, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being, for the most part, of no better families than the common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: but because the king's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters; and the parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the earl of Brentford remained that night in the castle, by reason of the hurt in his head, and so sent colonel Urry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to make him other large offers; all which the general rejected with the indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for and in the king's service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the king's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbury; and then drew up their whole army before Donnington-castle, and summoned the governor "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one stone upon another." To which the governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he would, by God's help, keep the ground." Afterwards seeing his obstinacy, they offered him "to march away with their arms, and all things belonging to the garrison;" and, when that moved not, that he "should carry all the cannon and ammunition with him:" to all which he answered, "that he wondered they would not be satisfied with so many answers that he had sent," and desired them "to be assured, that he would not go out of the castle, till the king sent him order so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it; but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury in great faction among themselves; every man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole day's service.

The king met prince Rupert, as he expected, with colonel Gerrard, and sir Marmaduke Langdale; and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, that so he might march back to Newbury, and disengage his cannon and carriages. By the way he met the earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having with marvellous expedition caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous on Bullington Green; where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot, which he drew out of Oxford, under the command of colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot, and five thousand horse; with which he marched to Wallingford; and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington-castle, found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to

decline fighting with the enemy; but would be first possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition.

The enemy's army lay still at Newbury, perplexed with the divisions and factions among their own officers, without any notice of the king's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the king put his army into battalia; prince Rupert, who was now declared general, led the van, and got possession of the heath, on the back side of the castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that heath the king's army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, they marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbury, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field toward Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back side of Newbury; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the king had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the king after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the month of November, but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the king saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had relieved the castle, and put sufficient provisions into it, and that it was in his power to draw off his ordnance and ammunition from thence, he had done his business; and if any honour had been lost the other day, it was regained now, by his having passed his army over the river in the face of theirs, and offered them battle, which they durst not accept." Upon which the king resolved to attempt them no farther, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came over the river. So the king lay that night at Donnington-castle, and all the army about him.

The king had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the Sunday morning the tenth of November, his majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campaign, to Lamborne; in which march, some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken prisoners. There the king quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington; having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the enemy lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely, from the time that Gage had relieved it. And he had a great mind to do it with his whole

army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle: but, upon full debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong party; that one thousand horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a bag of corn, or other provisions, and march so as to be at Basing-house the next morning after they parted from the army; and then every trooper was to cast down his bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might:" and colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. And the better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch that party: so his majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury: the enemy was in mean time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded; but finding the marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the king without any inconvenience. His majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some hope to have surprised Abingdon in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had hitherto had their head quarter at Abingdon, and those places which were now under the power of that governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

The king was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the governor, sir Arthur Aston, having, some months before, in the managing his horse in the fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active service; his majesty resolved to confer that government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant for one thousand pounds a year pension for his life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon colonel Gage, whom he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor, that he besought the king to confer that charge upon any other person; and when he found that his majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to tell the king from him, "that, though he was himself a Roman catholic, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his majesty's protestant subjects; and could not but inform him, that Gage was the most Jesuited papist alive; that he had a Jesuit who lived with him; and that he was present at all the sermons among the catholics; which he believed would be very much to his majesty's disservice." So much his passion and animosity overruled his conscience.

The king liked the choice he had made; and only advised the new governor, by one of his friends, "to have so much discretion in his carriage, that there might be no notice taken of the exercise of his religion:" to which animadversion he answered, "that he never had dissembled his religion, nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in the exercise of it, that he knew there could be no witness produced, who had ever seen him at mass in Oxford, though he heard mass every day; and that he had never been but once at a sermon, which was at the lodging of sir Arthur's daughter, to which he had been invited with great importunity, and believed now that it was to entrap him." But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down Culham-bridge near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design, which was never pursued after his death; and in truth the king sustained a wonderful loss in his death; he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and among the very few soldiers, who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed.

Though the king's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the summer, he had reason to expect, (he had broken and defeated two armies of the parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces,) yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief; his quarters shortened and lessened by the loss of the whole north: for after the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for the king; and when that work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places, as the parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The king's army was less united than ever; the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change: for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any action he was sprightly, and commanded well. The prince was rough, and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Colepepper, who were only present in debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed. The truth is, all the army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a neglect and contempt of the council; and the king himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the respect due to it; in which he lost of his own dignity.

Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to prince Rupert, than

Wilmot had been; and had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired,) a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory; and, in one of those fits, he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable license. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained, by any respect to good-nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would, without hesitation, have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt in wickedness of any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his masterpiece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The court was not much better disposed than the army; they who had no preferment were angry with those who had, and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: they who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the titles they had received upon their violent importunity. So that the king was without any joy in the favours he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind, who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one man this way, displeased one hundred; as his creating the lord Colepepper at this time, and making him a baron, (who, in truth, had served him with great abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it,) did much dissatisfy both the court and the army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no

ornament of education, to make men the more propitious to his parts of nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same obligation.

There had been another counsel entered upon, and concluded with great deliberation and wisdom, which turned at this time to his majesty's disadvantage; which was the cessation in Ireland; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope to have made a good peace there, and so to have had the power of that united kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the rebellion in this. But now, as all the supplies he had received from thence upon the cessation had been already destroyed, without any benefit to the king, so his majesty found, that he should not be able to make a peace there; and then the government there would be in the worse condition, by being deprived of so many good officers and soldiers upon the conclusion of the cessation. There had been commissioners from that time sent over to the king from the confederate catholics, to treat a peace; the lord lieutenant and council had sent likewise commissioners to inform the king of all things necessary to be considered in the treaty; and the parliament which was then sitting in Ireland had sent likewise commissioners, in the name of the protestants in that kingdom, to prevent the making any peace; and with a petition to dissolve the cessation that had been made.

The commissioners from the confederate catholics demanded "the abrogation and repeal of all those laws, which were in force against the exercise of the Roman religion: that the lieutenant, or chief governor, should be a Roman catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that religion should not be capable of any preferment in the kingdom, as well as the protestants;" together with the repeal of several laws, which that nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The commissioners from the state (whereof some were of the privy-council) professed, "that they desired a peace might be made;" but proposed, in order, as they said, to the security of the kingdom, "that all the Irish might be disarmed; and such among them as had been most signal and barbarous in the massacres in the beginning of the rebellion, might be excepted from pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law: that the laws might be put in execution against all Roman catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, priests, and friars; and that they might be obliged to pay all the damages which had been sustained by the war."

The commissioners from the protestants demanded, "that the cessation might be dissolved, and the war carried on with the utmost rigour, according to the act of parliament that had been made in the beginning of the rebellion, and that no peace might be made on any conditions."

The king demanded of the Irish, "whether they believed it could be in his power, if it were agreeable to his conscience, to grant them their demands? and whether he must not thereby purchase Ireland with the loss of England and Scotland?" There were among them some sober men, who confessed, "that, as his majesty's affairs then stood, they believed he

"could not grant it; and they hoped, that their general assembly would, when they should be informed of the truth of his majesty's condition, which was not known to them, be persuaded to depart from some of their demands; but that, for the present, they had not authority to recede from any one proposition."

The king then asked the commissioners who had been sent over by the marquis of Ormond, lieutenant of the kingdom, "which forces they thought to be the stronger, the king's army, or that of the rebels?" They confessed "the rebels to be much superior in power, and that they were possessed of more than three parts of the kingdom." The king then asked them, "whether they thought it probable, now they found themselves to be the stronger, that they would be persuaded to yield to so disadvantageous terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the mercy of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed that they were able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in Ireland, to pay the damages, which had been sustained by the war?" The commissioners acknowledged, "that they thought the last impossible, and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the protestants in that kingdom, but by leaving the Irish without any capacity or ability to trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must either be put into such a condition, by being totally disarmed, that they should not be able to do any mischief; or that all the protestants must leave the kingdom to the entire possession of the Irish; and whether that would be for his majesty's service and security, they must refer to his own wisdom."

The king then sent for the commissioners from the parliament, on the behalf of the protestants, and asked them, "whether they were ready, if the cessation were expired, to renew the war, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the reduction or suppression of the Irish?" They answered very clearly, "that, in the state they were in, they could not carry on the war, or defend themselves against the Irish, who were much superior to them in power; but if his majesty would recruit his army, and send over money, and arms, and ammunition, with shipping, they made no doubt, but, with God's blessing, they should be able shortly to reduce them, and drive them out of the kingdom." The king then asked them, "whether they did in truth think, that his majesty was able to send them such supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not, in their consciences, know, that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own support?" They answered, "that they hoped he would make a peace with the parliament, and would then be able to send over such assistance to Ireland, as would quickly settle that kingdom."

But, after all these discourses, his majesty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their demands; whereupon he dismissed them, and told the Irish, "it had been in their power so far to have obliged

him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a nation."

And so they all left Oxford; and his majesty, notwithstanding all this resolution not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the protestant interest in that kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in England, than by having made that cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the nation then, under the absurd imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish.

The straits in which the king now was, brought him to some reflections which he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger children were taken from the governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the parliament quarters, but expressly by their order put into the custody of one in whom the king could have the less confidence, because it was one in whom the parliament confided so much. He had with him the prince and the duke of York, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what governor or servants he put about him; resolving to form his manners by his own model. But now he began to say, "that himself and the prince were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight:" but communicated these thoughts only with the lord Digby, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the lord Colepepper upon the subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he conferred with nobody. There was but one province in which the prince could reside, after he was severed from the king; and that was the west; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the rebels being possessed of Taunton, the chief town in Somersetshire; and though it was an open and unfortified place, it was very strong against the king in the natural disaffection of the inhabitants, which were very numerous, and all the places adjacent of the same ill principles; and Waller had already sent some troops thither to confirm them in their rebellious inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a body sufficient to form an army for the reduction of the west: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the Scotch army, upon the recovery of all the north, had shaken and terrified all the kingdom; and the king's army was the last enemy the west had been acquainted with, and had left no good name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, Goring (who had now made a fast friendship with the lord Digby, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the engagement)

was sent with some troops to Salisbury, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of Waller; without which, Taunton would be in a short time reduced by the garrisons the king had in the country; so that this alteration rather confirmed than diverted his majesty, in his thoughts of sending the prince thither: so that he began to publish his purpose, and named counsellors to be with his highness, by whose advice all things should be done; his majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the prince should go no farther west than Bristol; and that there might no jealousies arise from this action, (which every body knew was so far from the king's former purpose; and it might be imagined, that his highness would be sent to the queen his mother into France, which many unreasonably apprehended,) the king declared what council he intended should be about his son; the reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the prince's lodging, to consider with his highness what preparations should be made for his journey, and in what manner his family should be established." There was one person more, who of necessity was to wait on the person of the prince, which was the earl of Berkshire, his governor; and then his majesty found, what false measures he had taken in the conferring that province, and lamented his own error to those he trusted, but knew not how to prevent the inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the prince's reverence and esteem for his governor; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the governor without any more authority, than every one of the council had; and so much less, as the prince had a better esteem of every one of them, than he had of him: and so left him without a governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the earl of Berkshire too.

When the king was in this melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear, that the disorder the parliament was in was superior to his. The cause of all the distractions in his court or army proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of money would, in a moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the wealth of the kingdom, for they were possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole government of the parliament: and all the personal animosities imaginable broke out in their councils, and in their armies; and the house of peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the commons.

That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must

be despatched by new workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the earl of Essex, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the king. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustained in Cornwall very well; and would have been glad, that both he and his army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his officers and soldiers were corrupted in their affections towards them, and desired nothing but peace: so that they resolved never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved earl of Manchester, upon whom they depended as a fast friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the earl of Essex of all inconvenient authority in the army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between him and Oliver Cromwell, which was irreconcilable, and which had brought some counsels upon the stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accused the earl of Manchester "of having betrayed the parliament out of cowardice; for that he might, at the king's last being at Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, very easily have defeated his whole army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shewed him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat; and the earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and do as he should think fit: but that the earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another army to keep up the war; but if that army which he commanded should be overthrown, before the other under the earl of Essex should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law."

This pronunciation what the law would do against them was very heavily taken by the parliament, as if the earl believed the law to be against them, after so many declarations made by them, "that the law was on their side, and that the king's arms were taken up against the law." The earl confessed "he had used words to that effect, that they should be treated as traitors, if their army was defeated, when he did not approve the advice that was given by the lieutenant general; which would have exposed the army to greater hazard, than he thought seasonable in that conjuncture, in the middle of the winter, to expose it to." He then recriminated Cromwell, "that, at another time, Cromwell discoursing freely with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing somewhat to be done," the earl had answered, "that the parliament would never approve it:" to which Cromwell presently replied, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army, that shall give the law to king and parliament: which discourse," he said, made great impression in him; for he knew the lieutenant general to be a man of very

“deep designs; and therefore he was the more careful to preserve an army, which he yet thought was very faithful to the parliament.”

This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to Cromwell, and had observed the fierceness of his nature, and the language he commonly used when there was any mention of peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examined, and brought to judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the earl of Manchester, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries which they were not yet ready to produce. However the animosities increased, and the parties appeared barefaced against each other; which increased the distractions, and divided the city as well as the parliament; and new opinions started up in religion, which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and fanatics were now first brought into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly disposed men of any sober understanding to wish for peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the parliament.

The Scottish commissioners were as jealous and as unsatisfied as any other party; and found, since the battle of York, neither their army nor themselves so much considered as before, nor any conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and sir Henry Vane, and all that party; which they saw increased every day, and grew powerful in the parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it; of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many clergymen, who were the most popular preachers, and who in the assembly of divines had great authority: so that the Scots plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their presbyterian government; without which they should lose all their credit in their own country, and all their interest in England. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that party prevailed, to change the whole frame of the government, as well civil as ecclesiastical, and to reduce the monarchy to a republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that nation, as to restore episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the mischief and confusion that would fall out, but by a peace; which they began heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a treaty on foot, they knew not.

The house of peers, three or four men excepted, wished it, but had no power to compass it. In the house of commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, “that they would accept of a proposition for a treaty, if the king desired it; but that it would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious consequence to the nation, if the parliament first

“proposed it.” So that it seemed evident, that if any of the party which did in truth desire peace, should propose it to the parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of honour, by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

They tried their old friends of the city, who had served their turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a petition, by which the parliament should be moved “to send to the king to treat of peace.” But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite party were appointed to set a counter petition on foot, by which they should “disclaim any consent [to], or approbation of, the other petition; not that they did not desire peace as much as their neighbours,” (nobody was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against peace,) “but that they would not presume to move the parliament in it, because they knew, their wisdom knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it.”

And this petition found more countenance among the magistrates, the mayor, and aldermen; sir Henry Vane having diligently provided, that men of his own principles and inclinations should be brought into the government of the city; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two houses to propose it to the king, that they resolved, “it could only rise from his majesty; and to that purpose they should all labour with their several friends at Oxford, to incline the king to send a message to the parliament, to offer a treaty of peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected.”

The independent party, (for under that style and appellation they now acted, and owned themselves,) which feared and abhorred all motions towards peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their generals, but how to lay them aside [was the difficulty]; especially the earl of Essex, who had been so entirely their founder, that they owed not more to the power and reputation of parliament, than to his sole name and credit: the being able to raise an army, and conducting it to fight against the king, was purely due to him, and the effect of his power. And now to put such an affront upon him, and to think of another general, must appear the highest ingratitude, and might provoke the army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that trust, was to betray their own designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disentangle themselves out of this labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or supplying their armies, nor to provide for any winter expedition; only they sent Waller out, with such troops towards the west, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the parliament; and of all men, the Scotch commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the

method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the parliament. They agreed therefore in the houses, (and in those combinations they were always unanimous,) "that they would have "a solemn fast-day, in which they would seek "God," (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their covenant,) "and desire "his assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the preachers who were to perform that exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a schism among their clergy, as well as the laity, and the independents were the bolder and more political men.

When the fast-day came, (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches,) the preachers prayed "the parliament might be inspired with those thoughts, as might contribute "to their honour and reputation; and that they "might preserve that opinion the nation had of "their honesty and integrity, and be without any "selfish ends, or seeking their own benefit and "advantage." After this preparation by their prayers, the preachers, let their texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no "wonder there was such division among them in "their counsels, when there was no union in their "hearts: that the parliament lay under many reproaches, not only among their enemies, but "with their best friends; who were the more out "of countenance, because they found that the "aspersions and imputations which their enemies "had laid upon them were so well grounded, that "they could not wipe them off: that there was as "great pride, as great ambition, as many private "ends, and as little zeal and affection for the public, as they had ever imputed to the court: that, "whilst they pretended, at the public cost, and "out of the purses of the poor people, to make "a general reformation, they took great care to "grow great and rich themselves; and that both "the city and kingdom took notice, with great "anxiety of mind, that all the offices of the army, "and all the profitable offices of the kingdom, "were in the hands of the members of the two "houses of parliament; who, whilst the nation "grew poor, as it must needs do under such insupportable taxes, grew very rich; and would, in "a short time, get all the money of the kingdom "into their hands; and that it could not reasonably be expected, that such men, who got so "much, and enriched themselves to that degree, "by the continuance of the war, would heartily "pursue those ways which would put an end to it; "the end whereof must put an end to their exorbitant profit." And when they had exaggerated these reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the sense the people generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that reformation in church and state, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their prayers, "that "God would take his own work into his hand; "and if the instruments he had already employed "were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to "a conclusion, that he would inspire others more

"fit, who might perfect what was begun, and "bring the trouble of the nation to a godly "period."

When the two houses met together, the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, "if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; and that it appeared, it proceeded from "God, because (as he was credibly informed by "many, who had been auditors in other congregations) the same lamentations and discourses had "been made in all other churches, as the godly "preachers had made before them; which could "therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit "of God." He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge; and besought them "to remember their "obligations to God, and to their country; and "that they would free themselves from those just "reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, "than by divesting themselves of all offices and "charges, that might bring in the least advantage "and profit to themselves; by which only they "could make it appear, that they were publichearted men; and as they paid all taxes and "impositions with the rest of the nation, so they "gave up all their time to their country's service, "without any reward or gratuity."

He told them, "that the reflections of yesterday, "none of which had ever entered upon his spirit "before, had raised another reflection in him than "had been mentioned; which was, that it had "been often taken notice of, and objected by the "king himself, that the numbers of the members "of parliament, who sat in either house, were too "few to give reputation to acts of so great moment, as were transacted in their councils; which, "though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their "proper stations, but of those who had deserted "their places, and their trusts, by being absent "from the parliament; yet that, in truth, there "were too many absent, though in the service of "the house, and by their appointment; and if all "the members were obliged to attend the service "of the parliament, in the parliament, it would "bring great reputation to their numbers, and the "people would pay more reverence, and yield a "fuller obedience to their commands:" and then concluded, "that he was ready to accuse himself "for one of those who gained by an office he had; "and though he was possessed of it before the "beginning of the troubles, and owed it not to "the favour of the parliament," (for he had been joined with sir William Russel in the treasurership of the navy, by the king's grant,) "yet he was "ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the "parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof "might be applied towards the support of the "war."

When the ice was thus broke, Oliver Cromwell, who had not yet arrived at the faculty of speaking with decency and temper, commended the preachers "for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which "they had been so unwilling to hear of: that "there were many things, upon which he had "never reflected before, yet upon revolving what "had been said, he could not but confess, that all "was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been

"recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the war, to engage many members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see that they did not intend to embark them in perils of war, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of gunshot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those honourable persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their example: but, that God had so blessed their army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent officers, who were fit for much greater charges than they were now possessed of;" and desired them "not to be terrified with an imagination, that if the highest offices were vacant, they would not be able to put as fit men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this depended upon any one man, he did take upon him to assure them, that they had officers in their army, who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christendom."

He said, "he thought nothing so necessary as to purge and vindicate the parliament from the partiality towards their own members;" and made a proffer to lay down his commission of command in the army; and desired, "that an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful for any member of either house of parliament to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment of profit in the state;" and so concluded with an enlargement upon "the vices and corruptions which were gotten into the army; the profaneness, and impiety, and absence of all religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of license, and laziness;" and said plainly, "that till the whole army were new modelled, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success in any thing they went about."

And this debate ended in appointing a committee, "to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from the trust aforesaid;" which took up much debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *self-denying ordinance*; the driving on of which exceedingly increased the inclination of the other party to peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to Oxford, that the king should send a message to the houses for peace, with an assurance that it would not be rejected, that his majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own friends upon the conditions of peace, out of the universal weariness of the war, as he discerned there was among his enemies upon the emulation in command, or differences in religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The members of parliament were still sitting at Oxford: but they at London who were most desirous of peace, had given warning to avoid that rock; and that their names should never be men-

tioned; which would have procured an union between the most irreconcilable parties, in throwing out such overtures. On the other side, the sending a bare message, by a trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent answer in the same way, or no answer at all, as his two or three last messages had done.

In conclusion, the king resolved that there should be a short message drawn; in which "the continuance of the war, and the mischiefs it brought upon the kingdom, should be lamented: and therefore his desire expressed, that some reasonable conditions of peace might be thought upon; assuring them that his majesty would be willing to consent to any thing, that could consist with his conscience and honour." He resolved, that he would send this message by some persons of condition; who might, upon conference with their friends, be able to make some impression; at least discover what might be reasonably expected. And if the parliament should refuse to grant a safe conduct for such messengers, it might well be presumed, what reception the message itself was like to find. The persons he resolved to send, were the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton; both of unblemished honour, and of general reputation in the kingdom. So a trumpet was sent to the earl of Essex for a safe guard, or pass, to those two lords; to the end they might deliver a message from the king to the two houses concerning a treaty of peace. To which the earl of Essex only answered, "that he would acquaint the houses with it, and return their answer;" and so dismissed the trumpet.

The king had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolved never to admit a peace, though they could not still prevent a treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual message: "If the message itself had been sent, they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with good success, and so might have accepted a treaty, if they had approved of it; but this sending of messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a treaty before they admitted it; and to send enemies into their quarters, with authority to scatter their poison abroad:" and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, "that no such pass should be sent." On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alleged, "that the refusal of the safe conduct was a total rejection of peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offered; which the people would take very ill from them, and conclude that the war must continue for ever; they therefore wished that a safe guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their friends, than to imagine that the presence or power of two men, how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt or pervert their affections from the parliament."

In this opinion the Scottish commissioners likewise concurred; so that the other party found it necessary to consent, and the safe conduct, after many debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their friends abroad to be overpowered, they revenged themselves in pursuing the despatch of their *self-denying ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of

that was manifestly that they should be without a general, it was already proposed, "that sir Thomas Fairfax" (who had behaved himself so signally in their service in the defeat of colonel Bellasis, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in Yorkshire, from their being shut up and besieged in Hull; in the overthrow of the lord Byron, and taking all the Irish regiments; and lastly in the late battle at York, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the Scots' army was routed, and their general fled) "might now be made their general;" for which Oliver Cromwell assured them he was very equal. And in the discourses upon this subject, (which found all opposition,) as the service of the earl of Essex was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other general, so it was undervalued and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if he were not totally excluded from any power.

Shortly after the beginning of December, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, upon their pass, went from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the people should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the Scottish commissioners, as men in sovereign authority, and independent upon the parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the war was carried on only by the authority of the parliament. Then the message being delivered to either house, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the Scottish commissioners made a third estate, and the message was directed to them as well as to the houses. In the end it was resolved, "that there should be a conference between the two houses in the painted chamber; at which the Scottish commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the king's messengers:" where there was a seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that they would be so too: for though the lords used to be covered whilst the commons were bare, yet the commons would not be bare before the Scottish commissioners; and so none were covered. But as soon as the two lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that eyesore.

The [two] lords used very few words, in letting them know the king's great inclinations to peace; and delivered and read their message to that purpose; which was received by the lords without any other expressions than "that they should report it to the houses;" and so the meeting broke up: and then many of the lords, and some of the commons, passed some compliments and ceremony to the two lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send confident persons to them. They found there were great divisions among them, and upon points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believed that there would be a treaty of peace; but they could not make any such guess of the moderation

of the conditions of the peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon the highest terms of honour and security for the parliament; which could neither be secure nor honourable for the king. They discovered, that they who did heartily wish the peace, did intend to promote a treaty between persons named by the king and persons named by the parliament, to meet at some third place, and not that they should send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not like to produce a better end: whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the propositions should be, upon which they treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This method was not ungrateful to the two lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober men were named for commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their communication. And the duke of Richmond sent his secretary Web expressly to Oxford, to know the king's pleasure, "whether, if a third place were proposed for commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" which his majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they stayed in town, the houses would never so much as confer upon the subject of their message; because they found it would be matter of great debate, and spend much time; during which they did not desire their company, nor to be troubled with their infusions." And therefore, as soon as they had received the king's message, they proceeded upon their trial of the archbishop of Canterbury before both houses of parliament, upon an impeachment of high treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the people, of what resolution they had to make a peace with the king. The two lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their friends not to stay longer, but to expect the determination to be sent to Oxford, returned to the king, with some confidence that a treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some third place, and not at Oxford, and less at London, by commissioners which should be agreed on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the king, from all those with whom they had conferred, and who were the chief persons who advanced the treaty, "that, if that which they laboured for should be yielded to by the parliament, his majesty would not name a person" (whom they mentioned to the king) "for one of his commissioners; for that he was so odious, that they would absolutely decline the treaty, before they would admit him to be one of the treaters."

It was, as is said before, a very sad omen to the treaty, that, after they had received the king's message by those noble lords, and before they returned any answer to it, they proceeded in the trial of the

archbishop of Canterbury; who had lain prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the parliament, full four years, without any prosecution till this time, when they brought him to the bars of both houses; charging him with several articles of high treason; which, if all that was alleged against him had been true, could not have made him guilty of treason. They accused him "of a design to bring in popery, and of having correspondence with the pope," and such like particulars, as the consciences of his greatest enemies absolved him from. No man was a greater or abler enemy to popery; no man a more resolute and devout son of the church of England. He was prosecuted by lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own antipathy to the church and bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring passion, animosity, and malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted courage, and less passion than was expected from his constitution; answered all their objections with clearness and irresistible reason; and convinced all men of his integrity, and his detestation of all treasonable intentions. So that though few excellent men have ever had fewer friends to their persons, yet all reasonable men absolved him from any foul crime that the law could take notice of, and punish. However, when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing, as the lords, as the supreme court of judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death, they resorted to their legislative power, and by ordinance of parliament, as they called it, that is, by a determination of those members who sat in the houses, (whereof in the house of peers there were not above twelve,) they appointed him to be put to death, as guilty of high treason. The first time that two houses of parliament had ever assumed that jurisdiction, or that ever ordinance had been made to such a purpose, nor could any rebellion be more against the law, than that murderous act.

When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose, of bringing the archbishop to a trial for his life, the chancellor of the exchequer, who had always a great reverence and affection for him, had spoken to the king of it, and proposed to him, "that in all events, there might be a pardon prepared, and sent to him, under the great seal of England; to the end, if they proceeded against him in any form of law, he might plead the king's pardon; which must be allowed by all who pretended to be governed by the law; but if they proceeded in a martial, or any other extraordinary way, without any form of law, his majesty should declare his justice and affection to an old faithful servant, whom he much esteemed, in having done all towards his preservation that was in his power to do." The king was wonderfully pleased with the proposition; and took from thence occasion to commend the piety and virtue of the archbishop, with extraordinary affection; and commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to cause the pardon to be drawn, and his majesty would sign and seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon

the chancellor sent for sir Thomas Gardiner, the king's solicitor, and told him the king's pleasure; upon which he presently prepared the pardon, and it was signed and sealed with the great seal of England, and carefully sent, and delivered into the archbishop's own hand, before he was brought to his trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a testimony of the king's gracious affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the king's life, would preserve his by his majesty's authority.

When the archbishop's council had perused the pardon, and considered that all possible exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at Oxford, because they had no copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any court of law, would make the pardon valid against any exceptions the king's own council could make against it. Hereupon, the archbishop had, by the same messenger, returned the pardon again to the chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his trial. So when his trial was over, and the ordinance passed for the cutting off his head, and he called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" he told them, "that he had the king's gracious pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the pardon read in both houses; where, without any long debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament." And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his execution; which he underwent with all Christian courage and magnanimity, to the admiration of the beholders, and confusion of his enemies. Much hath been said of the person of this great prelate before, of his great endowments, and natural infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this place, (his memory deserving a particular celebration,) than that his learning, piety, and virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best men.

When they had despatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good affection and courage of their friends, and involved the two houses in fresh guilt and obloquy, (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more authority advance the peace that was desired,) they now enter upon the debate, "what answer they should send the king, concerning a treaty for peace." They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new modelling the army, and to prevent the increase of those factions in religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of peace, discerned plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the army, and set many other devices on foot, which would contribute

to their convenience, until this longed-for treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolved, that there should be a treaty, and upon the method that should be observed in the conducting it; from which they who should be employed by them, should not recede or be diverted.

And then they nominated sixteen commissioners for the two houses, and four for the parliament of Scotland, and named Uxbridge for the place where the treaty should be; which treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their answer to the message they had received from the king by a trumpet, in a letter from their general to the king's general; in which they informed his majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire of peace, they had agreed to his proposition for a treaty; and that they had assigned Uxbridge for the place where it should be; and had appointed the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Denbigh, of the house of peers; and of the commons, the lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Saint-John," (whom they called the king's solicitor general,) "sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Prideaux; and for the kingdom of Scotland, the lord Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, the lord Maitland," (who, by the death of his father, became earl of Lauderdale by the time of the treaty,) "sir Charles Erskin, and one Mr. Barclay, to be their commissioners; together with Mr. Alexander Henderson, in matters only which relate to the church; to treat, upon the particulars they had intrusted them with, with such persons, as his majesty should please to nominate; for all whom a safe conduct should be sent, as soon as his majesty had named them; as they desired his majesty's safe conduct for the persons named by them:" to none of which the king took any exception, but signed their pass; and sent word to the houses, "that he accepted the treaty, and the place, and that he had nominated, as commissioners for him, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of Chichester, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, controller of the king's household; the lord Colepepper, master of the rolls; sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer; sir Edward Nicholas, principal secretary of state; sir Richard Lane, lord chief baron of his court of exchequer; sir Thomas Gardiner, his majesty's solicitor general; sir Orlando Bridgman, attorney of his court of wards; Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffry Palmer; and desired that a safe conduct might be sent for them, as his majesty had sent for the others; and they should then be ready, at the day that was set down, at Uxbridge."

When this was returned to Westminster, there arose new disputes upon the persons named by the king, or rather against the additions, and appellations of title, which were made to their names; for they did not except against the persons of either of them, though many were most ungracious to them.

When the lord keeper Littleton had fled from Westminster, upon his majesty's commands to attend him at York, the two houses had, in their

fury, declared, "that nothing which should, from that time, pass under the great seal, should be good and valid, but void and null." Which they did to discredit any commission, which they foresaw might issue out for their conviction, trial, and attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a great seal to be made with the king's image, for the despatch of the necessary process in law, and proceedings in courts of justice; which seal was committed by them to some of their members, who had sat in the chancery, and transacted the business of that court, and applied the seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this declaration and ordinance of theirs invaded in this message they had now received from the king. The lord Dunsmore was created earl of Chichester; sir Christopher Hatton, lord Hatton; sir John Colepepper, lord Colepepper, with the addition of master of the rolls; which office they had bestowed upon Lenthall their speaker, who was in possession of it; sir Edward Hyde was declared chancellor of the exchequer; which, though it was an office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the great seal, after it came into the king's hands. Sir Thomas Gardiner was made the king's solicitor; and the patent formerly granted to their beloved Saint-John, stood revoked, which they would not endure, having, as is said, annexed that title to his name when they mentioned him as a commissioner for their treaty. They had the same exception to the chief baron, and to the attorney of the wards; both which offices were in the possession of men more in their favour.

After long debate, they were contented to insert their names in their safe conduct, without their honours or offices; and they were so angry with the chancellor of the exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a knight, because he was not so when he left the parliament: but the Scottish commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the use of the king's sword from him; so they allowed him, by a majority of votes, to be a knight, and sent their safe conduct, in the manner as is mentioned, to Oxford: upon which the king, upon the desire of the persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own pass, and in his commission whereby they were authorized to treat with them, the style and appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allowed by the others before they begun to treat. The style of their pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private animadversion given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the treaty, consider any authority that qualified them to treat, but only what should be under the king's sign-manual," though they would not take that for a sufficient warrant for themselves to treat with the king's enemies; at last they were contented, together with a commission under the great seal of England, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the sign-manual, as was desired.

About the end of January, or the beginning of February, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; which being within the enemy's quarters, the king's commissioners were to have such accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the town to the king's commissioners, one house only excepted,

which was given to the earl of Pembroke; so that they had no cause to complain of their accommodation, which was as good as the town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a fair house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, which was handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in; a large square table being placed in the middle, and some seats for the commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other rooms on either side of this great room, for the commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult together, and to return again to the public debate; and there being good stairs at either end of the house, they never went through each other's quarters; nor met, but in the great room.

As soon as the king's commissioners came to the town, all those of the parliament came to visit and to welcome them, and, within an hour, those of the king's returned their visits with ordinary civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the treaty would produce a good peace. The visits were all together, and in one room; the Scots being in the same room with the English; either party eating always together, there being two great inns which served very well to that purpose. The duke of Richmond, being steward of his majesty's house, kept his table there for all the king's commissioners: nor was there any restrained from giving and receiving visits apart, as their acquaintance and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the king's party used their accustomed freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side there was great wariness and reservedness, and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give or receive visits to or from their old friends, whom they loved better than their new. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the king's commissioners, but had always one of their companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the town, and the people that flocked thither, that the king's commissioners looked as if they were at home, and governed the town, and the other as if they were not in their own quarters: and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of mind, as men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

The king's commissioners would willingly have performed their devotions in the church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is, by inhibition from the parliament, otherwise than that by the parliament's ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the vestures nor ceremonies of the church to be used. So that the days of devotion were observed in their great room of the inn; whither many of the country, and the train of the commissioners, and other persons, who came every day from London, usually resorted.

When the commissioners on both sides met first together in the room appointed for the treaty, and had taken their seats, it being left to the king's commissioners which side of the table they would take, the earl of Northumberland, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the papers, (after the powers of both

sides were examined and perused,) proposed some rules to be observed in the treaty; "of having "nothing binding, except all were agreed upon," and such like; to which there was no objection; and proposed, as a direction they had received from the parliament, "that they should first enter upon "the matter of religion, and treat four entire days "upon that subject, without entering upon any "other; and if all differences in that particular "were not adjusted within those days, they should "then proceed to the next point, which was the "militia; and observe the same method in that, "and from thence pass to the business of Ireland; "which three points being well settled, they believed the other differences would be with more "ease composed: and after those twelve days were "passed, they were to go round again upon the "several subjects, as long as the time limited "would continue: his majesty being left at liberty "to propose what he thought fit, at his own time, "and to break the method proposed." And it was declared, "that the twenty days, limited for "the treaty, were to be reckoned of the days "which should be spent in the treaty, and not the "days of coming or returning, or the days spent "in devotion;" there falling out three Sundays and one fast-day in those first twenty days. The method was willingly consented to; the king's commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the king's behalf, till they discerned what agreement was like to be made in any one particular; by which they might take their measures, and they could propose any thing of moment under one of the three heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd accident, the very first morning they met at the house to agree upon their method to be observed in the treaty. It was a market-day, when they used always to have a sermon, and many of the persons who came from Oxford in the commissioners' train, went to the church to observe the forms. There was one Love, a young man, that came from London with the commissioners, who preached, and told his auditory, which consisted of the people of the town, and of those who came to the market, the church being very full, "that they were not to expect any "good from the treaty; for that they were men of "blood who were employed in it from Oxford, "who intended only to amuse the people with expectation of peace, till they were able to do some "notable mischief to them;" and inveighed so seditiously against all cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the king, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the people to mutiny, and in it to do some act of violence upon the commissioners. Who were no sooner advertised of it, by several persons who had been present in the church, and who gave very particular information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other commissioners of it; gave them a charge in writing against the preacher, and demanded public justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the man; but afterwards confessed, "that "they had no authority to punish him, but that "they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, "and to be sent out of the town:" and this was all that could be obtained; so unwilling they

were to discountenance any man who was willing to serve them. This is the same Love, who some years after, by Cromwell's particular prosecution, had his head cut off, upon Tower Hill, for being against the army.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to set down the particular transactions of this treaty; which were published by the king's order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the papers which had been delivered by the commissioners on either side, exposed to the view of the kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be shortly mentioned, that they, who hereafter may have the perusal of this [history], may know how impossible it was, that this treaty could produce such a peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the parliament then, had at that time the resolution to act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

The first business to be entered upon being that of religion, the divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward, clerk of the closet to the king, was a commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the bar, at the backs of the commissioners. On the parliament part it was proposed, "that all the bishops, deans, and chapters might be immediately taken away and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another government erected, such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the practice of the best churches: that the Book of Common Prayer might be taken away, and totally suppressed; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used," (in which there was likewise set down as much of the government which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of articles or canons, which they had likewise abolished;) and "that the king himself should take the covenant, and consent to an act of parliament, whereby all persons of the kingdom should be likewise obliged to take it." And the copies of the Covenant and the Directory were delivered at the same time to the king's commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any answer could be made to them. So they took that afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourned their treaty till the next morning; and though they entered upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that afternoon, and some part of the night, before they had finished the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the persons who framed them were not all of one mind, nor had the same intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the king's commissioners caused many questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such and such expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one and

the same answer: the preparing such papers was throughout the treaty always committed to the chancellor.

Within a day or two after the beginning of the treaty, or rather the day before it did begin, the earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, visited the duke of Richmond privately in his chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the chancellor of the exchequer; upon which the duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and he presently went to the duke's chamber, where he found them both; and after some short compliments, the earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended his knighthood; which the parliament had resolved to have denied, if he had not convinced them." From thence he discoursed of the great prejudice the parliament had against him, as a man who more industriously opposed peace than any other of the king's council: that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good instrument in making this peace, and by persuading his majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The chancellor told him, "that the king did so much desire a peace, that no man need advise him, or could divert him, if fair and honourable conditions of peace were offered to him; but if a peace could not be had, but upon such conditions as his majesty judged inconsistent with his honour or his conscience, no man could have credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and that, for his own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it." The other seemed disappointed in his so positive answer; yet, with great freedom, entered upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of apology, "that Scotland was so far engaged in the quarrel, contrary to their former intentions and professions," he did as good as conclude, "that if the king would satisfy them in the business of the church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands." In which proposition, finding no kind of compliance from the chancellor of the exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with conscience, justice, or religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the treaty, than between any other of the body of the commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commissioners, that the parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the church.

When, upon the next meeting of the commissioners, the questions, which were mentioned before, were read, and delivered by the duke of Richmond, who always performed that part on the behalf of the king's commissioners, as the earl of Northumberland did on the parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into their game; but without offering at any answer, they arose, and went to their room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours; so that the other commissioners,

finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the afternoon, and were sat, the earl of Northumberland said, "that they wondered there should appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon which those questions had been administered in the morning; which to them seemed very clear and plain; however, to give their lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble lord, there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the earl of Lauderdale made a discourse upon the several questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But being a young man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronounciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: so that the commissioners desired, "that they might receive an answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the treaty, that though in debate any man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side, but what was delivered in writing; and therefore they desired, that what that noble lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had referred to him, and seemed satisfied with what he had delivered, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an answer to what was proposed to them." This demand, founded upon a rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the Scottish commissioners into great passion: for all the English sat still without speaking a word, as if they were not concerned. The lord Lauderdale repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the chancellor of Scotland said, "that the things were so plain, that every man could not choose but understand, and remember what was spoken; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time; which would be quickly out, half the four days assigned for the business of religion being to expire that night;" and therefore passionately desired them, that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter."

It was replied, "that they could not trust their memories so far, as to prepare an answer to their demands concerning the covenant, or directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an answer to the papers they had given:" and two or three of the king's commissioners withdrew, and prepared another paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any answer in writing; nor they on the king's side, to desist from demanding it: but they declared,

"that as they presumed they should, in the end, receive their answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so it was their resolution not to defer their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they were ready to prosecute that in the method they would desire;" and so it was resolved, "the next morning, to hear the divines, who were of either party, what they would say against or for episcopacy, and the government, and lands of the church;" which were equally concerned in the debate.

On the king's part, besides Dr. Steward, who was a commissioner in matters relating to the church, there was Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lany, afterwards bishop of Ely; Dr. Fern, afterwards bishop of Chester; Dr. Potter, then dean of Worcester, and provost of Queen's college in Oxford; and Dr. Hammond; all who, being the king's chaplains, were sent by him to attend the commissioners for their devotions, and for the other service of the church, as the management of the treaty required; which could not be foreseen. On the parliament side, besides Mr. Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, Mr. Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain in the army; Mr. Vines, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, (both of them of the assembly of divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the church, which had been so often disputed there,) Mr. Cheynel, one who had been fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Mr. Henderson begun rather with rhetoric than logic, "of the necessity to change the government of the church for the preservation of the state; which was so much in danger, that it could be preserved no other way; and therefore that in conscience it ought to be consented to; that the question was not about the preservation of both, which, by the wisdoms of the parliaments of both nations, was found to be impossible; but since there could but one stand, whether they should be both sacrificed, or the church given up, that the state might be preserved: nor was the question now whether episcopacy was lawful, and the government by bishops consistent with religion; but whether it was so necessary, that religion could not be preserved without it; which was to condemn all the reformed churches of Europe, where there were no bishops, England only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the parliament, which best understood what was good for the nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt government, that had been productive of great mischief to the kingdom from the very time of the reformation; that the bishops had always favoured popery, and preserved and continued many of the rights and customs thereof in their government and practice; and had of late introduced many innovations into the church, by the example and pattern of the church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland; that they had been the occasion of the war between the two nations of Scotland and England; and then of the rebellion in Ireland; and now of the civil war in England; and thereupon, that the

“parliament, in order to the uniting all the protestant churches, which was the only way to extinguish popery, had resolved to change this inconvenient, mischievous government, and erect another in the place of it, which should advance piety and true religion; and that he hoped the king would concur in so godly an action, which would prove so much for his glory.” He took notice of “an old answer formerly made by* a king of England, when the alteration of some laws had been desired of him; *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*; which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any king to lay it down as a rule, that he will not change the laws; for most kings had changed them often for their own and their subjects’ benefit: but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, we will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them *mutari*, to be changed by the presumption of others, without our consent.” He said, “they did not presume to think of compelling the king to change the government of the church; but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble petition of both kingdoms, and for his own and their benefit: that he should say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the divines on the other side, why his majesty should not consent to the advice of his parliament, since he conceived nothing of conscience could be alleged against it, because it appeared by what his majesty had consented to in Scotland, for the utter abolishing of bishops, that he did not believe in his conscience that episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the support of Christian religion.”

Dr. Steward, with a much better countenance, told the commissioners, “that he hoped and knew that their lordships were too well acquainted with the constitution of the church of England, and the foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those arguments which had been made against it.” He said, “that though he did believe it was impossible to prove that a government, settled and continued without intermission, from the time when Christianity was first planted in England, and under which the Christian religion had so much flourished, was an unlawful and antichristian government; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to persuade their lordships to concur with them in pressing the king to join in the same obligation, would not urge a less argument for such their engagement, than the unlawfulness and wickedness of that government, which conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr. Henderson had wisely declined that argument, though in their common sermons, and other discourses in print, they gave it no better style than Antichristian; and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and the benefit which would result by the change, of which no judgment could be made, till it might be known what government they did intend to erect in the place of it; and since the union with the

foreign protestant churches seemed to be their greatest reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed, he wished that they would set down, which foreign church it is, to which they meant to conform, and make their new government by; for that he was assured, that the model which they seem affected to in their Directory, was not like to any of the foreign reformed churches now in the world.” He said, “though he would not take upon him to censure the foreign churches, yet it was enough known, that the most learned men of those churches had lamented, that their reformation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of episcopacy; which they could not be suffered to have: and they had always paid that reverence to the church of England, which they conceived due to it, as to the church to which God had vouchsafed the most perfect reformation, because it retains all that was innocent, and venerable in antiquity.” He then enlarged upon the original institution of episcopacy; using all those arguments, which are still used by the most learned men in those disputes, to prove, that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions. He said, “he would not presume to say any thing of his majesty’s having consented to the abrogation of episcopacy in Scotland, though he knew what his majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him in conscience in this kingdom, which he had not in that, which was his coronation oath, by which he was bound to defend the rights of the church; which alone would make it unlawful for his majesty to consent to what was proposed, both in the point of episcopacy, and the alienation of the lands of the church; which would be direct sacrilege.”

And upon these several points, and what resulted from thence, the divines on both sides spent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, mornings and afternoons, presented such papers as they thought fit, upon what had passed in debate: as, the king’s commissioners desired to know in writing, “whether the parliament commissioners did believe that the government of the church by bishops was unlawful?” to which they could never obtain a categorical answer.

When the last of the four first days was past, (for it was near twelve of the clock at night,) and the Scottish commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the chancellor of Scotland entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against bishops, “of the mischief they had done in all ages, and of their being the sole causes of the late troubles in Scotland, and of the present troubles in England:” remembered, “that the archbishop of Canterbury had pursued the introduction of the liturgy and the canons into Scotland with so great vehemence, that, when it was desired that the publishing them might be suspended for one month, that the people might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay; but caused it to be entered upon the next Sunday, against the advice of

[* Let the reader take notice, that Mr. Henderson is mistaken in the English story. *Nolumus &c.* was not said by a king, but to him. See Coke upon the Statute of Merton, cap. 9.]

"many of the bishops themselves ; which put the people into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complained, that four days had been now spent in fruitless debates ; and that though their divines had learnedly made it appear, that episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away ; and that notwithstanding it was evident that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the wisdom of parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom ; their lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of importance, to give them satisfaction ; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to peace, which they hoped they would have done ;" and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent than were expected.

Whereupon the chancellor of the exchequer, not without some commotion, said, "that he did not wonder that their lordships, who had for some years been accustomed to such discourses, and the more inclined to suppose all that was confidently said to be reasonably proved, and so having not been used to converse with any persons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those alterations, which they had proposed ; but that it seemed very admirable to him, that their lordships could expect, or imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said, should depart from a faith, and a form of worship, in which they had been educated from their cradle, and which, upon so long observation and experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against four days ; which would have been much too little time to have warranted a conversion from much less important opinions, they had so long entertained ; though their arguments had had as much weight as they wanted." He said, "they were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which they had mentioned, had in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow episcopacy, not from the zeal to support it : that if the archbishop of Canterbury had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of that, which he thought a reformation, he paid dearly for it ; which made him the more wonder, that they should blame them, for not submitting to much greater alterations, than were at that time proposed, in four days ; when they reproached him, for not having given them a whole month to consider." He said, "he might assure their lordships with great sincerity, that they were come thither with all imaginable passion and desire, that the treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed peace ; as he still hoped it would : but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe their lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious inclinations, though the instructions and commands from those who trusted them, restrained them from consenting to what in their own judgments seemed reasonable." And so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant accident on one of those days, which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the king's commissioners asked one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, "why there was not in their whole Directory any mention of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and so little of the Lord's Prayer ?" as indeed there is not ; the earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, "that he, and many others, were very sorry that they had been left out ; that the putting them in had taken up many hours' debate in the house of commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine voices ; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the house of peers ; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting them all three ;" which made many smile, to hear that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the question, and rejected : and many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reason the good lord had given for the exclusion.

The next subject of the treaty was the business of the militia ; which their commissioners positively required "to be entirely vested in the parliament, and in such persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This, they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the people from their fears and jealousies ; which were now much increased, and were capable of being assuaged by no other means : " and delivered a large paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the king. And when the commissioners of the king, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of law or justice, and asserted it to be vested in the king by the law, they never offered to allege any other argument, than the determination of the parliament, which had declared the right of the militia to be in them, from which they could not recede ; so that the conferences were very short upon those days, but the papers very long which were mutually delivered ; the preparing whereof took up the time ; they of that side (even they who most desired the peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon having the whole command of the militia by sea and land, and all the forts and ships of the kingdom at their disposal ; without which they looked upon themselves as lost, and at the king's mercy ;" without considering that he must be at theirs, if such a jurisdiction was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security ; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.

Then they entered upon the business of Ireland ; in which they thought they had the king at very

great advantage, and that his commissioners would not be able to answer the charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the commissioners on the king's part, who had not been well acquainted with those transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the king had been necessitated to do ; and any thing of grace towards the Irish rebels was as ungracious at Oxford as it was at London ; because they knew the whole kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that rebellion ; " how the king had voluntarily committed the " carrying on that war to the two houses of parliament ; that they had levied great sums of " money upon the kingdom for that service ; but " finding that it was like to bring a greater burden " upon the kingdom than it could bear, that his " majesty had consented to an act of parliament " for the encouragement of adventurers to bring " in money, upon assurance of having land assigned " to them in that kingdom, out of the forfeitures " of the rebels, as soon as the rebellion should be " suppressed ; and had likewise, by the same act, " put it out of his power to make any peace or " cessation with those rebels, or to grant pardon " to any of them, without consent of parliament ; " and thereupon many of his majesty's subjects " had brought in very considerable sums of money, " by which they had been able to manage that " war without putting this kingdom to farther " charge ; and God had so blessed the protestant " forces there, that they had subdued and van- " quished the rebels in all encounters ; and, pro- " bably, by that time, the whole rebellion had " been extinguished, if the king had not, contrary " to his promise and obligation by that act of par- " liament, made a cessation with those execrable " rebels, when they were not able to continue the " war ; and had called over many of those regi- " ments, which the parliament had sent over " against the Irish, to return hither to fight " against the parliament : by means whereof his " protestant subjects of that kingdom were in great " danger to be destroyed, and the kingdom to be " entirely possessed by the papists." Enlarging themselves upon this subject, with all the envious insinuations they could devise, to make the people believe, that the king was inclined to and favoured that rebellion ; they demanded, " that the king " would forthwith declare that cessation to be " void ; and that he would prosecute the war " against those rebels with the utmost fury ; and " that the act of parliament for their reduction " might be executed as it ought to be."

The commissioners of the king prepared and delivered a very full answer in writing to all their demands ; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the chancellor of the exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which made the counsels that had been taken just and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the parliament were in much confusion, and the king's commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of " their bringing those very troops, which " were levied by the king's authority for the sup- " pression of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight " against the king at Edge-hill, under the com- " mand of the earl of Essex ; of their having given " over the prosecution of that war, or sending any " supply of arms, money, or ammunition thither ;

" having employed those magazines, which were " provided for that service, against his majesty ; " insomuch as the privy-council of that kingdom " had sent to his majesty, that he would provide " some other way for the preservation of that " kingdom, since they could not be able to sup- " port the war any longer, against the united " power of the rebels : that all overtures, which " his majesty had made towards peace, had been " rejected by the parliament : and one hundred " thousand pounds, brought in by the adventurers " for Ireland, had been sent in one entire sum " into Scotland, to prepare and dispose that king- " dom to send an army to invade this ; which " they had done ; and till then his majesty had " not, in the least degree, swerved from the ob- " servation of that act of parliament : but when " he saw that the parliament, instead of prosecut- " ing the end and intention of that statute, applied " it wholly to the carrying on the war against " himself, he thought himself absolved before " God and man, if he did all he could to rescue " and defend himself against their violence, by " making a cessation with the rebels in Ireland, " and by drawing over some regiments of his own " army from thence, to assist him in England : " which cessation had hitherto preserved the pro- " testants of that kingdom ; who were not able " without supplies to preserve themselves from the " strength and power of the rebels ; which sup- " plies his majesty could not, and the parliament " would not, send ; and therefore, if the protest- " ants there should hereafter be oppressed by the " rebels, who every day procured assistance from " abroad, and so were like to be more powerful, " all the mischiefs and misery that must attend " them would, before God and man, be put to " the account of the parliament ; which had de- " frauded them of those supplies, which, by his " majesty's care, had been raised and provided for " them ; and not to his majesty, who had done " nothing but what he was obliged to do for his " own preservation ; and if he had not sent for " those soldiers from Ireland, they could not have " stayed there without a supply of money, clothes, " and provisions ; which the parliament had not " yet sent to that part of the army which remained " there, and which could by no other way have " subsisted, but by the benefit and security of the " cessation."

He told them, " that all this unjustifiable way of " proceeding, though it had compelled the king to " yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with " him to make a peace with the Irish rebels ; from " whom he had admitted commissioners to attend " him with propositions to that purpose ; but that, " when he found those propositions and demands " so unreasonable, that he could not consent to " them in conscience, and that they were incon- " sistent with the security of his protestant sub- " jects there, he had totally rejected them, and " dismissed their commissioners with severe " and sharp animadversions : yet that he had " given his lieutenant and council there authority " to continue the cessation longer, in hope that " the rebels there might be reduced to better tem- " per ; or that his majesty might be enabled by a " happy peace here, which he hoped this treaty " would produce, to chastise their odious and ob- " stinate rebellion : and if the parliament would " yet give his majesty sufficient caution, that the

“ war should be vigorously prosecuted there against the Irish, by sending over strong supplies of men and money, he would put an end to that cessation, without declaring it to be void ; which [otherwise] he could not in justice do, and the doing whereof would be to no purpose.”

The commissioners, visibly out of countenance and angry, made no other reply, but “ that they were sorry to find that odious and detestable rebellion had received so much grace, as that commissioners from it had been admitted into the king’s presence ; and that they wondered there should be any scruple made of declaring that cessation void, that was entered into expressly against the letter of an act of parliament.” This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetic expressions against the murders and cruelties that had been used in the beginning of that rebellion ; which obliged the king’s commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to ; and to tell them, “ that they wished it were in the king’s power to punish all rebellion with that severity that was due to it ; but since it was not so, he must condescend to treaties, and to all other expedients, which are necessary to reduce his subjects, who are in rebellion, to return to their duty and obedience.”

The twelve first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either party ; for though, in the matter of religion, the king’s commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige bishops to be more diligent in preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their jurisdiction ; yet no such reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation ; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten ; and they were sensible, that, in the matter of Ireland, the king’s defence would weigh down their clamour and calumny. There happened some accidents in this time of the treaty, which made impression on either party ; the first was found in the looks of the parliament commissioners, upon the advertisement they received, that sir Lewis Dives, who was governor of a small garrison in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, had from thence, in a night, upon intelligence with the king’s governor of Portland castle, surprised Weymouth, a seaport possessed by the parliament ; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the king.

But whilst the king’s commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the parliament to a just peace, they received advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the king, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel Langhorn, and Mitton, two very active officers in the parliament service, about Shropshire and North Wales, by correspondence with some townsmen, and some soldiers in the garrison of Shrewsbury, from whence too many of that garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some expedition, seized upon that town in the night ; and, by the same treachery, likewise entered the castle ; where sir Michael Earnly, the governor, had been long sick, and rising, upon the alarm, out of his bed, was killed in his shirt ; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible ; and refused quarter ; which

did not shorten his life many days, he being even at the point of death by a consumption ; which kept him from performing all those offices of vigilance he was accustomed to, being a gallant gentleman, who understood the office and duty of a soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of Shrewsbury was a great blow to the king, and straitened his quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure line of communication with Chester, and exposed all North Wales, Hereford, and Worcester, to the daily inroads of the enemy : and the news of this recovered the dejected spirits of the parliament commissioners at Uxbridge.

Yet there had been an odd accident which accompanied the enterprise upon Weymouth, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir Lewis Dives had, in his march from Sherborne, intercepted a packet of letters sent out of Somersetshire to the parliament ; and among those there was a letter from John Pyne, a gentleman well known, and of a fair estate in that country, to colonel Edward Popham, a principal officer of the parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the independent party. The subject of the letter was a bitter invective against the earl of Essex, and all those who advanced the treaty of peace, and a great detestation of the peace, with very indecent expressions against the king himself, and all who adhered to him. This letter had been sent by sir Lewis Dives to one of the secretaries at Oxford, and from him to the commissioners at Uxbridge ; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those commissioners, who they knew desired a peace, and were very great friends to the earl of Essex. The Scots were likewise as much inveighed against as any body else. They to whom this letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it ; but advised, “ that the marquis of Hertford might send a copy of it to his brother, the earl of Essex, with such reflections as he thought fit :” which being done accordingly, the earl of Essex, who was yet general, took it so much to heart, that he desired the marquis of Hertford would send him the original ; which was presently done ; hoping that it would have given some advantage to the earl of Essex, towards whom the parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The conversation that this letter occasioned between some of the commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the faction that was in the parliament : that there were many who desired to have peace, without any alteration in the government, so they might be sure of indemnity and security for what was past ; that the Scots would insist upon the whole government of the church, and in all other matters would defer to the king ; but that there was another party, that would have no peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the government in state as well as church ; which made a great party in the army : all those of the parliament who desired to remove the earl of Essex from being general of the army, and to make another general, were of that party. There was likewise among the commissioners themselves very little trust and communication ; sir Harry Vane, Saint-John, and Prideaux, being, upon the matter, but spies upon the rest ; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the

courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant demand. And there was reason enough to believe, that, if the king had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those persons, who had faithfully served the king, and had been by them always excepted, as persons never to be pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general heads, of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, to be first treated upon, which were all plausible and popular arguments, and in which they who most desired peace would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest quality, or of the most declared affections to the king, in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from pardon; and the making the estates of the rest, under the name of delinquents, liable to pay the charges of the war; in which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, they had not in their instructions given their commissioners authority in the least particle to recede: they who desired peace, being satisfied that they had prevailed to have a treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands would fall off of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars, which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the treaty should be ineffectual, were well content that their commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the church, the Scots would never depart from a tittle; and as sure that the king would never yield to it; and that, in the militia, they who most desired peace, would adhere to that which most concerned their own security; and in the business of Ireland, besides the opportunity to asperse the king, upon an argument in which the people generally concurred with them, they were safe enough; except the king should absolutely retract and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the cessation void, expose all those who had a hand in it to their censure and judgment; and so dissolve all the authority he had in that kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the king satisfied them in the terms of those three propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his conscience, or his honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the king's condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former three, they who had most passion for peace would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One night, late, the earl of Pembroke came to the chancellor of the exchequer's lodging to return

him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him to think it reasonable to consent to all that the parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a pack of knaves and villains, as they who now governed in the parliament; who would so far prevail, if this treaty were broke off, as to remove the earl of Essex; and then they would constitute such an army as should force the parliament, as well as the king, to consent to whatsoever they demanded; which would end in the change of the government into that of a commonwealth." The chancellor told him, "if he believed that, it was high time for the lords to look about them, who would be then no less concerned than the king." He confessed it, and that they were now sensible, that they had brought this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily repent it, though too late; and when they were in no degree able to prevent the general destruction which they foresaw: but if the king would be so gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable propositions, which were made by the parliament, the other wicked persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the earl of Essex would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time after the peace concluded, by adhering to the king, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive these wicked men, who would destroy monarchy, out of the kingdom; and then his majesty would be greater than ever." How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge to other of the king's commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their spirits, and so corrupted in their understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their view.

The earl of Northumberland, who was the proudest man alive, could not look upon the destruction of monarchy, and the contempt the nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then improved, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at Oxford, upon his addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the king's power and authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their fear of the faction that prevailed was so much greater than their hatred towards them, that though they wished they might rather be destroyed than the king, they had rather the king and his posterity should be destroyed, than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them, or Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection.

The earl of Denbigh had much greater parts, and saw further before him into the desperate de-

signs of that party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his ingratitude to the king, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal affronts and indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the king's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to worse conditions than were now offered to him. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the king's commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his companions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the king, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that he would most willingly redeem his transgressions by any attempt that might serve the king signally, though he were sure to lose his life in it; but that to lose himself, without any benefit to the king, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his party." He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself and all the nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any activity of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by losing his life, he might preserve the king, he would embrace the occasion; otherwise, he would shift the best he could for himself."

Of the commissioners of the house of commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those commissioners of the king's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own companions, use that freedom. The debate, that had been in the house, upon the *self-denying ordinance*, had raised so many jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the troubles, professed to have most devotion for the earl of Essex, and to abhor all his enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others, who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the independent party, and was no otherwise affected to the presbyterians, than as they constituted a party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who ap-

peared most resolute to concur with him would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of courage, in which he abounded. Whitlock, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any inclinations to their persons or their principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone: yet to his friends, who were commissioners for the king, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all their proceedings, yet could not leave them. Pierpoint and Crew, who were both men of great fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness and sourness than formerly; and were more reserved towards the king's commissioners than was expected; and in all conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the king must yield to whatsoever was demanded in the three demands which had been debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced the parliament, against all opposition, to consent to a treaty; which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit;" and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves, that, in the treaty, they should be able to persuade the king's commissioners to concur with them; and that the king would yield upon the very same argument and expectation, that the earl of Pembroke had offered to the chancellor [of the exchequer.]

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the commissioners, or, if they could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the king to consent to what was so diametrically against his conscience and his honour, and, in truth, against his security, did wish, "that in order to get the time of the treaty prolonged, some concessions might be made in the point of the militia, in order to their security; which being provided for might probably take off many persons, who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those who they thought were most jealous of it, and most solicitous for it." And this seemed such an expedient to those to whom they proposed it, that they thought fit to make a debate among all the commissioners; "and if it did produce no other effect, than the getting more days to the treaty, and making more divisions in the parliament, both which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was not small that would attend it; for, as long as the treaty lasted, there could be no advance made towards new modelling the army, the delay whereof would give the king likewise more time to make his preparations for the field; towards which he was in no forwardness." And this consideration prevailed with the commissioners to send their opinion to the king, "that he would give them leave to propose, when the next day came for the debate of the point of the militia, that the whole militia of the kingdom should be settled in such a number of persons, for seven or eight years, who should be all sworn to the observation of all the articles which should be agreed upon in the treaty; after the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the king." And

they sent the king a list of such names, as they wished might be inserted in the proposition, of persons in credit with the parliament, to which his majesty might add the like number of such, of whose fidelity he was most assured.

The earls of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, and Manchester, with Fairfax and Cromwell, were among those they recommended to be named by the king. With this message they sent two of their own body, who added other reasons, which they conceived might prevail with him; and it was with great difficulty that his majesty was prevailed with to consent that such an overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his commissioners' judgment, and especially in confidence that it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the treaty, his majesty was contented, that the commissioners should make such an offer as is mentioned, and name the persons they had proposed of the parliament party; but then he sent a list of such persons as himself thought fit to trust in that affair, and in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the militia to be vested: and in the list he named the chancellor of the exchequer, who was very much troubled at the honour, and writ very earnestly to the king to exempt him from the envy of such a trust, by leaving out his name, and putting in another of a higher qualification. But by this time, the term assigned for the treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first advised this expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered, that the parliament would not consent to add one day more to the treaty. So the farther prosecution of the overture in that manner was laid aside. For the king's commissioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular names from the king to be trusted with the militia, was but to expose those persons to reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpopular; and to give the other side an excuse for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the king in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offered, "that the militia should be so settled for the space of seven years, as they had desired, in such a number of persons as should be agreed upon; a moiety of which persons should be nominated by the king, and the other moiety by the parliament:" which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserved, and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last conferences the answers and replies upon one another were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their conference upon the last day, which held most part of the night, it was evident, either side laboured most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The king's commissioners delivered a paper, which contained a sum of all that had been done in the treaty, and observed, "that after a war of so many years, entered into, as was pretended, for the defence and vindication of the laws of the land, and the liberty of the subject, in a treaty of twenty days, they had not demanded any one thing, that, by the law of the land, they had the least title to demand; but insisted only on such particulars as were against law, and the established government of the kingdom; and

"that much more had been offered to them for the obtaining of peace, than they could with justice or reason require:" with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the paper, upon pretence, "that the time for the treaty was expired;" because it was then after twelve of the clock of the night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted, a little before the break of day.

The next day, being Sunday, they rested in the town, that they might in the afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though Monday, according to the letter of their pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that season of the year their journey to Oxford might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the commissioners for the parliament had given them a paper, in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no advantage should be taken." But they having on Sunday performed their mutual visits to each other, parted with such a dryness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the king's commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, or to depend upon their words, that they were on the Monday morning so early in their coaches, that they came to Oxford that night, and kissed the king's hand; who received them very graciously; and thanked them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that treaty. The commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the clock in the morning. Besides, they were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that, if the treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford. Thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, the particulars whereof were, by the king's command, shortly after published in print, and never contradicted by the parliament.

The king spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of Shrewsbury was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompense for it, which was the surprise of Weymouth, proved but a dream; for the enemy had lost but one part of the town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual negligence of the king's governors. So that his majesty told them, "he found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle he

might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, "of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels; and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard, that if his majesty were dead, the parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government:" which, though it were true in law, would have little shaken their government, of which they were too long possessed to part with easily.

But this was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the king's opinion in that particular; and his majesty thought of nothing so much as hastening the prince's journey; and to that purpose commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, and resolved that his highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an army in the west, the king had no purpose to put the prince into the head of any such army; and though Goring had prevailed to be sent, with a strong party of horse, and some foot, into Hampshire, upon pretence of securing the west from Waller's incursion, and upon some other design; yet the king had not the least purpose, that he should be where the prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, and meant by that device to withdraw himself from the command of prince Rupert, which the king did not apprehend. But having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the lord Hopton to Bristol to provide a house for his highness, and to put that city into as good a posture of security for the prince's residence as was necessary; nor was there any other strength designed to attend about his highness's person, than one regiment of horse, and one regiment of foot, for his guards, and both under the command of the lord Capel; who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest; there being, at that time, not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the prince's family, or his person. In so great a scarcity and poverty was the king himself, and his court at Oxford.

There happened an accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this journey of the prince into the west, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the king returned through Somersetshire, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, there had been a petition delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others his majesty's protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired, "that his majesty would give them leave to petition the parliament, that there might be a treaty for peace; and that they might have liberty to wait upon his majesty in person in his march; and that, when they came to a nearer distance, they might then go before, and

"deliver their petition; and if they should not obtain their so just request, they would then assist his majesty to get that by the sword, which could be obtained no other way." And to that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in arms, to attend his majesty in the journey." This petition, how indigested, and impracticable soever in the manner and way proposed, was contrived by some persons of unquestionable fidelity to the king; who thought, that, under this specious title of petitioners for peace, they might draw even that whole populous county to appear for the king; and therefore the king gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his foot, which he most desired. But his majesty's speedy march left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first fame of the prince's being to visit the west, and to keep his court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in the west, came to Oxford, as intrusted by the rest to inform his majesty, "that they had now formed the design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the parliament for peace; which petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial freeholders of the several counties, all who should have money enough in their purses to defray their charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to join in the petition should be looked upon as enemies to peace and their country, and treated as such: so that this address could not but have great influence upon the parliament, being under the style of one and all; and could not but be looked upon as such." They desired the king, "that the prince might be made general of this association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good guard of horse and foot, for the safety of his royal person."

Though this design, in the notions thereof, was as wild and unpracticable as the former, yet his majesty thought not fit to discountenance and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many persons of quality, in the name of the four western counties, and among those who took it most to heart, sir John Stawel was the chief; a gentleman of one of the largest estates that any man possessed in the west, who had, from the beginning of the parliament, shewed very great affection to the person of the king, and to the government that was settled, both in church and state; and from the beginning of the war had engaged both his own person, and his two sons, in the most active part of it, with singular courage; and had rendered himself as odious to the parliament, as any man of that condition had done. This gentleman with the assistance and counsel of Mr. Fountain, a lawyer of eminency, and who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the crown, had first entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some gentlemen, and more of the substantial farmers and freeholders of the country, found such a general concurrence from them, that they concluded it could not but have

good success, and would bring the parliament to be glad of peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from peace; so that the king concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the prince general of their association, which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make provision for the prince's support, and for the raising his guards of horse and foot; and to that purpose made haste to Bristol, that all things might be ready against the prince came thither.

Upon these reasons, the prince had two commissions granted to him; this, to be general of the association, and another, to be general of all the king's forces in England. For when the king declared his nephew prince Rupert to be general, in the place of the earl of Brentford, his highness desired, "that there might be no general in England but the prince of Wales, and that he might receive his commission from him;" which his majesty took well; and so that commission of generalissimo was likewise given to the prince, when in truth it was resolved he should act no part in either, but remain quiet in Bristol, till the fate of all armies could be better discerned.

The indisposition and melancholy which possessed the court at Oxford, and all the king's party, was preserved from despair only by the wonderful discontents and animosities in the parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had by united counsels. As soon as the commissioners were returned from Uxbridge, and that a treaty could be now no farther urged, the independent party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other, which was styled presbyterian) appeared barefaced, and vigorously pressed on their *self-denying ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new army, by putting out the old officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those provisions which would be necessary for taking the field. They were now entered into the month of March, which was used as a strong argument by both parties, the one urging, "from the season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the ordinance, that the army might be put into a posture of marching;" the other pressing, "that so great an alteration ought not to be affected, when there was so short a time to make it in: that there would be apparent danger, that the enemy would find them, without any army at all fit to take the field;" and therefore desired, "that all things might stand as they were till the end of the next campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this expedient." The other party were loud against the delay, and said, "that was the way to make the war last; for managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this ordinance was passed, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next campaign should put an end to the war."

The debate continued many days in the house of commons, with much passion, and sharp re-

flections upon things and persons; whilst the house of peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the presbyterian party, which passionately opposed the ordinance, the chief were, Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long, and others, who believed their party much superior in number: as the independent party was led by Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin, and others, who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the house of peers, there was none thought to be of their party but the lord Say; all the rest were supposed to be of the earl of Essex's party; and so, that it was impossible that the ordinance would ever pass in the house of peers, though it should be carried by the commons. But they were in this, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to be of one party, appeared to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any peace, except the king were first at their mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the war; and many, who thought the earl of Essex behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered and humbled, that himself might be more concerned to advance a peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the supreme command.

When the debate grew ripe, Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock, and Crew, who had been thought to be of the party of the earl of Essex, appeared for passing the ordinance, as the only way to unite their counsels, and to resist the common enemy; whereas, "they discovered by what they heard abroad, and by the spirit that governed in the city, that there would be a general dissatisfaction in the people, if this ordinance were not passed." Then they fell into a high admiration of the earl of Essex, and extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, "that the war would never be carried on so happily as it had been under him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his conduct and courage, which had formed their armies, and taught them to fight." And by this kind of oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for peace and unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised, and led by some craft, that the ordinance was passed in the house of commons, and transmitted to the peers for their consent; where nobody imagined it would ever pass.

After the battle at York, and the earl of Manchester was required to march with his army against the king, upon the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, the Scottish army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons which still remained in those parts; which was easily done. And thereupon they marched to Newcastle, which, being defended only by the townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such people. So that having no more to do in those parts, the parliament thought not fit yet to dismiss them to return into their own country, not knowing yet how far their new modelled army would be able to carry on all their designs. And there-

fore the Scottish army was again advanced as far as York, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

Hereupon the king resumed the consideration how he might give such a disturbance to Scotland, as might oblige that army to return, to quench the fire in their own country; for all the advance which had been made towards that, in the conferences with the earl of Mountrose, and in the commitment of duke Hamilton, had been discontinued from that time by the king's not being able to give any troops to that earl, by the protection whereof the loyal party of that kingdom might come to his assistance, and discover their affection to his majesty. And though this conjuncture was not more favourable, by any power his majesty had to contribute troops or any other assistance towards such an enterprise, yet the vigorous spirit of the earl of Mountrose had stirred him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The person whom that earl most hated and contemned was the marquis of Argyle, who had then the chief government of Scotland; and though he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and authority, a very great interest in that kingdom; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage, than insolent and imperious persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The earl of Mountrose believed that his getting safely into Scotland was much more difficult than it would be to raise men enough there to control the authority of Argyle. There was at that time at Oxford the earl of Antrim, notorious for nothing, but for having married the dowager of the great duke of Buckingham, within few years after the death of that favourite. By the possession of her ample fortune, he had lived in the court in great expense and some lustre, until his riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the kingdom, and to retire to his own fortune in Ireland, (which was very fair,) together with his wife, who gave him great reputation, being a lady, besides her own great extraction and fortune, as heiress to the house of Rutland, and wife and mother to the dukes of Buckingham, of a very great wit and spirit; and made the littleness of her present husband (a handsome man too) well enough received in all places: so that they had lived in Ireland in great splendour, as they might well do, till that rebellion drove the lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own estate in England. And she had upon the queen's first coming to Oxford, likewise brought herself thither; where she found great respect from all. The earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a marvellous weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels, with an imagination that his quality and fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, certainly, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the king, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormond; which was so uneasy and torturing an ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and

follies. The rebels were glad of his presence, and to have his name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his brother, Alexander Macdonnel, who was fast to their party, and in their most secret counsels.

The earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the protestant quarters, and from thence into England, and so to Oxford, where his wife then was, and made his presence not unacceptable; the king not having then notice of his having ever been among the Irish rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in Ireland to serve the king, and to dispose the Irish to a peace, if he should have any countenance from the king; which his majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the earl of Antrim had his original extraction in Scotland, or the marquis of Argyle his in Ireland, must be left to the determination of the bards of the family of the Macdonnells; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the earl of Antrim, to much of those lands in the Highlands of Scotland, which were possessed by Argyle: and the greatest part of his estate in Ireland was in that part of Ulster that lies next Scotland, and his dependents of the same language and manner of living with the Highlanders of Scotland. The knowledge of this disposed the earl of Mountrose to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to Oxford, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a body of men out of Ireland to be such a foundation for raising forces in Scotland, as might advance the enterprise he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affections for the king; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery they had long endured under the tyranny of Argyle. The passage over the sea in those places, between Scotland and Ireland, is so narrow, that the people often make their markets in one and the other in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both people is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet or clothing, or the great commodity of lodging; and were very fit to constitute an army that was not to depend upon any supplies of money, or arms, or victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The earl of Antrim, who was naturally a great undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the king should believe him to be a man of interest and power in Ireland, was infinitely exalted, when he discovered by the earl of Mountrose, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of Ireland to perform a service for the king, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the earl of Mountrose, "that, if the king would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it into Scotland; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believed all the clan of the Macdonnells in the Highlands of Scotland, might be persuaded to follow him." When the earl of Mountrose had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the earl of Antrim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the lord Digby

with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him "to propose it to the king, and "to let his majesty know, that he was so confident of the earl of Antrim's being able to perform what should be necessary, (for he would "be very well content, if he would send over a "body but of two thousand men into Scotland, "which he well knew he could easily do,) that he "would himself be in the Highlands to receive "them, and run his fortune with them, if his "majesty would give him leave to gather up such "a number of his countrymen about Oxford, as "would be willing to accompany him; and with "those he would make his way thither; and that, "if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, "he did hope, that by the time the Scottish army "in England should be ready to take the field, "they should receive such an alarm from their "own country, as should hinder their advance."

Upon this overture, the king conferred with the two earls together; and finding the earl of Antrim forward to undertake the raising as many men as should be desired, if he might have the king's commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the kingdom, interest enough to do it; and the earl of Mountrose as confidently assuring his majesty, "that with two "thousand men landed in the Highlands, he "would quickly raise an army, with which he "could disquiet that kingdom;" and the design being more probable than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection that appeared at the first entrance into it was, "that though the "earl of Antrim had power in Ulster, and among "the Roman Catholics, he was very odious to the "protestants, and obnoxious to the state at Dublin, many things being discovered against him "of his correspondence with the rebels, which "were not known when he came into England." But that which gave most umbrage (for nobody suspected his conjunction with the rebels) was his declared "malice to the lord lieutenant, the "marquis of Ormond, and the contempt the "marquis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any proposition should be made by "him, who was of so notable a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use to intend the "same thing long. There could be no trusting "him with any commission independent upon the "marquis of Ormond, or to do any thing in Ireland without his privity, and such a limitation "would by no means be grateful to the other. "Besides the benefit that Scotland would receive "by the carrying away any body of men out of "Ulster, it would be a great lessening and abatement of the strength of the Irish rebels, who "had the command over those parts; but then if "the earl of Antrim, under any authority from "the king, should indiscreetly behave himself, (as "no man who loved him best had any confidence "in his discretion,) all the reproaches cast upon "his majesty, of his countenancing those rebels, "would receive the greatest confirmation imaginable."

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an intrigue in the court, which for some time had been eclipsed. Daniel O'Neile (who was in sub-

tilty and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish) had long laboured to be of the bedchamber to the king. He was very well known in the court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter season in the one, and the summer always in the army in the other; which was as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew. He had a fair reputation in both climates, having a competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence or behold- ingness, and a natural insinuation and address, which made him acceptable in the best company. He was a great observer and discernor of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the first troubles began in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the earl of Strafford; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the parliament grew too imperious, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at court, with less circumspection than both the season and the weight of the affair required. And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the queen, to hope to be made groom of the bedchamber, when a vacancy should appear. When the civil war begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the parliament upon a charge of high treason, chose rather to be lieutenant colonel of horse to prince Rupert, than the name of a greater officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an interest in that young prince, as might make his relation to him superior to those who had greater titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole authority to have supervised and directed. When he saw some of his fraternity promoted to offices and honours, who had not ventured or suffered more than he, (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dexterously in a lady's dress, he had been in manifest danger of his life,) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the bedchamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the queen had been very soli-

citous with the king on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged to hope it. But the king could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his friends, or by the queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture; which O'Neile took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the army was less pleasant to him, by prince Rupert's withdrawing his graces from him.

The design of uniting the earls of Mountrose and Antrim, which was yet wholly managed with the king by the lord Digby, who was likewise of intimate friendship with O'Neile, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was universally known that O'Neile, whether by alliance, or friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the earl of Antrim than any man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, in which he was superior to most men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the marquis of Ormond loved O'Neile very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the lord Digby told the king, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve him in the perplexities he sustained concerning the conduct of the earl of Antrim;" and then proposed "the sending O'Neile with him; who should first dissuade him from affecting to have any commission himself to act in Ireland; and then incline him to depend upon the assistance and authority of the marquis of Ormond; who should be required by the king to contribute all he could for the making those levies of men, and for impressing of ships, and other vessels, for their transportation into the Highlands; and then that he should go over himself with the earl, and stay with him during his abode in Dublin; by which he would preserve good intelligence between him and the marquis of Ormond; and dispose the marquis of Ormond to gratify him in all things that might concern so important a service; which, besides the letters he should carry with him from the king, his own credit with the marquis, and his singular address, would easily bring to pass."

This proposition was very agreeable to the king, who knew O'Neile was very equal to this function; and the lord Digby did not in the least insinuate any design for O'Neile's advantage in the service, which would have diverted the negotiation: thereupon his majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the lord Digby desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his majesty's approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the king asked him, "whether he thought the earl had interest enough in those parts of Ireland to levy and transport a body of men into the Highlands?" he answered readily, "that he knew well, that there were so many there, where the earl's estate lay, who depended absolutely upon him, that there would be men enough ready to go whither, or do what he required them: and that the men were hardy and stout for any service: but the drawing a

body of them together, and transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power than the earl himself had, or was master of. He said, there were two objections in view, and a third, that he was not willing for many reasons to make. The first was, that nothing of that nature could be done without the authority and power of the marquis of Ormond, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his majesty should direct; yet that the earl of Antrim had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the marquis, and so unhandsomely disobliged him, that it could not but be the severest command his majesty could lay upon the marquis, to enter into any kind of conjunction or conversation with that earl. The second was, that, though the earl's interest could make as many men as he desired to enter into any action or engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the Irish commander in chief, who had the military power of those parts, would hardly permit a body of those men, which they reckoned their best soldiers, to be transported; and thereby their own strength to be lessened;" which was an objection of weight, and not mentioned before to the king, nor considered by him. He said "he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflected upon a person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his life; which was, that he much feared the earl of Antrim had not steadiness of mind enough to go through with such an undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable."

The king, well satisfied with the discourse he made, told him, "that he was not himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure it, which was, if he would undertake the journey with him, by which all his fears would be composed; his counsel would govern the earl in all things, and his credit with the marquis of Ormond, which should be improved by his majesty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the earl." The king added, "that the service itself was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be unwarded." O'Neile seemed wonderfully surprised with the proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would) said, "that he would never disobey any command his majesty would positively lay upon him: but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a command, as would deprive him of attending upon his majesty in the next campaign, where he was sure there must be a battle; when he had rather lose his life than be absent." Then he said, "though the earl of Antrim was his kinsman and his friend, and one, who, he thought, loved him better than he did any other man, yet he was the last man in England with whom he would be willing to join in any enterprise;" mentioning his pride, and levity, and weakness, and many infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a wiser man should have the application of his interest; which he knew must be himself. The king renewed his desire to him to undertake the service, as the greatest he could

perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the lord Digby, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the earl of Antrim to communicate the affair to him, and to wish his assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the lord Digby had not before imparted to him; though the king suspected it not.

The lord Digby had now brought the business to the state he wished; and, within two or three days, told the king "how glad the earl of Antrim was, that he had leave to communicate the matter with O'Neile; and desired nothing more than that his majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the person who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous, if he had been first recommended to him. The earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken notice of the difficulty he might find to draw his men out of the Irish quarters, by the opposition of those who commanded there in chief: but, he said, if the king would make O'Neile go with him, all that difficulty would be removed; for Owen O'Neile, who was uncle to Daniel, was the general of all the Irish in Ulster, and incomparably the best soldier, and the wisest man that was among the Irish rebels, having long served the king of Spain in Flanders in very eminent command; and the earl said, that he was sure Daniel had that credit with his uncle, that he would not refuse, at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the earl to do; which was all he desired."

The lord Digby left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved, to advance the counsel he had given for employing O'Neile; whom he took occasion then to magnify again; and told the king, "that he had already convinced the earl of Antrim of the folly of desiring any other commission than what the marquis of Ormond should find necessary to give him; and how impossible it was for him to have any success in that design, without the cheerful concurrence and friendship of the marquis: which the earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised, to compass it." But after all this, he lamented "his obstinate aversion to undertake the journey, for many reasons; and had obliged him, under all the obligations of the friendship that was between them, that he would prevail with his majesty, that he might not be absent from his charge in the army, in a season when there must be so much action, and when his majesty's person, whom he so dearly loved, must be in so great danger; and that he had told him freely, that he could not honestly move his majesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity of his going into Ireland with the earl, that he should despair of the whole enterprise, which was the most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to act his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he had shut out all farther importunity towards himself, his majesty must expect to be very much struggled with; and that O'Neile would lay himself at his feet, and get all his friends to join with him in a supplication for his majesty's par-

don; and that there was no more to be done, but that his majesty, with some warmth, should command him to desist from farther importunity, and to comply with what he should expect from him; which, he said, he knew would silence all farther opposition: for that O'Neile had that entire resignation to his majesty's pleasure, that he would rather die than offend him." Upon which, and to cut off all farther mediation and interposition, the king presently sent for him, and graciously conjured him, with as much passion as he could shew, "to give over all hope of excuse, and to provide for his journey within three or four days."

All things being thus disposed, and the king expecting every day that the earl and O'Neile would take their leaves, the lord Digby came to him, and said, "Mr. O'Neile had an humble suit to his majesty at parting; which to him did not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hoped his majesty would raise the spirits of the poor man, since he did believe in his conscience, that he desired it more for the advancement of his majesty's service, than to satisfy his own ambition." He put him in mind of the long "pretence he had to be groom of his bedchamber, for the which he could not choose but say, that he had the queen's promise, at the same time when Percy and Wilmot had the like for their honours, which they had since received the accomplishment of: that his majesty had not yet rejected the suit, but only deferred the granting it; not without giving him leave in due time to hope it: that there could not be so proper a season for his majesty to confer this grace: that Mr. O'Neile was without a rival, and, in the eyes of all men, equal to his pretence; and so no man could be offended at the success: that he was now upon an employment of great trust, chosen by his majesty as the only person who could bring an enterprise of that vast expectation to a good end, by his conduct and dexterity: that it must be a journey of great expense, besides the danger or hazard of it; yet he asked no money, because he knew there was none to be had; he begged only that he might depart with such a character, and testimony of his majesty's favour and good opinion, that he might be thereby the better qualified to perform the trust that was reposed in him: that the conferring this honour upon him, at this time, would increase the credit he had with the earl of Antrim, at least confirm his unconstant nature in an absolute confidence in him: it would make him more considerable to the marquis of Ormond, and the council there, with whom he might have occasion often to confer about his majesty's service; but, above all, it would give him that authority over his countrymen, and would be such an obligation upon the whole Irish nation, (there having never yet been any Irishman admitted to a place so near the person of the king,) that it might produce unexpected effects, and could not fail of disposing Owen O'Neile, the general, to hearken to any thing his nephew should ask of him."

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful speaker could add to it in the delivery, the lord Digby found an aversion and weariness in the king all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a countenance as if he thought

his majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that he much doubted his majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular; and that men ought not to be sent upon such errands with the sharp sense of any disobligation: that if his majesty pleased, he might settle this affair in such a manner as O'Neile might go away very well pleased, and his majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution: that O'Neile should not be yet in so near an attendance about his person: that the employment was full of hazard, however would require a great expense of time: that he was a man of that nature as would not leave a business half done, and would be ashamed to see his majesty's face, before there were some very considerable effect of his activity and industry; and considering what was to be done in Ireland, and the posture of affairs in England, it might be a very long time before O'Neile might find himself again in the king's presence, to enter upon his office in the bedchamber;" and therefore proposed, "that the hour he was to leave Oxford he might be sworn groom of the bedchamber; by which he should depart only with a title, the effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his majesty's presence; which must take up much time, and possibly might require more than the other had to live." This last prevailed more than all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his majesty consent, that, in the last article of time, he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well contented, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business to which he was incumbent, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the bedchamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the king expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his majesty before the battle of Naseby, in the summer following.

Whilst this intrigue was carrying on for Mr. O'Neile, there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the earl of Antrim; for whose person the king had as little regard or kindness, as for any man of his rank. The duchess of Buckingham his wife was now in Oxford, whom the king always heard with favour; his majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former husband, whom he thought she had forgotten too soon. This lady, being of a great wit and spirit, when she found that the king now thought her husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the king's esteem; which she thought would be at last some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the king, "that her husband was so eclipsed in Ireland, by the no-countenance his majesty had ever shewed towards him, and by his preferring some who were his equals to degrees and trusts above him, and by raising others, who were in all respects much inferior to him, to the same title with him, and to authority above him, that she believed he had not credit and interest enough to do the service he desired to do: that, in that country, the lords and greatest men had reputation over their tenants and vassals, as they were known to have grace from the king; and when they were known

"to be without that, they had no more power than to exact their own just services." She lamented the misfortune of her husband, which she had the more reason to do, because it proceeded from her; and that, whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by his marriage with her, he might have been advanced in the court, and in his majesty's favour, he had found so little benefit from thence, that he might well believe, as she did, that he suffered for it; otherwise, it would not have been possible for a person of the earl of Antrim's estate and interest, and so well qualified, as she had reason to believe him to be in all respects, after the expense of so much money as he spent in attendance upon the court, to be without any mark or evidence of his majesty's favour; and to return now again in the same forlorn condition into Ireland, would but give his enemies more encouragement to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance his majesty's service." In conclusion she desired, "that the king would make her husband a marquis;" without which she did as good as declare, that he should not undertake that employment. Though his majesty was neither pleased with the matter nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to Scotland; which the earl of Mountrose every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave order for a warrant to make the earl of Antrim a marquis.

And so he and O'Neile, being well pleased, begun their journey for Ireland; and at the same time the earl of Mountrose took his leave of the king with several gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into Scotland, which was looked upon as a very desperate attempt, the king's extending at that time no farther northward than Worcester, all between that and Scotland being possessed by the parliament and the Scots' army. But the earl of Mountrose, after he had continued his journey two or three days in that equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the enemy's troops together for the guard of all passes to meet with him, was found missing one morning by his company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to Oxford, whilst that noble person, with incredible address and fatigue, had not only quitted his company and his servants, but his horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the enemy's quarters, till he came to the very borders: from whence, by the assistance of friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any action, until the marquis of Antrim, by the countenance and assistance of the marquis of Ormond, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over his kinsman Alexander Macdonnell, a stout and an active officer, (whom they called by an Irish appellation Calkito,) with a regiment of fifteen hundred soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in Scotland, at or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the earl of Mountrose was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his commission of being general for the king over all that kingdom. With this handful of men, brought together with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own

countrymen to join with him, as were strong enough to arm themselves at the charge of their enemies; whom they first defeated; and every day increasing in power, till he fought and prevailed in so many several battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of that kingdom; and did all those stupendous acts, which deservedly are the subject of a history by itself, excellently written in Latin by a learned prelate of that nation. The preamble to it was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages which were not known to many, and in which the artifices of court were very notable, and as mysterious as the motions in that sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of this discourse, to mention that noble lord again, and his zeal for the crown, before he came to his sad catastrophe.

The king found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the parliament, and the factions in the city, there would be an army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the prince should leave Oxford, and begin his journey to Bristol; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge. And since the king did at that time within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the prince should only keep his court in the west, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action, or being so much as present in any army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning men, seemed then a thing desirable, if his majesty had removed his court into the west too, either to Bristol, or, which it may be had been better, to Exeter. For since Reading and Abingdon were both possessed by the parliament, and thereby Oxford become the head quarter, it was not so fit that the court should remain there; which, by the multitude of ladies, and persons of quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an attack of the enemy, as the situation of the place, and the good fortifications which enclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed, that the inhabitants within would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. And if, at this time, a good garrison had only been left there, and all the court, and persons of quality, removed into the west with the prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the king's obedience those small garrisons which stood out; and the king himself might, by the spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of men to his army, and might likewise have made Oxford the place of rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the field. But the truth is, not only the ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of state, but very few of the rest, of what degree or quality soever, who had excellent accommodations in the colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their quarters. Besides, the king had that royal affection for the university, that he thought it well deserved the honour of his own presence; and always resolved, that it should be never so exposed to the extremity of war, as to fall into those barbarous

hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so venerable a place from rapine, sacrilege, and destruction.

And thus that consideration of removing the court from thence was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any public debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole council which was assigned to attend the prince, had been obliged to have performed that service. But both the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the king, for not submitting to that his command, and for desiring to continue still about his person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his majesty, to whom he had adhered with that signal fidelity and affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly married, and engaged in a family, which he could not, without infinite inconveniences, have left behind him; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the king difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them at first to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the prince into the west, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission and obedience, which ought to be paid to the commands of the prince; and of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

There was an act of divine justice about this time executed by those at Westminster, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the acts of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; and some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the king, and refused to give him entrance into that town, when he came thither attended only by his own servants, before the beginning of the war: and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the war. It was the more wonderful, that a person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any fancies in religion, had unquestioned duty to the crown, and reverence for the government both of church and state, should so foolishly expose himself and his family, of great antiquity, to comply with the humours of those men, whose persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular animosity against the earl of Strafford first engaged him in that company, so his vanity and ambition, and the concessions the king had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the government of Hull, without any apprehension or imagination that it would ever make him an accessory to rebellion; but believed, that, when the king and parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever

intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the lord Digby, and Ashburnham, and his inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the parliament had in his son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the government. Besides that they had so constituted the garrison, that they knew it could never be in the father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his nature would not suffer him to submit to the command of the lord Fairfax, and that superiority over both his father and him, with which the parliament had invested that lord, and had some inkling of secret messages between the marquis of Newcastle and young Hotham, they caused both father and son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up prisoners to the parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

Though they had evidence enough against them, yet they had so many friends in both houses of parliament, and some of that interest in the army, that they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained for above the space of a year prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that party prevailed that resolved to new model the army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity as might terrify all men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two Hothams might be tried by a court of war, for their treachery and treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them had now lost their interest; so that they were both brought to their trial, about the time of the treaty of Uxbridge, and both condemned to lose their heads; the principal charge against the father being, his having dismissed the lord Digby; and a letter being produced, by the treachery of a servant, that the son had sent to the marquis of Newcastle. The vile artifices which were used both before and after their trial were so barbarous and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians. It was declared to them, or at least insinuated by Hugh Peters, who was the chaplain sent to them to prepare them to die, that there was no purpose to take both their lives, but that the death of one of them should suffice; which put either of them to use all the inventions and devices he could to save himself; and so the father aggravated the faults of the son, and the son as carefully inveighed against the father, as a man that hated the parliament and all their proceedings, and either of them furnished Mr. Peters (upon whose credit and mediation they both depended) with arguments against the other.

The father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the night before, or the very morning, that sir John Hotham was to die, a reprieve was sent from the house of peers to suspend his execution for three days. The commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the lords; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an order "to all mayors,

"sheriffs, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, "that no reprieve should be granted, or allowed "for any person against whom the sentence of "death was pronounced, except the same had "passed, and had the consent of both houses of "parliament; and that if it passed only by the "house of peers, it should be looked upon as "invalid and void, and execution should not be "thereupon forborne, or suspended." By this accident the son was brought to his execution before his father, upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with courage, and reproaching "the ingratitude of the parliament, "and their continuance of the war;" concluded, "that, as to them, he was very innocent, and had "never been guilty of treason." The father was brought to the scaffold the next day: for the house of commons, to shew their prerogative over the lords, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower, that he should cause him to be executed that very day, which was two days before the reprieve granted by the house of peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from Peters, that he should only be shewed to the people, and so returned safe again to the Tower, which was then generally reported and believed, or whether he was broken with despair, (which is more probable,) when he saw that his enemies prevailed so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor man appeared so dispirited, that he scarce spoke one word after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters to tell the people, "that he had revealed himself to "him, and confessed his offences against the parliament;" and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woful tragedy of these two unhappy gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all men who knew their natures, humours, and transactions.

Since the last office of a general, with reference to the king's quarters, which the earl of Essex performed before he found it necessary to surrender his commission to the parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a letter signed by the earl of Essex, and sent by a trumpet to prince Rupert, but penned by a committee of parliament, and perused by both houses before it was signed by their general; who used, in all despatches made by himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The parliament had, some months before, made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be taken prisoners, either at sea or land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the king, till long after; though the earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any Irish frigates, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, taken all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. And in this barbarous manner very many poor men perished daily; of which, when it was gene-

rally known, the king said nothing, because none of those persons were in his majesty's service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf and in favour of the rebels of Ireland.

But there had been lately, in some service at land, some prisoners taken of the king's troops, and upon pretence that they were Irishmen, as many as they thought to be of that nation were all hanged, to the number of ten or twelve. Whereupon prince Rupert, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal number of the parliament soldiers, caused them likewise to be hanged upon the next tree; which the parliament declared to be an act of great injustice and cruelty; and appointed the earl of Essex to expostulate with prince Rupert, in the letter they had caused to be penned for him very rudely, and to send a copy of their ordinance enclosed in the said letter, with expressions full of reproach for his "presumption in making an ordinance of theirs" "the argument to justify an action of so much inhumanity;" which was the first knowledge the king had of any such declaration, with reference to the war in England; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince Rupert returned such an answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the earl of Essex; who, the day before he received it, had given up his commission, but sent it immediately to the two

houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying, "that they wondered it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared at Uxbridge."

It was upon Wednesday the fourth [fifth] of March, that the prince parted from the king his father, and, about a week after, came to Bristol; where he was now to act a part by himself, as the affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the king and the prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength than was necessary to the security of his own person, or that indeed he should move farther westward than that city. His highness had not been there above two or three days, when letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of Waller, who had passed by the lord Goring, and put relief into Taunton, and hoped to have surprised Bristol in his return; whereupon two or three of his correspondents fled out of the city, and the rest were so exasperated with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. So the lord Hopton put all things into so good a posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend Waller; and he himself was required to return to London, to deliver up his commission upon the self-denying ordinance.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this book.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK IX.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof must be the most unpleasant and ungrateful to the reader, in respect of the subject matter of it; which must consist of no less weakness and folly on the one side, than of malice and wickedness on the other; and as unagreeable and difficult to the writer, in regard that he shall please very few who acted then upon the stage of business, but that he must give as severe characters of the persons, and severely censure the actions of many, who wished very well, and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those, who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the crown: a time, in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the

quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit, contrary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation: and in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really wish the king all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace, and the security of their master, to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery, or damage towards his majesty: a time, in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischief as the most barefaced villainy could have done; and in which the king suffered as much by the irresolution and unsteadiness of his own counsels, and by the ill humour and faction of his counsellors, by

their not foreseeing what was evident to most other men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing vigorously what was well deliberated and resolved; as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his enemies.

All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked view, in the relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise rule of ingenuity and integrity we profess to observe; and thereby leave the reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole nation had brought forth those lamentable effects; which proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than they should be preserved as the infamy of the age in which they lived; which did produce as many men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with that clearness that must subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the king himself, as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his courage into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischiefs which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the work with that freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy myself with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year, (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the next,) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, which might seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of divine displeasure, than to proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of any men, not totally abandoned by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to things and persons, and in the examinations of the grounds and oversights of counsels, to be now frightened with the prospect of those materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults and oversights in the counsels of this year, with whom I

had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things myself which I mention, and therefore can answer for the truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the king's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own memorials and journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. And therefore as I first undertook this difficult work with his approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a communication; which is not like to be in this present age) how difficult it was for a prince, so unworthily reduced to those straits his majesty was in, to find ministers and instruments equal to the great work that was to be done; and how impossible it was for him to have better success under their conduct, whom it was then very proper for him to trust with it; and then, without my being over solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes and weaknesses to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a prince of admirable virtue and piety, but of great parts of knowledge, wisdom, and judgment; and that the most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe, that others discerned better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskilful men, whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of fact.

What expectation soever there was, that the *self-denying ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the house of commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the peers; whereby the earl of Essex would still have remained general; it did not take up so long debate there. The marquis of Argyle was now come from Scotland, and sat with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of religion, and in relation to the church, purely presbyterian; but in matter of state, and with reference to the war, perfectly independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, and that the king should ever more have the government, towards whose person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with sir Harry Vane, during his late being in Scotland; and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town, the Scottish commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the ordinance, or the new modelling the army: so that after it came to the house of peers, though thereby the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Denbigh,

(whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that house from the beginning,) were to be dispossessed of their commands, and no peer of England capable of any employment either martial or civil; yet the ordinance found little opposition, and the old argument, "that the house of commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous consequence to dissent from the house of commons," so far prevailed, that it passed the house of peers likewise; and there remained nothing to be done, but the earl of Essex's surrender of his commission into the hands of the parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Fairfax was now named, and declared general, though the earl of Essex made not haste to surrender his commission; so that some men imagined, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both houses in the painted chamber, he should deliver his commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in the delivery of himself, he chose to do it in writing; which he delivered to them; in which he expressed, "with what affection and fidelity he had served them, and as he had often ventured his life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their service; and since they believed, that what they had more to do would be better performed by another man, he submitted to their judgment, and restored their commission to them; hoping they would find an abler servant:" concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and returned to his own house; whither both houses, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise.

By this *self-denying ordinance*, together with the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, sir William Waller, the earl of Denbigh, major general Massy, lost their commands; as Cromwell should likewise have done. But as soon as the ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the earl of Essex, the party that steered had caused him to be sent with a party of horse into the west, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed; and thereupon orders were given, to require his present attendance in parliament, and that their new general should send some other officer to attend that service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which it was averred that he would be in the house. A rendezvous was then appointed, for their new general to take a view of their troops, that he might appoint officers to succeed those who had left their commands by virtue of the ordinance; and likewise in their places who gave up their commands, and refused to serve in the new model, who were a great number of their best commanders. From this rendezvous, the

general sent to desire the parliament, "that they would give lieutenant general Cromwell leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him." The request being so reasonable, and for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another letter, he desired with very much earnestness, "that they would dispense with his service for that campaign." And so they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command; who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed such officers as were well known to him, and to nobody else; and absolutely governed the whole martial affairs; as was quickly known to all men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter.

Though the time spent in passing the *self-denying ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the enemy was to make, before they could take the field, whereby the king had more breathing time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of recruits against that season, depended upon the activity of those to whose care the providing those recruits was committed: so that there will be little occasion to mention any thing that was done at Oxford, till the season of the year obliged his majesty to leave that place, and to march with his army into the field. And of all the action that was till that time, the west was the scene; where the prince, as soon as he came to Bristol, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the prince's journey into the west, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities which were between particular persons of quality, and interest in those parts, and of equal affection to the king's service, (and yet which miserably infested and distracted it,) might be composed and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all men who wished well might be united in the advancing and carrying on that public service, in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. This province, besides the prince's immediate countenance and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those affairs. But his highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmastered, must inevitably produce much worse effects than the other could; which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, which were between several officers of the army and parties, which were then in those parts, whereby their troops were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could suffer under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary, in this first entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the estate of the western counties, at the time when the prince first came to Bristol.

The lord Goring had been sent by his majesty, before the time of the prince's coming into the

west, with such a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a design of his own, of making an incursion into Sussex; where he pretended "he had correspondence; and that very many well affected persons promised to rise, and declare for the king, and that Kent would do the same."

And so a commission was granted to him, of lieutenant general of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon Christ-Church, in Hampshire, a little unfortified fishertown; yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to Salisbury; where his horse committed such horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the king, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. Whilst the lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts, a party of horse and dragoons, under the command of Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, which was blocked up by colonel Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly removed those forces. About the same time, sir Walter Hastings, governor of Portland, seconded by sir Lewis Dives, (who had the command of Dorsetshire as colonel general,) had surprised Weymouth, and possessed the forts, and the upper town, the rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, lest those forces which had relieved Taunton, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Weymouth, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the lord Goring, who pretended that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was by order from Oxford, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of Weymouth and Taunton would be speedily effected. Thereupon the lord Hopton, who naturally had the command of those counties as field-marshal of the west, being sent down by the king to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of Taunton, was, by special order, recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the lord Goring; the one being general of the ordnance, the other general of the horse; but the lord Hopton was likewise field-marshal of the west, in which the lord Goring had no commission to command.

Shortly after the lord Goring's arrival at Weymouth, with his full strength of horse, foot, and dragoons, and artillery, consisting of above three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance was, by most supine negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible number of the rebels, who had been beaten into the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never inquired into; but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to general Goring's natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into Somersetshire. His highness, upon his arrival at Bristol, found the west in this con-

dition; all Dorsetshire entirely possessed by the rebels, save only what sir Lewis Dives could protect by his small garrison at Sherborne, and the island of Portland, which could not provide for its own subsistence: the garrison of Taunton, with that party of horse and dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in Somersetshire: Devonshire intent upon the blocking up of Plymouth at one end, and open to incursions from Lyme, and prejudiced by Taunton, at the other end: the king's garrisons, in all three counties, being stronger in fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in men, or any provisions to endure an enemy: whilst the lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels. Cornwall indeed was entire; but being wholly assigned to the blocking up of Plymouth, yielded no supply to any other service, or to the providing its own garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an enemy.

Sir William Waller and Cromwell marched together about this time towards the west, and making a cavalcade in Wiltshire, had routed and taken the whole regiment of horse of colonel Long, the high sheriff of that county, by his great defect of courage and conduct; and seemed furiously to intend an attempt upon general Goring; who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his forces so far west of Taunton, that Vandruske had an opportunity to retire, with that body of horse and dragoons with which he had relieved Taunton, to his fellows; whilst the king's forces reposed themselves towards Devonshire, the lord Goring himself, and most of his principal officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at Exeter, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his horse lying upon free quarter, and plundering to the gates of the city; which, being in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that sir William Waller made not that haste he apprehended, and borrowing such horse and foot as he could procure from Exeter, he returned again towards Taunton, and gave his highness an account of his condition.

His highness, being attended at Bristol by the commissioners of Somerset, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at Oxford: of his guards of horse and foot, which they assured him, for the proportion of that county, should be ready against his coming, not one man or horse provided: of the hundred pound a week, to be allowed by them towards his highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the lord Hopton's own private store, to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly and positively undertaken at Oxford, was upon the confidence only of three or four men, who were governed by sir John Stawel and Mr. Fountain, without any concurrence from the rest of the commissioners of that, or the other three associated counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of men or money, were only busy in making objections, and preparing complaints, and pursuing their private quarrels and animosities

against others. So they brought, every day, complaints against this and that governor of garrisons, for the riots and insolences of the lord Goring's soldiers, and, "that those parts of the county which were adjacent to Sherborne and Bridgewater were compelled to work at those fortifications;" and a world of such particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and many of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, "that he was very sensible of all those disorders of which they complained; and would redress them, as soon as they should discern it to be in his power; that the forces under the lord Goring were an army by themselves, come down into those parts before his highness; and stayed then there for their protection against the power of Waller, (which was ready to invade them,) and the garrison of Taunton, which they confessed infested their whole county; that he was very desirous that army might move eastward, as soon as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might render them secure against their enemies; wished them to propose any expedients, how the fortifications of the garrisons might be finished, without some extraordinary help; or to propose the most convenient one; and he would join with them; and desired them to proceed in their levies of men and money, in the ways agreed on by themselves; and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him." But, notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them, for the advancement of the public service.

By this time, towards the end of March, sir William Waller having advanced with his horse and dragoons by Bath towards Bristol, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surprised that city by some treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards Dorsetshire, and the edge of Somerset, adjoining to that county; where Cromwell expected him; the lord Goring having, in the mean while, fallen into some of Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester, and taken some prisoners and horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between themselves, or some other orders, Cromwell retired to join with sir Thomas Fairfax towards Reading; sir William Waller stayed in those parts, to intend the business of the west, but made no haste to advance, expecting some supplies of foot by sea at Weymouth. So that the lord Goring drew back to Bruton, and sent to the prince to desire, "that two of his council might meet him at Wells the next day, to consider what course was best to be taken:" accordingly the lords Capel and Colepepper, the next day, met his lordship at Wells. Where, after long consideration of the whole state of the west, and of the great importance of reducing Taunton, without which no great matter could be expected from Somersetshire, the lord Goring proposed, and put the design in writing under his own hand, for the whole method and manner of his proceeding, "that he would leave the gross of his horse, and two hundred foot mounted, in such convenient place, upon the skirts of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, as they might be able to retire to their body, if the enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would himself, with all his foot and cannon, and such horse as

"were necessary, attempt the taking or burning of Taunton:" and to that purpose desired his highness, "to send positive orders to sir Richard Greenvil," (who, notwithstanding his highness's commands formerly sent to him, and some orders from the king himself, made not that haste as might reasonably be expected,) "to advance, and to direct the commissioners of Somerset to give their personal attendance upon that service; and in the mean time to take care that sufficient magazines of victual and provisions were made for the soldiers:" all which was exactly performed by his highness, the next day after he received the desires of general Goring.

But within three or four days, and before the design upon Taunton was ready for execution, it appeared by the constant intelligence, that Waller was advancing with a great body of horse and dragoons, and some foot; and therefore the attempt upon Taunton was for the present to be laid aside; and the lord Goring very earnestly desired the prince to command sir Richard Greenvil, who was now drawn near to Taunton, with eight hundred horse, and above two thousand two hundred foot, besides pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to fight, if they stayed in those fast quarters, where they then were; which was about Shaftsbury, Gillingham, and those places. The prince accordingly sent his commands positively to sir Richard Greenvil, "to advance towards the lord Goring, and to obey all such orders as he should receive from his lordship." But he as positively sent his highness word, "that his men would not stir a foot; and that he had promised the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall, that he would not advance beyond Taunton, till Taunton were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place." In the mean time, the lord Goring very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon sir William Waller's quarters twice in less than a week; and killed and took so good a number, that it was generally believed sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by these rencounters; the lord Goring still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a party, nor engage the main of the rebels, without the addition of Greenvil's foot;" and he, notwithstanding all orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, "that, if he had an addition of six hundred men, he would be in the town within six days."

Whilst things stood thus, sir William Waller, much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his command being near expired, drew back eastward; and was, by night marches, retired as far as Salisbury, before the lord Goring had notice of his motion. Whereupon his highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which general Goring himself confessed by his letters, or to engage the forces under the command of Greenvil, and the other forces of those parts, in any action, before the business of Taunton should be over, (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of men and money in that great county,) and, on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced, (as sir Richard Greenvil undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had viewed

it, thought it not a work of time,) besides the terror it would strike into their neighbours, there would be an army of four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the lord Goring might prosecute his commission in Sussex and Kent, with such a reasonable recruit of foot as should be necessary, and yet his highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good army raised out of the four associated counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were garrisoned by the rebels, or to march toward his majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the prince (with the privity and advice of prince Rupert, who was then at Bristol, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) wrote, upon the eleventh of April, to the lord Goring, being then about Wells, "that his opinion was, that the horse and dragoons under his lordship's command should advance from the quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of that county, into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, or into both of them; and that the foot and cannon should march directly towards Taunton, according to the design formerly proposed by his lordship; and referred it to himself, whether his lordship in person would stay with the horse, or go with the foot; and desired to receive his opinion and resolution upon the whole;" there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This letter was sent by colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater, who came that day, from Taunton, from sir Richard Greenvil; and could best inform him of the strength of the town, and the condition of sir Richard Greenvil's forces.

The next day colonel Windham returned with a short sullen letter from the lord Goring to the prince, "that he had, according to his command, sent the foot and cannon to Taunton, and the horse to the other places; and that, since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to Bath to intend his health:" where he complained privately, "that his forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue Waller, and could utterly defeat him;" and much inveighed against the prince's council, for sending orders to him so prejudicial to the king's service: whereas it was only an opinion, and not orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired to return his present judgment, being within half a day's journey of the prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in person, or have presented his advice to him, if what was then offered seemed not convenient. But, after some days frolicly spent at Bath, he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the prince at Bristol, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had cause;" and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up.

The lord Goring's foot and cannon being thus suddenly sent to Taunton, under the command of sir Joseph Wagstaffe; for the better preventing all mistakes and contests about command, the prince sent the lords Capel and Colepepper to Taunton, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the county to assist that work in the best manner; which proved very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, sir Richard

Greenvil, having brought his forces within musket-shot on one side of Taunton, went himself to view Wellington-house, five miles distant, in which the rebels had a garrison, and was, out of a window, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be mortal: so that there was no person who would pretend to command; those under Greenvil, having no experienced officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by sir Joseph Wagstaffe; so that if the lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those bodies of foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former posts, and left those of Taunton at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and sir John Berkley being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an account of the state of Devonshire, they persuaded him to undertake the present charge of the whole, (all the officers of both bodies having formerly received orders from him,) and to prosecute the former design upon the town; all persons submitting till the prince's pleasure should be farther known; those officers under sir Richard Greenvil presently sending away an express to Bristol, to desire the lord Hopton to take the command of them. But his lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular action with disjointed forces, till, upon the remove of the lord Goring, the whole command might be executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the officers and soldiers, to obey sir John Berkley, according to what had been formerly settled by the lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good order, and by storm took Wellington-house, where Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the lords, coming to visit Greenvil, in the instant that he was put into his litter, and carrying to Exeter, told him what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his officers, (most of the principal being there present,) and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the command of sir John Berkley; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his officers, at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither officer nor soldier did his duty after he was gone, during the time sir John Berkley commanded in that action.

The prince finding the public service in no degree advanced by the commissioners of Somerset, and that though there was no progress made in the association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first proposed it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his highness being informed by a gentleman, (sent by him, at his first coming to Bristol, to the two farthest western counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the association,) "that those two counties of Devon and Cornwall were entirely devoted to

“serve the prince, in what manner soever he should propose,” he thought fit to summon the commissioners of all the associated counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of Taunton, and raising a marching army; which counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to Bristol, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and unactivity of the gentlemen of Somerset; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two western counties, that county could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his highness came to Bristol, upon what apprehensions no man knew, there was great jealousy at Oxford of his going farther west; and thereupon direction given, “that he should not remove from Bristol, but upon weighty reasons, and with which his majesty was to be first acquainted.” Whereas, by his instructions, “he was to make his residence in such a place, as by the council should be thought most conducing to his affairs.” However, such a meeting with all the commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and Bristol thought at too great a distance from the west, besides that the plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his highness resolved to go to Bridgewater for a few days, and to summon thither the commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of Taunton, then closely besieged by sir John Berkley; and to that purpose directed his letters to the several commissioners to attend him there, on Wednesday the three and twentieth of April; the king being then at Oxford, preparing for the field, prince Rupert at Worcester, levying men, and the rebels at London in some disorder and confusion about their new model, having newly removed the earl of Essex, and earl of Manchester, earl of Denbigh, and sir William Waller, from any command, and substituted sir Thomas Fairfax general; who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved forces, to mould an army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

Upon the day, the prince came to Bridgewater; and was attended by a great body of the commissioners of Somerset, that place being near the centre of that great county; there appeared for Dorsetshire, as sent from the rest, sir John Strangeways, Mr. Anchetil Grey, and Mr. Ryves; for Devonshire, sir Peter Ball, sir George Parry, Mr. Saint Hill, and Mr. Muddyard; and for Cornwall, sir Henry Killegrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, and Mr. Roscorroth. The whole body waited on the prince the next morning; and were then told, “that his coming thither was to receive their advice, and to give his assistance in what might concern the peace and welfare of each particular county, and might best advance the general service of the king; that if the association which had been proposed, seemed to them, by the accidents and mutations which had happened since the time of that first proposal,” (as in truth very notable ones had happened,) “not fit now to be further prosecuted, he

“was ready to consent to any alteration they should propose, and to join with them in any other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer together, what was best to be done; and when they were ready to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it.” After two or three days’ consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion, (except sir John Stawel, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of one and all, and for that alone,) “that that design was for the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those counties, according to their several known proportions, would in a very short time” (as I remember a month was the utmost) “raise and arm six thousand foot, besides the prince’s guards, which would be full two thousand more; not reckoning those of the lord Goring’s, which were fifteen hundred, but including the foot of sir John Berkley and sir Richard Green-vil, then before Taunton;” which all men concluded would be reduced in less than a month. This proposition being approved by the prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the officers to whom the men were to be delivered, named; and warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed; so that, in order to the taking that place, and the raising an army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself: but coming to Bridgewater, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mrs. Windham, who had been his nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly and petulancy from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the council; which, though it made no impression in him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other people who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and served to bring prejudice to their counsels throughout the whole course. She had besides many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself and her children, besides the qualifying her husband to do all acts of power without control upon his neighbours, and laboured to procure grants or promises of reversions of lands from the prince; and finding that the prince was not to transact any such thing without the advice of the council, and that they were not like to comply in those enterprises, she laboured to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the prince’s family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence sir Charles Berkley, who had a promise to be made controller of the prince’s household, and Mr. Long, who had the like promise to be his secretary, when he should

be created prince of Wales, (till which time those officers were never made,) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the prince's council, to which the places they were to have gave them title; though they knew well, that the lords who then attended upon the prince, were of the king's privy council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his highness; and that the other were only of the prince's own council for his revenue, and for the administration of the duchy of Cornwall, for which his highness had now his livery.

However, these fancies, thus weakly grounded and entertained, made such an impression upon those persons, that they united themselves into a faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the earl of Berkshire to join with them; and, by degrees, all of them joined with all [other] discontented persons, to render the council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a woman of great rudeness, and of a country pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued herself much upon the power and familiarity which her neighbours might see she had with the prince of Wales; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the concourse of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all companies, where she let herself out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the person of the king; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his majesty unwilling his son should go farther west than Bristol; since he knew Bridgewater must be a stage in that motion. And this her ill disposition was no sooner known to the lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his highness should make no longer residence in that garrison.

The other inconvenience that it discovered, was the design of the lord Goring to have the command of the west. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for Kent or Sussex, he had, from the beginning, affected that charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those parts, he had with great industry caressed the commissioners of Somerset and Devon, and especially those whom he thought any way inclined against the lord Hopton; whom, by all ill arts, he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great contribution, assigned to the garrison of Bristol; and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary garrison (as he called it) at Lamport;" which had been lately settled by the lord Hopton; and, as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most popular to the country, though most pernicious to the king; and promised "great strictness and severity of discipline, if that power under the prince might be devolved to him." To Bridgewater he came at the same time from Bath, upon pretence of "visiting Taunton, and seeing whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it;" but, in truth, to drive on his project for command with the commissioners; who were invited by sir Peter Ball to make it one of their propositions to the prince, "that the lord Goring might be consti-

tuted his lieutenant general;" which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the prince's council, the rules that should be observed between them in the government of the army, and the administration of the civil part. Some, of no extraordinary kindness to Goring, wished the agreement made, and him settled in the command, as the best, if not the only expedient, for advancement of the king's service, and for the speedy forming an army worthy of the prince's own person in the head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his forces from the new levies would leave a good body of foot without an equal power of horse, and without a train, except a longer time were given for the making it, than the state of affairs promised to permit. But when Goring discovered by his discourse with several of the council, (with whom he communicated upon the argument very freely, and expressed in plain English, "that except he might be satisfied in the particulars he proposed, he should have no heart to proceed in "the public service,") that they would not consent to any act that might reflect upon the lord Hopton; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his person, that they would make no conjunction with him, he resolved to compass his ends some other way; and so pressed it no farther in any public address to the prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offered, and assured, "that, as soon as the business of Taunton should be over, he should have such a recruit out of the new levies, as would make up his own foot three thousand men, besides officers;" with which he might well prosecute his former design; and, in the mean time, he had the absolute command; the lord Hopton not at all interposing, or meddling with the army.

It was now concluded by all men who had well considered his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the west, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the prince, and resolved never to march with the army under prince Rupert, (whose nature was not agreeable to him,) so that he had purposely and willingly suffered Vandruske to relieve Taunton, and even Weymouth to be again recovered by that handful of men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the west might be done without him, or by other men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if Taunton had been reduced, as it must have been if that small party had not relieved it even in the last article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon Sussex, and those other counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the king; which he had less mind to do. And when he first left Oxford, and went into Hampshire, which was before the end of the treaty at Uxbridge, he had, in his jovial fits, when he was always very unreserved, declared, with great resentment, "that his father was ill treated by the queen in France, and that he hoped shortly to find himself in such a posture, that the king should find it reasonable to use both his father and himself better." And yet the king had even then, upon his suit, made his father captain of his guard of halberteers, and

created him earl of Norwich, whereby himself had the appellation of lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at Exeter, his brother Porter, who was lieutenant general of his horse, informed some persons of honour in confidence, "that Goring resolved to make himself lieutenant general to the prince, or else to be very discontented." This advertisement was sent to some of the council, upon his highness's first coming to Bristol; and was the first hint that ever they received, that he had affected that charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The general business concerning the four counties being agreed and settled at Bridgewater, the commissioners for Devon desired to be heard in what concerned that particular county; and then informed his highness, "that, upon sir Richard Greenvil's first entering upon the work of Plymouth, and his assurance, that he would take the town before Christmas-day, (which undertaking I myself saw under his hand,) and that he would forthwith raise, arm, and pay twelve hundred horse, and six thousand foot, they had assigned him above one half of their whole contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a week; and, for the providing arms and ammunition, had assigned him the arrears of the contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000*l.*; he having likewise the whole contribution of Cornwall, being above seven hundred pounds weekly; and had received most part of the letter and subscription money of that county towards the same service: that he had, from his first entering upon the charge, quietly enjoyed those contributions in Devon, which were duly paid; and had received the greatest part of the arrears assigned to him for the provision of arms and ammunition: notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty barrels of powder, or any arms, but had received both the one and the other from them, out of their magazines; and had never maintained or raised near half the number of men to which he was obliged, till the week before he was required to march to Taunton; when he had called the *posse comitatus*, and thence forced almost the whole number of foot, which marched with him thither, bringing them with him, as far as Exeter, unarmed; and there compelled the commissioners to supply him with arms and ammunition; that having left not two thousand foot and four hundred horse before Plymouth, he continued still to receive the whole contribution formerly assigned when he was to have twelve hundred horse and six thousand foot; and would not part with any of it: so that he received more out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Plymouth, (having all Cornwall to himself likewise,) than was left for the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, and for the finishing those fortifications, victualling the garrisons, providing arms and ammunition; with which they had before not only supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to the king's army, to the lord Goring, and to the siege of Taunton: that he would not suffer them to send any warrants to collect the letter and subscription money, to settle the excise, or meddle with delinquents'

"estates in the hundreds assigned to him for contribution; and had those continual contests with sir John Berkley, being colonel general of the county, and the other governors of garrisons; pretending that he had power to command them; that there was such an animosity grown between them, that they very much apprehended the danger of those divisions; there having been some blood shed, and men killed, upon their private contests:" and therefore besought his highness, "by his authority, to settle the limits of their several jurisdictions, in order to the martial affairs; and likewise to order sir Richard Greenvil to receive no more contribution, than would suffice for the maintenance of those men who continued before Plymouth; whereby they could be only enabled to perform their parts of the association."

This was pressed with so much earnestness and reason, that it was thought very advisable for his highness himself to go to Exeter, where both the commissioners and sir Richard Greenvil were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, letters came from his majesty to his highness and the lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the prince himself returned to Bristol on Wednesday the thirtieth of April, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days; and sent the lords Capel and Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to Exeter, with instructions "to examine all the complaints and allegations of the commissioners, and to settle the business of the contribution; and upon view of the several commissions of sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil, so to agree the matter of jurisdiction, that the public service might not be obstructed." And from hence I shall continue this discourse throughout all the agitations concerning sir Richard Greenvil to the time of his commitment; in which himself hath taken great pains to have it thought, he had very hard measure, and that thereby his majesty's service much suffered in the west.

As soon as the lords appointed by his highness to go to Exeter came thither, they went the same hour to visit sir Richard Greenvil, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp and bitter complaints and invectives he made against sir John Berkley, (who was then at the leaguer before Taunton,) but told him, "that they would come to him again the next day, and consider of all businesses." Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the governor, and some disrespects from his lieutenant governor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some prisoners from him, which he had sent his marshal for near Taunton. The truth of which was this; whilst sir Richard was before Taunton, he had sent for one Mr. Syms, a justice of peace of the county, a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town. He charged him with some inclinations to the rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The gentleman stood upon his justification and innocency, and desired to be put upon any trial. However, sir Richard told

him, "he was a traitor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pounds, or else he would proceed in another way;" and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired, sir Richard was hurt, and carried to Exeter; whither he no sooner came, but he despatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Syms to him; who appealed to sir John Berkley, (who had then the command,) and desired to be put upon any trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for travel) many gentlemen of the best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance, whenever he should be called upon. Upon this sir John Berkley discharged the marshal, and writ a very civil letter to sir Richard Greenvil, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an act of great cruelty, to carry him a prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his house." Sir Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a letter to sir John Berkley, so full of ill language and reproach, as I have never seen the like from and to a gentleman; and complained to us of the injury. We told him, "that neither he, nor sir John Berkley, had any authority to meddle with Mr. Syms, or any persons of that quality; who could not be looked upon as prisoners of war; but if in truth he should prove to be a delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his fine and composition was due to the king, who had assigned the same to the prince for the public service; and that there were commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound." He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon "sir John Berkley's protecting Syms, as a great indignity to himself." On the other hand, sir John Berkley complained by his letters, "that those soldiers brought to Taunton by Greenvil every day mouldered away, and he had reason to believe it was by his direction; for that those that stayed, and the officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of Wellington-house, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put a garrison into it, if the siege should be raised from Taunton; but that the officer, who was under Greenvil, had, notwithstanding such command, burned it: that he proceeded in the levying monies, and sending out extravagant warrants throughout the county;" and many other particulars.

Sir Richard Greenvil denied, "that the soldiers left the leaguer, or that Wellington-house was burned by any direction of his;" though it appeared, that all such soldiers as left their colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had money given to them by him; and that lieutenant colonel Robinson, after he had received orders from sir John Berkley not to slight Wellington-house, rode to Exeter to sir Richard Greenvil, and immediately, upon his return from him, caused it to be burnt. Greenvil said, "that he levied no monies, nor issued out any warrants, but what he had authority to do by his commission." In the end they shewed him their instructions from the prince, "thoroughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their commis-

sions, to agree what limits each of them should observe." Thereupon he shewed them his commission in paper, under his majesty's sign manual, attested by the lord Digby, by which he was authorized "to command the forces before Plymouth;" and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and command the trained bands, and indeed the whole forces of both counties; and was to receive orders from his majesty, and his lieutenant general; and was likewise at that time high sheriff of Devon. Sir John Berkley's commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the great seal of England, "of colonel general of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to command the whole forces of both counties, as well trained bands as others;" so that, though their commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses and powers so much the same, that either of them had authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his highness's authority.

After the perusal of their commissions, they shewed him their instructions, concerning the regulating the contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several services; and desired his opinion, "what forces were now necessary for the blocking up of Plymouth, since any attempt for the taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a time? And that thereupon, such assignation might be made to that purpose, as was sufficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of." He told them, "that the forces then there (being about fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, of the Devonshire side) were sufficient;" and proposed allowance little enough for the service; and then said, "that it troubled him to be confined to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, whilst there was like to be so much action in the field; and therefore he hoped his highness would give him leave to wait on him in the army; where he thought he might do him much better service." They told him, "they had authority from the prince," (for some of his friends had mentioned the same, soon after he had received his wound,) "if they found his health able to bear it, and his inclination led him that way, to let him know, that his highness would be glad of his service, in the moulding that army which was then raising; which, allowing two thousand foot to the recruiting the lord Goring, would be in view six thousand foot, and above two thousand horse with the guards; in which he had designed him the second place of command." But then, they said, "they knew not where to place the command of Plymouth." Sir Richard very cheerfully received the proposition for himself in the army; and for Plymouth, he said, "no man was fit to undertake the work there, but sir John Berkley, who had the command of both counties: that it was visible by the differences and breaches that had been between them, how inconvenient it would be to have that charge independent; whereas, if it were in one hand, the unanimous consent of both counties, and all the forces in them, would more easily do the business."

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without sir John Berkley's consent, who was then before Taunton; the lords resolved to return to the prince, and in their way to dispose sir John Berkley to what had been proposed; and left the chancellor of the exchequer at Exeter, to agree with the commissioners upon the settlement of the contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole contribution of the county of Devon amounted to two thousand pound weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the commissioners, for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by sir Richard Greenvil himself; and then so many to the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, as amounted to the payment of such forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole contribution, being two thousand pound weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying ammunition and arms, for the finishing fortifications, for victualling the garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme; which if it were not done, all that part of the country would be liable to that pressure; and so, unable to pay contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some numbers from the several garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the excise, the major part whereof was by the king assigned for the support of the princess [Henrietta, left at Exeter], and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of: the latter money and subscription money being almost exhausted.

His highness was no sooner returned to Bristol from Bridgewater, which was on the last day of April, than general Goring was sent for by the king, to draw his horse and dragoons towards Oxford; that thereby his majesty might free himself from Cromwell; who, with a very strong party of horse and dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with prince Rupert about Worcester. How unwelcome soever these orders were to the lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the west should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that expedition towards the king, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a horse quarter of Cromwell's, and another party of Fairfax's horse, as they were attempting a passage over the river of Isis, so prosperously, (the very evening before he came to the king,) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party, in the infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made Fairfax to appoint a new place of rendezvous for his new army, at a greater distance from the king's forces.

Prince Rupert, who now met with very little opposition in council, had, throughout the winter, disposed the king to resolve "to march northwards, and to fall upon the Scottish army in Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to per-

fect his new model to that degree, as to take the "field." This design was not unreasonable; nor the prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them who had offended him so terribly the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, Chester might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract-castle, before which the Scottish army then was; and if they could defeat that, the king would be again, upon the matter, master of the north: which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came to the king, the army was drawn to a rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand foot, and above six thousand horse; an army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a campaign, when the king was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success.

Fairfax was then about Newbury, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was, and that his design was to carry his whole army to the relief of Taunton, which was brought almost to extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the parliament near sharers with the king in the interest of the west. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed "that the king himself would march with his army into the west; and thereby, not only prevent the relief of Taunton, but compel Fairfax to fight, before he should be able to join with Cromwell; who had not yet gathered his troops together." This was the concurrent advice of the whole council with which the king used to advise, prince Rupert only excepted, and sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the northern horse; which were impatient to be in their own country. Now the very contrary affections towards each other, between prince Rupert and the lord Goring, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The prince found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit, and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the king in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his friendship with the lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his majesty, that his own credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the west, than Goring did, not to remain where prince Rupert commanded. This produced a great confidence and friendship between them, and the prince told him all that any of the council had spoken freely to him, when his highness abhorred nothing more than that Goring should be near the prince of Wales; and Goring said all of the council, which he believed would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the credit and authority of the council. The king was desired to receive the information and state of the west from Goring; who, upon the late good fortune he had, and by the artifices of the lord Digby, was too easily believed. He informed the king with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the positive command of the prince, contrary to

"his opinion and advice, his forces had not been taken from him, and applied to the siege of Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruined all Waller's forces, and prevented the coming of those parties who had given his majesty so much trouble at Oxford: that he had been always used, upon his resort to the prince, with great disrespect, being not called into the council, but put to an attendance without, amongst inferior suitors;" and then told many particular passages at Bridgewater, of which he raised advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances; and Waller was marched beyond Salisbury, before the lord Goring knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and he had always received as much respect from the prince and council, as could be given to a subject; being constantly called, and admitted to council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the king, by his letter of the tenth of May to the prince, directed, "that general Goring should be admitted into all consultations and debates, and advised withal, as if he were one of the established council; that prince Rupert having granted him power to give commissions in that army, all commissions to be granted should pass by general Goring; and that none should be granted by the prince, in his own name, otherwise than in such cases as were of relation merely to the association: that the council should contribute their opinions and advices to general Goring, but that his highness should carefully forbear to give unto the lord Goring any positive or binding orders;" whereas, by his instructions, when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his commissions, of generalissimo, and of general of the association, in execution, as he found most convenient; his majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the association, as it was proposed; and therefore, by his letters to the prince of the twentieth of April, which came to him at Bridgewater, all the assignations formerly made towards the association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his council should be found most advantageous to the service of those parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mentioned. With these triumphant orders, the lord Goring returned into the west; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that counsel, which so fatally dismissed him and his forces, at a time, in which, if he were born to serve his country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the king; which it was never after in any occasion.

When Goring was thus separated from the king's army, his majesty marched to Evesham; and in his way, drew out his garrison from Cambden-house; which had brought no other benefit to the public, than the enriching the licentious governor thereof; who exercised an illimited tyranny over the whole country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the noble structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which,

not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the king left Evesham, it was surprised by the enemy, or rather stormed and taken for want of men to defend the works; and the governor and all the little garrison made prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill omen to the succeeding summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between Worcester and Oxford; nor was it at all repaired by the taking of Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire; which the rebels had fortified, and made strong, and which the king's army took in two days, and therein the governor, and one hundred and twenty prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in Evesham. And so, by easy and slow marches, they prosecuted their way towards Chester. But, in Staffordshire, the lord Byron, who was governor of Chester, met the king; and informed him, "that the rebels, upon the noise of his majesty's advance, were drawn off;" and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the northern design; which was now intended, and the army upon its march accordingly, when intelligence was brought, "that Fairfax had sent a strong party to relieve Taunton, and was himself, with his army, sat down before Oxford." This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the execution of the former counsels: and yet Oxford was known to be in so good a condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that Fairfax should be thoroughly engaged before it: and it was concluded, "that the best way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some place possessed by the parliament."

And they had no considerable town so near the place where the king then was, as Leicester; in which there was a good garrison, under the command of sir Robert Pye; and prince Rupert, who was always pleased with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent sir Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his horse; and the next day, being the last of May, the whole army was drawn about the town, and the prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone wall, on the south side of the town; which, by his own continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a summons to the governor; who returned not such an answer as was required. Thereupon, the battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a breach, that it was thought counsellable, the same night to make a general assault with the whole army, in several places; but principally at the breach; which was defended with great courage and resolution; insomuch, that the king's forces were twice repulsed with great loss and slaughter; and were even ready to draw off in despair: when another party, on the other side of the town, under the command of colonel Page, seconded by a body of horse that came but that day from Newark, and, putting themselves on foot, advanced, with their swords and pistols, with the other, entered the town; and made way for their fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the assault having continued all the night, all the king's army entered the line. Then the governor, and all the officers and soldiers, to the

number of twelve hundred, threw down their arms, and became prisoners of war: whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual license of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places; churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the king; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those seasons admit no difference of persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the king's side; there being near two hundred soldiers dead upon the places of assault, with many officers; colonel Saint George, and others of name; besides many more wounded and maimed. The king presently made the lord Loughborough, a younger son of the earl of Huntington, and one who had served him eminently from the beginning of the war, governor of Leicester; and sir Matthew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his lieutenant governor.

The taking of Leicester, the chief town of that province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an act of great courage, gave the king's army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at Westminster; who now revolved the conditions which were offered at Uxbridge; and which they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had persuaded them "so ingratelously to throw off their old general, who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the king's army had been in the field, and in that short time it had reduced two strong garrisons of theirs, without giving the soldiers any conditions, Hawkesly-house in Worcestershire, and the town of Leicester: whilst their new general Fairfax had only faced Oxford at a distance, to try whether the ladies would prevail for the giving up of the town, to pacify their fears; and had attempted to take a poor house that lay near, Borstall-house, and had been beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn off from both, very little to his honour." These discourses were so public in the city, and had so much credit in both houses of parliament, that they exceedingly desired peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.

Leicester was a post, where the king might, with all possible convenience and honour, have sat still, till his army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel Gerrard was upon his march towards him from Wales, with a body of three thousand horse and foot: and he had reason to expect, that the lord Goring would be very shortly with him with his horse; for he was not departed from the king above four or five days, with those orders which are mentioned before, (and with which he was so well pleased,) but that the king saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other orders to recall him as soon as was possible. But the king's fate, and the natural unsteadiness

and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that Fairfax was gone from Oxford; and the intelligence, which some men pretended to have received from thence, was, "that it was in distress." The duke of York remained there; the council, many lords and ladies, who sent intelligence to their friends, and all the magazines were there; and if all these should fall into the enemy's hands, Leicester would appear a very poor recompence. These particulars being unskillfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the king resolved to march directly for Oxford; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of Leicester, he appointed the rendezvous for his army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appeared evidently, how very much it was weakened by and since that action, and by the loss of those who were killed and wounded in the storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the garrison; and by the running away of very many with their plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The number of the king's foot which remained, did not amount to above five hundred above three thousand; which was not a body sufficient to fight a battle for a crown. Then, all the northern horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the king, that they should go into their own country, were so transported with this new resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended upon in any sudden action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at Harborough, the intelligence came "that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, without having ever approached so near it, as to discharge one piece of cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off from Borstall-house with the loss of officers, as well as soldiers; and that he was marched with his whole army to Buckingham." But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march northward, since they might well apprehend the Scottish army in their face, and Fairfax in their rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to Leicester, or to Worcester, where they might expect, and could not fail of an addition of forces to the army; and where the enemy, who must now be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed, that Fairfax's army was much dispirited, by having failed in their two first enterprises; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover courage, before it should be brought to fight with so victorious troops as the king's were: and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them: all men concluded that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. And so the army marched to Daventry in Northamptonshire: where, for want of knowing where the enemy was, or what he intended to do, the king remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of June the king received intelligence, that Fairfax was advanced to Northampton, with a strong army; much superior to

the numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, he retired the next day to Harborough; and meant to have gone back to Leicester, that he might draw more foot out of Newark, and stand upon his defence, till the other forces, which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very night, an alarm was brought to Harborough, that Fairfax himself was quartered within six miles. A council was presently called, and the former resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, "to fight;" to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the morning early, being Saturday the fourteenth of June, all the army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile south from Harborough, (which was left at their back,) and there put in order to give or receive the charge. The main body of the foot was led by the lord Astley, (whom the king had lately made a baron,) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred foot; the right wing of horse, being about two thousand, was led by prince Rupert; the left wing of horse, consisting of all the northern horse, with those from Newark, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was commanded by sir Marmaduke Langdale; in the reserve were the king's life-guard, commanded by the earl of Lindsey, and prince Rupert's regiment of foot, (both which did make very little above eight hundred,) with the king's horse-guards, commanded by the lord Bernard Stuart, (newly made earl of Litchfield,) which made that day about five hundred horse.

The army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight of the clock in the morning it began to be doubted, whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scout-master was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but returned and averred, "that he had been three or four miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear any thing of them:" presently, a report was raised in the army, "that the enemy was retired." Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse and musketeers, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. His highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the van of their army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back, "that the army should march up to him;" and the messenger who brought the order said, "that the prince desired they should make haste." Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and an half, the horse of the enemy was discerned to stand upon a high ground about Naseby; whence seeing the manner of the king's march, in a full campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The prince's natural heat and impatience could never endure an enemy long in his view; nor believe that they had the courage to endure his charge. And so the

army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight: so that courage was only to be relied upon, where all conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the clock when the battle began: the first charge was given by prince Rupert; who, with his own, and his brother prince Maurice's troop, performed it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was master of six pieces of the rebels' best cannon. The lord Astley, with his foot, though against the hill, advanced upon their foot; who discharged their cannon at them, but overshot them, and so did their musketeers too. For the foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within carabine shot, and so only gave one volley; the king's foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their swords, and the butt-ends of their muskets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left wing, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, in five bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encountered by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse, with seven bodies greater and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the king's horse were obliged to march up the hill, before they could charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of numbers, would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the enemy's horse, and pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the enemy's bodies, close, and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest charged the king's foot, who had till then so much the advantage over theirs; whilst prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued those horse which he had broken and defeated.

The king's reserve of horse, which was his own guards, with himself in the head of them, were even ready to charge those horse who followed his left wing, when, on a sudden, such a panic fear seized upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happened upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute troops, as those were the best horse in the army. The king, as was said before, was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the earl of Carnewarthe, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor one from whom the king would have received counsel in such a case,) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, and swearing two or three full mouthed Scottish oaths, (for of that nation he was,) said, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" and, before his majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word run through the troops, "that they should march to the right hand;" which was both from charging the enemy, or assisting their own men. And upon this they all turned their horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.

It is very true, that, upon the more soldierly word *stand*; which was sent to run after them, many of them returned to the king; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. And by this time, prince Rupert was returned with a good body of those horse, which had attended him in his prosperous charge on the right wing; but they having, as they thought, acted their parts, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to charge the enemy. And that difference was observed shortly from the beginning of the war, in the discipline of the king's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Cromwell, (for it was only under him, and had never been notorious under Essex or Waller,) that, though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they never rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day: which was the reason, that they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas Cromwell's troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. All that the king and prince could do, could not rally their broken troops, which stood in sufficient numbers upon the field, though they often endeavoured it, with the manifest hazard of their own persons. So that, in the end, the king was compelled to quit the field, and to leave Fairfax master of all his foot, cannon, and baggage; amongst which was his own cabinet, where his most secret papers were, and letters between the queen and him; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their natures, and published them in print; that is, so much of them, as they thought would asperse either of their majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

It will not be seasonable, in this place, to mention the names of those noble persons who were lost in this battle; when the king and the kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of prime quality, dead upon the spot; whose memories ought to be preserved. The enemy left no manner of barbarous cruelty unexercised that day; and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of quality. The king and prince Rupert, with the broken troops, marched by Leicester that night to Ashby de la Zouch; and the next day to Litchfield; and continued two days' march more, till he came to Bewdley in Worcestershire; where he rested one day; and then went to Hereford, with some disjointed imagination, that he might, with those forces under Gerrard, who was general of South Wales, and was indeed upon his march, with a body of two thousand horse and foot, be able to have raised a new army. At Hereford, prince Rupert, before any formed counsel was agreed upon, what the king should do next, left the king, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. And nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the king should amuse himself about forming a new army in counties which had been vexed, and

worn out with the oppressions of his own troops, and the license of those governors, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the west, where he had an army already formed, and a people, generally, well devoted to his service, and whither all his broken troops, and general Gerrard, might have transported themselves, before Fairfax could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the west.

The sickness which infested Bristol, and which was thought to be the plague, had made it necessary for the prince [of Wales] to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as Barnstable, a pleasant town in the north part of Devonshire, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, under the command of sir Allen Apsley. And as his highness was upon his way thither, he received the orders which the lord Goring, who was now returned, had procured from the king; and which he carefully transmitted to his highness as soon as he arrived. And at the same time, the lord Colepepper received another letter from the lord Digby, dated four days after the former orders, by which he signified "the king's express pleasure, that the lord Goring should command those forces in chief; that sir Richard Greenvil should be major general of the whole army; that sir John Berkley, as colonel general of Devon and Cornwall, should intend the work before Plymouth; and that prince Rupert would send his ratification of all these; that the lord Hopton should attend his charge at the army, as general of the artillery." To which purpose, his majesty with his own hand writ to the lord Hopton; and that the prince should not be in the army, but keep his residence in a safe garrison; and there, by the advice of his council, manage and improve the business of the west, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the army: with an intimation, "that Mr. Smith's house, near Bristol, would be a convenient place for his residence."

The prince and council were much amazed at these counsels and resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believed in the county, that the prince's authority was in the least manner superseded or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies, upon the agreement at Bridgewater, would be in a moment determined; the gentlemen who were to raise regiments, professing, "that they would receive no commissions but from his highness." But whatever secrecy they used to conceal the matter of those letters, and hastened away a despatch to the king concerning it, the lord Goring took as much care to publish them; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the council attending the prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the lord Digby, (sending at the same time express orders from the king to the lord Goring to that purpose,) by his letters to the lords of the council, of the nineteenth of May, within five days after the former, signified "his majesty's pleasure, that the lord Goring should

"march forthwith towards Northamptonshire, with all the forces could be spared; and that the prince himself should stay at Dunstar-castle, and encourage the new levies:" it being (I presume) not known at court, that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the castle. And then again, a letter to the lord Hopton from the king, ordered him "to command the forces under the prince." The prince was then, as was said before, in his way to Barnstable; having left five hundred of his guards to keep the fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the service before Taunton.

General Goring, upon his return from the king, found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered, and a third part of the town was burned. But this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the party that relieved them, having done their work, and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could, to make their retreat eastward; when Goring fell so opportunely upon their quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believed that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to Taunton, nor march eastward: and doubtless he had them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all men that knew the country. But, by the extreme ill disposing his parties, and for want of particular orders, (of which many men spoke with great license,) his two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy about Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by colonel Thornhill, the other by sir William Courtney, (both diligent and sober officers,) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their men; both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their error; through which the enemy with no more loss got into and about Taunton: notwithstanding which untoward accident, general Goring was, or seemed, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his mercy.

This was before the latter end of May; when, upon the confidence of speedily despatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with provisions, and to send all the new levied men and his highness's own guards thither. Insomuch, as he had within few days a body of full five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which he quartered at the most convenient places; rather for ease than duty; having published orders, under pretence of preserving the country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary discipline, "that sixpence a day should be collected for the payment of each trooper;" to which he got the commissioners' consent; by virtue whereof he raised great sums of money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such popular circumstances, sending most specious warrants out, and declarations for reformation; sometimes desiring, "that solemn prayers might be said in all churches for him; and to desire God to bless some attempt

"he had then in hand;" always using extreme courtship to the commissioners, (whom he bare-faced informed, "that he was to have, or rather, "that he had the absolute command of the west "under the prince, without reference to his council,") that with his promises, proclamations, and courtship, together with laughing at those persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other men, he made them properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the king's letter came to the lord Goring, to march; to which he returned an answer by an express, before he desired the prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his highness's opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those forces within very few days; the leaving all the west to the mercy of the rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the enemy, as general Goring could carry to the king, except he carried with him the forces of the several garrisons, which were then joined to him, made it very counsellable to suspend a present obedience to those orders, till his majesty might receive the full and true state of his affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his highness to the king. In the mean time, general Goring was so far from making any advance upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the town, through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to license: insomuch that many times he was not seen abroad in three or four days together. Then came the news of the fatal blow at Naseby, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the west; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened; but suffered his guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his quarters were often beaten up, even in the day time; whilst some principal officers of his army, as lieutenant general Porter, and others, with his license, had several parleys with the officers of the rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the person of the king with great contempt, and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the prince's council. And, after about six weeks lying about Taunton, the forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to join with sir Thomas Fairfax; who in the beginning of July marched towards those parts.

After the prince came to Barnstable, though he very seldom received any account from the lord Goring of what happened, he was informed by several persons of credit, "that general Goring "was much discontented; and expressed a great "sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he "had received." And therefore it was wished by them, "that some means might be found out, to "settle a good understanding with him, whereby

“ he might be encouraged to an alacrity in so important a season :” and he having appointed to be at Tiverton on such a day, the prince sent thither sir John Berkley, sir Hugh Pollard, and colonel Ashburnham, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of “ general neglects put upon him by the prince’s council; that he had been promised by the king to have the command of the west, but that they had hindered it; which affront he would have repaired, before he would do any service upon the enemy;” with many bitter invectives against particular persons; “ whereof, he said, prince Rupert had told him that some thought him not a man fit to be trusted.” They had indeed spoken freely to his highness to that purpose, upon his very frankly discoursing of him. In the end, they pressing him as friends to deal particularly with them, what would satisfy him; he told them, “ if he might be presently made lieutenant general to the prince, and admitted of his council, and be promised to be sworn of the privy council, as soon as might be, and to be gentleman of the prince’s bedchamber, he would then proceed roundly and cheerfully in the business; otherwise, the prince’s council should do the work themselves for him.” All this being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any answer could be given to it, especially it being said to them as friends, and not expressly sent to the prince.

When the prince first apprehended the advance of sir Thomas Fairfax to the west, he very earnestly recommended to the lord Goring the state of the garrisons about Bridgewater, especially the garrison of Lamport, which was of so great importance, that, being well supplied, it had secured Bridgewater, and all that part of the country. This garrison had been settled by the lord Hopton, upon his first coming down to Taunton, after Vandruske had raised the blockade that colonel Windham had laid to it; and sir Francis Mackworth (who, having been formerly major general to the marquis of Newcastle of all his forces, was now, that army being dissolved, returning to his command in the Low Countries by his majesty’s leave) was engaged by him to take the command of it till, upon the prince’s coming into those parts, a worthier command could be provided for him; and before the lord Goring’s coming to Taunton, he had fortified it to a good degree. This garrison, from the first establishment, had been much maligned by colonel Windham, who desired not to have another governor so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assigned to him: and then, upon some differences between sir John Stawel and sir Francis Mackworth, it was more inveighed against: insomuch as at the first coming down of the prince to Bristol, most of the time was spent in complaints from sir John Stawel of this garrison, and of the forcing the county to work, and contribute to those fortifications. After the lord Goring’s coming to Taunton, he had, as a compliment to Bridgewater, and to all the gentlemen, who were grown angry with my lord Hopton, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to sir Francis Mackworth upon some disputes

they had had in the north, (where they were both general officers,) very much neglected and oppressed that garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the contribution assigned for the support of it, for the supplying his own army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to levy those rates, which the prince himself had assigned to him. Insomuch as when the club-men of the county assembled together in great numbers, and, having taken some officers and soldiers of that garrison prisoners, for requiring their just contributions in money or provisions, came up to the walls of Lamport, and discharged their muskets upon the works, and sir Francis Mackworth thereupon with his horse charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the lord Goring sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him “ to do so no more; nor in any case to disturb or injure those people;” and so brought that garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that army, it had not two days’ provisions in it; sir Francis Mackworth having been called to wait on the prince’s person, as well by his own choice, (when he saw the carriage towards him, and believing that some prejudice to his person brought a disadvantage to the place,) as by prince Rupert’s advice; who promised, when he left the prince at Barnstable, and visited Goring, and Bridgewater, “ to settle that garrison of Lamport, and make colonel Windham governor of it.”

Here I cannot but say somewhat of the club-men; who began then to rise in great numbers, in several parts of the country, about the time that the prince went from Bath to Bridgewater, in his journey to Barnstable; and that night his highness lay at Wells, which was the second of June, a petition was delivered to him, which had been agreed upon that day at Marshals Elme, where there had then assembled five or six thousand men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence, exercised by the lord Goring’s horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking, it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation of the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the king, and would grow into the matter of the first association, one and all. And therefore some principal agents of sir John Stawel’s were very active in those meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition; which was followed by some formerly men, and others of the clergy, both which had good reputations of affection and integrity to the king’s service. The prince expressed a great sense of the oppressions they suffered, by the disorder of the army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end he writ many earnest letters to the lord Goring. But his highness told them, “ that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own judges, would prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, yet some active ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of the rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of neu-

“trality, and unconcernedness for the king, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in regiments, and chose gentlemen of the country to command them;” to whom his highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose.

This answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the petitioners, until they were persuaded by some gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior officers of the army quitting their charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the prince went to Barnstable, he gave general Goring advertisements “of the great danger that might arise out of the license that people took to themselves;” and therefore advised him, “on the one hand, to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors; so on the other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish those assemblies of club-men; which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of the rebels.” But, whether it were to shew his greatness, and so, popularly to comply with what the prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that as they kept provisions from the army, and the garrisons; so when he moved from Taunton, upon the coming down of sir Thomas Fairfax, they killed most of his soldiers; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the rebels.

When the prince came to Barnstable, he received the fatal news of the battle of Naseby, by the noise and triumphs which the rebels made in those parts for their victory, without any particular information, or account from Oxford, or any credible persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected people reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned him the more to be solicitous to put the west into such a posture, that it might be able to repair any loss the king had received; which he might have done, if the jealousies and animosities between particular persons could have been reconciled, and a union been made amongst all men who pretended to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the king’s affairs; which were disturbed, and even rendered desperate, by the intolerable pride and incorrigible faction of and between such persons. Notwithstanding the orders, which had been made by the commissioners of Devonshire, for distributing the contributions of that county, which have been mentioned before, and in which such a proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as in sir Richard Greenvil’s own judgment was sufficient for them; he had still continued to levy the whole contribution, which he had done formerly, for six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; and said, “he

“retrenchment; for that there was nothing as-signed, or left for the payment of his men before Taunton.” He was told by the commissioners, “that they were now a part of the army, and lived as their fellows did; that they had received no money from him since their going thither, but had had free quarter as the rest of the army; and that it would prove of ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if they should receive a weekly pay, when none of the rest did, nor any army the king had in England: that he could not but confess, by the state of the whole, that the dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could not be expected that the county would be contented to pay their contribution for the payment of foreign forces, when their own garrisons, that were kept for their defence, should be compelled, for want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But that, if he thought any thing in those establishments unnecessary, or that he thought provision could be otherwise made for them, they would be contented that the overplus should be disposed as he desired.” He answered none of their reasons; but positively said, “he would spare none of the contributions formerly assigned to him;” though the commissioners had the same authority now to take it away, as they had then to dispose it to him; and though it appeared to be assigned for the maintenance of so great a force, as was before spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand, “to take the town before Christmas-day.”

When this account was presented to the prince, he found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was proposed by the commissioners, without which those garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling thereof, till he came to Barnstable, being resolved speedily to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the commissioners both of Devon and Cornwall to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with sir John Berkley and sir Richard Greenvil. When we were at Barnstable, one day, the bishop of Salisbury came to us at council, and informed us that there was a young fellow who assumed too much license about the prince, one Wheeler, who, though he had no relation of service to king or prince, intruded himself with great boldness about his highness; that he was very debauched, and of so filthy a behaviour, that it was not to be spoken of; and that sir Hugh Windham had complained of some beastliness of his that was not to be named. Whereupon, after a long debate in the presence of his highness, it was unanimously resolved, that he should be forbid to come any more to court, or to reside in any place where the prince should be; for which purpose he was sent for, and commanded accordingly to depart the town that time. The same night, about ten of the clock, sir Hugh Windham came to me to the governor’s, and told me the prince had sent him to me, to give directions that Wheeler should be committed. I told him I thought he was gone out of the town; he replied, No, he saw him but now, and that, as he came up the street, Wheeler came to him, and threatened him to be revenged on him; and told him that he had spoken ill

of the king, and that he had said, he would join with the prince against the king, and that he would cut the king's throat: which, he said, was an imputation of such a nature, that he desired he might be examined. I told him, I had never heard any such thing; but I would speak with the governor to send a guard to keep him that night, and that I would wait upon the prince the next morning for his commands. The next morning I went to court, the prince being then riding: he called to me, and commanded me that the business of Wheeler should be thoroughly examined. Thereupon, as soon as the council met, I acquainted their lordships with what had passed; who gave directions for Wheeler to be sent for; and we sent for the bishop of Salisbury to be present at the examination. When the young man came, we asked him what he had to accuse sir H. Windham of; and wished him to consider well what he spake, because his words could have little credit, since it was evident he spake out of revenge. He said, that about a month before, (and named the day,) he and sir H. Windham being together at such a place, sir H. Windham complained of the king, and said he served the prince, and that, if the prince would take up arms to-morrow against the king, he would follow him. We asked him who heard it. He said, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Marsh; who being both sent for, and examined severally, seemed prepared beforehand on the behalf of Windham; Marsh saying, that he remembered nothing, nor took notice of what was said; the other confessing that sir H. Windham asked him, if the prince should take up arms against the king, what part he would take; but remembered no such expressions of Windham's as Wheeler accused him of. Upon the whole matter, my lords unanimously (except my lord Berkshire) advised the prince, in a business of so tender a nature, that he would not be too strict, and that, seeing sir H. Windham stood accused of so ill a carriage, and (though denied by him) that it appeared he had used very uncomely language and question by the confession of Rogers, that the former sentence upon Wheeler should be executed; and that sir H. Windham should likewise forbear coming near the prince, till the king should be acquainted with the whole business; and that Rogers and Marsh should for the present not come near the prince. This was thought a severe sentence against Windham, and drew very much malice from that family towards me; though truly, out of the knowledge that his mother had before used me ill, I proceeded in that business (lest I might be suspected of some passion) with the same candour as I would have done towards a brother.

The commissioners for Devon very earnestly pressed the settling the contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exorbitant power of sir Richard Greenvil, who raised what money he pleased, and committed what persons he pleased; and the commissioners from Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the name of the whole county, for several exorbitances, and strange acts of tyranny exercised upon them: "that he had committed very many honest substantial men, and all the constables of the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in Devonshire, for no offence, but to

"compel them to ransom themselves for money; "and that his troopers had committed such outrages in the county, that they had been compelled, in open sessions, to declare against him; "and to authorize the county, in case that he "should send his troops in such manner, to rise, "and beat them out;" which declaration was produced, signed by all the commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing war against Greenvil; and was excused by them "as an act of necessity to compose "the people, who would otherwise in the instant "have risen, and cut the throats of all his men." So that, whosoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall at that time, must have concluded, that sir Richard Greenvil was the most justly odious to both counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt the man had behaved himself with great pride and tyranny over them; though the discipline he exercised over his men at Plymouth, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any man, (which, considering the vast assignment of money he had, and the small numbers of men, was no hard matter to do,) had raised him much credit among the country people, who had lived long under the license of prince Maurice; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

There hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of the man, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of Devon and Cornwall; and, indeed, thereby the whole west. There was one particular that made a great noise in the country: shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr. Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, (who had heretofore solicited the great suit against sir Richard in the star-chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the king's service,) knowing, it seems, the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter; but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head, (sir Richard Greenvil having laid wait to apprehend him, and he accordingly concealing himself,) and being now brought before sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a spy: which seemed so strange and incredible, that one of the council asked him, "whether it was "true?" And he answered very unconcernedly, "Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, "and against the king; and that he had taken "a brother of his, whom he might have hanged "too, but he had suffered him to be exchanged." He said, "he knew the country talked, that "he hanged him for revenge, because he had "solicited a cause against him; but that was "not the cause; though having played the "knave with him," he said smiling, "he was well "content to find a just occasion to punish him."

The prince was very unwilling to enter so far and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either county, as thereby to be compelled to censure or to discountenance sir Richard Greenvil; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the public service. And therefore he resolved, according to the former design, to commit the business of Plymouth to sir John Berkley; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from imprisonment as had lain long enough there, though faulty, and who made no other pretence to the contribution, than according to the assignments made by the commissioners; and to dispose sir Richard Greenvil to the field, according to his own proposition; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the lord Goring having then written to the prince, "to desire him, that, in regard very many of sir Richard Greenvil's soldiers before Taunton were run away, insomuch that of the two thousand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not six hundred left, and that there could be no such expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the new levies, as by his presence in that army, that he would send sir Richard Greenvil thither; where he should command as field marshal:" to which purpose he had likewise written to sir Richard Greenvil, persuading him, "that he should fix a quarter towards Lyme, and have the whole managing of that province:" and so a very good correspondence was begun between them. And thereupon, his commission of field marshal of the associated army was delivered to him, with direction, "in the mean time to abide with the lord Goring;" who deputed him to command in the same place. It is true that he then desired, "to continue the command before Plymouth in commendam, and to execute the same by his major general; but he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his own proposition and advice, and therefore that it could not be altered:" and indeed would have prevented the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two counties. Then he insisted very much upon some assignment of contribution for the army; for, he said, "he neither would nor could command men who were not paid." But after some sharp invectives against the excess and laziness of governors, and the needless contribution assigned to garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the army must be provided out of Somerset and Dorset, he took his leave of the prince; and, with his commission of field marshal, went to the lord Goring before Taunton; sir John Berkley being at the same time despatched to Plymouth.

About the beginning of July sir Thomas Fairfax entered into Somersetshire; so that general Goring found it convenient to draw off from Taunton, and seemed to advance towards him, as if he intended to fight; fixing his quarters between the rivers about Lamport, very advantageously for defence, having a body of horse and foot very little inferior to the enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his foot to moulder away before Taunton, for want of provisions, and countenance; when the horse enjoyed plenty, even to excess and riot. He had been there very few days, when the enemy, at

noonday, fell into his quarters, upon a party of horse of above a thousand, commanded by lieutenant general Porter; who were so surprised, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the enemy coming down the hill, half a mile at the least, yet the enemy was upon them before the men could get upon their horses, they being then feeding in a meadow; so that this body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the advantages of passes, and places of advantage, another party of the enemy's horse and dragoons fell upon the whole army; routed it; took two pieces of cannon; and pursued Goring's men through Lamport, (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resisted their army,) and drove them to the walls of Bridgewater; whither the lord Goring in great disorder retired; and spending that night there, and leaving with them the cannon, ammunition, and carriages, and such soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retired into Devonshire; the club-men and country people infesting his march, and knocking all stragglers, or wearied soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole army, the lord Goring retired to Barnstable: from whence (the prince being gone some days before to Launceston in Cornwall) he writ to the lord Digby, "that there was so great a terror and distraction among his men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to fight against half their number." In the letter he writ, "that he had then" (being within three days after their rout, when very many stragglers were not come up) "between three and four thousand foot," (prince Rupert's regiment being left in Bridgewater, consisting of above five hundred men, and two hundred in Burrow, and five and twenty hundred horse, besides sir Lewis Dives's regiment, and all the western horse,) so that, by this account, considering that there were not less than one thousand men killed, and taken prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to Bristol, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from Taunton, he had a strength little inferior to the enemy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more considered this running away, but left them to refresh, and recover themselves without the least pursuit; whilst he himself intended the recovery of Bridgewater; which was exceedingly wondered at; though it was quickly discerned, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time general Goring spent his time at Barnstable, and those parts adjacent; his army quartering at Torrington, and over the whole north of Devon, and his horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the king's service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the enemy, he suffered all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the lord Colepepper, on the 27th of July, "that he had not above thirteen hundred foot left." When he was at Barn-

stable, he gave himself his usual license of drinking; and then, inveighing against the prince's council, said, "he would justify that they had been the cause of the loss of the west;" inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the king, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertained himself to the end of July, writing letters of discontent to the prince, and the lords; one day complaining for want of money, and desiring the prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted supply for his own table; and never received penny of the public collections or contributions: another day, desiring, "that all straggling soldiers might be sent out of Cornwall, and drawn from the garrisons, that he might advance upon the enemy;" and the next day proposing, "that all the foot might be put into garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the field;" so that before an answer could be sent to his last letter, another commonly arrived of a different temper.

Sir Richard Greenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient than the lord Goring. He had left the prince at Barnstable, well pleased with his commission of field marshal, and more that he should command alone the blocking up of Lyme; which, he resolved, should bring him in plenty of money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that on such a day appointed, "so many men from the garrisons of Dartmouth, Exeter, and Barnstable, should be drawn to Tiverton; where they should receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil, and join with such as he should bring from the lord Goring, for making a quarter towards Lyme;" and orders issued from his highness accordingly. Those from Exeter, according to order, appeared at the time; and those from Barnstable and Dartmouth marched a day's journey and more towards Tiverton; but then, hearing that the lord Goring was risen from Taunton, which was true, though he returned thither the next day, made a halt; and sent back to the prince for orders; who conceived that, upon the rising of the lord Goring, the design of fixing a quarter upon Lyme would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen Barnstable, where his own person was; [and] recalled those men back thither; having despatched letters to sir Richard Greenvil, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from Dartmouth and Barnstable; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of Barnstable should meet, where and when he would appoint."

Sir Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at Tiverton, (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design,) to exclaim against the prince's council; and, the next day, in a cover directed to Mr. Fanshaw, who was secretary of the council, without any letter, returned the commission of field marshal, formerly given him by the prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of July, he sent a very insolent letter to the lords of the council, complaining of "many undeserved abuses offered to him;" implying, "that the same were fastened on him by them, on the behalf of sir John Berkley;" told them, "that when they moved him to give over the command of Plymouth to sir John Berkley, they had promised him the principal command of the

"army under the prince:" whereas the truth is before set down, that the proposition was made by himself, both of quitting that charge, and of sir John Berkley's taking it, as the only fit person. He said, "he had hitherto served the king upon his own charge, and upon his own estate, without any allowance; and that, when he went from Barnstable, he was promised a protection for his house and estate; but when, after he was gone, his servant brought a protection ready drawn, all the clauses that comprehended anything of favour were left out; and such a protection sent to him as he cared not for." He concluded, "that he would serve as a volunteer, till he might have opportunity to acquaint his majesty with his sufferings." Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this protection, (which he took so ill to be denied,) and the mention of serving the king, without allowance, upon his own estate, which he very often and very insolently objected both in his letters, and in his discourse to the prince himself, to say somewhat of his estate, and what small allowance he had from the king for his service.

When he came first into that country, he had no command at all; armed only with a commission to raise a regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot; of which he never raised horse or man, till long after, that he came to the command of Plymouth. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his wife had an estate, of about five hundred pounds a year, about Tavistock and other parts of Devon; but it is as true, that it was conveyed before marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to friends in trust, that upon long suits in chancery, and in other courts, in the time of peace, there were several judgments and decrees in chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his wife, which was many years before, received the least benefit or advantage from it. The first thing the king granted to him was the sequestration of all his wife's estate to his own use, (she living then in the rebels' quarters,) upon which title he settled himself in her house near Tavistock; and, by virtue of that grant, took all the stock upon the ground; and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the arrears of rent, or as much as he said was in arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When colonel Digby received his unfortunate hurt, which rendered him for that time incapable to exercise his command, sir John Berkley very earnestly, and he only, moved prince Maurice, to confer that charge upon sir Richard Greenvil; and, though it was within a county of which he himself had the principal charge as colonel general, procured a full commission for the other to command those forces in chief; and delivered, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with marvellous kindness. He had not then commanded long, when the earl of Essex came into those parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise; and after joined with the king.

When the earl of Essex's forces were dissolved, he was again designed for that service; and before the king left the country, he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of sir Francis Drake (by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked up Plymouth; and Worrington by Launceston) in Devon, and the

lord Roberts's estate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's estate, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents,) he kept very much ground, about all the houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed, or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the *posse*, (which he summoned very frequently after he was sheriff of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters,) he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons, and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them whereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of his justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock; which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle, of all sorts, upon his grounds, than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations, he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good householdstuff, as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. And this was his own estate, upon which, he said, he had maintained himself, without any allowance from the king; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other arts, and extortions of several kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good witnesses say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking Plymouth within few days, "his farthest guards were never nearer the town, than the lord Hopton's head quarter was the first day that he came thither,") I shall leave that to other men to make the estimate.

Now when sir Richard Greenvil desired at Barnstable a protection for his houses and estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of claim, some attempt be made upon his stock by the owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an inquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as, being designed for the public service, had been applied to his particular private use; as having, with great importunity, (as a thing upon which the service depended,) gotten from the commissioners of Devon above a thou-

sand deal-boards, to make huts for the soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-house at Buckland, for his own pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he governed so absolutely. The protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the prince; but, after his departure, his servant bringing such a protection drawn, as exempted all those estates, which the king had granted to him in sequestration, from the payment of any contributions, (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal persons of Cornwall had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborne to pay their rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, "that no person there in council, whereof "some had had very much greater commands in "armies than he, and though others thought their "services deserved any reasonable privilege, had "been ever freed from contribution,") and thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the protection, in a fuller manner than ordinary, signed by the prince; and sir John Berkley, then present, declared, (of which his servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the example, to put it in writing,) "that he would not require any contribution for that estate which was his wife's, and "enjoyed by him though by virtue of the sequestration;" and the denying of this protection was his great grievance. And yet (but that was an act of his own sovereignty) he did not only never pay a penny contribution before, or after, for all these estates, but refused to pay the fee-farm rent, due to the king out of the earl of Bedford's estate, being two hundred marks *per annum*, though the auditor was sent to him to demand it.

After this angry letter to the lords, and the throwing up his commission without a letter, and so having no commission at all to meddle in martial affairs, he fixed a quarter, with his own horse and foot, at St. Mary Otree, within [nine or ten] miles of Exeter; where he governed as imperiously as ever; raised what money he would, and imprisoned what persons he would. In the end, sir John Berkley, having appointed the constables of those hundreds which were assigned for Plymouth, to bring in their accounts of what money they had paid to sir Richard Greenvil, (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might state the arrears, without the least thought of reproach to the other,) he caused a warrant to be read in all churches in the county, (that is, ordered it to be read in all, and in some it was read,) "that all persons should "bring him an account of what monies or goods "had been plundered from them by sir John Berkley, or any under him;" with several clauses very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwise, begat great resentments; insomuch as the commissioners of Devon sent an express to the prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him "to call sir Richard Greenvil from thence, and to "take some order for the suppressing the furious "inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended, the enemy would quickly take an advantage of those dissensions, and invade the country "before they otherwise intended;" and, in their letter, sent one of the warrants that sir Richard had caused to be read in the churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

Hereupon, the prince sent for sir Richard Green-

vil to attend him ; who accordingly came to him at Liskard ; where his highness told him “ the sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending back his commission in that manner ; and of his carriage after ; ” and asked him, “ what authority he now had either to command men, or to publish such warrants ? ” He answered, “ that he was high sheriff of Devon, and by virtue of that office he might suppress any force, or inquire into any grievance his county suffered ; and, as far as in him lay, give them remedy. ” He was told, “ as sheriff he had no power to raise or head men, otherwise than by the *posse comitatus* ; which he could not upon his own head raise, without warrant from the justices of peace : that, in these martial times, he was to receive orders, upon occasions, from the commander in chief of the king’s forces ; who had authority to command him by his commission. ” He was asked, “ What he himself would have done, if, when he commanded before Plymouth, the high sheriff of Cornwall should have caused such a warrant concerning him to be read in churches ? ” He answered little to the questions, but sullenly extolled his services, and enlarged his sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended with more sharpness than ever before, and being told, “ that, what ever discourses he made of spending his estate, it was well understood, that he had no estate by any other title than the mere bounty of the king ; that he had been courted by the prince more than he had reason to expect ; and that he had not made those returns on his part which became him ; in short, if he had inclination to serve his highness, he should do it in that manner he should be directed ; if not, he should not, under the title of being sheriff, satisfy his own pride and passion : ” (upon which reprehension being much gentler, than upon all the gracious addresses which had been made to him,) he answered, “ he would serve the prince in such manner as he should command ; ” and thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his house to Worrington, one of those places he had by sequestration, (it belonged to sir Francis Drake,) where he lived privately, for the space of a fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business. Let us now see how this tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the king at Hereford, not resolved what course to steer : prince Rupert gone to Bristol, from whence he made a short visit to the prince at Barnstable, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the king in, and from thence went to his friend Goring to consult with him : and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was, (for he was then before Taunton,) and the number of his horse and foot, (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of,) he did not then hasten advice to the king, for his speedy repair thither ; but his chief care was to secure Bristol ; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing ; and believed the winter would come seasonably for future counsels.

The king quickly left Hereford, and went to meet the commissioners for South Wales at Abergavenny, the chief town in Monmouthshire. And as they were for the most part persons of the best quality, and the largest fortunes of those counties, so they had manifested great loyalty and affection, from

the beginning of the war, by sending many good regiments to the army, and with their sons, and brothers, and nearest kindred ; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field : and they now made as large and ample professions as ever, and seemed to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good army of foot, with which the king might again look upon the enemy ; and accordingly agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties. And so from thence his majesty went to Ragland-castle, the magnificent house of the marquis of Worcester ; and which was well fortified, and garrisoned by him ; who remained then in it. And there he resolved to stay, till he should see the effect of the commissioners’ mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the parliament armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by intelligence from their friends, or the triumphs of their enemies in Monmouth and Gloucester, or by the renewed smart, which the presence of their governor, general Gerrard, gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful cultivator of the affections of the people ; as having governed them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the gentry, as towards the common people,) there was little probability of raising an army in those parts : where all men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The king stayed at Ragland, till the news came, “ that Fairfax, after he had taken Leicester, ” (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions,) “ was marched into the west, and had defeated Goring’s troops at Lamport ; and at the same time, that the Scottish army was upon its march towards Worcester, having taken a little garrison that lay between Hereford and Worcester by storm ; and put all within it to the sword. ” And prince Rupert sent for all those foot which were levied towards a new army, and part of those which belonged to general Gerrard, to supply the garrison of Bristol : so that his majesty seemed now to have nothing in his choice, but to transport himself over the Severn to Bristol, and thence to have repaired to his army in the west ; which would have been much better done before, yet had been well done then ; and the king resolved to do so ; and that the horse under Gerrard and Langdale should find a transportation over Severn, (which was very easy to be done,) and so would as easily find the way to him, wherever he should be.

And this was so fully resolved, that his majesty went to the water-side near Chepstow ; where vessels were ready to transport him, and where prince Rupert from Bristol met him, very well pleased with the resolution he had taken, though he had not been privy to the counsel. And here again the unhappy discord in the court raised new obstructions ; they who did not love prince Rupert, nor were loved by him, could not endure to think that the king should be so wholly within his power ; and he himself was far from being importunate that [his majesty] should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked it well enough ; and so would not be answerable for any success. His majesty himself being too irresolute, the counsel was again changed, and the king marched to Cardiff ; where he had been very little time, when

he was informed, that Bridgewater was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the king's embarkation for Bristol, were much exalted, and thought themselves good counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even then much better pursued; for nothing could have hindered his majesty from going to Exeter, and joining all his forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking Bridgewater, which the king had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an army; for it was so strongly situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a governor, (who had enjoyed that charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the king, "that it was not to be taken,") that it was not able to resist any strength that could come before it for one week; and within less than that time, it was surrendered, and put into Fairfax's hands.

That this prodigious success should break the spirits of most men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a treaty would now prevail, and produce a peace; and every man abounded so much in his own sense, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The commissioners of all counties, which were the best gentlemen, and of best affections, upon whom the king depended to apply the common people to his service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made cabals with the principal officers of the army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it, that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. And this temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to prince Rupert himself; who writ his advice to that purpose to the duke of Richmond, to be presented to the king; who took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own soul, that no pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as a part of the portraiture of that incomparable king, which hath been disguised by false or erroneous copies from the true original; which was in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the month of Aug.
1645.

"Nephew,

"This is occasioned by a letter of your's, that the duke of Richmond shewed me yesternight. And first, I assure you, I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you of my resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I enjoined silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am

"sure it ought to have been so now. As for the opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say, there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown: and whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less to give over this quarrel; which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me; for I know my obligations to be both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour, and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all my friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge; confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a month, in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty, will lose me so much the sooner. Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse according to my resolutions and judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind to people (of what nature soever) more than I see by their actions; and I am sending to Ormond such a despatch, as I am sure will please you, and all honest men; a copy whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor myself, to the trouble of this letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to

"Your &c."

When the king came to Cardiff, he was entertained with the news, "that the Scottish army was set down before Hereford, and that, if it were not relieved within a month, it must fall into their hands." To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the sheriffs of those Welsh counties to summon their *posse comitatus*, whereby the king was persuaded to hope, that there would be men enough to wait upon him

in that expedition; who, with the horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discovered, that this expedient had raised an unruly spirit, that could not easily be suppressed again; for the discontented gentlemen of those counties, now they had gotten the people legally together, put them in mind of "the injuries they had received from general Gerrard, and the intolerable exactions they lay under, which would undoubtedly be increased, if he continued in that government." So that, instead of providing men to march with the king, they provided a long list of grievances; from all which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford. All this was so sturdily urged, that a body of no less than four thousand men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the king was even compelled to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of general Gerrard from having any command over them; and that charge was presently conferred upon the lord Astley, the major general of the army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the king, that he could not provide what was fit for his own service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other men's humours and appetites. Gerrard had now, upon the matter, the command of all the forces the king had to trust to [in those parts]; and he was of too impetuous a nature, to submit to any thing for conscience, or discretion, or duty; so that the king was compelled to satisfy his ambition for this present degradation, by making him a baron; and, which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for no other reason, than because there was once an eminent person, called Charles Brandon, who was afterwards made a duke, he would be created baron of Brandon, that there might be another Charles Brandon, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the other; when he had no pretence to the lands of Brandon; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a gallant and worthy gentleman, sir Thomas Glemham; who at the same time (very unluckily) came to the king at Cardiff, with about two hundred foot, which he had brought with him out of the garrison of Carlisle; which place he had defended for the space of eleven months against David Lesley, and till all the horses of the garrison were eaten, and then had rendered, upon as honourable conditions, as had been given upon any surrender; David Lesley himself conveyed him to Hereford; where he joined with the other part of that army, and from thence sir Thomas Glemham (who was by his conditions to march to the king wherever he was) came to his majesty at Cardiff, at the time when the title of his own land, which he inherited as heir to the family of Brandon, was conferred upon a gentleman (how well extracted soever) of less quality and fortune, and, as many thought, merit. And this unseasonable preferment more irritated the country, from which the king then expected assistance, that when they believed they had accused him of crimes which

deserved the highest censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, an higher degree than he could ever probably have arrived to, but for that accusation. And so the king, after all his endeavours were rendered fruitless, entertained a new imagination, that he might get into Scotland to the marquis of Mountrose, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left Cardiff; and, over the mountains by Brecknock and Radnor, passed the Scottish quarters, and came to Ludlow, before that army had any notice of his march.

When the king came first to Ragland, he had sent an express to the prince, by which he wished "that the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his majesty." The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the messenger came not quickly to his highness. But the chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the gout, the lord Colepepper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, where the prince then was, and found his majesty at Cardiff, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to Brecknock; from whence he was again despatched with this letter to the prince; which, being the first direction the king gave of that nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

Brecknock, 5th August, 1645.

" Charles,

" It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper this morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care; who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things, except religion; and in that, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the bishop of Salisbury, (or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence.) And for the performance of this, I command you to require the assistance and obedience of all your council; and, by their advice, the service of every one whom you and they shall think fit to be employed in this business; which I expect should be performed, if need require, with all obedience, and without grumbling. This being all at this time, from

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the lord Goring had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at Barnstable, he entered into correspondence with sir Richard Greenvil; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the council about the prince as himself; and finding that the enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the army was employed upon other important service, they two met privately; and, upon the encouragement and money he received from Greenvil, he writ to the chancellor a very cheerful and a very long letter, bearing date the first of August, in which he inserted several propositions; which, he said, had been framed "upon conference with sir Richard Greenvil; which he desired might be presented to the prince; and if they should be consented to, and confirmed by his high-

"ness, he said, he would engage his life, that he would in a very short time have an army of ten or twelve thousand men, that should march whithersoever they should be commanded; and should be in as good order, as any army in the world;" and concluded his letter with these words; "I see some light now of having a brave army very speedily of foot, and I am sending a copy of this enclosed letter to the king, with this profession, that I will be content to lose my life, and my honour, if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted."

This letter being presented to his highness, then at Launceston, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of August, the prince returned him an answer of full consent; and the same day signed all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be proposed to him, and within his power to grant;" so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the west. The next day, or thereabouts, sir Richard Greenvil himself attended the prince, in a seeming good humour; all the propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, "that sir Richard Greenvil should receive such a proportion of the contributions of Cornwall, and five thousand pounds of the arrears, for the payment of the officers of the army; and thereupon sir Richard would gather up all the stragglers, who were returned into Cornwall from their colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand foot, and he would raise three thousand foot more in Devonshire." So he betook himself again to action, sending out his warrants, and levying men and money; having lent two hundred pounds to the lord Goring at their first meeting, and calling the posse of Devon to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the army. But before the end of August, that friendship grew colder; sir Richard observing a better correspondence between the lord Goring and sir John Berkley than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the lord Goring used to mention him very slightly, (which I believe was true,) he writ a very sharp letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him." However he continued as active as before, being now in Devon, and then in Cornwall, where he commanded absolutely without any commission, and very seasonably suppressed an insurrection about St. Ives, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order, without any council of war; and raised what money he pleased upon others; then returned to his house at Worrington. And all the vivacity that had so lately appeared in the lord Goring, upon the news of the loss of Sherborne, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of money, and a proposition to put the army into garrisons; and yet the enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, Fairfax being then engaged with his army before Bristol.

As soon as the prince, who was then at Launceston, had read the letter, which the lord Colepepper brought to him from the king, he returned it to the lord Colepepper to keep, and to communicate to the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chan-

cellor of the exchequer; for it was a very great misfortune, that there was not so good correspondence with the earl of Berkshire (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as was desired; and from the prince's first coming into Cornwall, some of his servants of the best quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the council, and, since the king's misfortune at Naseby, expressed their indispositions with more license, and whispered abroad, "that there was a purpose to carry the prince into France," not that they believed it, but thereby thought to render the council odious and suspected, and had wrought so far upon the earl of Berkshire, that he seemed to believe it too, and thereby they got so much interest in him, that he always communicated whatsoever passed in council to them; so that a letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the earl of Brentford, who (though he was very kind and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the letter, not at the command of leaving the kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian world." For the beter doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a ship ready in the harbour of Falmouth. But it troubled them, "that the king's command was so positive for France, against which they could make to themselves many objections." Besides that, one of the prince's bedchamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the earl of Norwich, then the king's ambassador there, to one of the council; in which taking notice of a report there of the prince of Wales's coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain ruin to the prince;" of which the messenger, (col. Murray,) by his direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the lord Colepepper, who brought that letter from the king, averred, "that he had had no conference with the king upon the argument, but had wholly declined it, as a matter too great for him;" so that they had nothing before them but that letter. After two or three sad debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a letter to be prepared in cipher, presenting their reasons, and what they had been informed concerning France; and therefore offered it to his majesty, whether he would not leave the [choice of the] place to them, or nominate some other, against which so many exceptions might not be made; and proposed Ireland, (if the peace were made there,) or Scotland, if the marquis of Mountrose was as victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his majesty, that, in case of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any country, before the prince should fall into the hands of the rebels." This letter, after it was communicated with the prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith sent by an express.

Towards the end of August, the lord Goring, after he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the

council about the prince, as the authors of all the miscarriages, sent the lord Wentworth to Launceston to his highness, with certain demands, as he called them, on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the prince, he should communicate them to the lord Colepepper, or to the chancellor, and be advised by them, in what manner to present them."

His demands were, and so he styled them, 1. To have a commission to be lieutenant general of all the west, and to command immediately under the prince, garrisons as well as the army, and to be sworn of the council as soon as might be. 2. That all commissions to officers of the army, when his highness is present, be given by the prince; but that his highness should sign none but such as he should prepare for him. 3. That in the prince's absence he should sign and grant all commissions; and that, if any governments of towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a negative voice. 4. That all designs of consequence should be debated, in the prince's presence, by the prince's council, and such officers of the army as he should choose to assist at it. 5. That the number of the prince's guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seemed so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the lord Colepepper persuaded the lord Wentworth to suspend the presenting them; "he rather," (as he said,) "because the chancellor was then absent," (being sent by his highness to Pendennis-castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs, but, in truth, to take care that the frigate provided for the prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on board, when the occasion should require,) "and likewise because his highness intended to be shortly at Exeter, where the lord Goring, being present, might better consider, and debate his own business;" to the which the lord Wentworth consented:

For the commissioners of Devon had besought his highness to interpose his authority, in the regulating and disposing the army to march towards the relief of Bristol; declaring, "as the posture of it then was, that both that county, and garrisons, must in a short time be as much undone, and lost by them, as by the invasion of the enemy; that all the foot subsisted by, and lived upon, the magazines of the garrisons; and the horse possessed the other part of the country to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be brought to the markets, for the replenishing their stores, nor any warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending they were to defend their own quarters; whilst themselves levied what monies they pleased, and committed all sorts of insolences and outrages." And by this means both before in Somersetshire, and afterwards in Devonshire, when the king's army was forced to retire, the enemy found great plenty of provisions in those quarters, where his forces were in danger of starving: as, all about Taunton, there were very great quantities of corn, when they caused all their bread to be brought out of the stores of Bridgewater and Exeter; which proceeded partly from the negligence and laziness of the officers and soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the mows and ricks which

were there; but principally by the protection given by the horse; who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their quarters; and such as sent their provisions to market, were sure to have their money taken from them in their return. Insomuch as it was affirmed by the commissioners of Exeter, "that before the enemy had any quarter within ten miles, there was not so much provision brought into that city in a fortnight, as they spent in a day:" which was only by reason of the disorder of our own horse, general Goring being all this time in Exeter, breaking jests, and laughing at all people, who brought complaints to him; as, one day, when all the fishermen complained to him, "that as they came to the market, they were robbed by his troopers, who took all their fish from them," he said, "that they might by this see what great injury was done to his men, by those who accused them of so great swearing; for if they did swear, you know (said he) they could catch no fish."

Upon these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the lord Goring and the commissioners, the prince, on Friday the 29th of August, went from Launceston to Exeter in one day; leaving sir Richard Greenvil (who then seemed to be in good humour) to bring up the soldiers in Cornwall, and to hasten his levies in the north and west parts of Devon. The army having now lain still from the beginning of July to the end of August, without the least action, or alarm from the enemy, and so being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their officers said, awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a council of war, his highness being present, "that the foot should presently advance to Tiverton; and the horse to the east of Exeter; and that, as soon as sir Richard Greenvil could come up with his men, they should all advance to the relief of Bristol;" which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last messenger that came thence assuring the prince, as from prince Rupert, that he was sufficiently provided with all necessaries for six months.

There had been, from the time of the first going of the prince into Cornwall, several rumours dispersed, [as hath been said,] by those who were discontented or angry with the council, "that there was an intent to carry the prince into France;" which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse general Goring had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the motives of his highness's journey to Exeter, that he might discountenance that report; which wrought so far amongst the gentlemen of the several western counties, who were resorted thither for safety, that there was a resolution "to petition the prince to interpose between the king and the parliament; and to send a message to the latter with overtures of peace:" and, to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those gentlemen, to agree upon what articles the prince should propose a peace; every man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the church, of the militia, and of Ireland, upon consideration of what had passed at Uxbridge. When my lords of the council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the king's service, and to the prince's honour; who, by being pressed by their

desires and importunities, would lose the honour and thanks of the good success that might attend it: besides that, if he should send any message upon their motion, they would quickly make themselves judges of the matter of it, and so counsellors of what was to be done upon it: and therefore they were all of opinion, "that all endeavours were to be used to divert and prevent any petition of such a nature from being presented to his highness;" which, with great difficulty, was at last prevented.

Shortly after the prince's coming to Exeter, the lord Goring being not then well, but engaged in a course of physic, desired that he might have a free conference with one of the council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the person he had desired went to him one morning to his lodging; when he caused all persons to withdraw; and wished his servant not to suffer any man to disturb them. When they were by themselves, he began with the discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended from the council, and from that person in particular; but confessed he had been deceived and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the public by those private jealousies and mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concerned the king's service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an assurance of that person's friendship." From this, he discoursed at large his apprehensions of his brother Porter, of his cowardice, and of his treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances; and concluded, "that he resolved to quit himself of him;" and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concerned his father, in which he said, "he was to receive this person's advice by his father's direction," (it being about the government of Pendennis,) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought of the demands he had sent by the lord Wentworth?" protesting, "he had no private thoughts, but only an eye to the public service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified." The other told him, "that whatever he thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in council; by the concurrent advice whereof, he presumed, the prince would govern himself. However, if he would have him tell him his opinion as a friend, he would shew himself so ill a courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he reformed him in his judgment, he should declare where it should be proposed, and, he believed, it would be the opinion of most of the lords, if it were not his." Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, "that he thought it not fit for the prince to grant, nor seasonable for him to demand; his authority being the same, as to the public, all his orders being obeyed, and the prince giving him the same assistance, as if he were his lieutenant general: that the prince had not hitherto interposed his authority in the governing that army; and therefore, that he conceived it unseasonable, at

"that time, for his highness to interest himself in the command thereof; which he should do by making him lieutenant general; that the king having directed the prince to make the lord Hopton his lieutenant general, it would not become them to advise the prince to alter that designation, without receiving his majesty's command:" therefore he advised him, "since the alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the king's affairs should be in a better posture." Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the prince to that purpose at this time.

About the middle of September, the prince being still at Exeter, the news came of the fatal loss of Bristol; which, as all ill accidents did, cast all men on their faces, and damped all the former vigour and activity for a march. However, the former resolutions continued of drawing to Tiverton, and at least of defending those passes, and keeping the enemy from invading Devon: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to fight, if Fairfax should advance, the prince returned to Launceston; whither he summoned all the trained bands of Cornwall, and an appearance of the whole country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to Tiverton. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the army, and the lord Goring, with the same license and unconcernedness, remained at Exeter, to the great scandal of the country, and disheartening of the army. About the latter end of September, his lordship writ a letter to the lord Colepepper; in which he remembered him of the propositions formerly sent by the lord Wentworth to Launceston; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other counsellor and him, at Exeter, upon that subject; in which he charged the other with answers very far from those he had received from him; and desired his lordship, "that, by his means, he might know positively what he was to trust to;" and concluded, "that, without such a commission as he desired, he could not be answerable for the mutinies and disorders of the army." Whereupon, his highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his service, if he should consent to the matter of those demands, or comply with the manner of the demanding, sent him word by lord Capel, "that he would not for the present grant any such commission;" and wished him "to pursue the former counsels and resolutions, in advancing towards the enemy; all things being in a good forwardness in Cornwall to second him." And so there was no further pressing that overture; however, he presumed to write himself, in all his warrants, and treaties with the commissioners, and in some proclamations which he printed, "General of the west."

The sudden and unexpected loss of Bristol was a new earthquake in all the little quarters the king had left, and no less broke all the measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the battle of Naseby had done. The king had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scottish army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through Shropshire and Derbyshire, till he came to Wellbeck, a house of the marquis of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where was then a garrison for his

majesty; where he refreshed himself, and his troops, two days; and, as far as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, "to march directly into Scotland, to join with the marquis of Mountrose;" who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom. During his majesty's short stay at Wellbeck, the governor of Newark, with the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pontefract-castle, (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for pure want of all kind of provisions, surrendered upon good conditions; whereby, "all the soldiers had liberty to repair to their own houses, and might live quietly there,") whereupon the gentlemen assured the king, "they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required." Whether the natural irresolution of those about the king, or the imagination, upon this report of the gentlemen, that a body of foot might be speedily gathered together in those parts, (which was enough encouraged by the cheerfulness of all the gentlemen of the several counties,) prevailed upon them, but the king was persuaded, "that it was not best to continue his march, with that strictness which he intended, towards Mountrose; but that it would be better to send an express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean time, his majesty might be able to refresh his wearied troops, and to raise a body of foot in those parts." To which purpose, Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and to Doncaster, thereupon, the king went; and the gentlemen so well performed their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand foot; who undertook, within four and twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his majesty, what way soever he would go.

Here again the king's froward fortune deprived him of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of war. That very night, they received intelligence, "that David Lesley was come to Rotheram with all the Scottish horse;" which was within ten miles of Doncaster. The news whereof so confounded them, (as beaten and baffled troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the sight of an enemy,) that they concluded "he came in pursuit of the king, and therefore that it was now too late to pursue their northern expedition, and that the king must speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security." Whereupon, he made haste (without expecting that recruit of foot) from Doncaster, back again to Newark; resolving then to go directly to Oxford; whereas David Lesley knew nothing of the king's being in those parts; but, upon sudden orders from Scotland, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the horse, to relieve his own country from being totally overrun and subdued by the marquis of Mountrose; who had then actually taken Edinburgh. The orders no sooner came to the army before Hereford, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any enemy in his way, till he should come into Scotland; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his troops that night into Rotheram. And he confessed afterwards, "if the king had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, and

"had absolutely preserved Mountrose." But by his so sudden retreat, David Lesley was at liberty to pursue his march for Scotland, and came upon Mountrose, before he expected such an enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compelled with great loss to retire again into the Highlands; and Lesley returned time enough to relieve and support the Scottish army, when they were compelled to rise from Hereford.

The king [now], with wonderful expedition, prosecuted his journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some quarters of new levied horse for the service of the parliament; and, before the end of August, he arrived at Oxford; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to Worcester, with a resolution to attempt the relief of Hereford; which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened the Scottish army by frequent sallies. They had only a body of eight hundred tired horse, which David Lesley left behind him when he marched with the rest into Scotland; and therefore the raising that siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his majesty left Oxford the third day after he came thither. And upon his arrival at Ragland, he was certainly informed, "that Fairfax had besieged Bristol;" for which nobody underwent any trouble; for all men looked upon that place as well fortified, manned, and victualled; and the king even then received a very cheerful letter from prince Rupert; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four months." So that the siege being begun so late in the year as the beginning of September, there was reasonable hope that the army might be ruined, before the town taken. Therefore the king prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of Hereford. And as he was upon his march thither, he received intelligence, "that the Scottish army, upon the notice of his purpose, was that morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to make their retreat on the Welsh side of the river, and so to pass through Gloucester." This news was so welcome, and his majesty was received with so full joy into the city of Hereford, that there was not the opportunity embraced of discommoding at least, if not to ruin the Scottish army; which now passed through a strange country, where they had never been, and where the whole nation was extremely odious to the people. Nor would the governor of Gloucester suffer them to pass through his garrison, till they sent him word plainly, "that if they might not pass through that town, they knew they should be very welcome to pass through Worcester;" by which argument he was convinced and converted; so that he permitted them to go through that town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the north. And if, in all this time, they had been pursued by the king's horse, considering the small body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if not the greater part of that army, had been destroyed.

But the king's heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol, and nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the king, from Hereford, advertised prince Rupert, "that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and that the Scots were marched northward; that he intended speedily to relieve him; and in

"order to it, that he had then commanded general Goring, to draw what force he could out of the west; and to march to the Somersetshire side of Bristol; and that his majesty would himself have a body of three thousand foot, drawn out of the several garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the Severn, about Berkley-[castle] on Gloucestershire side; and that his horse, which were then above three thousand, should at the same time ford the Severn not far from Gloucester," (as they might easily have done,) "and so join with his foot; and by this means, all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on Fairfax's quarters on both sides." And the better to bring all this to pass, the king himself went the second time to Ragland, the house of the marquis of Worcester; sending the horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was formed for the relief of Bristol.

But when the king came to Ragland, he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could never have been believed. With what consternation, and dejection of mind, the king received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the letter which the king writ thereupon to prince Rupert; which, considering the unspeakable indulgence his majesty had ever shewed towards that prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incensed by that act; which yet he took some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would give himself to abate so much of his natural candour towards him. As soon as he received that surprising intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland, and returned to Hereford, which was the post he chose to enter upon new considerations of the desperateness of the condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent orders "for all the officers, and their troops, which had been sent into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South Wales, to provide for the relief of Bristol, to attend him there." And as soon as he came to Hereford, he despatched an express with this letter to prince Rupert.

Hereford, 14th Sept. 1645.

"Nephew,

"Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest term) such—I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose: my conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall

"please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being

"Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,
"C. R."

With this letter, the king sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to prince Rupert, and signified his pleasure to the lords of the council at Oxford, whither prince Rupert was retired with his troops from Bristol, "that they should require prince Rupert to deliver into their hands his commission." And whether the king had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his majesty, at the same time, sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment of colonel Leg, (who was governor of Oxford,) as a person much in the prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands. But this circumstance of rigour made the other judgment upon the prince thought to be over sudden, "that he should be made the first example of the king's severity, when so many high enormities and miscarriages of others had passed without being called in question." And as nobody suspected the prince's want of duty in submitting to the king's pleasure, so colonel Leg was generally believed to be a man of that entire loyalty to the king, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the governor, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some potent adversaries, than the effect of the king's own rigour.

When the prince [of Wales] came to Launceston from Exeter, (which was about the middle of September,) after the loss of Bristol, and the motion of the enemy inclined westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the trained bands of Cornwall to Launceston, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march eastward; it being agreed at Exeter, "that, if the enemy gave time, the force of both counties (save what was necessary to be continued at Plymouth) should be drawn to Tiverton, and, upon that pass, to fight with the rebels;" for the better compassing whereof, it was ordered, "that sir Richard Greenvil should command all the Cornish trained bands, to which should be added his own three regiments, which he had carried to Taunton;" and which took themselves to be so disobliged, both officers and soldiers, (as in truth they were,) by the lord Goring, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be commanded by sir Richard Greenvil. Things being thus settled, Greenvil seemed well satisfied, having all the respect and encouragement from the prince that could be or was desired; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a letter either to the prince himself, the lords, or Mr. Fanshaw, extolling himself, and reproaching the lord Goring's plundering horse, and sometimes sir John Berkley; in all which he used a very marvellous license.

During the prince's being at Exeter, sir John Berkley had desired, "that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at Exeter, since the enemy apparently looked that way, his highness would dispose the command of the forces before Plymouth to such a person as he thought fit; who might diligently attend that service." There was a general inclination to have remitted again sir Richard Greenvil to that charge, which it was visible he looked for: but there were three great objections against it; the first, the pretence that general Digby had to that command; to whom it originally belonged; and both he, and the earl of Bristol, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recovered in his health, that he was well able to execute the command: the next, that if it should be offered to Greenvil, he would insist upon such assignments of contributions, as would be impossible to consent to with the subsistence of the army and of the garrisons: the last and the greatest was, that the whole design being now to draw such a body together, as might give the rebels battle, this could not be without the Cornish trained bands, and those other soldiers, who had run from their colours; neither of which would march without sir Richard Greenvil; and it was apparent, if he went to Plymouth, those old soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching army; where there was a great dearth of good officers. Hereupon, it was resolved that general Digby should again resume the charge at Plymouth, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the enemy, he was to receive orders from sir Richard Greenvil; and accordingly, upon sir Richard Greenvil's advancing into Devon, and fixing a quarter at Okington, Digby was ordered so to do; which he observed accordingly.

In the beginning of October, the lord Goring persuaded the commissioners of Devon, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the soldiery, and that the markets should be free, "to double the contribution of the county for six weeks, and to assign half thereof to his army;" by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money; but abated nothing of the former disorders and pressures: and the money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the soldiers, was disposed to such persons as he thought fit by his warrants to direct. But no sooner was sir Thomas Fairfax advanced as far as Cullampton, than the lord Goring gave over the thought of defending Devon, and, by his letter of the eleventh of October to the lord Colepepper, said, "that he had sent all the horse, but one thousand, westward, under the command of the major general, to join with the Cornish; who were to advance; and that himself, with one thousand horse, and all his foot, resolved to stay in Exeter to defend that town, if the enemy came before it; or to be ready to attend their rear, if they marched forward;" and therefore desired, that his highness would appoint whom he thought fit, to give orders to the lord Wentworth, his major general, who was prepared not to dispute orders sent by any substituted by the prince." Hereupon, the prince had appointed sir Richard Greenvil "to advance with the Cornish to Okington," and directed the major general "to receive orders from him:" but, by that time they two had disposed

their business into order, as they did very handsomely and cheerfully, general Goring changed his mind, and, within four days after his former letter, he retired with his thousand horse out of Exeter to Newton Bushell; and then sent to the prince, by a letter to the lord Colepepper, to know "whether sir Richard Greenvil should receive orders from him; and offered to undertake any design with sir Richard Greenvil, or by himself, as the prince should direct; or that if his presence and command should be thought, on the account of any indisposition in the Cornish towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the service, he would willingly, for that expedition, resign his command to any person the prince would design for it:" intimating withal, "that if the lord Hopton had it, the lord Wentworth would willingly receive orders from him." His highness, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the whole to his lordship; and had commanded sir Richard Greenvil to receive orders from him, who had then a good body of Cornish with him, and power to draw off the men from Plymouth, if there should be occasion."

The king's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mentioned before, kept the express that had been sent to him from the counsellors, upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the prince's transportation into France, from delivering that letter for some time. So that it was the middle of October before they received his majesty's further direction. Then this letter to the lord Colepepper was brought back by the same express.

Chirke Castle, 29 Sept. 1645.

"Colepepper,

"I have seen and considered your despatches; and for this time you must be content with results without the reasons, leaving you to find them: lord Goring must break through to Oxford with his horse, and from thence, if he can, find me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be; the region about Newark being, as I conceive, the most likeliest place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, prince Charles be transported into France; where his mother is to have the sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his religion; and that must still be under the care of the bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto: concerning which, by my next despatch, I will advertise her; this is all; so I rest

"Your most assured friend, *Charles R.*"

To which there was a postscript in these words: "C. R. For lord Goring's business, though I wish it, I cannot say it is absolutely practicable; but for my son's, that is of necessity to be done; yet for the way, I leave it to your discretion, having already with you, as I conceive, as much power in paper as I can give you. France must be the place, not Scotland, nor Denmark. C. R."

Though this letter was writ after the loss of Bristol, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the west were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the lords, "that, as the person of the prince was never to be in hazard of being

"surprised, so he was not to be transported out of the king's dominions, but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety:" and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the lord Goring and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the people; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole west, both garrisons and army, would immediately have attended that action; and therefore they thought, they should be absolved, in point of duty, by the king, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; especially since general Goring thought it not reasonable to observe the orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the king, nor so much as advised with his highness, or communicated that he had received any such orders; and yet his highness let him know, "that he was well content, that he should break through with his horse to the king;" which he might have done.

The enemy, having gained Tiverton, made no great haste to the west of Exeter, but spent their time in fortifying some houses near the town, on the east side, without receiving the least disturbance from the army; the lord Goring entertaining himself in his usual jollity between Exeter, Totness, and Dartmouth; it being publicly spoken in Exeter, "that the lord Goring intended to leave the army, and speedily to go beyond seas, and that lieutenant general Porter resolved to go to the parliament;" long before the prince understood general Goring's resolution to go into France, from any intimation from himself. The twentieth of November, his lordship writ a letter from Exeter to the prince by the lord Wentworth, "that, now that the enemy and his lordship were settled in their winter quarters," (whereas the enemy was then as stirring as ever,) "he did beg leave of his highness to spend some time, for the recovery of his health, in France;" intimating, "that he hoped to do his highness some notable service by that journey;" and desired, "that his army might remain entirely under the command of the lord Wentworth" (whereas, not above a fortnight before, he had writ, "that the lord Wentworth was very willing to receive orders from the lord Hopton") "until his return; which, he said, should be in two months;" and so having despatched the lord Wentworth with this letter to the prince to Truro, his lordship, never attending his highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to Dartmouth; where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into France; whither, with the first wind, he was transported; lieutenant general Porter, at the same time, declining the exercise of his command, and having received several messages, letters, and a pass from the enemy for his going to London. After the knowledge whereof, general Goring signed a warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the country for the bearing his charges. The lord Wentworth, at the time of his being then at Truro, told some of his confidants, "that the lord Goring intended to return no more to the army, or into England; but relied upon him to preserve the horse from being engaged, till he could procure a license from the parliament to transport them, for the service of a foreign prince, which would be a fortune to the

"officers." And the major general (who is a very worthy person) told me afterwards at Launceston, "that he could not understand the lord Goring; for that, at his going from the army, he gave the officers great charge to preserve their regiments, for he had hope to get leave to transport them;" and within few days after he arrived at Paris, he sent captain Porridge into England, to fetch all his saddle horses, and horses of service, upon pretence that he was to present them in France; though at the same time he assured his friends, "that he was returning speedily with men and money;" which was not the more believed by his sending for his horses.

Though there had been no great modesty used in the discourses of the people towards general Goring, from the time of his first fastening in the west, especially of the Cornish, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them, (as he would usually before Taunton, when he viewed his foot, clap an Irishman, or one of those soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtless were good men, on the shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, "that he was worth ten Cornish cowards," the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the Cornish, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had served the king,) yet from the time that he left the army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater license; and declared, "that he had, from the beginning, combined with the rebels; and having wasted and ruined all the supplies which had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious army to the mercy of the enemy, and to a county more justly incensed, and consequently more merciless than they. They compared the loss of Weymouth, in the view of his army, after he had been in the town, and when the whole direction was in him, with the counter-scuffle at Petherton-bridge, when two of his own parties, pursuing the orders they had received, fought with each other, whilst the enemy retired to their own strengths: they remembered the voluntary, wanton, incensing the country; the discountenancing the garrison of Lamport, and dissolving it; the eating the provisions of the rest; the cherishing the club-men; and the lying with his whole army before Taunton full six weeks, (after he had declared the enemy to be in his mercy, within six days,) and in that time (pretending that he would in few days starve them) he suffered great quantities of provisions to be carried into them, through his own quarters, and several interviews and private meetings to be by his brother Porter (whose integrity he had before suspected) and the chief officers of the rebels: the neglecting his body of foot, during the time that he lay before Taunton, by which he suffered above two thousand to run away. They talked of the beating up his head quarter the day before the rout at Lamport at noon-day, for which no man was ever called to a council of war; and that total rout at Lamport, as two of the most supine and unsoldierly defeats, that were ever known; before which, or in those straits, or upon any other occasions of advice, that he never called a council of war to consider what was to be done; and in that last business of Lamport, himself was so far from being pre-

“ sent, that coming in great disorder to Bridgewater, he said, he had lost his foot and cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the care and diligence of the lord Wentworth and sir Joseph Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard of negligence of the army, after that retreat from Bridgewater, insomuch as of between three and four thousand foot, which himself confessed he had after that business, (and, if his loss had been no greater than he owned, must have been a far greater number,) within sixteen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after recovered a man, but what was gotten up by the activity and authority of the prince. Lastly, they remembered his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of July, which was about the time of his retreat from Lamport, to the end of November, when he went to France, (which was five months,) with a body of above four thousand horse and foot, which had been, and might easily have been made equal; destroying and irreconciling the country to the king and the cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the enemy; whilst the rebels, by formal sieges, took in the garrisons of Bridgewater, Sherborne, and Bristol, and many other lesser and important holds.”

Upon the whole matter, comparing his words and his actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, “ that if he had been confederate with the enemy, and been corrupted to betray the west, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any overt act to have put it into their power;” and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his wit, courage, and conduct, than of his conscience and integrity, presumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the enemy in their quarters, “ that they were sure enough of Goring;” and by sir Thomas Fairfax’s applying himself to the taking those strong places after the rout at Lamport, without ever considering or looking after the lord Goring’s army; which, he could not but know, consisted of a body of horse, equal in number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two populous counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the foot; “ which negligence (said they) Fairfax could never be guilty of, if he had not been well assured, that those forces should work them no inconvenience;” besides that, being unpursued, Goring might easily have made an escape, and joined with the king, and so have diverted all the enemy’s designs upon the west.

But others, who were not enough in love with the lord Goring, to desire to be joined with him in any trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolved him from any combination with the enemy, or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the west, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those parts, and be called to the king; for, without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between him and prince Rupert to that degree, that all the countenance general Goring received from court in prejudice of the prince’s authority, and of his council, was procured for him purely by his highness; who

in one of his letters to him, at such time as he was before Taunton, used these words; “ what you desire in your letter, on the twenty-second of May, shall be observed; and assure yourself that prince Rupert shall maintain general Goring’s honour and power, and shall lose his life, rather than general Goring shall suffer for prince Rupert;” which letter (as he did any others, which he received from his majesty, or the secretaries, in cipher) he communicated to the company in all his acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolved never to be in the same army with prince Rupert under his command; and all his loose and scandalous speeches they imputed to an innate license he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate oversights, to the laziness and unactivity of his nature; which could better pursue, and make advantages upon good successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straits. And they who had been nearest the observation found a great difference between the presentness of his mind and vivacity in a sudden attempt, though never so full of danger, and an enterprise that required more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observed to give over a game, sooner than gamesters that have been thought to have less fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the persons of the council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular ambition; and both those passions of ambition and revenge might transport his nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the officers, for the keeping the horse for the service of some foreign prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a body of foot; and so, that they should not be forward to engage with the enemy, or else to keep such a dependence upon him from the officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

Whilst sir Richard Greenvil stayed at Okington, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the prince, or lords, in writing; one of which was, “ to cut a deep trench from Barnstable to the south sea, for the space of near forty miles; by which, he said, he would defend all Cornwall, and so much of Devon, against the world;” and many such impossible undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that nature thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the trained bands of Cornwall returned to their homes, (having stayed out their month; which was their first contract,) sir Richard Greenvil stayed still at Okington, with his three regiments of old soldiers, having barricadoed the town; the pass being of very great importance to hinder the enemy from any communication with Plymouth. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the rebels on the east side of Exeter; as appears by their sudden advance, as soon as he removed from that post; which he did about the end of November, without giving the least advice to the prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the lords Capel and Colepepper, who were then at Exeter, and, hearing of his reso-

lution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove." He suddenly retired with his three regiments from Okington into Cornwall, and mustered his men upon the river Tamar, that divides Cornwall from Devon, with express command "to guard the passes, and not to suffer any of the lord Goring's men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into Cornwall." For the better doing whereof, he caused the country to come in to work at their bridges and passes, as he had done before, most impertinently, for the fortifying of Launceston; and caused proclamations, and orders of his own, to be read throughout Cornwall, in the churches, "that if any of the lord Goring's forces" (whom in those writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) "should offer to come into Cornwall, they should ring the bells, and thereupon the whole county should rise, and beat them out;" by these unheard of and unwarrantable means, preparing the country to such a hatred of the lord Goring, and his forces, that they rather desired the company of the rebels; so alienating all men's spirits from resisting of the enemy; and all this without so much as communication with the prince, till it was executed.

About the last week of November, he came himself to Truro to the prince, on the same day that his highness had received letters from the lords at Exeter, of the extreme ill consequence of sir Richard Greenvil's drawing off from Okington; upon encouragement whereof, a strong party of the enemy was come to Kirton. Whereupon his highness sent for sir Richard Greenvil; and, in council, acquainted him with those letters, and other intelligence that he had received of the enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his highness any more, but returning to his house at Worrington, he writ a long letter to Mr. Fanshaw of his advice, which he desired might be communicated to the lords; which was, "that his highness should send to the parliament for a treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, and that they would not advance to disturb him in that county, that he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any disturbance by his majesty's ships:" and so, in plain English, to sit still a neuter between the king and the parliament, at a time when there was a body of horse superior to the enemy in those parts; and when an equal proportion of foot might have been gotten together; and when his majesty had not the face of an army in any other part of England. The prince was very much troubled at this letter, and the more, because he found sir Richard Greenvil had contracted a great friendship with such of his highness's servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the honour and prosperity of the king; and because he had discovered he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the governor of Pendennis-castle, "that the prince intended to remove him from that command, and to confer it upon the lord Hopton;" to which purpose he had written to the governor from Okington, (when the lord Hopton, and the chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the fortifying and supplying that castle; which if they had not done, it

would not have held out, as it did afterwards,) "that the lord Hopton had a commission to take that charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for he, and all his friends, would stick to him in it:" whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that government.

Shortly after that letter of the twenty-seventh, sir Richard Greenvil writ again to Mr. Fanshaw, to know how his propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, "that the council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the lords Capel and Colepepper being not then returned from Exeter; and that therefore it had not been yet debated." He proceeded in the mean time in his fortifications there, and, about the middle of December, the prince continuing at Truro, he sent several letters to the gentlemen of the county "to meet him at Launceston:" one of which letters I saw, to colonel Richard Arundel; in which, "he desired him to bring as many gentlemen, and others of ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as well affected; for that he intended to communicate to them some propositions, which he had formerly preferred to the prince, and though they were not hearkened to there, he believed would be very acceptable to his countrymen of Cornwall;" but the prince's sudden going to Tavistock disappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the lord Goring's going into France, the prince, being informed from Exeter, "that the enemy, at the same time having finished their works, which kept the city from any relief on the east side, were now drawing their forces to the west side, whereby that city would be speedily distressed;" thought it necessary to send the lords Brentford, Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper, to confer with the lord Wentworth; who lay then at Ashburton, six miles from Totness, and with sir Richard Greenvil, who was ready to draw some foot into Devon, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the service might proceed: their lordships being directed, by instructions under his highness's hand, upon consideration of the state of the forces, and conference with the lord Wentworth, and sir Richard Greenvil, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of Exeter, (the prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready money to two merchants of Exeter, for provision of corn for that city,) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received and followed the advice which their lordships should give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be Tavistock, where every body was, save the lord Wentworth; but he failing, the lords, having directed sir Richard Greenvil how to dispose of himself, went themselves to Ashburton, near twenty miles further, to the lord Wentworth's quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His lordship was very jealous of diminution in his command, which general Goring had devolved to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive orders from none but the prince himself;" whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from Exeter, their lordships "thought it absolutely necessary,

“that the prince himself should advance in person, as well to bring up as great a body of the Cornish as was possible, (which without his presence was not to be hoped for,) as to dispose the command of the whole forces in such manner, as might probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be hoped for being to bring the enemy to fight a battle; and to be enabled to that purpose, by joining with the foot that were in Exeter; which was a very hopeful body.” For the conducting so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended, the lord Wentworth could not be thought of interest, experience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should not suffer in his honour, or the imaginary trust devolved to him by general Goring, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in commands, at a time when the soldier was to be led to fight, that it was resolved, “that he should be rather advised than commanded; and that if he comported himself with that temper and modesty, as was expected, all resolutions should be formed in council, and all orders thereupon should issue in his own name.”

The next day after Christmas day, the weather being fitter for a fire than a march, the prince went from Truro to Bodmin; and the next day to Tavistock; where the lords of the council attended; the lord Wentworth continuing at Ashburton, and his horse spread over that part of the country which was at any distance from the enemy. Sir Richard Grenvil, who attended likewise at Tavistock, had sent three regiments of foot to Okington, under the command of major general Molesworth; which were secured by the brigade of horse under major general Web, who was quartered near those parts, and the Cornish trained bands were to come up within a week; the blockade before Plymouth was maintained by general Digby, with about twelve or thirteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; but the whole contribution assigned for the support of those forces was taken by the lord Wentworth's horse; so that the prince was compelled to supply those men, out of the magazines of victual which he had provided in Cornwall for the army when it should march; and to leave his own guard of horse upon the skirts of Cornwall; there being no quarter to be had for them nearer his own person.

[About this time,] sir Thomas Fairfax quartered at a house about two miles east of Exeter, sir Hardress Waller with a brigade of his army at Kirton, and another part of the army had possessed Powderham-house, and the church, Hulford-house, and some other holds on the west side; so that no provisions went in, and it hath been said before, how long the army under Goring had subsisted upon the provisions within, and kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at Tavistock, upon the prince's coming thither, was, “that as soon as the Cornish foot should be come up, his highness should march with those, his own guards, and as many foot as might conveniently be taken from before Plymouth, by leaving horse in their place, to Totness; where a magazine should be made of provisions for the whole army, both by money (for which the county would yield great store of provisions) and by victuals brought out of Cornwall by sea;” for which likewise directions were given: “from that place it was concluded, that the prince might join with the forces in Exeter,

“except the rebels should draw their whole body between them; and then that garrison would be able both to relieve itself, and to infest the enemy in the rear; and the prince might retire, or fight, as he found it most convenient and advantageous to him.” Resolutions being thus fixed, and the Cornish being not expected in full numbers till the week following, the prince chose to go to Totness; where all things necessary might be agreed with the lord Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his quarters being within six miles; and where directions might be given for making the magazine, towards which money had been returned out of Cornwall.

The next day after the prince came thither, the lord Wentworth attended him, and was informed in council, what had been thought reasonable at Tavistock; the which he approved of: the prince then called to see a list of the quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole army should be quartered when they came together; to which end, the next day the lord Wentworth brought the quarter master general Pinkney, who indeed governed him. At the first council, the lord Wentworth told the prince, “that he was to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business, and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive no orders from any person but his highness; the lord Goring having reposed that trust in him, and given him a commission and instructions to that purpose;” which he often repeated afterwards in council; and, in the debate of quartering, talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the council, in the presence of the prince. The time was not conceived seasonable for the prince to declare how the army should be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own guards about him; and so the prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the lord Wentworth's carriage, only told him, “that he would take the command of the army upon himself, and issue out orders as he should think fit;” and having visited the port and garrison of Dartmouth, and taken sufficient course for the providing the magazines, and settled the differences about quartering, he returned to Tavistock; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole body of foot to Totness, according to former appointment.

The day before the prince begun his journey to Tavistock, he received a letter from the king his father, dated upon the seventh of November, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of November, 1645.

“Charles,

“I leave others to tell you the news of these parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you find yourself in a probable danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Denmark; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this island, in case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake not the present condition of the west, you ought not to defer your journey one hour: in this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond sea is absolutely

" necessary for me, as I do, to command you ;
 " and I do not restrain you only to Denmark,
 " but permit you to choose any other country,
 " rather than to stay here : as for Scotland and
 " Ireland I forbid you either, until you shall have
 " perfect assurance, that peace be concluded in the
 " one, or that the earl of Mountrose, in the other,
 " be in a very good condition ; which, upon my
 " word, he is not now : so God bless you.

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

Though the intimations in this letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the prince could not be blocked up by sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one county entire, and Exeter and Barnstable in the other well garrisoned, besides the blockade before Plymouth, and the reputation of an army, the council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe ; and so pursued the former design of joining the Cornish to the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exeter ; for which purpose, the prince undertook the journey before mentioned to Tavistock, the day after Christmas day ; and, at his coming thither, received this other letter from the king.

Oxford, the 7th of December, 1645.

" Charles,

" I writ to you this day month ; of which, few
 " days after, I sent you a duplicate. The causes
 " of my commands to you in that letter, are now
 " multiplied. I will name but one, which I am
 " sure is sufficient for what I shall now add to my
 " former : it is this ; I have resolved to propose a
 " personal treaty to the rebels at London ; in order
 " to which a trumpet is by this time there, to de-
 " mand a pass for my messengers, who are to
 " carry my propositions ; which if admitted, as I
 " believe it will, then my real security will be, your
 " being in another country, as also a chief argument
 " (which speaks itself without an orator) to make
 " the rebels hearken, and yield to reason : whereas
 " therefore I left you by my last to judge of the
 " time, I absolutely command you to seek for care-
 " fully, and take the first opportunity of transport-
 " ing yourself into Denmark, if conveniently you
 " can ; but rather than not go out of this kingdom,
 " immediately after the receipt of this, I permit,
 " and command you to repair to any other country,
 " as France, Holland, &c. whereto you may arrive
 " with most convenient security as to your passage ;
 " for nothing else is to be feared : I need not
 " recommend to you the leaving the country in the
 " best posture you may, it so speaks itself, as I
 " shall always do to be

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

His highness, as he used to do, as soon as he had perused the letter, which, as the rest, was written in the lord Colepepper's cipher, and by him deciphered, delivered it again to his lordship, " to be secretly kept, and communicated to the other three ;" for it was by no means yet safe to trust it farther. They were much troubled at the receipt of this letter ; for, besides that it found them in the article of the most probable design had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the west ; if they should have attempted to have given obedience to that command, the sudden, unexpected, and unreasonable leaving the army, would

visibly have declared what the intent had been, and would probably have engaged the people, and the soldiers, who would have wanted neither intelligence, nor instigation from the prince's own servants ; of whom the lords could not rely upon three men,) they being full of hope in the enterprise they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they should have chosen, to have prevented it ; towards which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the garrison of Pendennis ; from which place his highness was necessarily to remove himself. So that if the prince attempted to go, and succeeded, the army, upon that discountenance, must dissolve ; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a ship in the harbour in readiness, and had at that time another frigate of Mr. Hasdunck's, yet it had been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, and therefore they could not be provided for so long a voyage as to Denmark, which, with so precious a charge, would require two months victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the argument which his majesty was pleased to use for his so positive command ; which, to their understanding, seemed to conclude rather, that his highness's transportation (at least without an immediate impulsion of necessity) was at that time most unreasonable : for if, in expectation of a treaty, his majesty should venture his royal person in London, and should be received there, and at the same time his highness's person should be transported out of the kingdom, by his majesty's own commands, (which could not then have been concealed,) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the rebels would make great advantage of it, as an argument against his majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him ; but that his own council, by which he was disposed to that overture, and whose assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that act ; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.

Upon the whole matter, the lords were unanimously of opinion, " that the relief of Exeter was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the prince's person was to be present at it : " and thereupon they sent an express to the king, with a despatch signed by the four who were trusted, a duplicate whereof was sent by another express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his majesty of his forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the prince's presence ; of the condition of Exeter, and of the strength, as they conceived, of the enemy : and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility, of obeying his majesty at that time. They farther informed his majesty of " the great indisposition, that they perceived in all the servants towards his highness's leaving the kingdom ; and that the jealousy was so great of France, that they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his safety, would rather wish him in the hands of the enemy, than in that kingdom ; and therefore, when the article of necessity should come, (which they assured his majesty they would with any hazard watch and observe,) they must prefer the continuing him still within his majesty's own dominions, and so to waft him to Scilly, or

“ Jersey, and from thence conclude what was to be done farther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him, that in case he should be engaged in a personal treaty at London, (which they conceived the rebels would never admit, without such acts first obtained from his majesty, as might invalidate his power, and confirm theirs,) how inconvenient it might be, without the privy of those counsellors, whom he was then to trust, to transport the prince, except in danger of surprisal, before the issue of that treaty might be discerned :” assuring his majesty, “ that nothing should put his highness’s person into the hands of the parliament, but his majesty’s own commands ; which they should not resist in his own dominions, nor, they conceived, any body else, if he were out of them.”

The appearance at Tavistock answered the expectation ; there being full two thousand four hundred of the trained bands, very cheerful, and ready to march ; at Okington were eight hundred old soldiers, under major general Molesworth ; the foot with the lord Wentworth were given out to be eight hundred, with the lord Goring’s guards which were in Dartmouth ; and to be drawn thence upon the advance to the army : from Barnstable, the governor had promised to send five hundred men ; and out of Exeter, at the least, a thousand five hundred men were promised : all which, with his highness’s guards, might well be depended upon for six thousand foot. The horse was very little fewer than five thousand ; whereof his highness’s guards made near seven hundred ; so that, if all these could have been brought to fight, the day seemed not desperate. The foot were appointed to have marched the morrow, when the news came, “ that the enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the lord Wentworth’s quarters in two several places ;” and shortly after the news, the lord Wentworth himself came in, in great disorder, not informed of the particular of his loss, but conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though many men, and more horses, were taken in both places. The prince was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole body to Totness ; but the lord Wentworth did not only allege, “ that probably the enemy was possessed by that time of Totness, but that he had in truth no hope to rally his horse together, in any numbers, till they might be allowed three or four days’ rest.” Whereas all that rout had been occasioned by small parties of the enemy, who, at daytime, came into their quarters, and found no guards, but all the horse in the stables ; and their gross moved not in two or three days after ; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the horse, to draw off the blockade from Plymouth, Tavistock was no longer thought a place for the prince’s residence ; his highness by the advice of a council of war removed to Launceston ; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horse appointed to keep the Devonshire side of the river ; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards Exeter.

The king had stayed at Hereford, in great perplexity and irresolution ; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to Worcester ; till he was assured, “ that the whole strength of the par-

liament in the north was gathered together under the command of Pointz ; and that he was already come between Hereford and Worcester, with a body of above three thousand horse and dragoons ; with which he was appointed always to attend the king’s motion :” so that it would be very hard for his majesty to get to Worcester, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into Scotland to join with Mountrose, who was yet understood to be prosperous. And this being the only design, it was not thought reasonable “ to prosecute that march by Worcester, and thereby to run the hazard of an engagement with Pointz ; but rather to take a more secure passage through North Wales to Chester ; and thence, through Lancashire and Cumberland, to find a passage into Scotland, unobstructed by any enemy that could oppose them.” This counsel pleased ; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the king came within half a day’s journey of Chester ; which he found in more danger than he expected or suspected ; for within three days before, the enemy, out of their neighbour garrisons, had surprised both the outworks and suburbs of Chester ; and had made some attempt upon the city, to the great terror and consternation of those within ; who had been without apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his majesty looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place : and the besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the king’s troops believed them to be in their power.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was sent with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the east side of the river Dee ; and the king, with his guards, the lord Gerrard, and the rest of the horse, marched directly into Chester, with a resolution, “ that, early the day following, sir Marmaduke Langdale should have fallen upon their backs, when all the force of the town should have sallied out, and so enclosed them.” But sir Marmaduke Langdale, being that night drawn on a heath two miles from Chester, had intercepted a letter from Pointz, (who had marched a much shorter way, after he was informed which way the king was bound,) to the commander that was before Chester, telling him, “ that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have some foot sent to him, to assist him against the king’s horse :” and the next morning he appeared, and was charged by sir Marmaduke Langdale, and forced to retire with loss ; but kept still at such a distance, that the foot from before Chester might come to him. The besiegers begun to draw out of the suburbs in such haste, that it was believed in Chester, they were upon their flight ; and so most of the horse and foot in the town had order to pursue them. But the others’ haste was to join with Pointz ; which they quickly did ; and then they charged sir Marmaduke Langdale ; who, being overpowered, was routed, and put to flight ; and pursued by Pointz even to the walls of Chester. There the earl of Litchfield with the king’s guards, and the lord Gerrard with the rest of the horse, were drawn up, and charged Pointz, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for horse to fight in, that at last the enemy’s musketeers compelled the king’s horse

to turn, and to rout one another, and to overbear their own officers, who would have restrained them. Here fell many gentlemen, and officers of name, with the brave earl of Litchfield; who was the third brother of that illustrious family, that sacrificed his life in this quarrel. He was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible; whose loss all men exceedingly lamented, and the king bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many persons of quality taken prisoners, amongst whom sir Philip Musgrave, a gentleman of a noble extraction, and ample fortune in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who lived to engage himself again in the same service, and with the same affection, and, after very great sufferings, to see the king restored. This defeat broke all the body of horse, which had attended the king from the battle of Naseby, and which now fled over all the country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest rout could produce.

The design of marching northward was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time Mountrose was defeated by David Lesley; so that if the king had advanced farther, as he resolved to have done, the very next day after he came to Chester, he could never have been able to have retreated. He stayed in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to Denbigh-castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he stayed three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his troops as had stayed within any distance. And there he stayed till his broken troops were rallied again; so that he had in view four and twenty hundred horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed "the isle of Anglesey, as a place of safety, and an island fruitful enough to support his forces; which would defend itself against any winter attempt, and from whence he might be easily transported into Ireland or Scotland." They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, proposed "that his majesty might commodiously make his winter quarters at Worcester, and by quartering his troops upon the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Worcester, stand there upon his guard; and, by the access of some other forces, might be able to fight with Pointz;" who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to straiten Chester, and to watch the king's motion, had drawn his troops over the river Dee into Denbighshire; so that he was now nearer the king, and made the march proposed much the more difficult; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted with good success; and there being another bridge to pass the Dee some miles further, and through as ill ways as any those countries are supplied with, his majesty went over without any opposition; and had, by this means, left Pointz a full day's journey behind. And here prince Maurice waited on his majesty with eight hundred horse, part whereof was of prince Rupert's regiment that came out of Bristol. And now being so much stronger, they less feared the enemy; yet continued their march without resting, till, by fording the Severn, they came to Bridgenorth, the place designed. And now every body expected, that they should forthwith go to Worcester, and take up their winter quarters;

but upon the news of the surrender of Berkley-castle in Gloucestershire, and of the Devizes in Wiltshire, two strong garrisons of the king's, it was urged, "that Worcester would not be a good place for the king's winter residence, and Newark was proposed as a place of more security." This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private and particular interest.

Though prince Rupert had submitted to the king's pleasure, in resigning his commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his pass, and to quit the kingdom, till he might first see his majesty, and give an account of the reasons which obliged him to deliver up Bristol, and was ready to begin his journey towards him, as soon as he could be informed where the king intended to rest. The lord Digby, who had then the chief influence upon his majesty's councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the prince's commission, and of the order sent to him to leave the kingdom, without being heard what he could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that cloud upon him, which threatened his ruin, (for he had not only the fury of prince Rupert, and all his party to contend with, but the extreme malice of the lord Gerrard; who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why: over and above this, as prince Rupert would have an easy journey to Worcester, so prince Maurice was governor there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it: whereas if the king went to Newark, the journey from Oxford thither would be much more difficult, and prince Maurice would be without any authority there,) these reasons were motives enough to him, to be very solicitous to divert the king from Worcester, and to incline him to Newark; and his credit was so great, that, against the opinion of every other man, the king resolved to take that course: so having stayed only one day at Bridgenorth, and from thence sent sir Thomas Glemham to receive the government of Oxford, he made haste to Litchfield; and then passed with that speed to Newark, that he was there as soon as the governor had notice of his purpose. And in this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own affairs, was his majesty compelled to condescend to the particular and private passions of other men.

When the king came to Newark, he betook himself to the regulating the very great disorders of that garrison; which, by their great luxury and excesses, in a time of so general calamity, had given great scandal to the commissioners, and to all the country. The garrison consisted of about two thousand horse and foot; and to those there were about four and twenty colonels and general officers, who had all liberal assignments out of the contributions, according to their qualities; so that though that small county paid more contribution than any other in England, there was very little left to pay the common soldiers, or to provide for any other expenses. This made so great a noise, that the king found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and so reduced some of the officers entirely, and lessened the pay of others; which added to and increased the number of the discontented people; which was very much too nu-

merous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several places, though no author named, "that Mountrose, after his defeat, by an access of those troops which were then absent, had fought again with David Lesley; and totally defeated him; and that he was marched towards the borders with a strong army." This news, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believed, and believed to that degree, that the king himself declared a resolution, the third time, "to advance, and join with Mountrose;" and the lord Digby (who knew that prince Rupert was already upon his way from Oxford, and that prince Maurice had met him at Banbury) prevailed so far, that the king resolved, without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the report, "to move northward to meet the news, and, if it fell not out to his wish, he would return to Newark." In this resolution, after a week's stay at Newark, he marched to Tuxford; and the next day to Wellbeck, having, in his way, met with the same general reports of Mountrose's victories; which were interpreted as so many confirmations; and therefore, though the king assembled his council to consult at Wellbeck, he declared, "that he would not have it debated, whether he should advance or retire; but the manner of his advancing; since he was resolved not to retire; which he was sure would be attended with more mischief than could accompany his advancing."

This declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed, "that they should march the next day to Rotheram; and that the army should be drawn to a rendezvous, the next morning, at such an hour;" and so the officers rose to give orders out for the execution of what was resolved; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door; and, being called in, was the trumpeter formerly sent from Cardiff to the Scottish army, with a letter to the earl of Leven, general thereof; who had taken him with him as far as Berwick, before he would suffer him to be discharged. The king asked him, "what he had heard of the marquis of Mountrose?" He answered, "that the last news he had heard of him was, that he was about Stirling, retiring farther north; and that David Lesley was in Lothian, on this side Edinburgh; and that the Scottish army lay between North Allerton and Newcastle." This so unexpected relation dashed the former purpose; and the lord Digby himself declared, "that it was by no means fit for his majesty to advance; but to retire presently to Newark;" which was, by every body, agreed to; and the rendezvous of the army for the next morning to continue. When they were at the rendezvous, the king declared, "that though it was not judged fit for himself to advance northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that sir Marmaduke Langdale should, with the horse under his command, march that way; and endeavour to join with Mountrose." And, having said so, his majesty looked upon sir Marmaduke; who very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure; and said, "he had only one suit to make to his majesty; which was, that the lord Digby might command in chief, and he under him." All who were present, stood amazed at

all that had been said; of which no word had passed in council: but when the lord Digby as frankly accepted of the command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the king and the other two.

No man contradicted any thing that was proposed; and so immediately, upon the place, a short commission was prepared, and signed by the king to constitute the lord Digby lieutenant general of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the king on the other side of Trent; and with this commission he immediately departed from the king, taking with him from the rendezvous all the northern horse, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Richard Hutton, high sheriff of Yorkshire, together with the earls of Carnearth and Niddisdale, and several other Scottish gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred horse; and so in a moment became a general, as well as a secretary of state; and marched presently to Doncaster.

Because this expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to [finish] the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The lord Digby was informed at his being at Doncaster, "that there was, in a town two or three miles distant, and little out of the way of the next day's march, one thousand foot newly raised for the parliament;" which he resolved, the next morning, to fall upon: and did it so well, that they all threw down their arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a town called Sherborne, where he stayed to refresh his troops; and whilst he stayed there, he had notice of the advance of some troops of horse towards him, under the command of colonel Copley: Digby presently sounded to horse, and having gotten some few troops ready, marched with them out of the town; and finding Copley standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other companies, but immediately charged them with that courage, that he routed most of their bodies; which, after a short resistance, fled, and were pursued by his horse through Sherborne; where the other troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the flight of horse, in great consternation, concluded, that they were their own fellows, who had been routed by the enemy: and so with equal confusion they mounted their horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceived to be most for their safety. By this means, a troop that remained upon the field unbroken, fell upon the lord Digby, and those officers and gentlemen who remained about him, and who had not pursued those who fled too far; who were compelled to make their retreat to Skipton; which they did with the loss of sir Richard Hutton, (a gallant and worthy gentleman, and the son and heir of a very venerable judge, a man famous in his generation,) and two or three other persons; and with the loss of his baggage; in which was his cabinet of papers; which, being published by the parliament, administered afterwards so much occasion of discourse.

At Skipton, most of the scattered troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Mountrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the

hands of the Scottish army upon the borders; in the highest despair, the lord Digby, with sir Marmaduke Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked themselves for the Isle of Man; and, shortly after, for Ireland; where we shall leave them, all the troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred horse which marched northward from that rendezvous, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the generalship of the lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary and unusual accident of the flying of his own troops, because the enemy fled, (as the greatest misfortunes which befell that noble person, throughout the whole course of his life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attained to what he could wish,) he had without doubt been master of York, and of the whole north; the parliament having no other forces in all those parts, their garrisons excepted, than those foot which he first defeated, and those horse which he had so near broken. The temper and composition of his mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he could not be accountable.

When the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale left the king, his majesty marched back to Newark with eight hundred horse of his own guards, and the troops belonging to the lord Gerard, and quickly heard of the misfortune that befell the northern adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time Pointz was come with all his troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the force of Lincolnshire to Grantham; and all the power his majesty had was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the darkness of the nights, and good guides, to steal from thence to Worcester, or Oxford; in either of which he could only expect a little more time and leisure to consider what was more to be done.

But before his majesty can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies; and which, without doubt, he tolerated with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir-castle, with his brother prince Maurice, and about one hundred and twenty officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from Rossiter, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the king heard of his being so near, he writ a letter to him, by which "he required him to stay at Belvoir till further order;" and reprehended him "for not having given obedience to his former commands." Notwithstanding this command, he came the next day to Newark, and was met by the lord Gerrard, and sir Richard Willis, governor of the town, with one hundred horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this train, he came to the court; and found the king in the presence; and, without any ceremony, told his majesty, "that he was come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and to clear himself from those imputations which had been cast upon him." The king said

very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to supper; and, during that time, asked some questions of prince Maurice, without saying any thing to the other. After he had supped, he retired to his chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the prince returned to the governor's house, where he was well treated and lodged. The king, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what prince Rupert would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the prince made with many protestations of "his innocence, and how impossible it was long to defend the fort, after the line was entered." His majesty did not suspect his nephew to have any malicious design against his service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that action; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short declaration to be drawn up, by which prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty, or treason, in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. And so that matter was settled; upon which the king expected the prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

The change of the posture of the enemy, by Pointz's coming to the north side of Trent, made his majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday night, being the twentieth of October; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the governor and the commissioners, (who were all the principal gentlemen of the country, and who had with all courage and fidelity adhered to the king from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place,) and had been so much improved by the mutual contests which had been between them in the presence of the king, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the garrison, but by the removal of the governor; which was so evident to the king, that he resolved on that expedient; and, on the Sunday morning, sent for sir Richard Willis into his bedchamber; and after very many gracious expressions of "the satisfaction he had received in his service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him," he told him, "his own design to be gone that night; and that he resolved to take him with him, and to make him captain of his horse guards, in the place of the earl of Litchfield, who had been lately killed before Chester," (which was a command equal to any subject,) "and that he would leave the lord Bellasis governor of Newark, who being allied to most of the gentlemen of the adjacent counties, and having a good estate there, would be more acceptable to them." And his majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did not hereby give a judgment on the commissioners' side, who he declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that he himself could not have an ampler vindication, than by the honour and trust he now conferred upon him: but he found it would be much easier to remove him, than to reform the commissioners; who, being many, could not be any other way united in his service."

Sir Richard Willis appeared very much troubled;

and excused the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great honour, and that his fortune could not maintain him in that employment:" he said, "that his enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out and disgraced." The king replied, "that he would take care and provide for his support; and that he could not be looked upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little of it." And so his majesty went out of his chamber, and presently to the church. When he returned from thence, he sat down to dinner; the lords, and other of his servants, retiring to their lodgings on the same business. Before the king had dined, sir Richard Willis, with both the princes, the lord Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered into the presence chamber: Willis addressed himself to the king, and told him, "that what his majesty had said to him in private, was now the public talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour:" prince Rupert said, "that sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his government, for no fault that he had committed, but for being his friend:" the lord Gerrard added, "that it was the plot of the lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so." The king was so surprised with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bedchamber; calling sir Richard Willis to follow him; who answered aloud, "that he had received a public injury, and therefore that he expected a public satisfaction." This, with what had passed [before], so provoked his majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them "to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it;" and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appeared no less confounded; and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done; and yet as soon as they came to the governor's house, they sounded to horse, intending to be presently gone.

The noise of this unheard of insolence quickly brought the lords who were absent, and all the gentlemen who were in the town, to the king, with expressions full of duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured. And there is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the offenders. But his majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the lord Bellasis to be governor; who immediately betook himself to his charge, and placed the guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought to the king, signed by the two princes, and about four and twenty officers; in which they desired, "that sir Richard Willis might receive a trial by a court of war; and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his charge: and that, if this might not be granted, they desired passes for themselves, and as many horse as desired to go with them." Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his majesty would not look upon this action of theirs as a mutiny." To the last, the king said, "he would not now christen it; but it looked very like one.

"As for the court of war, he would not make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them." And the next morning the passes were sent to them; and in the afternoon they left the town; being in all about two hundred horse; and went to Wyverton, a small garrison depending upon Newark; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the parliament, "to desire leave, and passes, to go beyond the seas."

Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this action of his nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the king, it broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed in that time; and Pointz and Rossiter drew every day nearer, and believed they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now besieged Shetford-house, a garrison belonging to Newark, and kept strong guards between that and Belvoir, and stronger towards Litchfield; which was the way they most suspected his majesty to incline to; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that labyrinth: but the king gave not himself over. He had fixed now his resolution for Oxford, and sent a trusty messenger thither with directions, that the horse of that garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between Banbury and Daventry. Then, upon Monday, the third of November, early in the morning, he sent a gentleman to Belvoir-castle, to be informed of the true state of the rebels' quarters, and to advertise sir Gervas Lucas, the governor of that garrison of his majesty's design to march thither that night, with order that his troops and guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint the princes, or any of their company, with it." And that gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to march that very night," but not published till an hour after the shutting the ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the market place, at ten of the clock;" and by that time the horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the guards and of other loose regiments; they were all there put in order; and every man was placed in some troop; which done, about eleven of the clock, they began to march; the king himself in the head of his own troop marched in the middle of the whole body. By three of the clock in the morning they were at Belvoir; without the least interruption or alarm given. There sir Gervas Lucas, and his troop, with good guides were ready; and attended his majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those quarters which he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day; and passed near Burleigh upon the hill, a garrison of the enemy, from whence some horse waited upon the rear, and took and killed some men, who either negligently stayed behind, or whose horses were tired. Towards the evening the king was so very weary and tired, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a village within eight miles of Northampton. At ten of the clock that night,

they begun to march again; and were, before day, the next morning past Daventry; and, before noon, came to Banbury; where the Oxford horse were ready, and waited upon his majesty, and conducted him safe to Oxford that day; and so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever king was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been the most magnanimous person in the world. At Oxford, the king found himself at rest and ease to revolve and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady judgments; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that letter of the seventh of November; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of December; both which are mentioned before, and set down at large.

The prince of Wales did not enjoy so much rest and ease in his quarters; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the horse, which is mentioned before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the trained bands of Cornwall broke loose, and run to their houses, pretending "they feared that the horse would go into that county, and plunder them;" for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the retreat, many regiments had orders from the lord Wentworth to quarter in Cornwall; of which his highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his orders positive, "that no one regiment of horse should be there, but that they should be all quartered on the Devon side." And upon that, they were dispersed about the county, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no enemy had been within two days' march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one action against the enemy, all the horse and foot of the lord Goring; the command whereof, the lord Wentworth challenged to himself by deputation; the horse and foot of sir Richard Greenvil; and the horse and foot of general Digby, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the guards; which nobody pretended to command but the lord Capel. When the prince removed from Tavistock, the raising the blockade from Plymouth was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a council of war, "that it would be fit for his highness to remove to Launceston; whither the trained bands and the rest of the foot should likewise come, and the horse march on the Devonshire side, and quarter most conveniently in that county." The care of the retreat, and bringing the provisions from Tavistock, was committed to sir Richard Greenvil; which was performed by him so negligently, that besides the disorders which he suffered in Tavistock, by the soldiers, a great part of the magazine of victuals, and three or four hundred pair of shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the prince came to Launceston, sir Richard Greenvil writ a letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in;" told him, "that he had, the night before, sent directions to major general Harris," (who commanded the foot that came from Plymouth,) "to guard such a bridge; but that he returned him word, that he would receive orders from none but general Digby; that general Digby

said, that he would receive orders from none but his highness; that a party of the lord Wentworth's horse had the same night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither submitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary his highness should constitute one superior officer, from whom all those independent officers might receive orders; without which, it would not be possible for that army to be kept together, or do service; that for his own part, he knew his severity and discipline had rendered him so odious to the lord Goring's horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the enemy, than receive orders from him;" therefore he desired his highness to constitute "the earl of Brentford, or the lord Hopton, to command in chief, and then he hoped, some good might be done against the enemy."

The mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some action must be with the enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both officer and soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their arms; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army, upon which he must engage his honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform or instruct them. That which made the resolution easy was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the world, for not advising the prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

And thereupon, on the fifteenth of January, his highness made an order, "that the lord Hopton should take the charge of the whole army upon him; and that the lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenvil the foot." It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the lord Hopton, (to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted,) to take charge of those horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away. Of all the trained bands of Cornwall, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some infusions from Greenvil and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the foot (besides those who belonged to the lord Goring, which were two regiments of about four hundred) were the three regiments of about six hundred; which belonged to sir Richard Greenvil, and the officers of them entirely his creatures; and those belonging to general Digby, which were not above five hundred; to these were added (and were indeed the only men, except a small troop of his own under col. Rovill of horse and some foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except some particular gentlemen, who could

only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty foot, and eight hundred horse of the guards; who were commanded by the lord Capel, and entirely to receive orders from his lordship. The lord Capel, to encourage him to undertake that melancholy charge, promising to accompany him throughout the expedition, as he nobly did.

The lord Hopton very generously told the prince, "that it was a custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say, that it was against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for his part, he could not obey his highness at this time, without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must; but since his highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour." Since the making of this order was concluded an act of absolute necessity, and the lord Hopton had so worthily submitted to it, it was positively resolved by his highness, "that it should be dutifully submitted to by all other men; or that the refusers should be exemplarily punished." There was not the least suspicion that sir Richard Greenvil would not willingly have submitted to it; but it was believed that the lord Wentworth, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refused; which if he had done, it was resolved by the prince presently to have committed him, and to have desired the lord Capel to have taken the charge of the horse.

His highness sent sir Richard Greenvil a letter of thanks, "for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he had followed, as by the enclosed order he might perceive; by which his highness had committed the care and charge of the whole army to the lord Hopton, appointing that the lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and sir Richard Greenvil all the foot, and both to receive orders from the lord Hopton:" no man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that charge, by which he was to have a greater command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he received that letter and order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his highness "to desire to be excused, in respect of his indisposition of health;" expressing, "that he could do him better service in getting up the soldiers who straggled in the country, and in suppressing malignants;" and at the same time writ to the lord Colepepper, "that he could not consent to be commanded by the lord Hopton." It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and command Cornwall; with which, considering the premises, the prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the public service, if he should then, and in such a manner, quit the charge his highness had committed to him; that more should not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and that if he took the command upon him, he should take what adjutants he pleased to assist him." But notwithstanding all that the prince could say to him, or such of his friends who thought they had interest in him, he continued

obstinate; and positively refused to take the charge, or to receive orders from the lord Hopton.

What should the prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when the whole army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if Greenvil were at liberty, and the army once marched out of Cornwall, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into Cornwall, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would underhand have kept many from marching with the army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own country. So that, upon full consideration, his highness thought fit to commit him to prison to the governor of Launceston; and, within two or three days after, sent him to the mount; where he remained till the enemy was possessed of the county; when his highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to transport himself beyond the seas.

The lord Wentworth, though he seemed much surprised with the order when he heard it read at the board, and desired "time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his officers;" yet, when the prince told him, "that he would not refer his acts to be scanned by the officers; but that he should give his positive answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his highness knew what he had to do;" he only desired "to consider till the afternoon;" and then he submitted; and went that night out of town to his quarters; of which most men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the intelligence was certain of the loss of Dartmouth, which added neither courage nor numbers to our men; and the importunity was such from Exeter for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the lord Hopton resolved to march by the way of Chimley; that so, being between the enemy and Barnstable, he might borrow as many men out of the garrison, as could be spared; and so by strong parties at least to attempt upon their quarters. But it was likewise resolved, "that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in officer and soldier, it would not be fit for his highness to venture his own person with the army; but that he should retire to Truro, and reside there;" against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

He that had observed the temper of the gentry of that county towards sir Richard Greenvil, or the clamour of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any unpopular act; there being scarce a day, in which some petition was not presented against him. As the prince passed through Bodmin, he received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men; amongst the rest, of the mayor of Listithiel; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the king's service; all whom Greenvil had committed to the

common gaol, for presuming to fish in that river; the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by virtue of the sequestration, granted him by the king, of the lord Roberts's estate at Lanhetherick; whereas they who were committed, pretended a title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters, as tenants to the prince of his highness's manor of Listithiel; there having been long suits between the lord Roberts and the tenants of that manor, for that royalty. When he came to Tavistock, he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom sir Richard had committed to prison, for refusing to grind at his mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the custom to do." So by his martial power he had asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any man out of prison, till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure.

There were in the gaol at Launceston, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty persons, constables and other men, whom he had committed, and imposed fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of delinquency, (of which he was in no case a judge,) for the payment whereof they were detained in prison. Amongst the rest, was the mayor of St. Ives, one Hammond, who had then the reputation of an honest man; and was certified to be such by colonel Robinson the governor, and by all the neighbouring gentlemen. After the late insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his bond to sir Richard Greenvil, of five hundred pound, to produce a young man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the mayor sent the fellow to sir Richard Greenvil: but that would not satisfy; but he sent his marshal for the mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the gaol at Launceston. The son of the mayor presented a petition to the prince, at Truro, for his father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good affection of the man. The petition was referred to sir Richard Greenvil, with direction, "that if the case were in truth such, he should discharge him." As soon as the son brought this petition to him, he put it in his pocket; told him, "the prince understood not the business;" and committed the son to gaol, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second petition to the prince, at Launceston, after the time that sir Richard himself was committed, he directed the lord Hopton, "upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge the man;" of which when sir Richard heard, he sent to the gaoler, and "forbad him, at his peril, to discharge Hammond;" threatening him "to make him pay the money;" and, after that, caused an action to be entered in the town-court at Launceston upon the forfeiture of the bond. Yet, after all this, he was no sooner committed by the prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner, petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against

sir Richard Greenvil; in which none were more forward, than some of the prince's own household servants; who were so tender of him, that they forgot their duty to their master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the lord Hopton could move from Launceston, for want of carriages for their ammunition, and provision of victual. Neither had he then carriages for above half their little store, but relied upon the commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to Torrington; where he resolved to fasten, till his provisions could be brought up, and he might receive certain intelligence of the motion and condition of the enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed, and made some little fastnesses about the town, when sir Thomas Fairfax advanced to Chimley, within eight miles of Torrington, with six thousand foot, three thousand five hundred horse, and five hundred dragoons; of which so near advance of the enemy (notwithstanding all the strict orders for keeping of guards; whereof one guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of Chimley) he had not known but by a lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent and unfaithful were both officers and soldiers in their duty.

The lord Hopton having this intelligence of the strength and neighbourhood of the enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into Cornwall, or to abide them where he was: the first, besides the disheartening of his men, seemed rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great body of horse into Cornwall, the few that remained of the trained bands would immediately dissolve, and run to their houses; and the remainder of horse and foot, in a short time, be destroyed without an enemy. And therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of number in foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the enemy should attempt him in so fast a quarter, he should defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. And so he placed his guards, and appointed all men to their posts, having drawn in as many horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a common, at the east end of the town. But the enemy forced the barricado in one place by the baseness of the foot; with which the horse in the town more basely received such a fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the foot upon the line, and at their other posts, followed; leaving their general (who was hurt in the face with a pike, and his horse killed under him) with two or three gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the officers publicly reporting, lest the soldiers should not make haste enough in running away, "that he saw their general run through the body with a pike." The lord Hopton recovering a fresh horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of Cornwall; and stayed at Stratton two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the enemy with such foot, and that it was visible that body of horse could not long subsist in Cornwall, whether the

horse might not break through to Oxford; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three days and nights in the field, and the enemy's strength being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an express (sir D. Wyat) out of France, "of four or five thousand foot to come from thence within three weeks, or a month at farthest;" those letters, and the messenger, averring, "that most of the men were ready, when he came away."

The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston; where Mr. Edgecomb, who had always pretended to be of the king's party, with his regiment of trained bands, joined with them; and the lord Hopton retired to Bodmin; the horse, officers and soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the lord Hopton protested, "that, from the time he undertook the charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the number appointed, or within two hours of the time;" and col. Goring's brigade, having the guard upon a down near Bodmin, drew off without orders, and without sending out a scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the rebels were at daytime marched within three miles, before the foot in Bodmin had any notice. So that the lord Hopton was instantly forced to draw off his foot and carriages westward; and kept the field that whole cold night, being the first of March; but could not, by all his orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable body of horse to him by the end of the next day; they having quartered themselves at pleasure over the country, many above twenty miles from Bodmin, and many running to the enemy; and others purposely staying in their quarters, till the enemy came to dispossess them.

When, by the disorders and distractions of the army, which are before set down, his highness was persuaded to make his own residence in Cornwall, he came to Truro on the 12th day of February; where he received a letter from the king, directed to those four of the council who had signed that to his majesty at Tavistock. This letter was dated at Oxford the 5th of February, and contained these words:

"Yours from Tavistock hath fully satisfied me, why my commands concerning prince Charles's going beyond sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there be an evident necessity; also approving very much of the steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal, I reiterate my commands to you for the prince's going over, whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling into the rebels' hands. In the mean time, I like very well that he should be at the head of the army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now impart to you of my resolution, &c." And so proceeded in the communication of his own design of taking the field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat of my lord Astley, and the ill success in the west.

The prince having stayed some days at Truro, went to Pendennis; intending only to recreate himself for two or three days, and to quicken the works, which were well advanced; his highness having issued all the money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very

morning that he meant to return to Truro, his army being then retired, and Fairfax at the edge of Cornwall, the lord Hopton and the lord Capel sent advertisements, "that they had severally received intelligence of a design to seize the person of the prince; and that many persons of quality of the country were privy to it." Hereupon the prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so returned no more to Truro. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the prince's person, they had reason to believe that some of his own servants were not strangers to it. The lords Capel and Hopton being at the army; only the prince, the lord Colepepper, and the chancellor of the exchequer, knew the king's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the earl of Berkshire continuing very indisposed and jealous of France, whatever they discoursed to the contrary: the governor of the castle was old and fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father.

There was no letter from the king (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the form) fit to be publicly shewed, in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at London, which was then confidently averred by some, who swore "they met him at Uxbridge." Therefore they concluded, "that the prince's going away must be the effect of counsel upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his person, without any mention of the king's command." But how to procure this resolution from the council was the difficulty. They very well knew the lords' minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected. In the end, having advised Baldwin Wake, to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunk, and the other ships, to be ready upon an hour's warning; they proposed in council, when the lords Berkshire and Brentford were present, "to send Mr. Fanshaw to the army, to receive opinion and advice of the lords that were there, what was best to be done with reference to the person of the prince, and whether it were fit to hazard himself in Pendennis;" which was accordingly done. And their lordships, according to the former agreement between them, returned their advice, "that it was not fit to adventure his highness in that castle, (which would not only not preserve his person, but probably, by his stay there, might be lost; which by his absence might defend itself,) and that he should remove to Jersey or Scilly." Which, upon Mr. Fanshaw's report, was unanimously consented to by the whole council.

But because Jersey had such a neighbourhood to France, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that Scilly was a part of Cornwall, and was by them all conceived a place of unquestionable strength, the public resolution was for Scilly, it being in their power, when they were at sea, to go for Jersey, if the wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. And so the resolution being imparted to no more that night, than was of absolute necessity, (for we apprehended clamour from the army,

from the country, and from that garrison in whose power the prince was,) the next morning, being Monday, the second of March, after the news was come that the army was retiring from Bodmin, and the enemy marching furiously after, and so men were sufficiently awakened with the apprehension of the prince's safety; the governor and his son were called into the council, and made acquainted with the prince's resolution, "that night to embark himself for Scilly, being a part of Cornwall; from whence, by such aids and relief, as he hoped he should procure from France and foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve them." And accordingly, that night, about ten of the clock, he put himself on board; and on Wednesday in the afternoon by God's blessing arrived safe in Scilly; from whence, within two days, the lord Colepepper was sent into France, to acquaint the queen "with his highness's being at Scilly; with the wants and incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of men and monies for the defence thereof, and the support of his own person;" it being agreed in council, before the lord Colepepper's going from Scilly, "that if, upon advancement of the parliament fleet, or any other apparent danger, his highness should have cause to suspect the security of his person there," (the strength of the place in no degree answering their expectation, or the fame of it,) "he would immediately embark himself in the same frigate," (which attended there,) "and go to Jersey."

When the lord Hopton found that he could put no restraint to the license of the soldiers, he called a council of war to consider what was to be done. The principal officers of horse were so far from considering some means to put their men in order, and heart to face the enemy, that they declared in plain English, "that their men would never be brought to fight;" and therefore proposed positively "to send for a treaty:" from which not one officer dissented, except only major general Web, who always professed against it. The lord Hopton told them, "it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the prince, (who was then at Pendennis-castle,) to whom he would immediately despatch away an express;" hoping that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the officers to another resolution; or that, by the advance of the enemy, they would be compelled to fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own men; for many, both officers and soldiers, went every day in to them) a trumpet arrived from sir Thomas Fairfax with a letter to the lord Hopton, offering a treaty, and making some propositions to the officers and soldiers. His lordship communicated not this letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it public. Hereupon, all the principal officers assemble together, (except the major general, [Web,]) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the letter, declare peremptorily to the lord Hopton, "that if he would not consent to it, they were resolved to treat themselves." And from this time they neither kept guards, nor performed any duty; their horse every day mingling with those of the enemy, without any act of hostility. In this strait, the lord Hopton having sent his ammunition and foot into Pendennis, and the Mount, and declared, "that he

"would neither treat for himself nor the garri-sons," he gave the horse leave to treat; and thereupon those articles were concluded, by which that body of horse was dissolved; and himself and the lord Capel, with the first wind, went from the Mount to Scilly, to attend his highness; who was gone thither from Pendennis-castle, after the enemy's whole army was entered Cornwall.

Having left the prince in Scilly, so near the end of that ill year 1645, (for it was upon the three and twentieth of March,) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave Cornwall, it will be necessary to inform the reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in the former book, what proceedings there had been at Oxford against duke Hamilton; and how he had been first sent prisoner to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis-castle in Cornwall. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the king, and general in the head of a great army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in Cornwall without so much as naming him, to leave men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much zeal for the king's service to the loss of his life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many honest men, from all those jealousies and aspersions, he had long suffered under; but the proceeding that had been against him, was looked upon by many as void of that justice and policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long imprisonment, how much he might have done more successfully, if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he suffered, ought to free his memory from any reproaches for any errors, or weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives and inducements of his commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his liberty, and why he obtained it no sooner, by other more gracious ways; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he would be, in a short time, at liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

When the prince first visited Cornwall, to settle his own revenue of that duchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the king's service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at Truro, to settle his imposition upon the tin, by virtue of his ancient privilege of preemption. And in that time, which was about the end of July, the governor of Pendennis-castle invited him to dine there; which his highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full view of the situation and strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every man knew well that duke Hamilton was then a prisoner there, and therefore it was to be considered, what the prince was to do, if the duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolved without dispute, "that the prince was not to admit such a person into his presence, who stood so much in his father's displeasure, and was committed to prison by him; and that none of the council, or of his highness's servants, should visit, or enter

“into any kind of correspondence with him.” And thereupon the governor was advised, in regard the accommodations in the castle were very narrow, “that, during the time the prince was in the castle, the duke should be removed out of his chamber into one of the soldiers’ houses;” which was done accordingly. This the duke took very heavily, and lamented “that he might not be admitted to see the prince;” and had a desire to have conferred with the lord Colepepper, or the chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. And he afterwards renewed the same desire to them both, by his servant Mr. Hamilton. Hereupon, when the chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the ports of Padstow, the Mount, and Pendennis, which was about the middle of August, (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the prince’s transportation, when it should be necessary,) the prince referred it to him “to see the duke, if he found it convenient.” Hereupon, when he came to Pendennis, (being in the afternoon, and to stay there necessarily some days,) he was informed, “that the duke came always abroad to meals, and that at that time all men spoke freely with him:” so that, either he was to be made a close prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet at supper and dinner. And the governor then asked him, “whether the duke should come abroad.” The chancellor had neither authority nor reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, “he knew his own course, which he presumed he would observe whoever came; and that if the duke pleased, he would wait upon him in his chamber, to kiss his hands before supper;” the which he did.

When the duke, after some civilities to him whom he had long known, and some reproaches to the governor, who was present, “of his very strict usage and carriage towards him;” which, he said, he believed he could not justify, (whereas the chancellor well knew, that the governor was absolutely governed by him,) spoke to him of his own condition, and of “his misfortune to fall into his majesty’s displeasure, without having given him any offence.” He told him, “that he had very much desired to speak with him, that he might make a proposition to him, which he thought for the king’s service; and he desired, if it seemed so to him, that he would find means to recommend it to his majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it.” Then he told him, “that he was an absolute stranger to the affairs of both kingdoms, having no other intelligence, than what he received from gentlemen whom he met in the next room at dinner; but he believed, by his majesty’s late loss at Naseby, that his condition in England was very much worse than his servants hoped it would have been; and therefore, that it might concern him to transact his business in Scotland as soon as might be: that he knew not in what state the lord Mountrose was in that kingdom, but he was persuaded that he was not without opposition.” He said, “he was confident that if he himself had his liberty, he could do the king considerable service, and either incline that nation powerfully to mediate a peace in England, or positively to declare for the king, and join with Mountrose.” He said, “he knew, it was believed by many, that the animosity was so great from him to Mountrose, who indeed had done him very causeless

injuries, that he would rather meditate revenge than concur with him in any action: but, he said, he too well understood his own danger, if the king and monarchy were destroyed in this kingdom, to think of private contention and matters of revenge, when the public was so much at stake. And he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the lord Mountrose had been to him, he had done the king great service;” and therefore protested with many execrations, “he should join with him in the king’s behalf, as with a brother; and if he could not win his own brother from the other party, he would be as much against him.” He said, “he could not apprehend that his liberty could be any way prejudicial to the king; for he would be a prisoner still upon his parole; and would engage his honour, that if he found he could not be able to do his majesty that acceptable service which he desired, (of which he had not the least doubt,) he would speedily return, and render himself a prisoner again in the place where he then was.” In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his devotion to the king’s service, of his obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being useful to his majesty.

After he made some pause, in expectation of what the chancellor would say, the chancellor told him, “he doubted not but he was very able to serve the king both in that and in this kingdom; there being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the king was making some propositions to the Scottish army in England, and that it would be a great instance of his affection and fidelity to the king, if by any message from him to his friends and dependents in the Scottish army then before Hereford, or to his friends in Scotland, his brother being the head or prime person of power there that opposed Mountrose, they should declare for the king, or appear willing to do him service; and that he having free liberty to send, through the parliament’s army, to London, or into Scotland, he might as soon do the king this service, as receive a warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, he knew could not be granted but by the king himself.”

The duke replied, “that he expected that answer, but that it was not possible for him to do any thing by message or letter, or any way but by his presence: first, that they, in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he should write, or any message he should send, as the result of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgment. Besides, he said, he looked upon himself as very odious to that nation, which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to the king, and thought this a just judgment of God upon him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his own brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest influence upon their counsels, he had no reason to be confident in him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme injury he had done him, in making an escape from Oxford, by which both their innocencies were made to be suspected, and for which he should never forgive him, he was the heir of the house and family; and, he believed, would be well content that himself should grow old and die in prison: whereas, if he were at liberty, and

"amongst them, he was confident some for love, and others for fear, would stick to him; and he should easily make it appear to those who were fiercest against the king, that it concerned their own interest to support the king in his just power. However, he concluded, that the worst that could come was his returning to prison, which he would not fail to do." So the discourse ended for that night.

The next day the duke entered again into the same argument, with much earnestness, that the chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty; who told him, "that he was so ill a courtier, that he could not dissemble to him: that he was not satisfied with his reasons, and could not but believe, he had interest enough, at that distance, to make some real demonstration of his affection to the king, by the impression he might make upon his dependents and allies: and therefore that he could not offer any advice to the king, to the purpose he desired." He told him, "that he had been present at the council table when the king communicated that business, which concerned him, to the board; and that he gave his opinion fully, and earnestly, for his commitment; being satisfied, upon the information that was given concerning him, that his affection to the king was very questionable; and that it appeared, that he had been earnestly pressed by those persons of honour in that kingdom, upon whom his majesty relied, to declare himself; and that if he could have been induced so to do, having promised the king he would, and having authority to that purpose from him, they might very easily have suppressed that rebellion in the bud: but that his lordship and his brother were so far from opposing it, that the very proclamation which had issued out there for the general insurrection (which proclamation was perused at council table, when he was committed) was not only set forth in his majesty's own name, but sealed with his signet; which was then in the custody of the earl of Lanrick his brother, he being secretary of state in that kingdom. That those who were the principal informers against him, and who professed that they could do no service, if he were at liberty, since his restraint, being armed with no more authority than he had, at his last being there, when the kingdom was in peace, had, upon all disadvantages imaginable, when that kingdom was totally lost to the king, reduced the greatest part of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whether it was his lordship's misfortune, or his fault, since things prospered so well in his absence, he could not, as a counsellor, advise the king, without the privity and consent of the lord Mountrose, or without some such testimony of his service, as he had before proposed, to give him his liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly might have no relation to that act, would yet be imputed to that counsel; and the lord Mountrose have at least a just or probable excuse, for any thing that should happen amiss."

The duke thanked him for the freedom he had used towards him; and said, "upon the information which was given against him, he must acknowledge the proceedings to be very just; but he was confident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should appear very

"innocent from the allegations which had been given." He said, "he had never made the least promise to the king, which he had not exactly performed; that he had not authority or power to cross any thing that was done to the prejudice of the king; and therefore to have made any such attempt, or declaration, as some lords had desired, in that conjuncture of time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no purpose; and therefore, he made haste to the king with such propositions and overtures, that he was confident, if he had been admitted to have spoken with his majesty, at his coming to Oxford, he should have given good satisfaction; and then intended immediately to have returned into Scotland, with such authority and countenance, as the king could well have given him; and doubted not but to have prevented any inconveniences from that kingdom: but that by his imprisonment (which he could have prevented, for he had notice upon his journey, what was intended, and trusted so much in his innocence, that he would not avoid it) all those designs failed. For his brother, he could say nothing; but he believed him an honest man; and for the proceedings of the lord Mountrose, though he had received good assistance from Ireland, which was a good foundation, he could not but say, it had been little less than miraculous: however, he presumed the work was not so near done there, but that his assistance might be very seasonable." After this they spoke often together; but this was the substance and result of all; he insisting upon his present liberty, and the other as pressing, that he would write to his friends. Yet the chancellor promised him "to present, by the first convenience, his suit and proposition to the king;" which he shortly after did in a letter to the lord Digby.

Upon the first news of the loss of the battle of Naseby, it was enough foreseen, that the prince himself might be put to a retreat to Pendennis-castle. And therefore they wished, "that it might be in the prince's power, upon an emergent occasion, to remove the duke from that place." Which consideration the lord Colepepper presented to the king, at his being with him in Wales; and thereupon a warrant was sent from the king, for the removal of the duke to Scilly; which was likewise foreseen that the prince might repair to. As the enemy drew nearer the west, many good men were very solicitous, that the duke should be removed from Pendennis, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many letters were writ to the council, "that if he were not speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the castle would be betrayed:" and sir Richard Greenvil writ earnestly to the prince about it, and sir Harry Killigrew (a person of entire affections to the king, and a true friend of the governor) very importunately. So that about the month of November, the king's warrant for his removal was sent to sir Arthur Basset, governor of the Mount; who went to Pendennis in the morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to Scilly, when the time should require it; the duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride for the stone," (of which he complained so much, that he had petitioned the

king for leave to go into France to be cut,) and the governor, and all that family and garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that people of his integrity and innocence. And when the duke saw there was no remedy, he mounted a horse that was provided for him, and passed the journey very well.

After the loss of Dartmouth, some persons of near trust about the prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the duke, and believed that he would be able to do the king great service in the business of Scotland; and this prevailed so far with one of the lords of the council, that, upon the confidence of Dr. Frazier, the prince's physician, he made a journey with the doctor to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the duke, that he had consented "to send a servant speedily to the Scottish army in England, (who should likewise pass by the king, and carry any letters to his majesty from the prince,) to persuade them to comply with the king; and that he would likewise despatch Charles Murray into Scotland, instructed to his brother Lanrick, and that party, to oblige them to join with Mountrose." But Dr. Frazier confessed to those he trusted, "that the duke rather consented to it to satisfy that lord's vehemence and importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by it; insisting still, that nothing but his own liberty would do it:" for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the duke had said to the chancellor, which was, "that the state of Scotland was so sensible of the injury done to the duke by his imprisonment, (which he had said before that they were very glad of,) that they had made an order, that there should never be a treaty with the king, or agreeing with Mountrose, till he was at liberty, or brought to a legal trial." And when Charles Murray went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his friends, and his brother, towards their declaring for the king, he discouraged him much as to the journey, representing to him "his own danger, and the strict orders that were in Scotland against divisive motions: of which, he said, he feared this would be taken for one."

This made the council to have no mind to be engaged in any treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, in which they had no confidence, but also that they believed, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the king, by being redeemed out of prison by the enemy, than by being released by the king or prince. And therefore, when the prince removed in that haste and disorder from Pendennis to Scilly, there could be no possibility of stirring him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to London by speedy journeys on horseback; and did never after complain of the stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not cut within a year."

We left the king in Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his service, and which stuck to him to the end; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some garrisons which remained in his obedience, which were like, during the winter season, to be preserved from any attempt of the enemy. But upon the approach of spring, if the king should be without an army in the field, the fate of those few places was easy to be discerned. And which way an army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. Worcester, as it was neighbouring to Wales, had the greatest outlet and elbow-room; and the parliament party that had gotten any footing there, behaved themselves with that insolence and tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon this prospect, and some invitation, the king sent the lord Astley (whom he had before, at his being at Cardiff, constituted governor of those parts, in the place of the lord Gerrard) to Worcester, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself able, towards the gathering a body of horse together, against the spring, from those garrisons which were left, and from Wales:" and what progress he made towards it will be part of the sad account which belongs to the next year.

When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertained; all that occurred, appeared so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new overture for a treaty of peace: for which they who advised it had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. Cromwell had left Fairfax about Exeter, and with a party selected had set down before Basing, and his imperious summons having been rejected, he stormed the place and took it, and put most of the garrison to the sword: which so terrified other places, that Winchester shortly after rendered upon easy conditions. The lesser garrisons in the north, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day; and the Scottish army, which had marched as far as their own borders, was called back, and required to besiege Newark. So that whoever thought the sending to the parliament (puffed up and swoln with so many successes) for a peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. And this reflection alone prevailed with the king, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the council, "to choose any

"expedient, they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any message they would advise his majesty to send to the parliament." And when they had considered it, the overtures he had already made, by two several messages, to which he had received no answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, "that this message should contain nothing but a resentment of that, and a demand of an answer to the messages his majesty had formerly sent for a treaty of peace."

And this message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any debate; which they who wished well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to Oxford, "that the king should not give over that importunity:" and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, "that the neglecting those gracious invitations, made by his majesty for peace, would shortly make the parliament so odious, that they would not dare long to continue in the same obstinacy." The Scots were grieved and enraged, to see their idol presbytery so undervalued and slighted, that besides the Independents' power in the city, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost credit and authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the king's power, were now much more afraid of their own army, than ever they had been of his authority; and believed, that if a treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: and whatever they believed themselves, they conveyed this to some about the king, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some men took upon them to send the subject of what message the king should send, and clothed in such expressions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his majesty could not but graciously accept, though he very seldom imitated their style.

After the king had long expected an answer to his last message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned, he sent again to the parliament, "that they would send a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; by whom he would make such particular propositions to them as he hoped would produce a peace." To this they returned an answer, such as it was, "that it would be inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence, to admit those lords and gentlemen to come into their quarters; but that they were preparing some propositions, which, when finished, should be sent to his majesty in bills, to be signed by him; which would be the only way to produce a peace." The king understood well what such bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a treaty. He resolved once more to try another way, which having been never yet tried, he believed they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard soever his person

should be in, he should discover, whether he had so many friends in the parliament and the city, as many men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him service. He sent to them, towards the end of December, "that since all other overtures had proved ineffectual, he desired to enter into a personal treaty with the two houses of parliament at Westminster, and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, upon all matters which might conduce to the peace and happiness of the distracted kingdoms; and to that purpose his majesty would come to London, or Westminster, with such of his servants as now attended him, and their followers, not exceeding in the whole the number of three hundred persons, if he might have the engagement of the two houses of parliament, the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland, of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army, and of those of the Scottish army, for his free and safe coming to and abode in London, or Westminster, for the space of forty days; and after that time, for his free and safe repair to Oxford, Worcester, or Newark, if a peace should not be concluded: and for their better encouragement to hope well from this treaty, his majesty offered to settle the militia in such persons as should be acceptable to them."

This message indeed awakened them, and made them believe that the gamesters who were to play this game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own quarters; and that, if they should neglect to send an answer to this message, their silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the king was in London; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his majesty know, "that there had been no delay on their parts; but for the personal treaty desired by his majesty, after so much innocent blood shed in the war by his commands and commissions," (with the mention of many other odious particulars,) "they conceived, that until satisfaction and security were first given to both kingdoms, his majesty's coming thither could not be convenient, nor by them assented to; nor did they apprehend it a means conducing to peace, to accept of a treaty for few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to hostility again." They observed, "that his majesty desired the engagement, not only of the parliament, but of the chief commanders in sir Thomas Fairfax's army, and those of the Scottish army; which, they said, was against the privilege and honour of parliament, to have those joined with them, who were subject and subordinate to their authority." They renewed what they had said in their last answer, "that they would shortly send some bills to his majesty, the signing of which would be the best way to procure a good and a safe peace."

And though the king was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent message upon message still to them for a better answer, and at last offered "to dismantle all his garrisons, and to come to and reside with his parliament, if all they who had adhered to

"him might be at liberty to live in their own houses, and to enjoy their own estates, without being obliged to take any oaths, but what where enjoined by the law;" he could never procure any other answer from them. And lest all this should not appear affront enough, they published an ordinance, as they called it, "that if the king should, contrary to the advice of the parliament already given to him, come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia should raise such forces as they should think fit, to prevent any tumult that might arise by his coming, and to suppress any that should happen; and to apprehend any who should come with him, or resort to him; and to secure his person from danger:" which was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened him, but what themselves contrived, and designed against him. To this their ordinance they added another injunction, "that all who had ever borne arms for his majesty" (whereof very many upon the surrender of garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their articles upon those surrenders, were come thither) "should immediately depart, and go out of London, upon penalty of being proceeded against as spies." So that all doors being, in this obstinate manner, shut against a treaty, all thoughts of that, at least with reference to the parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to gather such a power together, as might make them see that his majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

Though all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any treaty with the parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a peace any other way; yet the sustaining the war, with any probability of success, was the next desirable thing to a peace, and preferable before any such peace, as was reasonably to be hoped for from the party that governed the army, which governed the parliament. The king therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were advised and proposed by others, to divide the independent party; and to prevail with some principal persons of them, to find their content and satisfaction in advancing the king's interest. That party comprehended many who were neither enemies to the state, or to the church, but desired heartily that a peace might be established upon the foundations of both, so their own particular ambitions might be complied with. And to them the king thought he might be able to propose very valuable compensations for any service they could do him; and the power of the presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those, who professed to be swayed by matter of conscience in religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and their principles in church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And it was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing of the fabric of the church of England, that its two mortal enemies, who had exposed it to so much persecution and oppression, hated each other as mortally, and laboured each other's destruction, with the same fury and zeal they

had both proscribed her. And this reasonable imagination very much disposed the king, who was well acquainted with the unruly spirit and malice of the presbytery, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the independents; who were a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his majesty's extraordinary affection for the church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility and irreconcilableness of that faction with the government of the state; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchical government. Then there were an over-active and busy kind of men, who still undertook to make overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal leaders of that party, and as with their authority, and so prevailed with the king, to suffer some persons of credit near him, to make some propositions, in his name, to particular persons. And it is very probable, that as the same men made the expectations of those people appear to the king much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe, that his majesty would yield to many more important concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. And so either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the independents were willing, that the king should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the king as willing that they should believe that his majesty might be prevailed with to grant more, than at first he appeared resolved to do.

The truth is, though that party was most prevalent in the parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army, (the general only excepted; who thought himself a presbyterian,) yet there were only three men, Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

But there was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a treaty with the Scots, by the interposition and mediation of the crown of France; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an envoy, one Montrevil, to London, with some formal address to the parliament, but intentionally to negotiate between the king and the Scots; whose agent at Paris had given encouragement to the queen of England, then there, to hope that that nation would return to their duty; and the queen regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in her power to the king's recovery. And to that purpose, she sent Montrevil at this time with credentials to the king, as well as to the parliament; by which the queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the king her husband; and the envoy had authority "to en-

"gage the faith of France, for the performance of whatsoever the king should promise to the Scots."

This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that any sovereign prince gave, of wishing a reconciliation, or to put a period to the civil war in his majesty's dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old mistaken and unhappy maxim, "that the crown of England could balance the differences which fell out between the princes of Europe, by its inclining to either party," had made the ministers of that state too negligent in cultivating the affections of their neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be arbiters only in the differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that befell this kingdom not ingrateful to its neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by its own strokes.

Cardinal Richelieu, out of the natural haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite to do mischief, under the disguise of being jealous of the honour of his master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the English, from that unhappy provocation by the invasion of the Isle of Rhé, and the declared protection of Rochelle; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of Scotland, to warm that people into rebellion, and saw the poison thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the French ambassador in the parliament, with all the venom of his heart; as hath been mentioned before. As he had not unwisely driven the queen mother out of France, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her daughter, the queen of England, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done, when she carried the princess royal into Holland; in hope to work upon the king her brother, to make such a seasonable declaration against the rebels of England and Scotland, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be acceptable in France;" and so, for the present, that enterprise was declined.

But that great cardinal being now dead, and the king himself within a short time after, the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, in the infancy of the king, and under his mother, the queen regent, was committed to cardinal Mazarine, an Italian by birth, and subject to the king of Spain, and raised by Richelieu to the degree of a cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting Casal into the hands of France, when the Spaniard had given it up to him, as the nuncio of the pope, and in trust that it should remain in the possession of his holiness, till the title of the duke of Mantua should be determined. This cardinal was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor; and fitter to build upon the foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those foundations; and to cultivate, by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, (in which his nature and parts excelled,) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and con-

tradiction to the crown, by the cutting off the head of the duke of Montmorency, and reducing monsieur, the brother of the king, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all men, who were sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. So that how great things soever this last minister performed for the service of that crown, during the minority of the king, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of cardinal Richelieu; who had reduced and disposed the whole nation to an entire subjection and submission to what should be imposed upon them.

Cardinal Mazarine, when he came first to that great ministry, was without any personal animosity against the person of the king, or the English nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole people from making such a conjunction with the Spaniard, as might make the prosecution of that war (upon which his whole heart was set) the more difficult to him; which he had the more reason to apprehend by the residence of don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from the king of Spain, still at London, making all addresses to the parliament. When the queen had been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the earl of Essex into the west, to transport herself out of Cornwall into France, she had found there as good a reception as she could expect; and received as many expressions of kindness from the queen regent, and as ample promises from the cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of arms and ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the cardinal did not yet think the king's condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little and ordinary supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his enemies; when he might more remember, how slender aid he had received, than that he had been assisted; and might make himself arbiter of the peace between the two crowns. And therefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the parliament, and to profess a neutrality between the king and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concerned for the king.

But after the battle of Naseby was lost, and that the king seemed so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an army, that might be able to resist the enemy, the cardinal was awakened to new apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the parliament, after they had totally subdued the king, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the queen regent, who really desired to apply some substantial relief to the king, he was himself willing to receive any propositions from the queen of England, by which she thought that the king her husband's service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in his discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to

him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. And so he had application enough from the covenanting party of Scotland (who from the beginning had depended upon France, by the encouragement and promises of cardinal Richelieu) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the queen of England, that they might come recommended by her majesty to him, as a good expedient for the king's service. For they were not now reserved in their complaints of the treatment they received from the parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the independent army, and of their faction in both houses; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the king; towards which they had all encouragement from the cardinal, if they made their address to the queen, and if her majesty would desire the cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the king's behalf, to the Scots upon this their engagement, "the crown of France should give credit and engage as well that the Scots should perform all that they should promise, as that the king should make good whatsoever should be undertaken by him, or by the queen on his behalf."

This was the occasion and ground of sending monsieur Montrevil into England, as is mentioned before; and he arrived there in January, with as much credit as the queen regent could give him to the Scots, and as the queen of England could give him to the king; who likewise persuaded his majesty to believe, "that France was now become really kind to him, and would engage all its power to serve him; and that the cardinal was well assured, that the Scots would behave themselves henceforwards very honestly;" which his majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed, and all the overtures made by him for a treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceived; and discerned that this treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former overtures had done. For the first information he received from Montrevil, after his arrival in England, and after he had conferred with the Scottish commissioners, was, "that they peremptorily insisted upon his majesty's condescension and promise, for the establishment of the presbyterian government in England, as it was in Scotland; without which, he said, there was no hope, that they would ever join with his majesty;" and therefore the envoy pressed his majesty "to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the queen regent and the cardinal, and likewise of the queen his wife;" which exceedingly troubled the king. And the Scots alleged confidently, "that the queen had expressly promised to sir Robert Moray," (a cunning and a dexterous man, who had been employed by them to her majesty,) "that his majesty should consent thereunto." And they produced a writing signed by the queen, and delivered to sir Robert Moray, wherein there were such expressions concerning religion, as nothing pleased the king; and made him look upon that negociation, as rather a conspiracy against the church between the Roman catholics and presbyterians, than as an expedient for his restoration, or preservation: and he was very much displeased with some persons, of near trust about the queen, to whose misinformation and

advice he imputed what her majesty had done in that particular.

And thereupon he deferred not to let monsieur Montrevil know, "that the alteration of the government in the church was expressly against his conscience; and that he would never consent to it; that what the queen his wife had seemed to promise, proceeded from her not being well informed of the constitution of the government of England; which could not consist with the change that was proposed." But his majesty offered "to give all the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the queen regent would engage her royal word on his behalf in that particular, that the maintenance and support of the episcopal government in England should not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that government that was then settled in Scotland;" and, farther he offered, "that if the Scots should desire to have the free exercise of their religion, according to their own practice and custom, whilst they should be at any time in England, that he would assign them convenient places to that purpose in London, or any other part of the kingdom, where they should desire it." Nor could all the importunity or arguments, used by Montrevil, prevail with his majesty to enlarge those concessions, or in the least to recede from the positiveness of his resolution; though he informed him of "the dissatisfaction both the Scottish commissioners, and the presbyterians in London had in his majesty's resolution, and averseness from gratifying them in that, which they always had, and always would insist upon; and that the Scots were resolved to have no more to do with his majesty, but were resolved to agree with the independents; from whom they could have better conditions than from him; and he feared such an agreement was too far advanced already."

Many answers and replies passed between the king and Montrevil in cipher, and with all imaginable secrecy; in which, whatever reproaches were cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the king very clear and impartial information of the temper and of the discourses of those people with whom he was to transact. And though he did, upon all occasions, with much earnestness, advise his majesty to consent to the unreasonable demands of the Scots, which, he did believe, he would be at last compelled to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the arguments the talent of his understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the Scots to be contented with what the king had so frankly offered and granted to them; and he did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their nation, depended upon the preservation of the king, and the support of his regal authority. And it is very memorable, that, in answer to a letter which Montrevil writ to the king, and in which he persuaded his majesty to agree with the Scots upon their own demands, and, amongst other arguments, assured his majesty, "that the English presbyterians were fully agreed with the Scots," (which his majesty believed they would never be,) the Scots having declared, "that they would never insist upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London;" urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtained; the king, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly de-

clared, used these words in his letter of the 21st of January to monsieur Montrevil; "Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes: without pretending to prophecy, I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me; however it shall please God to dispose of me;" which they had great reason to remember after.

But because, though this treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, in the end of the present year, of the actions whereof we have given this account, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some months after the next year was begun, we shall put an end to this relation of it at present, when the year 1645 (O. S.) expires, and resume [what remains] in its place of the year ensuing: only, before we finish our account of the actions of this unfortunate year forty-five, we must mention one more, which happened on the two and twentieth of March, just as the year was expiring.

His hope of drawing out of the few garrisons which remained, such a body of horse and foot, as might enable him to take the field early in the spring, though without any fixed design, was

dashed by the total rout and defeat the lord Astley underwent; who being upon his march from Worcester towards Oxford, with two thousand horse and foot, and the king having appointed to meet him, with another body of fifteen hundred horse and foot, letters and orders miscarried, and were intercepted; whereby the enemy came to have notice of the resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several garrisons of Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, and Evesham. So that the lord Astley was no sooner upon his march, than they followed him; and the second day, after he had marched all night, and when he thought he had escaped all their quarters, they fell upon his wearied troops; which, though a bold and stout resistance was made, were at last totally defeated; and the lord Astley himself, sir Charles Lucas, who was lieutenant general of the horse, and most of the other officers, who were not killed, were taken prisoners. The few who escaped, were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that minute, any possibility for the king to draw any other troops together in the field.

END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK X.

THE actions of the last year were attended with so many dismal accidents and events, that there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this ensuing ill year; for it was enough discerned how little success the treaty with the Scots would produce; which yet the king did not desire to put a period to, otherwise than by positively declaring, "that he would never consent to the alteration of the church-government," but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that, by satisfying the ambition and interest of particular men, he might mitigate the rigour of the presbyterian faction; and to that purpose monsieur Montrevil was gone from London to the Scottish army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way, and so given an account to the king of his observations, and received from him such information and instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

And in the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together, as might enable his majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garrisons left, a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of,) he did

more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thousand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into Scilly, till Fairfax was marched (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For sir Dudley Wyatt had been sent expressly from the lord Jermyn, to assure the prince, that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of Ruvignie, and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month; and the lord Jermyn, in a postscript to that letter which he writ to the chancellor of the exchequer by sir Dudley Wyatt, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the month from the date of the letter, because there might be accidents of winds at that season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six weeks, and by that measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. And after all

this, it is as true, that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition, only the name of Ruvignie (because he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned, in some loose discourse, by the cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the king; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the king and the prince that unreasonable expectation; the which and many other of that great lord's negotiations and transactions, the succeeding and long continuing misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon.

The prince stayed in the isle of Scilly from Wednesday the 4th of March till Thursday the 16th of April, the wind having continued so contrary to the main, that the lords Capel and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewise arrived a trumpeter from sir Thomas Fairfax, with such a message from the parliament to the prince as might well be called a summons, rather than an invitation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the prince's servants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of about twenty-seven or twenty-eight sail of ships encompassed the island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength, (which both by the message and the attendants of it they had reason to apprehend,) together with the extreme scarcity of provisions which that island afforded, and they had not been in that six weeks' stay supplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had there been any returns from France upon the lord Colepepper's application to the queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the season of the year, his highness inclined to remove to Jersey; against which it could be objected only of weight, the consideration of the king's being at London (which was strongly reported still) in a treaty; and then, that his highness's remove, especially if by distress of weather he should be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the king; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some advertisement from his majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his highness produced in council this ensuing letter from the king, which was writ shortly after the battle of Naseby, and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645.

" Charles,

" My late misfortunes remember me to command you that which I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is this: if I should at any time be taken prisoner by the rebels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to regal authority, upon any considerations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my life; which in such a case, I am most confident, is in greatest security

" by your constant resolution, and not a whit the more in danger for their threatening, unless thereby you should yield to their desires. But let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life by complying with them would make me end my days with torture, and disquiet of mind, not giving you my blessing, and cursing all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a son, and heaping my blessings on you; which you may be confident (in such a case) will light on you. I charge you to keep this letter still safe by you, until you shall have cause to use it; and then, and not till then, to shew it to all your council; it being my command to them, as well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosperously glorious as any of the predecessors ever were of
" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the reading this letter, and a consideration of the probability that the rebels would make some attempt upon his highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the island then stood, it was by his highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole council (except the earl of Berkshire) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the rebels' ships were scattered; and that his highness should embark for Jersey; which he did accordingly on Thursday; and on the next day, being the 17th of April, with a most prosperous wind landed at Jersey; from whence, the same night, they sent an express to the queen, of the prince's safe arrival in that island; and likewise letters to St. Maloes, and Havre de Grace, to advertise the lord Colepepper of the same; who received the information very seasonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Scilly, and with command to the prince, immediately to remove from thence. After the prince had taken an account of this island, both himself and all their lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for; till upon a clear information, and observation of the king's condition, and the state of England, he should find a fit opportunity to stir; and the prince himself seemed to have the greatest averseness and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been despatched before (shortly upon the lord Colepepper's coming) from Paris for Scilly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the news of the prince's being at Jersey, came thither, and brought this following letter from her majesty to the chancellor of the exchequer in cipher.

Paris, the 5th of April, 1646.

" My lord Colepepper must witness for me that I have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could say concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has been proposed for the rendering of the prince of Wales's abode there safe; yet I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the prince of Wales shall be removed from thence. It is confessed,

“ it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible
 “ in divers places; and the manning the works
 “ will require a thousand men more than you have,
 “ or, for ought I see, can procure; neither can
 “ you be confident, that the loss of Cornwall may
 “ not suddenly have a dangerous influence upon
 “ that garrison; most of your soldiers being of that
 “ country. The power of the parliament at sea
 “ is so great, that you cannot rely upon the season-
 “ able and safe conveyance of such proportions of
 “ provisions, as so great a garrison will require:
 “ I need not remember you of what importance
 “ to the king, and all his party, the safety of the
 “ prince's person is; if he should fall into the re-
 “ bels' hands, the whole would thereby become
 “ desperate; therefore I must importunately con-
 “ jure you to intend this work, as the principal
 “ service you can do to the king, me, or the prince.
 “ Colepepper will tell you how I have strained to
 “ assist you with present provisions, shipping, and
 “ money, necessary for the prince's remove to
 “ Jersey; where, be confident of it, he shall want
 “ nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I
 “ have moved the queen regent to give assurance,
 “ that if the prince, in his way to Jersey, should
 “ be necessitated, by contrary winds, or the dan-
 “ ger of the parliament shipping, to touch in
 “ France, he should have all freedom and assist-
 “ ance from hence, in his immediate passage thi-
 “ ther; which is granted with great cheerfulness
 “ and civility, and will be subscribed under the
 “ hands of the French king and queen, my bro-
 “ ther, and cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope
 “ all scruples are now satisfied. Colepepper is
 “ hastening to you with good frigates; but if you
 “ shall find any danger before their arrival, I shall
 “ rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity
 “ to prevent that danger, according to the resolu-
 “ tion in council, which Colepepper hath acquaint-
 “ ed me with; for which I thank you. I need
 “ not tell you how acceptable this service will be
 “ to the king, who in every letter presses me to
 “ write to you concerning my son's safety; nor
 “ that I am, and always will be, most constantly,
 “ Your assured friend, *Henriette Marie R.*”

The prince and council were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first landing there, that there was still an expectation of the prince in France; and that he would be speedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as soon as the lord Colepepper came, they plainly discerned that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted to; and that the instrument mentioned for his highness's quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate letters from the queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late letters from the king to the prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceived his highness to be in France;

for after his coming to Jersey, this following letter was sent to him, by the lord Jermyn, in whose cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordship.

Oxford, the 22d of March.

“ Charles,
 “ Hoping that this will find you safe with your
 “ mother, I think fit to write this short but neces-
 “ sary letter to you: then know, that your being
 “ where you are, safe from the power of the rebels,
 “ is, under God, either my greatest security, or
 “ my certain ruin. For your constancy to reli-
 “ gion, obedience to me, and to the rules of
 “ honour, will make these insolent men begin to
 “ hearken to reason, when they shall see their
 “ injustice not like to be crowned with quiet: but,
 “ if you depart from those grounds for which I
 “ have all this time fought, then your leaving this
 “ kingdom will be (with too much probability)
 “ called sufficient proof for many of the slanders
 “ heretofore laid upon me: wherefore, once again,
 “ I command you upon my blessing to be constant
 “ to your religion, neither hearkening to Roman
 “ superstitions, nor the seditious and schismatical
 “ doctrines of the presbyterians and independents;
 “ for, know that a persecuted church is not there-
 “ by less pure, though less fortunate. For all other
 “ things, I command you to be totally directed by
 “ your mother, and (as subordinate to her) [by]
 “ the remainder of that council which I put to
 “ you, at your parting from hence: and so God
 “ bless you.

“ Charles R.”

This letter, and the very passionate commands from the queen, together with what was privately said to his highness by the lord Colepepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expressed it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the prince, that he discovered an inclination to the journey; whereupon the council presented at large to him, the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: they remembered the carriage of the French since the beginning of this rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the king; that there was no evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some public declaration on his majesty's behalf, before the heir apparent of the crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be thoroughly weighed and considered, before executed; and so, in the end they prevailed with the prince (since at that time it was not known where the king was) to send the lords Capel and Colepepper again to the queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her majesty. One of their instructions was as follows.

“ You shall inform her majesty, that we have,
 “ with all duty and submission, considered her
 “ letters to us concerning our speedy repair into
 “ the kingdom of France; the which direction we
 “ conceive to be grounded upon her majesty's
 “ apprehension of danger to our person by any
 “ residence here; the contrary whereof, we be-

“ lieve, her majesty will be no sooner advertised
 “ of, than she will hold us excused for not giving
 “ that present obedience which we desire always
 “ to yield to the least intimation of her majesty ;
 “ and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her
 “ majesty, that we have great reason to believe
 “ this island to be defensible against a greater
 “ force, than we suppose probable to be brought
 “ against it. That the inhabitants of the island
 “ express as much cheerfulness, unanimity, and
 “ resolution for the defence of our person, by their
 “ whole carriage, and particularly by a protest-
 “ ation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be
 “ desired ; and that, if, contrary to expectation,
 “ the rebels should take the island, we can from
 “ the castle (a place in itself of very great strength)
 “ with the least hazard remove ourself to France ;
 “ which in case of imminent danger we resolve to
 “ do. That our security being thus stated, we
 “ beseech her majesty to consider, whether it be
 “ not absolutely necessary, before any thought of
 “ our remove from hence be entertained, that we
 “ have as clear an information as may be got, of
 “ the condition of our royal father, and the affec-
 “ tions of England ; of the resolutions of the Scots
 “ in England, and the strength of the lord Mount-
 “ rose in Scotland ; of the affairs in Ireland, and
 “ the conclusion of the treaty there ; that so, upon
 “ a full and mature prospect upon the whole, we
 “ may so dispose of our person as may be most for
 “ the benefit and advantage of our royal father ;
 “ or patiently attend such an alteration and con-
 “ juncture, as may administer a greater advantage
 “ than is yet offered ; and whether our remove out
 “ of the dominions of our royal father (except
 “ upon such a necessity, or apparent visible con-
 “ veniency) may not have an influence upon the
 “ affections of the three kingdoms to the disad-
 “ vantage of his majesty.”

Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, sir Dudley Wyat arrived with the news of the king's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, only with two servants, and to what place uncertain : it was believed by the queen, as she said in her letter to the prince, that he was gone for Ireland, or to the Scots ; and therefore her majesty renewed her command for the prince's immediate repair into France ; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands ; and therefore it was necessary that his highness should be in France, to go in the head of those forces which should be immediately sent out of that kingdom to assist his majesty.

The two lords found the queen much troubled, that the prince himself came not ; and declared herself “ not to be moved with any reasons that
 “ were, or could be, given for his stay ; and that
 “ her resolution was positive and unalterable :” yet they prevailed with her, to respite any positive declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the king's condition ; who was by this time known to be in the Scottish army.

It is remembered before, that the prince, upon his arrival at Scilly, sent a gentleman to Ireland to the marquis of Ormond, as well that he might be punctually informed of the state of that kingdom, (of which there were several reports,) as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that island ; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The gentleman had a very

quick passage to Dublin, and came thither very quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Irish catholics, and found the lord Digby there ; who, after his enterprise, and disbanding in Scotland, had first transported himself into the isle of Man, and from thence into Ireland ; where he had been received, with great kindness and generosity, by the marquis of Ormond, as a man who had been in so eminent a post in the king's council and affairs. He was a person of so rare a composition by nature and by art, (for nature alone could never have reached to it,) that he was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befell any man,) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident ; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour ; and so he no sooner heard of the prince's being in the isle of Scilly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there ; reduce the kingdom to his majesty's service ; and oblige the pope's nuncio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The lord lieutenant had so good an opinion of the expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat ; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance ; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his highness's desire ; and the lord Digby (who always concluded, that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels ; resolving, that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the prince, and the council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin ; which, he did not doubt, might be brought to pass in that way, that would have been grateful to the lord lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the prince from Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin missed finding him there ; and that lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to Jersey ; where he arrived well, and found the prince, with many other of his friends, who attended his highness, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the queen : he lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland ; that the peace was concluded ; and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England ; of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service ; and that if his highness would repair thither, he should find the whole kingdom devoted to his service ; and thereupon positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates ; which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

The prince told him, “ that it was a matter of
 “ greater importance, than was fit to be executed

“upon so short deliberation; that he no sooner arrived at Jersey, than he received letters from the queen his mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the lords of the council to the queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her commands; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable security; in which he might safely expect to hear from the king his father before he took any other resolution: that it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into Ireland, before his messengers’ return from Paris; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the king himself; and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination.” This reasonable answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the prince’s averseness from going into France; “which, he said, was the most pernicious counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the king his father abhorred, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the queen, and to give her such solid advice and reasons, that should infallibly convert her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy her that his going into Ireland was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it might deprive them of all the fruit which was to be expected from that journey; and therefore renewed his advice and importunity, for losing no more time, but immediately to embark;” which when he saw was not like to prevail with his highness, he repaired to one of those of the privy council who attended the prince, with whom he had a particular friendship, and lamented to him the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the king; who would be equally ruined if the prince went into France; of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, “he was so far satisfied in his conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the person with whom he held this conference, would concur with him, he would carry the prince into Ireland, even without and against his consent.” The other person answered, “that it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass, if they should both endeavour it.” He replied, “that he would invite the prince on board the frigates to a collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on board, he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland.”

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, “they neither agreed with his wisdom nor his duty;” and left him in despair of his conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigour; and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the queen from any farther thought of sending for the prince into France, and

as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen’s help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him into Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant: and transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him company from Ireland,) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence.

As soon as he came to Paris, and had seen the queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of Ireland, but resolute to have the prince her son immediately with her, notwithstanding all the reasons pressed against it by the lords of the king’s council, who had been sent from Jersey,) he attended the cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the ceremony, and demonstration of respect, he could possibly express; entered upon the discourse of England; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that stage, in so many actions of courage, and sagacity, of the highest prudence and circumspection, with an indefatigable industry and fidelity. He told him, “that France found too late their own error; that they had been very well content to see the king’s great puissance weakened by his domestic troubles, which they wished only should keep him from being able to hurt his neighbours; but that they never had desired to see him at the mercy of his own rebels, which they saw now was like to be the case; and they were therefore resolved to wed his interest in such a way and manner, as the queen of England should desire;” in which he well knew how much her majesty would depend upon his lordship’s counsel.

The cardinal said, “it was absolutely necessary, since the crown of France resolved to wed the king’s interest, that the person of the prince of Wales should reside in France; that the method he had thought of proceeding in was, that the queen of England should make choice of such a person, whom she thought best affected, and best qualified for such an employment, whom the king of France would immediately send as his extraordinary ambassador to the king and to the parliament; that he should govern himself wholly by such instructions as the queen should give him; which, he knew, would be his lordship’s work to prepare; that all things should be made ready as soon as the queen would nominate the ambassador; and that, upon the arrival of the prince of Wales in any part of France, as soon as notice should be sent to the court of it, (for which due preparation should be made,) the ambassador should be in the same manner despatched for England, with one only instruction from France; which should be, that he should demand a speedy answer from the parliament, whether they would satisfy the demands the French court had made? which if they should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in the king his master’s name, declare war against them, and immediately leave the kingdom, and return home; and then there should be quickly such an army ready, as was worthy for the prince of Wales to venture

"his own person in; and that he should have the honour to redeem and restore his father."

This discourse ended, the lord Digby wanted not language to extol the generosity and the magnanimity of the resolution, and to pay the cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the condition of Ireland; in which the cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him, "he knew well he was come from thence, and meant to return thither, and likewise the carriage of the nuncio. That the marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman, and had merited too much of his master to be deserted, and France was resolved not to do its business by halves, but to give the king's affairs an entire relief in all places; that he should carry a good supply of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and ammunition should be speedily sent after him, and such direction to their agent there, as should draw off all the Irish from the nuncio, who had not entirely given themselves up to the Spanish interest."

The noble person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the queen, that he would presently convert all at Jersey; and that the prince should obey all her commands; and entered into consultation with her upon the election of an ambassador, and what instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur Bellievre was named by the queen, whom the cardinal had designed for that office. The cardinal approved the instructions, and caused six thousand pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much less sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent expressions the cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those lords to Jersey, who were to attend upon his highness with her majesty's orders for the prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a letter to the old prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the queen; as he did,) in which he said, "that he had received very certain advertisement out of England, that there were some persons about the prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his highness up into the hands of the parliament for twenty thousand pistoles;" and this letter was forthwith sent by the queen to overtake the lords, that it might be shewed to the prince; and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded his highness from giving a present obedience to his mother's commands.

As soon as they came to Jersey, the lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his friend to concur in his advice for the prince's immediate repair into France. He told him all that had passed between the cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of his particular person: "that an ambassador was chosen by his advice, and his instructions drawn by him, from no part of which the ambassador durst swerve;" (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he had both nominated the ambassador, and that his instructions would be exactly observed by him; so great a power he had always over himself, that he

could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) "that a war would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal to do what the ambassador required, and that there wanted nothing to the expediting this great affair, but the prince's repairing into France without farther delay; there being no other question concerning that matter, than whether his highness should stay in Jersey, where there could be no question of his security, until he could receive express direction from the king his father; and therefore he conjured his friend to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to the queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself;" telling him, "how kind her majesty was to him, and how confident she was of his service, and that if he should be of another opinion, it would not hinder the prince from going; who, he knew, was resolved to obey his mother;" and so concluded his discourse, with those arguments which he thought were like to make most impression on him; and gave him the instructions by which the ambassador was to be guided.

His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, "whatever the prince would be disposed to do, he could not change his opinion in point of counsel, until the king's pleasure might be known:" he put him in mind, "how he had been before deceived at Oxford by the conte de Harcourt, who was an ambassador likewise, as we then thought, named by ourselves, and whose instructions he had likewise drawn; and yet, he could not but well remember how foully that business had been managed, and how disobligingly he himself had been treated by that ambassador; and therefore he could not but wonder, that the same artifices should again prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the instructions he had drawn would be at all considered, or pursued, farther than they might contribute to what the cardinal for the present designed; of the integrity whereof, they had no evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it."

The lord Capel and the lord Colepepper stayed at Paris with the queen full three weeks; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present commands for the prince's remove from Jersey, until she should have clear intelligence where the king was, and how he was treated, though she declared a positive resolution that his highness should come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well assured that his majesty had put himself into the Scottish army as it lay before Newark; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caused that garrison to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots; and that thereupon the Scots marched presently away to Newcastle: that they had pressed the king to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his majesty, and would not permit any man to repair to him, or to speak with him; so that his majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner, and resolved to make another escape from them as soon as he could. Mr. Ashburnham, who attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his sole servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board a vessel, then at Newcastle, and

bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the parliament. Monsieur Montrevil, the French envoy, pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill treatment of the king, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London; and therefore, he had likewise procured a Dutch ship to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jersey.

The queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the king, which was deciphered by the lord Jermyn; in which he said, "that he did believe that the prince could not be safe any where but with the queen; and therefore wished, that if he were not there already, he should be speedily sent for;" and Montrevil professed to have a message by word of mouth to the same purpose: whereas Mr. Ashburnham, who left the king but the day before Montrevil, and was as entirely trusted by the king as any man in England, brought no such message; and confessed to the lord Capel, "that he thought it very pernicious to the king that the prince should come into France in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the Scots would deal with him; and that the king's opinion of the convenience of his coming into France, could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in Jersey." The lord Capel offered to undertake to make a journey himself to Newcastle, and to receive the king's positive commands, which he was sure would be submitted to, and obeyed by all the council as well as by himself: but the queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the prince should immediately repair to her; and, to that purpose, she sent the lord Jermyn (who was governor of Jersey) together with the lord Digby, the lord Wentworth, the lord Wilmot, and other lords and gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been sent to her by the prince, should make haste to Jersey to see her commands executed. Whilst they are upon their journey thither, it will be seasonable to inquire how the king came to involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

Monsieur Montrevil was a person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; so that what I shall say of him cannot proceed from the effects of affection or prejudice, and if I shall say any thing for his vindication from those reproaches which he did, and yet lies under, both with the English and Scottish nation, countenanced enough by the discountenance he received from the cardinal after his return, when he was, after the first account he had given of his negociation, restrained from coming to the court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared dislike till his death; which with grief of mind shortly ensued. But as it is no unusual hardheartedness in such chief ministers, to sacrifice such instruments, how innocent soever, to their own dark purposes, so it is probable, that temporary cloud would soon have vanished, and that it was only cast over him, that he might be thereby secluded from the conversation of the English court; which must have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might there-

by have discovered somewhat which the other court was carefully to conceal: I say, if what I here set down of that transaction, shall appear some vindication of that gentleman from those imputations under which his memory remains blasted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honesty, to be preserved in history as the soul of it, towards all persons who come to be mentioned in it; and since I have in my hands all the original letters which passed from him to the king, and the king's answers and directions thereupon, or such authentic copies thereof, as have been by myself examined with the originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to absolve him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the trust the cardinal reposed in him, and to the employment he gave him; and of a nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his measures only from the Scottish commissioners at London, and from those presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the king the least encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the church by bishops, and an entire conformity to the covenant; and he used all the arguments which occurred to him, to persuade his majesty that all other hopes of agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of war, before he would wound his peace of mind, and conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the last year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid spirit, which governed those commissioners at Westminster, possessed also the chief officers of the Scottish army, and that committee of state that always remained with the army.

The Scottish army was then before Newark; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the king at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his majesty to give up the church to the most impetuous demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irresistible spells upon that people, he had ample authority and commission to comply with the most extravagant demands from persons like to make good what they undertook, except such propositions as might be mischievous to the marquis of Mountrose; whom the king resolved never to desert, nor any who had joined with and assisted him; all which, he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some persons who had then command in the Scottish army; of whose affections and inclinations to his service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their credit, and courage, and interest, a greater than was due to them.

When he [Montrevil] came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the church-government (the expectation and assurance whereof had indeed first enabled them to make that expedition) would at last prevail over the king's spirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found those in whom the power, at least the command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which presided in the counsels, rather devising and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the king offered, and desired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for himself, and security for his servants who should attend him, and his friends who should resort to him; and the principal officers of the army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest power in the conduct of the most secret counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the king, to assure him that he might confidently advise his majesty to repair to the army, upon the terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good body of their horse, to meet his majesty at any place he should appoint to conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement he prepared a paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the king as his engagement; and shewed it to those who had been most clear to him in their expressions of duty to the king; and which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserved towards him, as if required in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most hostile jealousy between the independent army and them. When the paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the king; in these words faithfully translated out of the original.

["I do promise^a, in the name of the king and queen regent, (my master and mistress,) and by virtue of the powers that I have from their majesties, that if the king of Great Britain shall put himself into the Scottish army, he shall be there received as their natural sovereign; and that he shall be with them in all freedom of his conscience and honour; and that all such of his subjects and servants as shall be there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in their persons; and that the said Scots shall really and

effectually join with the said king of Great Britain, and also receive all such persons as shall come in unto him, and join with them for his majesty's preservation: and that they shall protect all his majesty's party to the utmost of their power, as his majesty will command all those under his obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ their armies and forces, to assist his majesty in the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace, for the good of his majesty and his said kingdoms, and in recovery of his majesty's just rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this first of April 1646.

*"De Montrevil, résident pour sa majesté
très Chrétienne en Ecosse."*]

Many days had not passed after the sending that express, when he found such chagrin, and tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a man authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that Montrevil thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his person in the power of such men: but the express who carried that letter was taken prisoner; and though he made his escape, and preserved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey; and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a property by them to betray the king, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the king his master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to desire his majesty's presence in the army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous resolution, "that they would send a considerable party of horse to meet his majesty at Burton upon Trent; and that they could not advance farther with the whole party; but that some horse should be sent to wait upon his majesty at Bosworth, which is the middle way between Burton and Harborough, whither they hoped his own horse would be able to convey him securely;" they desired "the king to appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there." They wished, "that when their troops should meet his majesty, he would tell them that he was going into Scotland; upon which, they would find themselves obliged to attend him into their army, without being able to discover any thing of a treaty; of which the parliament ought yet to receive no advertisement:" of all which Montrevil gave the king a very full and plain narration, together with what he had written before, by his letter of the 15th of the same April, to secretary Nicholas; and, in the same letter, he informed his majesty, "that they did not desire that any of those forces which had followed the king's party, should join with them, no nor so much as those horse that should have accompanied his majesty, should remain in their army with him: that they had with much ado agreed, that the two princes" (for his majesty, upon prince Rupert's humble submission, was reconciled to both his nephews) "might follow the

[^a This engagement is copied from the Clarendon State Papers.]

"king, with such other of his servants as were not excepted from pardon; and that those three might stay with his majesty until the parliament of England should demand them; in which case they could not refuse to deliver them; but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond seas."

The king had proposed, "that there might be a union between them and the marquis of Mountrose; and that his forces might be joined with their army;" which they had said, "they could not consent to, with reference to the person of Mountrose; who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest families, they thought could not be safe among them:" whereupon the king had declared, that "he would send him his extraordinary ambassador into France;" which they appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which Montrevil likewise gave an account in the same letter: "that they could not give their consent that the marquis of Mountrose should go ambassador into France, but into any other place, he might; and that they again, though without limiting the time, insisted upon settling the presbyterian government;" and he concluded his letter with these words, "I will say no more but this, that his majesty and you know the Scots better than I do: I represent these things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any counsel to his majesty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to accept of these; but if he sees all things desperate every where else, and that he and his servants cannot be secure with his parliament of England, I dare yet assure him, that though he and his servants may not be here with all that satisfaction perhaps which he might desire, yet he especially shall be as secure as possible."

In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th of April) to the same secretary, he hath these words; "I have orders from the deputies of Scotland to assure you, that they will not herein fail," (which related to sending the horse to meet his majesty,) "as soon as they shall know his day; and that the king shall be received into the army as hath been promised; and that his conscience shall not be forced." And in the last letter, which his majesty or the secretary received from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646, there are these words: "They tell me that they will do more than can be expressed; but let not his majesty hope for any more than I send him word of; that he may not be deceived; and let him take his measures aright; for certainly the enterprise is full of danger:" yet, in the same letter, he says, "the disposition of the chiefs of the Scottish army is such as the king can desire; they begin to draw off their troops towards Burton, and the hindering his majesty from falling into the hands of the English is of so great importance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they will do all that lies in their power to hinder it."

This was the proceeding of monsieur Montrevil in that whole transaction: and if he were too sanguine upon his first conversation with the officers of the Scottish army, and some of the committee, and when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, he made haste to retract that confi-

dence, and was in all his despatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and, after his majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular persons with the promises and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the cardinal sensible of the indignity that was offered to that crown in the violation of those promises and engagements; which was the reason of his being commanded to return home, as soon as the king came to Newcastle; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negotiation; which the cardinal had no mind should appear to the world: and there can be no doubt, but that the cautions and animadversions which the king received from Montrevil after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterprise, if his majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly destitute of any other refuge. Every day brought the news of the loss of some garrison; and as Oxford was already blocked up at a distance, by those horse which Fairfax had sent out of the west to that purpose, or to wait upon the king, and follow him close, if he should remove out of Oxford; so he had soon reduced Exeter, and some other garrisons in Devonshire. The governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being relieved, thought that they might deliver up their garrisons before they were pressed with the last extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was observed that better and more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's victual left; of which we shall observe more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the king left it, or fully resolved what to do.

His majesty had before sent to two eminent commanders of name, who had blocked up the town at a distance, "that if they would pass their words," (how slender a security soever, from such men who had broken so many oaths, for the safety of the king,) "that they would immediately conduct him to the parliament, he would have put himself into their hands;" for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there: but those officers would submit to no such engagements; and great care was taken to have strict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What should the king do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be enclosed in Oxford, and so to be given up, or taken, when the town should be surrendered, as a prisoner to the independents' army; which he was advertised, from all hands, would treat him very barbarously.

In this perplexity, he chose rather to commit himself to the Scottish army; which yet he did not trust so far as to give them notice of his journey, by sending for a party of their horse to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning, upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Ashburnham, and a scholar, (one Hudson,) who understood the byways as well as the common, and was indeed a

very skilful guide. In this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving those of his council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scottish army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he might choose that which was best; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himself at that time a fixed resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the king was; insomuch as Fairfax, who came before it the fifth day after his majesty was gone, was sat down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the king was in the Scottish army; but the king had wasted that time in several places, whereof some were gentlemen's houses, (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of,) purposely to be informed of the condition of the marquis of Montrose, and to find some secure passage that he might find himself with him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the end, went into the Scottish army before Newark, and sent for Montrevil to come to him.

It was very early in the morning when the king went to the general's lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surprised and confounded at his majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no less perplexed. An express was presently sent to the parliament at Westminster, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing they had not the least imagination of. The parliament were so disordered with the intelligence, that at first they resolved to command their general to raise the siege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scottish commissioners at London diverted them from that, by assuring them, "that all their orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their army;" so they made a short despatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the king had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive farther direction from them;" and in the mean time, "that they should carefully watch that his majesty did not dispose himself to go some whither else." The great care in the army was, that there might be only respect and good manners shewed towards the king, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the general never asked the word of him, or any orders, nor suffered the officers of the army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his majesty. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was not frightened from owning and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the king liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension, that Fairfax might be forthwith appointed to decline all other enterprises, and to bring himself near the Scottish army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the lord Bellasis to surrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward; which they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some months longer from that enemy, upon honourable condi-

tions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcastle; which the king was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much less receive letters from any.

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the parliament or council of state. The first sermon that was preached before the king, after the army rose from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d Book of Samuel, the 41st, 42d, and 43d verses.

41. *And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought the king, and his household, and all David's men with him, over Jordan?*

42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more right in David than ye; why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.*

Upon which words, the preacher gave men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their king, they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, than both monsieur Montrevil was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised "to shift for himself, or else that he should be delivered up to the parliament;" and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the queen sent those lords to hasten the prince's remove from Jersey.

When those lords, with their great train, came to Jersey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the queen to the prince; in which she told him, "that she was now fully satisfied, from the intelligence she had from Newcastle and London, that he could not make any longer residence in Jersey without apparent danger of falling into the enemy's hands; and that if he should continue there, all possible attempts would be suddenly made, as well by treachery as by force, to get his person into their power; and therefore her majesty did positively require him to give immediate obedience to the king's commands, mentioned in the letter which he had lately sent by sir Dudley Wyatt," (which is set out before,) "and reiterated in a letter which she had since received from the king by monsieur Montrevil." Her majesty said, "that she had the greatest assurance from the crown of France, that possibly could be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleasure; and she engaged her own word, that whenever his council should

"find it fit for him to go out of France, she would never oppose it; and that during his residence in that kingdom, all matters of importance which might concern himself, or relate to his majesty's affairs, should be debated and resolved by himself and the council, in such manner as they ought to have been, if he had continued in England, or in Jersey:" and concluded, "that he should make all possible haste to her."

The lords, which arrived with this despatch from her majesty, had no imagination that there would have been any question of his highness's compliance with the queen's command; and therefore, as soon as they had kissed the prince's hand, which was in the afternoon, they desired that the council might presently be called; and when they came together, the lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewise present, and sitting in the council, they desired the prince, "that his mother's letter might be read; and then, since they conceived there could be no debate upon his highness's yielding obedience to the command of the king and queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his journey, and of the order he would observe in it." The lords of the council represented to the prince, "that they were the only persons that were accountable to the king, and to the kingdom, for any resolution his highness should take, and for the consequence thereof; and that the other lords who were present had no title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his highness should resolve to do; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated; the state of the king's present condition understood as far as it might be; and the reasons considered which made it counsellable for his highness to repair into France, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the king had given no positive direction in the point, but upon a supposition that the prince could not remain secure in Jersey; which was likewise the ground of the queen's last command; and which they believed had no foundation of reason; and that his residence there might be very unquestionably safe." This begot some warmth and contradiction between persons; inso-much as the prince thought it very necessary to suspend the debate till the next day, to the end that by several and private conferences together between the lords who came from Paris, and those who were in Jersey, they might convert, or confirm each other in the same opinions; at least that the next debate might be free from passion and unkindness; and so the council rose, and the several lords betook themselves to use the same arguments, or such as they thought more agreeable to the person, as the lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the same success.

The next day when they were called together, the lord Capel gave an account of all that had passed with the queen from the time that the lord Colepepper and he came thither; and "that the reasons they had carried from the prince had so far prevailed with the queen, that her majesty resolved to take no final resolution till she received farther advertisement of the king's pleasure; and he did not think that the information she had received from monsieur Montrevil had weight enough to produce the quick resolution

"it had done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to receive the king's positive command before the prince should remove out of his majesty's own dominions; there being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: that he had then offered to the queen, that he would himself make a journey to Newcastle to receive his majesty's commands; and that he now made the same offer to the prince: and because it did appear that his majesty was very strictly guarded, and that persons did not easily find access to him, and that his own person might be seized upon in his journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, and so his highness might be disappointed of the information he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his opinion, that if he did not return again to Jersey within the space of one month, the prince should resolve to remove into France, if in the mean time such preparatories were made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet defective."

He said, "he had been lately at Paris by the prince's command; and had received many graces from the queen, who had vouchsafed to impart all her own reasons for the prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she had of the affections of France: but, that he did still wonder, if the court of France had so great a desire, as was pretended, that the prince of Wales should repair thither, that in the two months' time his highness had been in Jersey, they had never sent a gentleman to see him, and to invite him to come thither; nor had these who came now from the queen, brought so much as a pass for him to come into France: that he could not but observe, that all we had hitherto proposed to ourselves from France had proved in no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thousand foot, which we had expected in the west before the prince came from thence; and that we had more reason to be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice of France, that the king had now put himself into the hands of the Scots; and therefore we ought to be the more watchful in disposing the person of the prince by their advice likewise." He concluded, "that he could not give his advice, or consent, that the prince should repair into France, till the king's pleasure might be known, or such other circumstances might be provided in France, as had been hitherto neglected."

The lord Digby and the lord Jermyn wondered very much, "that there should be any doubt of the affections of France, or that it should be believed that the queen could be deceived, or not well enough informed in that particular:" they related many particulars which had passed between the cardinal and them in private conferences, and the great professions of affection he made to the king. They said, "that the ambassador who was now appointed to go thither was chosen by the queen herself, and had no other instructions but what she had given him; and that he was not to stay there above a month; at the end of which he was to denounce war against the parliament, if they did not comply with such propositions as he made; and so to return; and then, that there should be an army of thirty

‘ thousand men immediately transported into
 ‘ England, with the prince of Wales in the head
 ‘ of them; that the ambassador was already gone
 ‘ from Paris, but was not to embark till he should
 ‘ first receive advertisement that the prince of
 ‘ Wales was landed in France; for that France
 ‘ had no reason to embark themselves so far in the
 ‘ king’s quarrel, if the prince of Wales should re-
 ‘ fuse to venture his person with them; or, it
 ‘ may be, engage against them upon another in-
 ‘ terest.”

They therefore besought the prince, and the lords, “that they would consider well, whether he
 “ would disappoint his father and himself of so
 “ great fruit as they were even ready to gather,
 “ and of which they could not be disappointed but
 “ by unseasonable jealousies of the integrity of
 “ France, and by delaying to give them satisfaction
 “ in the remove of the prince from Jersey.”

These arguments, pressed with all the assurance and confidence imaginable, by persons of that near trust and confidence with the king, who were not like to be deceived themselves, nor to have any purpose to deceive the prince, wrought so far with his highness, that he declared himself resolved “to comply with the commands of the queen, and
 “ forthwith remove into France;” which being resolved, he wished “there might be no more de-
 “ bate upon that point, but that they would all
 “ resolve to go with him, and that there might be
 “ as great an unity in their counsels, as had
 “ hitherto always been.”

This so positive declaration of the prince of his own resolution made all farther arguments against it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point, yet every man of the council, the lord Colepepper only excepted, besought his highness, “that he would give them
 “ his pardon, if they did not farther wait upon
 “ him; for they conceived their commission to be
 “ now at an end; and that they could not assume
 “ any authority by it to themselves, if they waited
 “ upon him into France; nor expect that their
 “ counsels there should be hearkened unto, when
 “ they were now rejected.” And so, after some sharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the council break up the sooner, they who resolved not to go into France took their leaves of the prince, and kissed his hand; his highness then declaring, “that he would
 “ be gone the next day by five of the clock in the
 “ morning,” though the cross winds, and want of some provisions which were necessary for the journey, detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the dissenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciously; his highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their affections, and that they would be ready to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their service. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their persons, nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that conjuncture, they believed that the dissent and

separation of all those persons who were trusted by the king with the person of the prince, would blast their counsel, and weigh down the single positive determination of the queen herself.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to persons so intrusted; and that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the prince out of the king’s dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the affairs of England; where, besides the garrisons of Scilly and Pendennis, (which might always be relieved by sea,) there remained still within his majesty’s obedience, Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Ludlow, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turned the scale: nor did they know, of what ill consequence it might be to the king, that in such a conjuncture the prince should be removed, when it might appear more counsellable that he should appear in Scotland.

Moreover, Mr. Ashburnham’s opinion, which he had delivered to the lord Capel, wrought very much upon them; for that a man so entirely trusted by the king, who had seen him as lately as any body, should bring no directions from his majesty to his son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the prince to stay in Jersey than to remove into France, till his majesty’s pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made privy to it, and which, out of duty to the queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the instructions given to Bellievre, (and which too much manifested the irresolution her majesty had,) not to insist upon what they well knew the king would never depart from; for, though that ambassador was required to do all he could to persuade the presbyterians to join with the king’s party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the church; yet if he found that could not be compassed, he was to press, as the advice of the king his master, his majesty to part with the church, and to satisfy the presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by Bellievre; which those lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that confusion.

Within a day or two after the prince’s departure from Jersey, the earl of Berkshire left it likewise, and went for England; the lords Capel, Hopton, and the chancellor of the exchequer, remained together in Jersey to expect the king’s pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his majesty’s service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the prince into France, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the insolence of his enemies.

In a word, if the king’s fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and

discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a torrent, as carried down all obstructions of sobriety and wisdom to prevent it, and made the confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the prince from Jersey, with all the circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon, and censured with some severity, as an action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long established; but by the fatal and prodigious successes which followed, all counsels of wise and unwise men proving equally unsuccessful, the memory of what had passed before grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Whilst these things were thus transacted in other parts, the king remained yet in the Scottish army; that people behaving themselves in such a manner, that most men believed that they would never have parted with his majesty till a full peace had been made. The parliament made many sharp instances, "that the king might be delivered into their hands; and that the Scottish army would return into their own country, having done what they were sent for, and the war being at an end." To which the council of Scotland seemed to answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those arguments of the king's legal rights, which had been, in all his majesty's declarations, urged against the parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be answered; and as much condemned them, as the parliament.

In the mean time, though the king received all outward respect, he was in truth in the condition of a prisoner; no servant whom he could trust suffered to come to him; and though many persons of quality who had served the king in the war, when they saw the resolute answers made by the Scots, "that they neither would nor could compel their king to return to the parliament, if his majesty had no mind to do so," repaired to Newcastle, where his majesty was, yet none of them were suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive from, or send any letter to the queen or prince; and yet the Scots observed all distances, and performed all the ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their king; and made as great profession to him of their duty and good purposes, "which [they said] they would manifest as soon as it should be seasonable; and then his servants and friends should repair to him with all liberty, and be well received;" and as they endeavoured to persuade the king to expect this from them, so they prevailed with many officers of that army, and some of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to discover their intentions.

Thus they prevailed with the king to send his positive orders to the marquis of Mountrose, who had indeed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his majesty; and this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular messenger known and trusted, that the marquis obeyed, and transported himself into France.

Then they employed their Alexander Henderson, and their other clergy, to persuade the king to consent to the extirpation of episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was and is still

believed, that if his majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a party in the parliament at Westminster to have been satisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the king, and have presently joined with the loyal party in all places for his majesty's defence. But the king was too conscientious to buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was so much too hard for Mr. Henderson in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers that passed between them, which were shortly after communicated to the world,) that the old man himself was so far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep sense of the mischief he had himself been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest friends and confidants; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very short time after he departed from his majesty.

Whilst the king stayed at Newcastle, Bellievre the French ambassador, who was sent from Paris after the prince arrived there, and by whom the cardinal had promised to press the parliament so imperiously, and to denounce a war against them if they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards an agreement with the king, came to his majesty, after he had spent some time at London in all the low application to the parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the king with any tenderness, as if his interest were at all considered by the king his master, and without any consultation with those of his majesty's party; who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal leaders of the presbyterian party in the parliament, and with the Scottish commissioners; from whose information he took all his measures; and they assured him, "that nothing could be done for the king, except he would give up the church; that is, extirpate episcopacy; and grant all the lands belonging to cathedral churches to such uses as the parliament should advise;" so that, when he came to the king, he pressed him very earnestly to that condescension.

But, besides the matter proposed, in which his majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, [as hath been already said,] by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his majesty should be well received in the Scottish army, and that they would be firm to his interest, his majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom Montrevil had treated, disavowed their undertaking what the king had been informed of; and though the envoy did avow, and justify, what he had informed the king, to the faces of the persons who had given their engagements, the cardinal chose rather to recall and discountenance the minister of that crown, than to enter into any expostulation with the parliament, or the Scots, for the effrontery.

The ambassador, by an express, quickly informed the cardinal that the king was too reserved in giving the parliament satisfaction; and therefore wished, "that somebody might be sent over, who was like to have so much credit with his majesty

"as to persuade him to what was necessary for his service." Upon which, the queen, who was never advised by those who either understood or valued his true interest, consulted with those about her; and sent sir William Davenant, an honest man, and a witty, but in all respects inferior to such a trust, with a letter of credit to the king, (who knew the person well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was instructed,) although her majesty had likewise enough declared her opinion to his majesty, "that he should part with the church for his peace and security."

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambassador, easy admission to the king; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of conscience which his majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some reasons to the king to induce him to yield to what was proposed; and, among other things, said, "it was the advice and opinion, of all his friends;" his majesty asking, "what friends?" and he answering, "that it was the opinion of the lord Jermyn," the king said, "that the lord Jermyn did not understand any thing of the church." The other said, "the lord Colepepper was of the same mind." The king said, "Colepepper had no religion:" and asked, "whether the chancellor of the exchequer was of that mind?" to which he answered, "he did not know; for that he was not there, and had deserted the prince:" and thereupon said somewhat from the queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the chancellor: to which the king said, "the chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the prince, nor the church; and that he was sorry he was not with his son; but that his wife was mistaken." Davenant then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the church slightly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his majesty was transported with so much passion and indignation, that he gave him more reproachful terms, and a sharper reprehension, than he ever did towards any other man; and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill success to those who sent him.

As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambassador in England were thus disappointed and frustrated, by his mean and low carriage both towards the parliament and at Newcastle, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the prince of Wales, when his person should once appear in France, were as unworthily [disappointed]. The prince had been above two months with the queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the least message sent from the court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the king should

treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the king? whether he should take place of monsieur the king's brother? and what kind of ceremonies should be observed between the prince of Wales and his uncle the duke of Orleans? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in Jersey, before he put himself into their power, than disputed afterwards in the court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.

There can be no doubt but that the cardinal, who was the sole minister of state, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power, to persuade the queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the king her husband, and of her majesty: but now that work was over, and the person of the prince brought into their power, without the least public act or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no less his care to have the parliament in England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the parliament, should believe that the prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the crown of France could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to compose the difference between the parliament and the Scottish nation, and that the kingdoms might be restored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation, they had performed their function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the parliament and the Scots, than they had done between the king and the parliament; and that since the prince had come to the queen his mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England; nor should he there find any means or assistance to disturb it. And it was believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendship which was shortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promising, "that they should receive less inconvenience by the prince's remaining in France, than if he were in any other part of Europe." And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the pension which the queen received, was made to her majesty, without any mention of the prince her son; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

When the Scots had secured the peace and quiet of their own country, by disbanding the forces under the marquis of Mountrose, and by his transporting himself beyond the seas, and by putting to death several persons of name who had followed the marquis, and had been taken prisoners, among whom sir Robert Spotswood was one, a worthy, honest, loyal gentleman, and as wise a man as that nation had at that time, (whom the king had made secretary of state of that kingdom,

in the place of the earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death :) and when they had with such solemnity and courage made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance, and of the fundamental principles of Christian religion, ever deliver up their native king, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the parliament, against his own will and consent: and when the earl of Lowden had publicly declared to the two houses of parliament in a conference, "that an eternal infamy would lie upon them, and the whole nation, if they should deliver the person of the king; the securing of which was equally their duty, as it was the parliament's, and the disposal of his person in order to that security did equally belong to them as to the parliament;" however, they said, "they would use all the persuasion, and all the importunity they could with the king that his majesty might yield, and consent to the propositions the parliament had sent to him."

The parliament had, upon the first notice of the king's being arrived in the Scottish army, sent a positive command to the committee of both kingdoms residing in the Scottish army, that the person of the king should be forthwith sent to Warwick-castle; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without such an order, had, within two days after his majesty's coming to them, and after he had caused Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcastle; and were arrived there before they received that order for sending his majesty to Warwick; which proceeding of theirs pleased his majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him; and persuaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his service.

Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their professions to the parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, "that since they had promised the king, before he left Oxford, to send propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, that if he refused to comply with them, to which they should persuade him, they knew what they were to do." Then they advised the king, and prevailed with him, to send orders to the governor of Oxford to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his son the duke of York was, and all the council) into the hands of Fairfax, who with his army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general order, (which they caused to be printed,) "that all governors of any garrisons for his majesty should immediately deliver them up to the parliament upon fair and honourable conditions, since his majesty resolved in all things to be advised by his parliament; and till this was done, they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner for his majesty's service and interest, as they resolved to do; for that they were, by their treaty and confederacy, to serve the parliament in such manner as it should direct, until the war should be ended; but, that done, they had no more obligations to the parliament; and that, when his majesty had no more forces on foot, nor garrisons which held out for him, it could not be

"denied but that the war was at an end; and then they could speak and expostulate with freedom." By which arts, they prevailed with the king to send, and publish such orders as aforesaid; and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have received no benefit by not publishing.

The parliament was contented, as the more expedite way, (though they were much offended at the presumption of the Scots in neglecting to send the king to Warwick,) to send their propositions to the king (which they knew his majesty would never grant) by commissioners of both houses, who had no other authority or power, than "to demand a positive answer from the king in ten days, and then to return." These propositions were delivered about the end of July; and contained such an eradication of the government of the church and state, that the king told them, "he knew not what answer to make to them, till he should be informed what power or authority they had left to him and his heirs, when he had given all that to them which they desired." He desired, "that he might be removed to some of his own houses, and that he might reside there till, upon a personal treaty with his parliament, such an agreement might be established as the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness under it; which, he was sure, it could never do by the concessions they proposed."

The Scots, who were enough convinced that his majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the parliament, and used all the rude importunity and threats to his majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed "that the propositions were higher in many things than they approved of, yet they saw no other means for him to close with his parliament, than by granting what they required."

The chancellor of Scotland told him, "that the consequence of his answer to the propositions was as great, as the ruin or preservation of his crown or kingdoms: that the parliament, after many bloody battles, had got the strong holds and forts of the kingdom into their hands: that they had his revenue, excise, assessments, sequestrations, and power to raise all the men and money of the kingdom: that they had gained victory over all, and that they had a strong army to maintain it; so that they might do what they would with church or state: that they desired neither him, nor any of his race, longer to reign over them; and had sent these propositions to his majesty, without the granting whereof, the kingdom and his people could not be in safety: that if he refused to assent, he would lose all his friends in parliament, lose the city, and lose the country; and that all England would join against him as one man to process and depose him, and to set up another government; and so, that both kingdoms, for either's safety, would agree to settle religion and peace without him, to the ruin of his majesty and his posterity:" and concluded, "that if he left England, he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland."

And it is very true that the general assembly of the kirk, which was then sitting in Scotland, had petitioned the conservators of the peace of the kingdom, "that if the king should refuse to give

"satisfaction to his parliament, he might not be permitted to come into Scotland." This kind of argumentation did more provoke than persuade the king; he told them, with great resolution and magnanimity, "that no condition they could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and grievous to him, as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them proceed their own way; and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not."

The parliament had now received the answer they expected; and, forthwith, required "the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver the person of the king to such persons as they should appoint to receive him;" who should attend upon his majesty from Newcastle to Holmby, a house of his majesty's at a small distance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent disaffection to the king throughout the war; and declared, "that his majesty should be treated, with respect to the safety and preservation of his person, according to the covenant: and that, after his coming to Holmby, he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and that when the Scots were removed out of England, the parliament would join with their brethren of Scotland again to persuade the king to pass the propositions; which if he refused to do, the house would do nothing that might break the union of the two kingdoms, but would endeavour to preserve the same."

The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied "that the parliament of England had power absolutely to dispose of the person of the king without their approbation;" and the parliament as loudly replied, "that they had nothing to do in England, but to observe their orders;" and added such threats to their reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could adjust all accounts between them, and agree what price they should pay for the delivery of his person, whom one side was resolved to have, and the other as resolved not to keep; and so they quickly agreed, that, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, they would deliver the king up into such hands as the parliament should appoint to receive him.

And upon this infamous contract that excellent prince was, in the end of January, wickedly given up, by his Scottish subjects, to those of his English who were entrusted by the parliament to receive him; which had appointed a committee of lords and commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a party of horse and foot of the army, which were subject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itself to go to Newcastle to receive that town as well as the king; where, and to whom, his majesty was delivered.

They received him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his majesty, who were of doubtful affections to them and their cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the parliament, to attend upon his person and service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their

affection to them. And, in this distribution, the presbyterian party in the houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismissed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom; and permitting them to put their friends about the person of the king, and to choose such a guard as they could confide in, to attend his majesty.

Of the committee employed to govern and direct all, major general Brown was one, who had a great name and interest in the city, and with all the presbyterian party, and had done great service to the parliament in the war under the earl of Essex, and was a diligent and stout commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his majesty was brought to his own house at Holmby in Northamptonshire; a place he had taken much delight in: and there he was to stay till the parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

In the mean time, the committee paid all respects to his majesty; and he enjoyed those exercises he most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty, but to confer with persons he most desired, and to have such servants about him as he could trust. That which most displeased him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own chaplains; but ordered presbyterian ministers to attend for divine service; and his majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their devotions, was compelled at those hours to be his own chaplain in his bedchamber; where he constantly used the Common Prayer by himself. Yet his majesty bore this constraint so heavily, that he writ a letter to the house of peers, in which he enclosed a list of the names of thirteen of his chaplains; any two of which he desired might have liberty to attend him for his devotion. To which, after many days' consideration, they returned this answer; "that all those chaplains were disaffected to the established government of the church, and had not taken the covenant; but that there were others who had, who, if his majesty pleased, should be sent to him." After this answer, his majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own chaplains, he would have been best pleased to have been without any; they who were sent by them being men of mean parts, and of most impertinent and troublesome confidence and importunity.

Whilst those disputes continued between the parliament and the Scots concerning the king's person, the army proceeded with great success in reducing those garrisons which still continued in his majesty's obedience; whereof though some surrendered more easily, and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the king's general order, and that there was no reasonable expectation of relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early submission, to obtain better conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable obstinacy to the last, to the great damage of the enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together; without which they could not pursue the great designs they had. And this was one of the reasons that made the treaty with the Scots depend so long, and that the presbyterians continued their

authority and credit so long; and it was observed, that those garrisons which were maintained and defended with the greatest courage and virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honourable conditions, as any of those who surrendered upon the first summons.

Which was the case of Pendennis-castle; which endured the longest siege, and held out the last of any fort or castle in England; and refused all summons; nor admitted any treaty, till all their provisions were so far consumed, that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the treaty with such resolution and unconcernedness, that the enemy concluded they were in no straits; and so gave them the conditions they proposed; which were as good as any garrison in England had accepted. This castle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourscore years of age, and of one of the best estates and interest in that county; who, with the assistance of his son Richard Arundel, (who was then a colonel in the army; a stout and diligent officer; and was by the king after his return made a baron, lord Arundel of Trerice, in memory of his father's service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war,) maintained and defended the same to the last extremity.

There remained with him in that service many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongst whom sir Harry Killigrew was one; who, being an intimate friend of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved to go to Jersey; and, as soon as the castle was surrendered, took the first opportunity of a vessel then in the harbour of Falmouth, to transport himself with some officers and soldiers to St. Maloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the chancellor in Jersey, that he would procure a bark of that island to go to St. Maloes to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of sir George Carteret, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that island; the two lords, Capel and Hopton, and the governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the vessel at sea, (which they well knew,) they all made haste to the harbour to receive their friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter.

After the treaty was signed for delivering the castle, he had walked out to discharge some arms which were in his chamber; among which, a carbine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; so that his friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being stopped, and the chirurgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Maloes, he writ that letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having desired that his dead body might be sent to Jersey; where he was decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extrac-

tion, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and great courage: he had one only son, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater; where he behaved himself with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the house of commons; and though he had no other relation to the court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the parliament. And when the earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the house stood up, and declared, what horse they would raise and maintain, and that they would live and die with the earl their general, one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up, and said, "He would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause;" and so went out of the house, and rode post into Cornwall, where his estate and interest lay; and there joined with those gallant gentlemen his friends, who first received the lord Hopton, and raised those forces which did so many famous actions in the west.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, consulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in those places where was most danger, having great courage and a pleasantness of humour in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very sharp speaker, and cared not for angering those who deserved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the signal men of that county, infinitely loved his spirit and sincerity; and his credit and interest had a great influence upon all but those who did not love the king; and towards those he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all such prepared to rebel, when a little success should encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wished well, and whose constitutions and complexions would not permit them to express the same frankness, which his nature and keenness of spirit could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by all good men.

From the time that the king was brought to Holmby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflicted with the same pressures concerning the church, which had disquieted him at Newcastle; the parliament not remitting any of their insolencies in their demands: all which was imputed to the presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole power, and begun to give orders for the lessening their great charge by disbanding some troops of their army, and sending others for Ireland; which they made no doubt speedily to reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all armies, that the kingdom might be governed by the known laws."

This temper in the houses raised another spirit in the army; which did neither like the presbyterian government that they saw ready to be settled in the church, nor that the parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the sole influence upon the army, underhand, made them petition the houses against

any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his officers, took upon them to preach and pray publicly to their troops, and admitted no chaplains in the army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the presbyterian government, as more tyrannical than episcopacy; and the common soldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the state; no man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in religion, by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blasphemous soever it was; "which," they said, "was to restrain the Spirit."

Liberty of conscience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilst the presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the prelatical party; and finding themselves superior in the two houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God at that time to have taken away the earl of Essex some months before this; who died without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the king and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: though his constitution and temper might very well entitle him to the lethargic indisposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his friends, "that he was poisoned."

Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared head of the army, though Fairfax continued general in name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem of his person.

And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute and competition with the parliament, and go a share with them in settling the kingdom, (as they called it,) the army erected a kind of parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the king's army, and when they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all those inconvenient officers, of whose entire submission, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, set aside their self-denying ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and others of their friends, whose principles they well knew, to be elected members of the

house of commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the king. By this means, Fairfax himself, Ireton, Harrison, and many other of the independents, officers and gentlemen, of the several counties, who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *fanatics*, sat in the house of commons; notwithstanding all which, the presbyterians still carried it.

So that about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the parliament, the army made choice of a number of such officers as they liked; which they called the general's council of officers; who were to resemble the house of peers; and the common soldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, most corporals or sergeants, and none above the degree of an ensign, who were called agitators, and were to be as a house of commons to the council of officers. These two representatives met severally, and considered of all the acts and orders made by the parliament towards settling the kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the army: and, upon mutual messages and conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided or disbanded, before their full arrears were paid, and before full provision was made for liberty of conscience; which, they said, was the ground of the quarrel, and for which so many of their friends' lives had been lost, and so much of their own blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater persecution now against religious and godly men, than ever had been in the king's government, when the bishops were their judges."

They said, "they did not look upon themselves as a band of janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation of which they were a part; and before they laid down those arms, they would see all those ends well provided for, that the people might not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffered. They complained that some members of the army had been sent for by the parliament, and committed to prison, which was against their privilege; since all soldiers ought to be tried by a council of war, and not by any other judicatory; and therefore they desired redress in these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a nature; and that such as were imprisoned and in custody, might be forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think themselves justly dealt with." And with this declaration and address, they sent three or four of their own members to the house of commons; who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence.

The soldiers published a vindication, as they called it, of their proceedings and resolutions, and directed it to their general; in which they complained of a design to disband and new model the army; "which, they said, was a plot contrived by some men who had lately tasted of sovereignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary sphere of servants, endeavoured to become masters, and were degenerated into tyrants." They therefore declared, "that they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves

"to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the rights and liberties of the subjects should be vindicated and maintained." This apology, or vindication, being signed by many inferior officers, the parliament declared them to be enemies to the state: and caused some of them, who talked loudest, to be imprisoned. Upon which a new address was made to their general; wherein they complained "how disdainfully they were used by the parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and lost their blood: that the privileges, which were due to them as soldiers and as subjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries they received, they were abused, beaten, and dragged into gaols."

Hereupon, the general was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of parliament, who shewed it to the house; in which he took notice of several petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and some other counties of the kingdom, against the army; and "that it was looked upon as very strange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when so many petitions were received against them; and that he much doubted that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of some other way for their own vindication."

This manner of proceeding by the soldiers, but especially the general seeming to be of their mind, troubled the parliament; yet they resolved not to suffer their counsels to be censured, or their actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expressions against the presumption of several officers and soldiers, they declared, "that whosoever should refuse, being commanded, to engage himself in the service of Ireland, should be disbanded." The army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared resolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the declaration that the parliament had made against them was rased out of the journal book of both houses, and a month's pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the parliament, and where to have their services better valued and rewarded;" which so frightened those at Westminster, that they appointed a committee of lords and commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee chosen of the officers of the army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the army thought itself upon a level with the parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other; which likewise raised the spirits of Fairfax, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the parliament; and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all men.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation, (in which sure he was a very great master,) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers; was still in the house of commons when any such addresses

were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment, of some of the officers. He proposed, "that the general might be sent down to the army; who," he said, "would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly;" and he was so easily believed, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the house, and complain heavily "of the great license that was got into the army; that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desired that the nation should be again imbrued in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands." And in these, and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was resolved by the principal persons of the house of commons, that when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once severed his person from the army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the general Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect presbyterian in his judgment; and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him purely by his dissimulation, and pretence of conscience and sincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the king, or the least imagination of disobeying the parliament.

This purpose of seizing upon the person of Cromwell could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the house expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the house of commons, "that having the night before received a letter from some officers of his own regiment, that the jealousy the troops had conceived of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly presented with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find that the soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped to discover the fountain from whence it sprung; and in the mean time desired that the general, and the other officers in the house, and such as remained about the town, might be presently sent to their quarters; and that he believed it would be very necessary in

"order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of which the general would best consider, when he came down; which he wished might be hastened." It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the general and the other officers left the town, and went to their quarters.

The same morning that Cromwell left London, cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tailor, a fellow who had two or three years before served in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's house, came with a squadron of fifty horse to Holmby, where the king was, about the break of day; and, without any interruption by the guard of horse or foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knocked at the king's chamber door, and said "he must presently speak with the king." His majesty, surprised with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dressed, caused the door to be opened, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the chamber being persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. As soon as the door was opened, Joyce, and two or three more, came into the chamber, with their hats off, and pistols in their hands. Joyce told the king, "that he must go with him." His majesty asked, "whither?" he answered, "to the army." The king asked him, "where the army was?" he said, "they would carry him to the place where it was." His majesty asked, "by what authority they came?" Joyce answered, "by this;" and shewed him his pistol; and desired his majesty, "that he would cause himself to be dressed, because it was necessary they should make haste." None of the other soldiers spoke a word; and Joyce, saving the bluntness and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The king said, "he could not stir before he spoke with the committee to whom he had been delivered, and who were trusted by the parliament;" and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the king had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked Joyce, "whether he had any orders from the parliament?" he said, No. "From the general?" No. "What authority he came by?" to which he made no other answer, than he had made to the king, and held up his pistol. They said, "they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure;" Joyce said, "they might do so, but the king must presently go with him." Colonel Brown had sent for some of the troops who were appointed for the king's guard, but they came not; he spoke then with the officer who commanded those who were at that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the king had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his fast, he went into his coach, attended by the few servants who were put about him, and went whither cornet Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the

army known to be within twenty miles of Holmby at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those officers who were of the guard, declared, "that the squadron which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of soldiers of any one regiment, but were men of several troops, and several regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper officer;" so that the king did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The committee quickly gave notice to the parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the account they received from the general himself; who by his letter informed them, "that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the king from thence; and that his majesty lay the next night at colonel Montague's house, and would be the next day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was from some apprehension of some strength gathered to force the king from thence; whereupon he had sent colonel Whaley's regiment to meet the king." He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or of the officers about him, or of the body of the army, and without their desire or privity: that he would take care for the security of his majesty's person from danger;" and assured the parliament, "that the whole army endeavoured peace, and were far from opposing presbytery, or affecting independency, or from any purpose to maintain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party, but were resolved to leave the absolute determination of all to the parliament."

It was upon the third of June that the king was taken from Holmby by cornet Joyce, [well nigh,] a full year after he had delivered himself to the Scots at Newark; in all which time, the army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the parliament, whilst the presbyterians believed, that, in spite of a few factious independent officers, it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their commands; and those few wise men, who discerned the foul designs of those officers, and by what degrees they stole the hearts and affections of the soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own party. The joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the king taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these circumstances, they found all their measures broke by which they had formed all their counsels. And as this letter from the general administered too much cause of jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many officers, confirmed by a letter which the lord mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and would be in London the next day by noon, so distracted them, that they appeared besides themselves: however, they voted, "that the houses should sit all the next day, being Sunday; and that Mr. Marshall should be there to pray for them: that the committee of safety should sit up all that night to consider what was

“to be done: that the lines of communication should be strongly guarded, and all the trained bands of London should be drawn together upon pain of death.” All shops were shut up, and such a general confusion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The parliament writ a letter to the general, desiring him, “that no part of the army might come within five and twenty miles of London; and that the king’s person might be delivered to the former commissioners, who had attended upon his majesty at Holmby; and that colonel Rossiter, and his regiment, might be appointed for the guard of his person.” The general returned for answer, “that the army was come to St. Alban’s before the desire of the parliament came to his hands; but that, in obedience to their commands, he would advance no farther; and desired that a month’s pay might presently be sent for the army.” In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the king to the former commissioners, no other answer was returned, than “that they might rest assured, that all care should be taken for his majesty’s security.”

From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the council of officers, which they had never before done; and their expostulations with the parliament begun to be more brisk and contumacious than they had been. The king found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers; so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce; which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities; all persons, who had a mind to it, being suffered to be present, to his majesty’s infinite satisfaction; who begun to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be; and though Fairfax, nor Cromwell, had not yet waited upon him, the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him “that he would be content, for some time, to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as he might find all things to his own content and security; which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily instances to the parliament.” In the mean time his majesty sat still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army’s

address to the parliament, they desired “that care might be taken for settling the king’s rights, according to the several professions they had made in their declarations; and that the royal party might be treated with more candour and less rigour;” and many good officers who had served his majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters; which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation to the army, throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the parliament.

The parliament at this time had recovered its spirits, when they saw the army did not march towards them, and not only remained at St. Alban’s, but was drawn back to a farther distance; which persuaded them, that their general was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion and vigour against those principal officers, who, they knew, contrived all these proceedings. They published declarations to the kingdom, “that they desired to bring the king in honour to his parliament; which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detained prisoner against his will in the army; and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person.” The army, on the other hand, declared “that his majesty was neither prisoner, nor detained against his will; and appealed to his majesty himself, and to all his friends, who had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was not treated with more respect, since he came into the army than he had been at Holmby, or during the time he remained in those places, and with that retinue that the parliament had appointed?” The city seemed very unanimously devoted to the parliament, and incensed against the army; and seemed resolute, not only with their trained bands and auxiliary regiments to assist and defend the parliament, but appointed some of the old officers who had served under the earl of Essex, and had been disbanded under the new model, as Waller, Massey, and others, to list new forces; towards which there was not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and such of the king’s as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the king, and unite with his party, of which there was so much show; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the parliament sent a committee to his majesty, with an address of another style than they had lately used, with many professions of duty; and declaring, “that if he was not, in all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, and do what he would;” hoping that the king would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army’s having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the king’s party would be disabused, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

The king was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the

army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. Fairfax had been with him, and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his authority was of no use, because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the king, without either of them offering to kiss his hand; otherwise, they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His majesty used all the address he could towards them to draw some promise from them; but they were so reserved, and stood so much upon their guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said: they excused themselves "for not seeing his majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity." The persons who resorted to his majesty, and brought advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him; some thinking the army would deal sincerely with his majesty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed: so that the king wisely concluded that he would neither reject the parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or a desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have done, if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both parties "to hasten their consultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness: in which he should not be without a share; and he would pray to God to bring this to pass as soon as was possible."

The news of the king's being in the army, of his freedom in the exercise of his religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the king himself writ to the queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir John Berkley, after his surrender of Exeter, and the spending his six months allowed by the articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had transported himself into France, and waited upon the queen at Paris, being still a menial servant to her majesty, and having a friend in that court that governed, and loved him better than any body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the king's being with the army, he repeated many discourses he had held with the officers of the army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of Exeter; how he had told them, "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the protection of the king; who by their courage and virtue was brought very low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to them; and his posterity, as well as

himself, and all his party, must for ever acknowledge it, by which they would raise their fortunes, as well as their fame, to the greatest degree men could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that officer, whom he named, "that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observed that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the king great service;" and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The queen believed all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the queen's letter of recommendation of him to the king, who knew him very little, and that little not without great prejudice, he left Paris, and made all possible haste into England. John Ashburnham, who was driven from the king by the Scots after he had conducted his majesty to them, had transported himself into France, and was at this time residing in Rouen; having found, upon his address to the queen at Paris upon his first arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her majesty, and so he removed to Rouen; where he had the society of many who had served the king in the most eminent qualifications. When he heard where the king was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the king; and though the other envoy from Paris, and he, did not make their journey into England together, nor had the least communication with each other, being in truth of several parties and purposes, yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the same time.

Berkley first applied himself to those subordinate officers with whom he had some acquaintance at Exeter, and they informing their superiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from his contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the king, about whose person he had no title, or relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

Ashburnham had, by some friends, a recommendation both to Cromwell and Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the king, and that his majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined: so they likewise left him at liberty to repair to the king; and these two gentlemen came near about the same time to his majesty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to London; his majesty being still quartered

in those places which were more proper for that purpose.

They were both welcome to his majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assured his majesty, "that he was sent for by the officers of the army, as one they would trust, and that they had received him with open arms; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him:" the other needed no recommendation, the king's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his majesty wished them "to correspond with each other, and to converse with his several friends, who did not yet think fit to resort to him; and to receive their advice; to discover as much as they could of the intentions of both parties, and impart what was fit to the king, till, upon a farther discovery, his majesty might better judge what to do." These two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all his majesty's friends, and, as often as they desired, with the officers of the army,) upon whose information and advice his majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his majesty.

The very high contests between the parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the king the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The parliament thought that their name and authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the king's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the king's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the king to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall; and, in either of those cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the army, (for they still believed the general fast to them,) and by degrees to bring them to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the service of Ireland; and then, having the king to themselves, and all his party being obnoxious to those penalties for their delinquency, they should be well able, by gratifying some of the greatest persons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, to settle the government in such a manner, as to be well recompensed for all the adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted, that it had lost most of its reverence with the people. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the city, it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make some division amongst them; and if the person of the king should be likewise with them, and thereby his party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the king himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the king's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his party, and the permission of his chaplains, and other servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these artifices with great address, suppressing or discountenancing the tyranny of the presbyterians in the country committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigour against all who had been of the king's party, or not enough of theirs, (for neuters found no excuse for being of no party.) When they found it fit to make any lusty declaration against the parliament, and exclaim against their tyrannical proceedings against the army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like candour and tenderness towards the king's party, complained of "the affront and indignity done to the army by the parliament's not observing the articles which had been made upon surrender of garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those articles were made, with more severity than was agreeable to justice, and to the intention of the articles; whereby the honour and faith of the army suffered, and was complained of; all which, they said, they would have remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

The king had, during the time he stayed at Holmby, writ to the house of peers, that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that Oxford had been surrendered, upon which the duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the king should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the lords of the council there, as long as they could; but appointed their committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to London: from that time, I say, the duke of York was committed to the care of the earl of Northumberland, together with the duke of Gloucester, and the princess, who had been by the king left under the tuition of the countess of Dorset, but from the death of that countess the parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the custody of the lady Vere, an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and

placed all together with the earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their birth, and his own duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his instructions from the parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the king in that particular; of which his majesty no sooner took notice to Fairfax, than he writ a letter to the "parliament, that the king much desired to "have the sight and company of his children, "and that if they might not be allowed to be "longer with him, that at least they might dine "with him;" and he sent them word that, on such a day, "the king, who attended the motion "of the army, and was quartered only where they "pleased, would dine at Maidenhead." There his children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and stay some time at Caversham, a house of the lord Craven's, near Reading, his children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the king could receive; and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the general, and the good disposition of the army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one proposition in which he had been gratified, where the presbyterian spirit had power to deny it.

In the house of commons, which was now the scene of all the action that displeased and incensed the army, (for the house of peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the earl of Essex, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by, the army,) they were wholly guided by Hollis, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Massey, and Brown, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at some times very signal service, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of Cromwell, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; as Hollis had one day, upon a very hot debate in the house, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out of the house with him, and then told him, "that "he should presently go over the water and fight "with him." Ireton told him, "his conscience "would not suffer him to fight a duel;" upon which Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the nose; telling him, "if his conscience would keep him "from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him "from provoking them." This affront to the third person of the army, and to a man of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, so incensed the whole party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the house, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

They resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had observed, by the conduct of those very

men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the council of officers, prepared an impeachment of high treason in general terms against Mr. Hollis, and the persons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members of the house of commons. This impeachment twelve officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains, presented to the house; and within few days after, when they saw the same members still inveigh against and arraign their proceedings, the general and officers writ a letter to the house, "that they would appoint fit persons on their and "the kingdom's behalf, to make good the charge "against those members whom they had accused; "and that they desired, that those members impeached might be forthwith suspended from sitting in the house; since it could not be thought "fit that the same persons who had so much injured and provoked the army, should sit judges "of their own actions." This was an arrow that the house of commons did not expect would have been shot out of that quiver; and though they were unspeakably dismayed, and distracted with this presumption, they answered positively, "that "they neither would, nor could, sequester those "members from the house, who had never said "or done any thing in the house worthy of censure, till proof were made of such particulars as "might render them guilty." But the officers of the army replied, "that they could prove them "guilty of such practices in the house, that it "would be just in the house to suspend them: "that by the laws of the land, and the precedents "of parliament, the lords had, upon the very presentation of a general accusation without being "reduced into writing, sequestered from their "house and committed the earl of Strafford, and "the archbishop of Canterbury, and the lord "Finch; and therefore they must press, and insist upon the suspending at least of those accused "members from being present in the house, where "they stood impeached; and without this, they "said, the army would not be satisfied." However the house of commons seemed still resolute, the accused members themselves, who best knew their temper, thought it safer for them to retire, and by forbearing to be present in the house, to allay the heat of the present contest.

Upon this so palpable declension of spirit in the house, the army seemed much quieter, and resolved to set other agents on their work, that they might not appear too busy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the city, upon whose influence the parliament wholly depended, appeared now entirely presbyterian; the court of aldermen, and common council, consisted only of men of that spirit; the militia of the city was committed to commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that party; all those of another temper having been put out of those trusts, at or about the time that the king was delivered up by the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the presbyterians should believe, that the whole power of the kingdom was in them; and that they might settle what government they pleased; if there remained any persons in any of those employments in the city, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other affections; all who were notorious to be of any other faction in religion, had been put out; and lived

as neglected and discountenanced men; who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the state, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government: yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior people were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men, who had governed the parliament, prosecuted by the army, and that they forebore to come to the house, there flocked together great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people, to the parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an ordinance, "that it should be treason to gather and solicit the subscriptions of hands to petitions." But this order so offended all parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this confusion was in the city and parliament, the commissioners, which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared resolution of the army, "that a declaration should be published by the parliament against the coming in of foreign force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people should apprehend, a new combination by the Scots: "that the pay of the army should be put into a constant course, and all persons who had received money, should be called to an account: that the militia of London should be put into the hands of persons well affected, and those who had been formerly trusted: that all persons imprisoned for pretended misdemeanours, by order of parliament, or their committees, might be set at liberty; and, if upon trial they should be found innocent, that they might have good reparation." And they particularly mentioned John Lilburn, Overton, and other anabaptists and fanatics, who had been committed by the parliament for many seditious meetings, under pretence of exercise of their religion, and many insolent actions against the government. Upon the report of these demands, the parliament grew more enraged; and voted, "that the yielding to the army in these particulars would be against their honour, and their interest, and destructive to their privileges;" with many expressions against their presumption and insolence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with loud cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the militia of the city of London should be put into such hands as the army should desire.

The militia of the city had been in the beginning of May, shortly after the king's being brought to Holmby, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the common council, by ordinance of parliament, in the hands of commissioners, who were all of the presbyterian party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and, as is

said before, seemed not displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the declarations and demands of the army, seconded by clamorous petitions, they saw this ordinance reversed, in the beginning of July, without so much as consulting with the common council according to custom, the city was exceedingly startled; and said, "that if the imperious command of the army could prevail with the parliament to reverse such an ordinance as that of the militia, they had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal the other ordinances for the security of money, or for the purchase of bishops' and church lands, or whatsoever else that was the proper security of the subject." And therefore they caused a petition to be prepared in the name of the city, to be presented by the two sheriffs, and others deputed by the common council to that purpose. But, before they were ready, many thousands, apprentices and young citizens, brought petitions to the parliament; in which they said, "that the command of the militia of the city was the birthright of the city, and belonged to them by several charters which had been confirmed in parliament; for defence whereof, they said, they had ventured their lives as far and as frankly as the army had done; and therefore, they desired that the ordinance of parliament of the fourth of May, which had passed with their consent, might stand inviolable." They first presented their petition to the house of peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and sent it down to the commons for their consent; who durst not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themselves so insolently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the house of commons to be shut; and some of them went into the house.

And in this manner the ordinance was reversed that had been made at the desire of the army, and the other of May ratified and confirmed; which was no sooner done than the parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to consider how they should behave themselves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings, and the general writ a very sharp letter to the parliament from Bedford; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the army had complied with their desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon presumption that their own authority would have been able to have secured them from any rudeness, and violence of the people; which it was now evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation of all their privileges, on the Monday before, by a multitude from the city, which had been encouraged by several common council men, and other citizens in authority; which was an act so prodigious and horrid as must dissolve all government, if not severely and exemplarily chastised: that the army looked upon themselves as accountable to the kingdom, if this unheard of outrage, by which the peace and settlement of the nation, and the relief of Ireland, had been so notoriously interrupted, should not be strictly examined, and justice speedily done upon the offenders." Upon Friday, to which both houses had adjourned, the members came together, in as full numbers as they had used to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the house of commons; but,

after they had sat some time in expectation of their speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they observed that sir Henry Vane, and some few other members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The house of peers found likewise that the earl of Manchester, their speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the earl of Northumberland, and some other lords; but the major part still remained there, full of indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both houses chose new speakers; who accepted the office; and the commons presently voted, "that the eleven members who stood impeached by the army, and had discontinued coming to the house, should presently appear, and take their places." They made an ordinance of parliament, by which a committee of safety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raise men for the defence of the parliament; which they appeared so vigorously resolved on, that no man in the houses, or in the city, seemed to intend any thing else. The news of this roused up the army, and the general presently sent a good party of horse into Windsor, and marched himself to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Hounslow heath, within two days; when and where there appeared twenty thousand foot and horse, with a train of artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an army.

As soon as the rendezvous was appointed at Hounslow heath, at the same time the king removed to Hampton Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The houses seemed for some time to retain their spirit and vigour, and the city talked of listing men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the army to approach nearer to them: but, when they knew the day of the rendezvous, those in both houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now when their friend the army was so near, recovered their spirits, and talked very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with the army, that could not be withstood." And the city grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and distracted. When the army met upon Hounslow heath at their rendezvous, the speakers of both houses, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their maces, and such other members as accompanied them; complaining to the general, "that they had not freedom at Westminster, but were in danger of their lives by the tumults;" and appealed to the army for their protection.

This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be independents, and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the parliament, had fled to their friends

for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of the speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the king, and not to be without good inclinations to the church; and the earl of Manchester, who was speaker of the house of peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against Cromwell; and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life. The earl of Manchester and the earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the presbyterian party; and that they two, with the earl of Northumberland, and some other of the lords, and some of the commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the king. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in, the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the king. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the number of those who left the houses was very small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline,) yet this rent made all the accused members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas; whereof Stapleton died at Calais as soon as he landed, and was denied burial, upon imagination that he had died of the plague: others remained a long time beyond the seas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurred or acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own estates, and lived very privately.

The chief officers of the army received the two speakers, and the members who accompanied them, as so many angels sent from heaven for

their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the parliament of England; and declared, "that they would reestablish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the general; and assigned a guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations; and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their resolution to establish the parliament again at Westminster; and finding that the rest of the members continued still to sit there with the same formality, and that the city did not abate any of their spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the messages they every day sent to the lord mayor, and aldermen, and common council, (for of those at Westminster they took no notice,) and quartered their army about Brentford, and Hounslow, Twickenham, and the adjacent villages, without restraining any provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to London, or doing the least action that might disoblige or displease the city; the army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that nobody could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over colonel Rainsborough with a brigade of horse and foot, and cannon, at Hampton Court, to possess Southwark, and those works which secured that end of London-bridge; which he did with so little noise, that in one night's march he found himself master without any opposition, not only of the borough of Southwark, but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the soldiers within shaking hands with those without, and refusing to obey their officers which were to command them: so that the city, without knowing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was possessed by the enemy; whom they were providing to resist on the other side, being as confident of this that they had lost, as of any gate of the city.

This struck them dead; and put an end to all their consultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify those whom they had so much offended and provoked; and how they might preserve their city from plunder, and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party, and of late had shut themselves up, and not dared to walk the streets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongst them, and mingled in their councils; declared, "that the king and the army were now agreed in all particulars, and that both houses were now with the army, and had presented themselves to the king; so that to oppose the army would be to oppose the king and parliament, and to incense them as much as the army." Upon such confident discourses and insinuations from those with whom they would not have conversed, or given the least credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general

distraction they were in, they sent six aldermen and six commoners to the general; who lamented and complained, "that the city should be suspected, that had never acted any thing against the parliament; and therefore, they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occasion of a new war." But the general little considered this message, and gave less countenance to the messengers; but continued his slow marches towards the city: whereupon they sent an humble message to him, "that since they understood that the reason of his march so near London was to restore and settle the members (the lords and commons) of parliament to the liberty and privilege of sitting securely in their several houses, (to which the city would contribute all their power and service,) they prayed him, with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a guard of horse and foot as he thought to be sufficient for that purpose; and that the ports and all passages should be open to them; and they should do any thing else that his excellency would command." To which he made no other answer but "that he would have all the forts of the west side of the city to be delivered immediately to him;" those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of Rainsborough and his other officers. The common council, that sat day and night, upon the receipt of this message, without any pause returned "that they would humbly submit to his command; and that now, under Almighty God, they did rely only upon his excellency's honourable word for their protection and security." And so they caused their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the general appointed a better guard to both. At Hyde Park the mayor and aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him "to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of peace, done amiss;" and as a testimony of their affection and duty, the mayor, on the behalf of the city, presented a great gold cup to the general; which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very little ceremony, dismissed them.

He himself waited upon the two speakers, and conducted them, and their members, to the several houses, where the other members were then sitting: even in the instant when the revolvers, as they had called them, entered into the houses, the old speakers assumed their places again, and entered upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the general into both houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each house, of the great favours he had done to them: they thanked him "for the protection he had given to their persons, and his vindication of the privileges of parliament." Then they voted "all that had been done by themselves in going to the army, and in residing there, and all that had been done by the army, to be well and lawfully done;" and "that all that had been done in the houses since their departure, was against law, and privilege of parliament, invalid and void:" then they adjourned to the next day,

without questioning or punishing any member who had acted there.

The army of horse, foot, and cannon, marched the next day through the city, (which, upon the desire of the parliament, undertook forthwith to supply an hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the army,) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespectful word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent discipline, and that both officers and soldiers were men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over London-bridge into Southwark, and to those quarters to which they were assigned; some regiments were quartered in Westminster, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The general's head-quarters were at Chelsea, and the rest of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the king might be well looked to; and the council of officers, and agitators, sat constantly and formally at Fulham and Chelsea, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the government of the kingdom than what they should well approve.

Whilst these things were thus agitated between the army and the parliament and the city, the king enjoyed himself at Hampton Court, much to his content; the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himself came oftener to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Persons of all conditions repaired to his majesty of those who had served him; with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the king had been some months absent from London: but that which pleased his majesty most, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. His eldest daughter was married, and had been some time in Holland; the prince was in France, but all the rest of his children were in the power of the parliament, except only the youngest, the princess Henrietta, whom he had never seen, she being born at Exeter very little before the queen's transportation into France; and after the surrender of Exeter, having been by her governess the countess of Morton stolen away, and with great success carried into France to the queen, whilst the king was at Newcastle, according to the command she had received. When the king left Oxford, to make an escape from the army, and to put himself into the hands of the Scots, he could not but leave the duke of York behind him, whom he had before thought to have sent into Ireland, when he believed his affairs there to be in a better condition than he then understood them to be; and so he remained in Oxford when that place was surrendered. His highness was received by the committee of the parliament, to whom then the army paid all obedience; nor would it be admitted into the treaty that his highness should have liberty to go to such place as the king should appoint. There were at the same time the duke of Gloucester, and two

princesses, who had been all under the care of the countess of Dorset, the governess appointed by the king; but she being lately dead, and one of the princesses likewise departed this life, when the duke of York was brought up to London, he and the other two were all committed by the parliament to the care and government of the earl of Northumberland, who treated them in all respects as was agreeable to their quality and his duty. They were all at the earl of Northumberland's house, at Sion, from the time the king came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent for them to come to Hampton Court, and sometimes he went to them to Sion; which gave him great divertisement.

In this conversation, as if his majesty had foreseen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct his children how to behave themselves, if the worst should befall him that the worst of his enemies did contrive or wish; and "that they should preserve unshaken their affection and duty to the prince their brother." The duke of York was then about fifteen years of age; and so, capable of any information or instruction the king thought fit to give him. His majesty told him, "that he looked upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the army, and that the parliament had no more power to do him good or harm, than as the army should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he had been with them, what he might promise himself from those officers of the army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this general direction and command, that if there appeared any such alteration in the affection of the army, that they restrained him from the liberty he then enjoyed of seeing his children, or suffered not his friends to resort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present, he might conclude they would shortly use him worse, and that he should not be long out of a prison; and therefore that from the time he discovered such an alteration, he should bethink himself how he might make an escape out of their power, and transport himself beyond the seas." The place he recommended to him was Holland; where he presumed his sister would receive him very kindly, and that the prince of Orange her husband would be well pleased with it, though, possibly, the States might restrain him from making those expressions of his affection his own inclination prompted him to. He wished him to think always of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and cautions which were necessary to attend it.

The princess Elizabeth was not above a year or two younger than the duke, a lady of excellent parts, great observation, and an early understanding; which the king discerned, by the account she gave him both of things and persons, upon the experience she had had of both. His majesty enjoined her, "upon the worst that could befall him, never to be disposed of in marriage without the consent and approbation of the queen her mother, and the prince her brother; and always to perform all duty and obedience to both those; and to obey the queen in all things, except in matter of

"religion; to which he commanded her, upon his blessing, never to hearken or consent; but to continue firm in the religion she had been instructed and educated in, what discountenance and ruin soever might befall the poor church, at that time under so severe prosecution."

The duke of Gloucester was very young, being at that time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him positively, "never to be persuaded or threatened out of the religion of the church, in which he hoped he would be well instructed, and for the purity and integrity whereof he bid him remember that he had his father's testimony and authority;" his majesty told him, "that his infancy, and the tenderness of his years, might persuade some men to hope and believe, that he might be made an instrument, and property, to advance their wicked designs; and if they should take away his life, they might, possibly, the better to attain their own ends, make him king; that under him, whilst his age would not permit him to judge, and act for himself, they might remove many obstructions which lay in their way; and form and unite their councils; and then they would destroy him too. But he commanded him, upon his blessing, never to forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor to accept, or suffer himself to be made king, whilst either of his elder brothers lived, in what part of the world soever they should be: that he should remember that the prince his brother was to succeed him by the laws of God and man; and, if he should miscarry, that the duke of York was to succeed in the same right; and therefore that he should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt or disturb either of their rights; which would in the end turn to his own destruction." And this discourse the king reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness and passion he could express; which was so fixed in his memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was sent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of it very seasonably afterwards, when there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to persuade him to become Roman catholic for the advancement of his fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections, the king made use of the liberty he enjoyed; and considered as well, what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to caress the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition, of which he was not yet in any despair; the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as their wisest policy to cherish the king's hopes by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courtesy towards all who had been of his party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the city and the country.

At this time the lord Capel, whom we left in Jersey, hearing of the difference between the parliament and the army, left his two friends there; and made a journey to Paris to the prince, that he

might receive his highness's approbation of his going for England; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the king his father's service: and then that lord transported himself into Zealand, his friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavoured to procure a pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own house in the country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated nowhere. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the king at Hampton Court; and gave him a particular account of all that passed at Jersey, before the prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his majesty had never before been informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the chancellor of the exchequer any ill offices: and from thence the king writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the chancellor at Jersey; full of hope "that he should conclude such a treaty with the army and parliament, that he should shortly draw him, and some other of his friends, to him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it;" and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own memorials (or those which by his command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his majesty at Oxford, when he waited upon the prince into the west, to the very day that the king left Oxford to go to the Scots; out of which memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the years 1644 and 1645 are faithfully collected. To the lord Capel his majesty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations; in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other:" and therefore desired Capel "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together;" which he promised to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own life. Then the king enjoined him "to write to the chancellor of the exchequer, that whenever the queen, or prince, should require him to come to them, he should not fail to yield obedience to their command;" and himself writ to the queen, "that whenever the season should be ripe for the prince to engage himself in any action, she should not fail to send for the chancellor of the exchequer to wait upon him in it." And many things were then adjusted, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

The marquis of Ormond had, by special command and order from the king whilst he was with the Scots at Newcastle, delivered up the city of Dublin to the parliament, after the Irish had so infamously broken the peace they had made with the king, and brought their whole army before Dublin

to besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Irish, or to the parliament; of which his majesty being informed, determined, he should give it to the parliament; which he did, with full conditions for all those who had served his majesty; and so transported himself into England, and, from London, presented himself to the king at Hampton Court; who received him with extraordinary grace, as a person who had served him with great zeal and fidelity, and with the most universal testimony of all good men that any man could receive. He used less application to the parliament and army than other men, relying upon the articles the parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many months in England, and at the end thereof to transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his duty to the king; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any enterprise that might advance his service; which the king himself, and most other men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate condition. And no men were fuller of professions of duty, and a resolution to run all hazards, than the Scottish commissioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the king, resided at London with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the army in seizing upon the person of the king, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the interest of the crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united, to a man, in any enterprise for his service. And now, from the time his majesty came to Hampton Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their persons were known to be most odious to all the great officers in the army, and to those who now governed in the parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the marquis of Ormond, the lord Capel, and other trusty persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his majesty's rights and interest.

When the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed, and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful of the king than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had they the same countenances towards Ashburnham and Berkley, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification. The agitators, and council of officers, sent some propositions to the king, as ruinous to the church and destructive to the regal power, as had been yet made by the parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "if his majesty would consent thereunto, they would apply themselves to the

"parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion." But his majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the world believe that they intended his majesty's restoration and settlement, upon better conditions than the parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the king than they had, for some months, used to do; and such officers who had formerly served the king, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. And they who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their acquaintance; and the sequestrations of all the estates of the cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the presbyterian humour in the parliament against the judgment of the army: and it is very true, that though the parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government; yet, in all their own acts and proceedings, they prosecuted a presbyterian settlement as earnestly as they could. The covenant was pressed in all places, and the anabaptists and other sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatsoever.

[In this year, 1647,] they had made a visitation of the university of Oxford; in which the earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as chancellor of the university, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the university: notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his understanding, and the miserable compliance of his nature, he suffered himself to be made a property in joining with Brent, Pryn, and two or three other presbyterian ministers, as commissioners for the parliament to reform the discipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous university, by the rule of the covenant; which was the standard of all men's learning, and ability to govern; all persons of what quality soever being required to subscribe that test; which the whole body of the university was so far from submitting to, that they met in their convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the same time under a strict and strong garrison, put over them by the parliament; the king in prison; and all their hopes desperate,) passed a public act, and declaration against the covenant, with such invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedness, and perjury contained it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the assembly of the divines, (which then sat at Westminster, forming a new catechism, and scheme of religion,) ever ventured to make any answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the world's end, as a monument of the

learning, courage, and loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest malice and tyranny that was ever exercised in or over any nation; and which those famous commissioners only answered by expelling all those who refused to submit to their jurisdiction, or to take the covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole university; scarce one governor and master of college or hall, and an incredible small number of the fellows, or scholars, submitting to either: whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms the most notorious factious presbyterians, in the government of the several colleges or halls; and such other of the same leaven in the fellowships, and scholars' places, of those whom they had expelled, without any regard to the statutes of the several founders, and the incapacities that were declared by those. The omnipotence of an ordinance of parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill husbandry, and unskilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheism, and rebellion; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several tyrannical governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to extinguish all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring the king [Charles the Second] back to his throne, he found that university (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his church, that the gates of hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

These kinds of proceedings in all places, blasted all the king's hopes, and deprived him of all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The officers of those guards which were assigned to attend his person, and who had behaved themselves with good manners, and duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his party who had used to wait upon his majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the room where the king was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor answered him with that duty they had

used to do. They affronted the Scottish commissioners very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the king; which caused an expostulation from the parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same officers more civil towards their persons. Ashburnham and Berkley received many advertisements from some officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the king might have been restored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that Cromwell and Ireton resolved never to trust the king, or to do any thing towards his restoration;" and they two steered the whole body; and therefore they advised, "that some way might be found to remove his majesty out of their hands." Major Huntington, one of the best officers they had, and major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the king, to say those things from him which had given the king the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to Ashburnham; and the major did really believe that he had meant all he said, and the king had a good opinion of the integrity of the major, upon the testimony he had received from some he knew had no mind to deceive his majesty; and the man merited the testimony they gave him. He, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the king than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for "abusing him, and making him the instrument to cozen the king;" and, though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his majesty of all he had observed; and told him, "that Cromwell was a villain, and would destroy him if he were not prevented;" and, in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army. Cromwell himself expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained "that the king could not be trusted; and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers: that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians of the city, to raise new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scottish commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation;" and that was the reason, besides the old animosity, that had drawn on the affront, which the commissioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper time.

There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called *levellers*; who spoke insolently and confidently against the king and parliament, and the great officers of the army; and professed as great malice against all the lords, as against the king; and declared, "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates throughout the kingdoms." Whether the raising this spirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in that confusion,

certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last, (which must be set down hereafter;) but the present use he made of it was, that, upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the king's person was doubled; a restraint put upon the great resort of people who came to see the king; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they seemed to apprehend, and detest. In the mean time, they neither hindered his majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bedchamber, nor his chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do; the captain who commanded them, colonel Whaley, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners. The king, every day, received little billets or letters, secretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to make an escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such an alderman's house; all which his majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some straits, from whence he should not easily explicate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

The king found himself in great perplexity, from what he discerned, and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other, was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated, by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city seemed not to him to have a foundation of reason; they had been too late subdued to recover courage for such an adventure; and the army now was much more master of it than when they desponded. There is reason to believe that he did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the resolution, or counsel. But, one morning, [being the eleventh of November,] the king having, the night before, pretended some indisposition, and that he would go to his rest, they who went into his chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the parliament, another to the general; in which he declared "the reason of his remove to be, an apprehension that some desperate persons

"had a design to assassinate him; and therefore
"he had withdrawn himself with a purpose of remaining concealed, until the parliament had
"agreed upon such propositions as should be fit
"for him to consent to; and he would then appear,
"and willingly consent to any thing that should
"be for the peace and happiness of the kingdom."
There were discovered the treading of horses at a back door of the garden into which his majesty had a passage out of his chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horse to be there ready at an hour, and sir John Berkley, Ashburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the two last being of his bedchamber. Ashburnham alone seemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only orders to attend. When they were free from the apprehension of the guards, and the horse quarters, they rode towards the [south-]west, and towards that part of Hampshire which led to the New Forest. The king asked Ashburnham, where the ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the king resolved to transport himself. After they had made some stay in that part next the sea, and Ashburnham had been some time absent, he returned without any news of the ship; with which the king seemed troubled. Upon this disappointment, the king thought it best, for avoiding all highways, to go to Titchfield, a noble seat of the earl of Southampton's, (who was not there,) but inhabited by the old lady his mother with a small family, which made the retreat the more convenient: there his majesty alighted, and would speak with the lady; to whom he made no scruple of communicating himself, well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and spirit, that she was superior to all kind of temptation. There he refreshed himself, and consulted with his three servants, what he should next do, since there was neither ship ready, nor could they presume that they could remain long there undiscovered.

In this debate, the Isle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they say) by Ashburnham, as a place where his majesty might securely repose himself, until he thought fit to inform the parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was governor there, an officer of the army, and of nearest trust with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whose memory he always adored; yet, by some fatal mistake, this man was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the king's person to, and Ashburnham and Berkley were sent to him with orders, "first to be sure that the man would faithfully promise not to deliver his majesty up,
"though the parliament or army should require
"him; but to give him his liberty to shift for himself, if he were not able to defend him: and
"except he would make that promise, they should
"not let him know where his majesty was, but
"should return presently to him." With this commission they two crossed the water to the Isle of Wight, the king in the mean time reposing himself at Titchfield. The next day they found colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had conversation with him in the army, when the king was well treated there, (and their persons had been very civilly treated by most of the officers, who thought themselves qualified sufficiently for court preferments.) They told him, "that the
"king was withdrawn from the army;" of which

he seemed to have had no notice, and to be very much surprised with it. They then said, "that the king had so good an opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, and for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whose nephew he was,) that he would trust his person with him, and would from thence write to the parliament, if he would promise that if his message had not that effect which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to himself to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to the parliament, or army, if they should require it." His answer was, "that he would pay all the duty and service to his majesty that was in his power; and, if he pleased to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as well as he could; but that he was an inferior officer, and must obey his superiors in whatsoever they thought fit to command him:" with which when he saw they were not satisfied, he asked, "where the king was?" to which they made no other answer, "but that they would acquaint his majesty with his answer, and, if he were satisfied with it, they would return to him again." He demanded "that Mr. Ashburnham would stay with him, and that the other might go to the king;" which Mr. Ashburnham refused to do.

After some time spent in debate, in which he made many expressions of his desire to do any service to his majesty, they were contented that he should go with them; and Ashburnham said, "he would conduct him to the place where the king was;" and so, he commanding three or four servants or soldiers to wait on him, they went together to Titchfield; and, the other staying below, Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had passed, and that Hammond was in the house, his majesty broke out in a passionate exclamation, and said, "O Jack, thou hast undone me!" with which the other falling into a great passion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill Hammond: to which his majesty would not consent; and, after some pausing and deliberation, sent for him up, and endeavoured to persuade him to make the same promise, which had before been proposed: to which he made the same answer he had done, but with many professions of doing all the offices he could for his majesty; and seemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The king believed that there was now no possible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and so went with him into the Isle of Wight, and was lodged at Carisbrook-castle, with all demonstration of respect and duty.

It never appeared afterwards that the king was maliciously betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of those he trusted; and his majesty himself never entertained the least jealousy, or suspicion of it: yet the whole design appeared to be so weakly contrived, the not being sure of a ship, if the resolution were fixed for embarking, which was never manifest, the making choice of the Isle of Wight, and of Hammond to be trusted, since nothing fell out which was not to be reasonably foreseen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfield, without the permission of the king, if not directly contrary to it, seemed to be all so far from a rational design and conduct, that most men did believe

there was treason in the contrivance, or that his majesty intrusted those who were grossly imposed upon and deceived by his greatest enemies. Legg had had so general a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to his master, that he never fell under the least imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and steady observer of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and understanding than either of the other two, his modesty and diffidence of himself never suffered him to contrive bold counsels. Berkley was less known among those persons of honour and quality who had followed the king, being in a very private station before the war, and his post in it being in the farthest corner of the kingdom, and not much spoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; his ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himself, and did not delight to converse with those who had not; but he never fell under any blemish of disloyalty, and he took care to publish that this enterprise of the king's was so totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horseback at such an hour, and had not the least intimation of his majesty's purpose what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Ashburnham should remain with him whilst the other went to the king, which Ashburnham refused to do, Berkley did offer himself to remain with him whilst Ashburnham should attend his majesty; so that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was cast upon Ashburnham; who was known to have so great an interest in the affections of his master, and so great an influence upon his counsels and resolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcusable; and the putting the king into Hammond's hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were some who said, that Ashburnham resolved that the king should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court; and the lord Langdale often said, "that being in Mr. Ashburnham's chamber at that time, he had the curiosity, whilst the other went out of the room, to look upon a paper that lay upon the table; in which was writ, that it would be best for the king to withdraw from the army, where he was in such danger; and that the Isle of Wight would be a good retreat, where colonel Hammond commanded; who was a very honest man." And this was some days before his majesty removed. And then it was observed, that Hammond himself left the army but two or three days before the king's remove, and went to the Isle of Wight at a season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the agitators in the army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because Ashburnham was not afterwards called in question for being instrumental in the king's going away, but lived unquestioned long after in the sight of the parliament, and in conversation with some of the officers of the army who had most deceived him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the murder of the king he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and lived at ease,

and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserved his reputation and credit with the most eminent of the king's party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been seized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did send over to the king, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the king with considerable sums of money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his death; and the king was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his affection and integrity; and when the king [Charles the Second] returned, most of those of greatest reputation, as the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, gave him a good testimony; yet, after his majesty's return, the old discourses were revived, and major Huntington did affirm, "that Mr. Ashburnham did intend the king should go to the Isle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court." And many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and persuaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the army, and put himself into Hammond's hands; for if in truth transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ship would not have been provided.

Sir John Berkley, who, shortly after the king's being in the Isle of Wight, had transported himself into France, and remained still with the duke of York to the time of his majesty's [king Charles the Second's] return, and Mr. Ashburnham, who continued in England, and so the more liable to reproach, had been so solicitous to wipe off the aspersions which were cast upon them jointly, that they had no care to preserve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilst each endeavoured to clear himself, he objected or imputed somewhat to the other, that made him liable to just censure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their several discourses so loudly, and so passionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved best, that they contracted a very avowed animosity against each other; insomuch as it was generally believed upon the king's return, that they would, with some fierceness, have expostulated with each other in that way which angry men choose to determine the right, or that both of them would have desired the king to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the king, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them,) did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ apologies, or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired

to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the king to undertake that journey. I have read both their relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the king, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding; but, as it usually falls out in men of that kind of composition and talent, they were both disposed to communicate more freely with, and, consequently, to be advised by new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and such whose judgments they could not but esteem; who they had no mind should go sharers with them in the merit of any notable service which they thought themselves able to bring to pass. Then, in the whole managery of the king's business, from the time that they came into the army, they never conversed with the same persons; but governed themselves by what they received from those whose correspondence they had chosen. Ashburnham seemed wholly to depend upon Cromwell and Ireton; and rather upon what they said to others than to himself. For besides outward civilities, which they both exercised towards him more than to other men, they seldom held private discourse with him, persuading him "that it was better for both their ends, in respect of the jealousy the parliament had of them, that they should understand each other's mind, as to the transaction of any particulars, from third persons mutually intrusted between them, than from frequent consultations together;" and so sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's sister, but had been himself an officer in the king's army from the beginning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reserved and dark designs of his brother-in-law, was trusted to pass between them, with some other officers of the army, who had given Ashburnham some reason to believe that they had honest purposes.

Berkley had not found that respect, from Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at least discerned it to be greater towards Ashburnham, than it was to him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not so great names, but greater interest, as he thought, in the soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Staines, who, though a doctor in physic, was quarter master general of the army; and one Watson, who was scout master general of the army; both of the council of war, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and professed enemies to the Scots and the presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and instructed to caress sir John Berkley, and, by admiring his wisdom and conduct, to oblige him to depend on theirs; and

dissimulation had so great and supreme an influence on the hearts and spirits of all those who were trusted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was safe in their company, but he who resolved before, not to believe one word they said. These two persons knew well how to humour sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, because they seemed very much to blame Ireton's stubbornness towards the king, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell against his own inclinations: they informed him of many particulars which passed in the council of officers, and sometimes of advice from Cromwell, that was clean contrary to what the king received by Ashburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too,) which exceedingly confirmed sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the first who positively advertised the king by him, that Cromwell would never do him service; and the first who seemed to apprehend that the king's person was in danger, and that there was some secret design upon his life.

I do not believe that sir John Berkley knew any thing of the king's purpose in his intended escape, or whither he resolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he resolved at such an hour, and in such a place, to take horse, and was himself required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the king himself, when he took horse, resolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jersey; and that was the ground of the question to Mr. Ashburnham, "Where is the ship?" Certain it is that the king never thought of going to the Isle of Wight. I am not sure that Mr. Ashburnham, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the agitators, and the levelling party, had not the Isle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his majesty thought it necessary to make an escape from the army. It had been a difficult task to go about to dissuade the king from an apprehension of his own safety, when it was much more natural to fear an assassination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the presbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his majesty should put himself into their hands, as was advised by many, with a purpose that he should be there concealed, till some favourable conjuncture should offer itself, (for nobody imagined that, upon his arrival there, the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a contest with that army which had so lately subdued them,) I say he had no confidence in the security of such an escape, and very earnestly dissuaded his master from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was universally known, and, as hath been said before, was an ingredient into the composition of that civility and kindness the officers of the army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the levelling spirit that was gotten into the soldiers, which they foresaw would in the future be as inconvenient and mischievous to themselves, as it was, for the present, dangerous to the person of the king; which they seemed wonderfully to apprehend, and protested "that they

"knew not how to apply any remedy to it, whilst "his majesty was in the army; but that they "would quickly correct or subdue it, if the king "were at any distance from them;" and it is not impossible, that, in such discourses, somebody who was trusted by them, if not one of themselves, might mention the Isle of Wight as a good place to retire to, and colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which discourse Mr. Ashburnham might keep by him: for the lord Langdale's discourse of such a paper, which he himself saw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, besides that he was a person of unblemished honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Ashburnham did constantly deny that he ever saw any such paper, or had any thought of the Isle of Wight when the king left Hampton Court, and he never gave cause, in the subsequent actions of his life, to have his fidelity suspected. And it is probable, that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and desired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blasted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his master to the Isle of Wight, without his privity, upon his own presumption; which, how well soever intended, must have been looked upon by all men as such a transcendent crime, as must have deprived him of all compassion for the worst that could befall him.

This sudden unexpected absence of the king made a great impression upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his majesty would do that which he wished he would do. The presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreasonably thought he might easily do,) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army, which every day appeared, to discover himself. The cavaliers hoped that he would transport himself into the parts beyond the seas, and quietly attend there those alterations at home, which might probably in a short time invite his return. The army was not without this apprehension, as imagining it the worst that could fall out to their purposes.

The parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was most frightened with the imagination that the king was in the city, and would lurk there until some conspiracy should be ripe, and all his party should be present in London to second it; and therefore they no sooner heard that he was gone from Hampton Court, than they passed an ordinance of both houses, by which they declared, "that it should be confiscation of estate, "and loss of life, to any man who presumed to "harbour and conceal the king's person in his "house, without revealing, and making it known "to the parliament:" which, without doubt, would have terrified them all in such a manner, that if he had been in truth amongst them, he would quickly have been discovered, and given up. They caused some of the most notorious presbyterians' houses to be searched, as if they had been sure he had been there; and sent posts to all parts of the kingdom, "that they might be shut, and no person "be suffered to embark, lest the king, in disguise, "transport himself;" and a proclamation was issued out, "for the banishing all persons who "had ever borne arms for the king, out of London,

"or any place within twenty miles of it;" and all persons of that kind, who, upon strict search, were found, were apprehended, and put into several prisons with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. But all these doubts were quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the house of commons, "that he had received letters from "colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the "king's coming to the Isle of Wight, and the "company that came with him; that he remained "there in the castle of Carisbrook, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known." He assured them, "that colonel Hammond was so "honest a man, and so much devoted to their "service, that they need have no jealousy that he "might be corrupted by any body;" and all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the king was where he wished he should be. And from hence all those discourses, which are mentioned before to have fallen out after, took their original too probably.

And now the parliament maintained no farther contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the presbyterians in both houses, and in the city, being in a terrible agony, that some close correspondences they had held with the king during his abode at Hampton Court, would be discovered; and therefore would give no farther occasion of jealousy by any contradictions, leaving it to their clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations; and they stoutly discharged their trust.

But Cromwell had more cause to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raised a spirit in the army which would not easily be quieted again. The agitators, who were first formed by him to oppose the parliament, and to resist the destructive doom of their disbanding, and likewise to prevent any inconvenience, or mischief, that might result from the drowsy, dull presbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wished nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to pass: these agitators had hitherto transcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered such advices to the parliament, and insisted upon such expostulations and demands, as were necessary, whilst there was either any purpose to treat with the king, or any reason to flatter his party. But now the king was gone from the army, and in such a place as the army could have no recourse to him, and that the parliament was become of so soft a temper, that the party of the army that was in it could make all necessary impression upon them, he desired to restrain the agitators [from] that liberty which they had so long enjoyed, and to keep them within stricter rules of obedience to their superiors, and to hinder their future meetings, and consultations concerning the settling the government of the kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be solely left to the parliament; whose authority, for the present, he thought best to uphold, and by it to establish all that was to be done. But the agitators would not be so dismissed from state affairs, of which they had so pleasant a relish; nor be at the mercy of the parliament, which they had so much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to consultations with their officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their officers, as any part of the church or state.

They entered into new associations, and made many propositions to their officers, and to the parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all men; from whence they had the appellation of *levellers*; which appeared a great party. They did not only meet against the express command of their officers, but drew very considerable parties of the army to rendezvous, without the order or privity of their superiors; and there persuaded them to enter into such engagements, as would in a short time have dissolved the government of the army, and absolved them from a dependence upon their general officers. The suppression of this license put Cromwell to the expense of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; so that after he had cajoled the parliament, as if the preservation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and sent some false brothers to comply in the counsels of the conspirators, by that means having notice of their rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary guard at those meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having asked some questions of those whom he observed most active, and receiving insolent answers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the rest with his troop; and took such a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he presently caused some to be hanged, and sent others to London for a more formal trial. By two or three such encounters, for the obstinacy continued long, he totally subdued that spirit in the army, though it continued and increased very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and brisk temper of Cromwell, it would presently have produced all imaginable confusion in the parliament, army, and kingdom.

All opposition being thus suppressed, and quieted, and Cromwell needing no other assistance to the carrying on his designs, than the present temper and inclination of the parliament, they sent a message to the king, shortly proposing to him, "that "he would forthwith grant his royal assent to four "acts of parliament; which they then sent to "him." By one of them, he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against the parliament; and that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another, he was totally to dissolve the government of the church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the church to such uses as they proposed; leaving the settling a future government in the place thereof to farther time and counsels. By a third, he was to grant, and settle the militia in the manner and in the persons proposed, reserving not so much power in himself as any subject was capable of. In the last place, he was to sacrifice all those, who had served or adhered to him, to the mercy of the parliament.

And the persons, who were sent with these four bills, had liberty given to expect the king's answer only four days, and were then required to return to the parliament. With the commissioners of parliament there came likewise the commissioners of Scotland, who were present when the four bills and other propositions were delivered and read to the king, and they, the very next day, desired an audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration, and protestation on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland against

those bills and propositions. They said, "they were so prejudicial to religion, the crown, and the union and interest of the kingdoms, and so far different from the former proceedings and engagements between the two kingdoms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland, did declare their dissent." The king had received advertisement, that as soon as he should refuse to consent to the bills, he should presently be made a close prisoner, and all his servants should be removed from him; upon which, and because the commissioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his positive answer, he resolved that his answer should not be known till it was delivered to the parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his escape from thence, before new orders could be sent from Westminster: so when the commissioners came to receive his answer, he gave it to them sealed. The earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commissioners, and a person very ungrateful to the king, told him, "that though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do any thing but to receive his answer, yet they were not to be looked upon as common messengers, and to carry back an answer that they had not seen:" and, upon the matter, refused to receive it; and said, "they would return without any, except they might see what they carried."

His majesty conceived that their return without his answer would be attended with the worst consequences; and therefore he told them, "that he had some reason for having offered to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they would give him their words, that the communicating it to them should be attended with no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cause it to be read;" which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reason to suspect it,) and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The answer was, "that his majesty had always thought it a matter of great difficulty to comply in such a manner with all engaged interests, that a firm and lasting peace might ensue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, since the commissioners for Scotland do solemnly protest against the several bills and propositions, which the two houses of parliament had presented to him for his assent; so that it was not possible for him to give such an answer as might be the foundation of a hopeful peace." He gave them many unanswerable reasons, "why he could not pass the four bills as they were offered to him; which did not only divest him of all sovereignty, and [leave him] without any possibility of recovering it to him or his successors, but opened a door for all intolerable oppressions upon his subjects, he granting such an arbitrary and illimited power to the two houses." He told them, "that neither the desire of being freed from that tedious and irksome condition of life, which he had so long suffered, nor the apprehension of any thing that might befall him, should ever prevail with him to consent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace should be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give all just and reasonable satisfaction, in all particulars; and for the adjusting of all this, he knew no way but a personal treaty, (and therefore very earnestly desired the two houses to consent to

"it,) to be either at London, or any other place they would rather choose." As soon as this answer, or to the same effect, was read, he delivered it to the commissioners; who no sooner received it than they kissed his hand, and departed for Westminster.

The commissioners were no sooner gone than Hammond caused all the king's servants, who till then had all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the castle; and forbade any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong guard to restrain any body from going to the king, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond, "that it was not suitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a man of honour or honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put himself into his hands. He asked him, whether the commissioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in this manner?" To which he answered, "that they were not; but that he had an order from the parliament to do as he had done; and that he saw plainly by his answer to the propositions, that he acted by other counsels than stood with the good of the kingdom."

This insolent and imperious proceeding put the whole island (which was generally inhabited by a people always well affected to the crown) into a high mutiny. They said, "they would not endure to see their king so used, and made a prisoner." There was at that time there one captain Burly, who was of a good family in the island. He had been a captain of one of the king's ships, and was put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the king; and then he put himself into the king's army, where he continued an officer of good account to the end of the war, and was in one of the king's armies general of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Isle of Wight; where many of his family still lived in good reputation. This gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the island, when the king was thus treated, and when the people seemed generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a man of more courage than of prudence and circumspection, that he caused a drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the people who flocked together, and cried, "For God, the king, and the people;" and said, "he would lead them to the castle, and rescue the king from his captivity." The attempt was presently discerned to be irrational and impossible; and by the great diligence and activity of the king's servants, who had been put out of the castle, the people were quieted, and all men resorted to their own houses; but the poor gentleman paid dear for his illadvised and precipitate loyalty. For Hammond caused him presently to be made prisoner; and the parliament, without delay, sent down a commission of Oyer and Terminer; in which an infamous judge, Wild, whom they had made chief baron of the exchequer for such services, presided; who caused poor Burly to be, with all formality, indicted of high treason for levying war against the king, and engaging the kingdom in a new war; of which the jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their judge condemned him, and the honest

man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumstances of barbarity and cruelty; which struck a wonderful terror into all men, this being the first precedent of their having brought any man to a formal legal trial by the law to deprive him of his life, and make him guilty of high treason for adhering to the king; and it made a deeper impression upon the hearts of all men, than all the cruelties they had yet exercised by their courts of war; which, though they took away the lives of many innocent men, left their estates to their wives and children: but when they saw now, that they might be condemned of high treason before a sworn judge of the law for serving the king, by which their estates would be likewise confiscated, they thought they should be justified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital transgression.

Upon the receipt of the king's answer, there appeared a new spirit and temper in the house of commons; hitherto, no man had mentioned the king's person without duty and respect, and only lamented "that he was misled by evil and wicked counsellors; who being removed from him, he might by the advice of his parliament govern well enough." But now, upon the refusal to pass these bills, every man's mouth was opened against him with the utmost sauciness and license; each man striving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterness of his invective. Cromwell declared, "that the king was a man of great parts, and great understanding," (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without,) "but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted." And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army, that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was displeased, and complained of it: "That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament." He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or farther propositions, but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having farther recourse to the king." Those of his party seconded this good advice with new reproaches upon the person of the king, charging him with such abominable actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only suggested from the malice of their own hearts; whilst men who had any modesty, and abhorred that way of proceeding, stood amazed and confounded at the manner and presumption of it, and without courage to give any notable opposition to their rage. So that, after several days spent in passionate debates to this purpose, they voted, "that they would make no more addresses to the king, but proceed towards settling the government, and providing for the peace of the kingdom, in such manner as they should judge best for the benefit and liberty of the subject:" and a committee was appointed

to prepare a declaration to inform and satisfy the people of this their resolution, and the grounds thereof, and to assure them, "that they had lawful authority to proceed in this manner." In the mean time, the king, who had, from the time of his coming to the Isle of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air, and refreshing himself throughout the island, and was attended by such servants as he had appointed, or sent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refused to pass those bills, from thenceforth was no more suffered to go out of the castle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it. And now, after this vote of the house of commons, that there should be no more addresses made to him, all his servants were removed, and a few new men, utterly unknown to his majesty, were deputed to be about his person to perform all those offices which they believed might be requisite, and of whose fidelity to themselves they were as well assured, as that they were without any reverence or affection for the king.

It is very true, that within few days after the king's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Isle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor, where Cromwell and Ireton were present, to consult what should be now done with the king. For, though Cromwell was weary of the agitators, and resolved to break their meetings, and though the parliament concurred in all he desired, yet his entire confidence was in the officers of the army; who were they who swayed the parliament, and the army itself, to bring what he intended to pass. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always fastings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other *inspired* person, as most of the officers were, it was resolved, "that the king should be prosecuted for his life as a criminal person:" of which his majesty was advertised speedily by Watson, quarter master general of the army; who was present; and had pretended, from the first coming of the king to the army, to have a desire to serve him, and desired to be now thought to retain it; but the resolution was a great secret, of which the parliament had not the least intimation or jealousy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his majesty easily persuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The approach they made towards it, was, their declaration, "that they would make no more addresses to the king," that by an interregnum they might feel the pulse of the people, and discover how they would submit to another form of government; and yet all writs, and process of justice, and all commissions, still issued in the king's name without his consent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the king himself, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the parliament; and, instead of acts of parliament, they made ordinances of the two houses to serve all their occasions; which found the same obedience from the people.

This declaration of no more addresses con-

tained a charge against the king of whatsoever had been done amiss from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct insinuation, as if "he had conspired with the duke of Buckingham against the life of his father; the prejudice he had brought upon the protestant religion in foreign parts, by lending his ships to the king of France, who employed them against Rochelle:" they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all those grievances which had been mentioned in their first remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their declarations before and after the war; which had been all so fully answered by his majesty, that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treason: they charged him with being "the cause of all the blood that had been spilt, by his having made a war upon his parliament, and rejecting all overtures of peace which had been made to him; and in all these regards, they resolved to make no more address to him, but, by their own authority, to provide for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

This declaration found much opposition in the house of commons, in respect of the particular reproaches they had now cast upon the person of the king, which they had heretofore, in their own published declarations to the people, charged upon the evil counsellors, and persons about him; and some persons had been sentenced, and condemned, for those very crimes which they now accused his majesty of. But there was much more exception to their conclusion from those premises, that therefore they would address themselves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the house, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjust proceedings, after he had with great vehemence opposed and contradicted the most odious parts of their declaration, told them plainly, "that by this resolution of making no more addresses to the king, they did, as far as in them lay, dissolve the parliament; and that, from the time of that determination, he knew not with what security, in point of law, they could meet together, or any man join with them in their counsels: that it was of the essence of parliament, that they should upon all occasions repair to the king; and that his majesty's refusal at any time to receive their petitions, or to admit their addresses, had been always held the highest breach of their privilege, because it tended to their dissolution without dissolving them; and therefore if they should now, on their parts, determine that they would receive no more messages from him, (which was likewise a part of their declaration,) nor make any more address to him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no longer a parliament: and then, how could the people look upon them as such?" This argumentation being boldly pressed by a man of that learning and authority, who had very seldom not been believed, made a great impression upon all men who had not prostituted themselves to Cromwell and his party. But the other side meant not to maintain their resolution by discourses, well knowing where their strength lay; and so still called for the question; which was carried by a plurality of voices, as they foresaw it would; very many per-

sons who abhorred the determination, not having courage enough to provoke the powerful men by owning their dissent; others satisfying themselves with the resolution to withdraw themselves, and to bear no farther part in the counsels; which Maynard himself did, and came no more to the house in very many months, nor till there seemed to be such an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reversal of that monstrous determination; and many others did the same.

When this declaration was thus passed the commons, and by them sent to the house of peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was not thought of that importance as to need much debate; but, with as little formality as was possible, it had the concurrence of that house, and was immediately printed and published, and new orders sent to the Isle of Wight, for the more strict looking to and guarding the king, that he might not escape.

The publishing this declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the parliament in several unwarrantable employments and commissions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themselves from the service of the parliament; and much inveighed against it, for declining all the principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private persons took upon them to publish answers to that odious declaration, that, the king himself being under so strict a restraint that he could make no answer, the people might not be poisoned with the belief of it. And the several answers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud against the parliament and the army; and the clamour was increased by the increase of taxes and impositions, which were raised by new ordinances of parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole kingdom, and the forces and garrisons thereof, that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible sums of money, upon the sale of the church and the crown lands; for which they found purchasers enough amongst their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon composition with delinquents, and the sale of their lands who refused, or could not be admitted, to compound, (which few refused to do who could be admitted, in regard that their estates were all under sequestration, and the rents thereof paid to the parliament, so that till they compounded they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and necessities, and were compelled to make their compositions, at how unreasonable rates soever, that they might thereby be enabled to sell some part, that they might preserve the rest, and their houses from being pulled down, and their woods from being wasted or spoiled;) notwithstanding all these vast receipts, which they ever pretended should ease the people of their burden, and should suffice to pay the army their expenses at sea and land, their debts were so great, that they raised the public taxes; and, besides all customs and excise, they levied a monthly contribution of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was

more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was still to be kept up, to make good the resolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the king; and that made the resolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more insupportable, by reason that, upon the publishing this last monstrous declaration, most of those persons of condition, who, as hath been said before, had been seduced to do them service throughout the kingdom, declined to appear longer in so detestable an employment; and now a more inferior sort of the common people succeeded in those employments, who thereby exercised so great insolence over those who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumstances be what they would, no redress could be ever obtained, all distinction of quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior constables, six or seven years before, were now the justices of peace, and sequestrators, and commissioners; who executed the commands of the parliament, in all the counties of the kingdom, with such rigour and tyranny, as was natural for such persons to use over and towards those upon whom they had formerly looked at such a distance. But let their sufferings be never so great, and the murmur and discontent never so general, there was no shadow of hope by which they might discern any possible relief: so that they who had struggled as long as they were able, submitted patiently to the yoke, with the more satisfaction, in that they saw many of those who had been the principal contrivers of all the mischiefs to satisfy their own ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almost as ill a condition as themselves, at least to as little power, and authority, and security; whilst the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the parliament were scarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

The king being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom possessed by the new rulers, without control, in the new method of government, where every thing was done, and submitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace, and future security; that besides the general discontent of the nation, which for the present they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland, and from Scotland; which would, in the progress, have an influence upon England.

In Ireland, (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and contests between the parliament and the army, and from the king's being in the army,) though they were possessed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munster, by the activity of the lord Inchiquin, and the lord Broghill; yet the Irish rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Irish, whom they vanquished as often as they saw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of numbers: they had an apprehension of another enemy. The

marquis of Ormond had often attended the king at Hampton Court, and had great resort to him, whilst he stayed in London, by all those who had served the king, and not less by those who were known to be unsatisfied with the proceedings both of the parliament and the army; and by the Scottish commissioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; insomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the first motion to all extravagant acts of power, had resolved to have apprehended and imprisoned him, as a man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his articles, he had liberty to stay six months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired,) and then he might transport himself into what part he desired beyond the seas. The marquis had notice of this their purpose; and having conferred with his majesty as much as was necessary, upon a reasonable foresight of what was like to fall out, shortly after, or about the time that the king left Hampton Court, he in disguise, and without being attended by more than one servant, rid into Sussex; and, in an obscure and unguarded port or harbour, put himself on board a shallop, which safely transported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon the queen, and the prince of Wales, at Paris; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

At the same time, there were commissioners arrived from Ireland from the confederate catholics; who, after they had driven the king's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preservation. The factions grew so great amongst the Irish themselves, and the pope's nuncio exercised his authority with so great tyranny and insolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the parliament, as soon as they should send more forces over, would easily, by reason of their divisions, reduce them into great straits and necessities. They therefore sent commissioners to the queen and prince to desire, "that, by their favour, they might have 'the king's authority again among them;'" to which they promised, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miscarriage and behaviour. It is very true that the marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commissioners, and was always inseparable from the highest ambition, (though without any qualifications for any great trust,) had entertained the hope, that by the queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland should be committed to him, and his conduct; which none of the other commissioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the marquis of Ormond, in whom the king's authority was vested; for he remained still lieutenant of Ireland by the king's commission; and they had reason to believe that all the English protestants, who had formerly lived under his government, (without a conjunction with whom, they well foresaw the Irish would not be able to defend or preserve themselves,) would return to the same obedience, as soon as he should return to receive it. The queen and the prince thought not of trusting any other in that most hazardous and difficult employment, and so referred the commissioners to make all their overtures and propositions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what

they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted soever he was to the king's service, nothing proposed or undertaken by them, could have been the least inducement to him to engage himself, and to depend upon their fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire zeal for the king's service, to which he had dedicated himself, made him believe that he might with some success appear again in that kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his so doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England, and towards the mending his majesty's condition there.

First, the cardinal Mazarine (who then absolutely governed France) seemed very earnestly to advise it, and promised to supply him with a good sum of money, and store of arms and ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to dispose of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottish engagement, and to a resolution of many persons of great honour in England, to appear in arms at the same time; which was designed for the summer following; whereby the parliament, and army, which were like to have new divisions amongst themselves, would not be able to send any considerable supplies into Ireland; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in England, held a close correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, president of the province of Munster in Ireland, who had the full power and command of all the English army there; which was a better body of men than the parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That lord was weary of his masters, and did not think the service he had done the parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his majesty's service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the proceedings of the parliament, and army, towards the king; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his majesty's restoration; and had frankly promised the marquis to receive him into Munster, as the king's lieutenant of that kingdom; and that that whole province, and army, should pay him all obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a cessation with the Irish in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the king. And after the marquis came into France, he received still letters from that lord to hasten his journey thither.

These were the motives which disposed the marquis to comply with the queen's and the prince's command to prepare himself for that expedition; and so he concerted all things with the Irish commissioners; who returned into their country, with promises to dispose their general assembly to consent to those conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the king, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The parliament had too many spies and agents at Paris, not to be informed of whatsoever was whispered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Irish, (for of the lord Inchiquin they had no suspicion,) or whether they were confident of the cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland;

where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a parliament, and to raise an army; which, they believed, would find too many friends in England, the presbyterian party holding up their heads again, both in the parliament and the city. Besides, they knew that some persons of quality and interest, who had served the king in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the king's party together upon the first appearance.

After the king had been so infamously delivered up to the parliament by the Scots at Newcastle, and as soon as the army had possessed themselves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehension that the officers of the army would have made their peace, and established their own greatness by restoring the king to his just rights, of which they had so foully deprived him; and then the conscience of their guilt made them presume, what their lot must be; and therefore, the same commissioners who had been joined with the committee of parliament in all the transactions, made haste to Westminster again to their old seats, to keep their interest; which was great in all the presbyterian party, both of parliament and city; for there remained still the same profession of maintaining the strict union between the two kingdoms, and that all transactions should be by joint counsels. And as soon as the king appeared with some show of liberty, and his own servants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scottish commissioners; the earl of Lowden, the earl of Lautherdale, and the rest; as if they had been the men who had contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the king; and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her majesty very earnestly persuaded the king "to trust them, "as the only persons who had power and credit "to do him service, and to redeem him from the "captivity he was in." Duke Hamilton, who had been sent prisoner by the king to the castle of Pendennis, and had been delivered from thence by the army, when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty and his pleasure at London, and in his own house at Chelsea, as long as he thought fit, that is, as long as the king was with the Scottish army and at Newcastle; and when he was delivered up to the parliament commissioners, he went into Scotland, [without seeing the king,] to his own house at Hamilton; looked upon by that nation as one who had unjustly suffered under the king's jealousy and displeasure, and who remained still very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converse with many of the king's party, and made great professions that he would do the king a very signal service, which he desired them to assure his majesty of; and seemed exceedingly troubled and ashamed at his countrymen's giving up the king. And his having no share in that infamy made him the more trusted in England, and to be received with the more respect in Scotland by all those who abhorred that transaction.

The commissioners who attended his majesty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of "the marquis of Argyle, and to his credit and

“ authority in the council and in the army; so
 “ that nothing could be done which was desired
 “ by honest men; but that now duke Hamilton
 “ was amongst them, who they knew was most
 “ devoted to his majesty, they should be able to
 “ overpower Argyle; and the proceedings of the
 “ army and the parliament were so foul, and so
 “ contrary to their public faith, that they were
 “ confident that all Scotland would rise as one
 “ man for his majesty’s defence and vindication;
 “ and they were well assured, there would such a
 “ party in England of those who were faithful to
 “ his majesty appear at the same time, that there
 “ would be little question of being able, between
 “ them, to be hard enough for that part of the
 “ army that would oppose them;” which his
 majesty knew well was resolved by many persons
 of honour, who afterwards performed what they
 had promised.

When the commissioners had, by these insinuations, gained new credit with the king, and had undertaken, that their invading England with an army equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England could be reasonable before such an invasion, which was likewise to be hastened, that it might be at the same time when the marquis of Ormond should appear in Ireland,) they began to propose to him many conditions, which would be necessary for his majesty to engage himself to perform towards that nation; without which it would not be easy to engage it in so unanimous a consent and engagement, as was necessary for such an enterprise. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, “ that the prince
 “ of Wales should be present with them, and
 “ march in the head of their army; and desired
 “ that advertisement, and order, might be sent to
 “ that purpose to the queen and the prince at
 “ Paris; that so his highness might be ready for
 “ the voyage, as soon as they should be prepared
 “ to receive him.” The king would by no means consent that the prince should go into Scotland, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that people; but he was contented, that when they should have entered England with their army, then the prince of Wales should put himself in the head of them. They demanded, “ that
 “ such a number of Scotchmen should be always
 “ in the court, of the bedchamber, and all other
 “ places about the persons of the king, and prince,
 “ and duke of York: that Berwick and Carlisle
 “ should be put into the hands of the Scots;” and some other concessions with reference to the northern counties; which trenched so far upon the honour and interest of the English, that his majesty utterly refused to consent to it; and so the agreement was not concluded when the king left Hampton Court. But, as soon as he was at the Isle of Wight, the Scottish commissioners repaired to him, at the same time with those who were sent to him from the parliament for his royal assent to those four bills spoken of before; then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and, having great apprehension, from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon, and searched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead; and buried it in a garden in the Isle of

Wight; from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant was this people to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither conscience nor honour did invite or dispose them. So after a stay of some months at London to adjust all accounts, and receive the remainder of those monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland, with the hatred and contempt of the army, and the parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the presbyterian party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negociation; which was now incumbent upon them: and, in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant letters, as by frequent emissaries of their clergy, or other persons, whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the Scottish presbyterians, being a watchful and crafty people, the principal of whom were as unrestrained by conscience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, should yet hope to carry on their interest by such conditions and limitations, as all wise men saw must absolutely ruin and destroy it. They knew well enough the spirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their whole dependence was upon the assistance they should find ready to join with them in England. It is true, they did believe the body of the presbyterians in England to be much more considerable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the most considerable persons who in the contest with the other faction were content to be thought presbyterians, were so only as they thought it might restore the king; which they more impatiently desired, than any alteration in the government of the church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whose interest, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publicly profess that all the king’s friends should be most welcome, and received by them: nor did they trust any one presbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars contained in the agreement with the king; but concealed it between the three persons who transacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as easily have overrun their country before their army invaded England, as he did afterwards; nor would one Englishman have joined with them. Besides the infamous circumstances by which they extorted concessions from the king, which would have rendered any contract odious, (it being made in those four days, which were all that were assigned both to the English and Scottish commissioners, so that his majesty had not only no time to advise with others, but could not advise with himself upon so many monstrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have submitted to them, than he did afterwards upon longer deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifest danger by his refusal,) the particulars

themselves were the most scandalous, and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation; and would have been abominated, if known and understood, by all men, with all possible indignation.

After they had made his majesty give a good testimony of their league and covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and "that the intentions of those who had entered into it were real for the preservation of his majesty's person and authority, according to their allegiance, and no ways to diminish his just power and greatness," they obliged him "as soon as he could, with freedom, honour, and safety, be present in a free parliament, to confirm the said league and covenant by act of parliament in both kingdoms, for the security of all who had taken, or should take it." It is true, they admitted a proviso, "that none who was unwilling, should be constrained to take it." They likewise obliged his majesty "to confirm by act of parliament in England, presbyterian government; the Directory for worship; and the assembly of divines at Westminster, for three years; so that his majesty, and his household, should not be hindered from using that form of divine service he had formerly practised; and that during those three years there should be a consultation with the assembly of divines, to which twenty of the king's nomination should be added, and some from the church of Scotland; and thereupon it should be determined by his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, what form of government should be established after the expiration of those years, as should be most agreeable to the word of God: that an effectual course should be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the suppressing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the suppressing all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and all such scandalous doctrines and practices as are contrary to the light of nature, and to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or the power of godliness, or which may be destructive to order and government, or to the peace of the church or kingdom." The king promised, "that in the next session of parliament, after the kingdom of Scotland should declare for his majesty, in pursuance of this agreement, he should in person, or by commission, confirm the league and covenant in that kingdom; and concerning all the acts passed in the last parliament of that kingdom," his majesty declared, "that he should then likewise be content to give assurance by act of parliament, that neither he, nor his successors, should quarrel, call in question, or command the contrary of any of them, nor question any for giving obedience to the same." Then they made a long recital of "the agreement the parliament of England had made, when the Scots army returned to Scotland, that the army under Fairfax should be disbanded; and of that army's not submitting thereunto; of their taking the king from Holmby, and keeping him prisoner till he fled from them to the Isle of Wight; and since that time both his majesty,

"and the commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, had very earnestly desired that the king might come to London, in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the two houses and the commissioners of the parliament of Scotland; which, they said, had been granted, but that the army had, in violent manner, forced away divers members of the parliament from the discharge of their trust, and possessed themselves of the city of London, and all the strengths and garrisons of the kingdoms: and that by the strength and influence of that army, and their adherents, propositions and bills had been sent to the king without the advice and consent of the kingdom of Scotland, contrary to the treaties which are between the two kingdoms, and destructive to religion, his majesty's just rights, the privileges of parliament, and liberty of the subject; from which propositions and bills the Scottish commissioners had dissented, and protested against, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland."

After this preamble and recital, they said, "that forasmuch as his majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling religion, and other matters in difference, as is expressed in this agreement, the kingdom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itself, first, in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the king may come to London in safety, honour, and freedom, for a personal treaty with the houses of parliament and the commissioners of Scotland, upon such propositions as should be mutually agreed on between the kingdoms, and such propositions as his majesty should think fit to make; and for this end all armies should be disbanded: and in case that this should not be granted, that declarations should be emitted by the kingdom of Scotland in pursuance of this agreement, against the unjust proceedings of the two houses of parliament towards his majesty and the kingdom of Scotland; in which they would assert the right that belonged to the crown, in the power of the militia, the great seal, bestowing of honours and offices of trust, choice of the privy counselors, and the right of the king's negative voice in parliament: and that the queen's majesty, the prince, and the rest of the royal issue, ought to remain where his majesty shall think fit in either of his kingdoms, with safety, honour, and freedom: that, upon the issuing out this declaration, an army should be sent out of Scotland into England, for the preservation and establishment of religion; for defence of his majesty's person and authority, and restoring him to his government, to the just rights of the crown, and his full revenues; for defence of the privileges of parliament, and liberties of the subject; for making a firm union between the kingdoms under his majesty, and his posterity, and settling a lasting peace." In pursuance whereof, the kingdom of Scotland was to endeavour "that there might be a free and full parliament in England, and that his majesty may be with them in honour, safety, and freedom; and that a speedy period be set to the present parliament. And they undertook, that the army which they would raise should be upon its march, before the message and declaration should be delivered to the houses." It was farther agreed, "that all such in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as

“ would join with the kingdom of Scotland in
 “ pursuance of this agreement, should be pro-
 “ tected by his majesty in their persons and estates;
 “ and that all his majesty’s subjects in England or
 “ Ireland who would join with him, in pursuance
 “ of this agreement, might come to the Scottish
 “ army, and join with them, or else put themselves
 “ into other bodies in England or Wales, for pro-
 “ secution of the same ends, as the king’s majesty
 “ should judge most convenient, and under such
 “ commanders, or generals of the English nation,
 “ as his majesty should think fit: and that all
 “ such should be protected by the kingdom of
 “ Scotland and their army, in their persons and
 “ estates; and where any injury or wrong is done
 “ unto them, they would be careful to see them
 “ fully repaired, as far as it should be in their
 “ power to do; and likewise when any injury or
 “ wrong is done to those who join with the king-
 “ dom of Scotland, his majesty shall be careful of
 “ their full reparation.”

They obliged his majesty to promise “ that nei-
 “ ther himself, nor any by his authority or know-
 “ ledge, should make or admit of any cessation,
 “ pacification, or agreement whatsoever for peace,
 “ nor of any treaty, propositions, bills, or any
 “ other ways for that end, with the houses of par-
 “ liament, or any army or party in England, or
 “ Ireland, without the advice and consent of the
 “ kingdom of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that
 “ neither the kingdom of Scotland, nor any hav-
 “ ing their authority, should make or admit of
 “ any of these any manner of way, with any what-
 “ soever, without his majesty’s advice or consent:
 “ and that, upon the settlement of a peace, there
 “ should be an act of oblivion to be agreed on by
 “ his majesty, and both his parliaments of both
 “ kingdoms; that his majesty, the prince, or both,
 “ should come into Scotland upon the invitation
 “ of that kingdom, and their declaration, that they
 “ should be in honour, freedom, and safety, when
 “ possibly they could come with safety and conve-
 “ nience; and that the king should contribute his
 “ utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad,
 “ for assisting the kingdom of Scotland for car-
 “ rying on this war by sea and land, and for their
 “ supplies by monies, arms, ammunition, and all
 “ other things requisite, as also for guarding the
 “ coasts of Scotland with ships, and protecting all
 “ their merchants in the free exercise of their trade
 “ and commerce with other nations; and likewise
 “ that his majesty was willing, and did authorize
 “ the Scottish army to possess themselves of
 “ Berwick, Carlisle, Newcastle upon Tyne, with
 “ the castle of Tinnmouth, and the town of Hartle-
 “ pool: those places to be for retreat, and maga-
 “ zines; and that, when the peace of the kingdom
 “ should be settled, the kingdom of Scotland
 “ should remove their forces, and deliver back
 “ again those towns and castles.”

And as if all this had not been recompense
 enough for the wonderful service they were like to
 perform, they obliged the king to promise, and
 undertake to pay, the remainder of that brotherly
 assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large
 treaty after their first invasion of England, and
 likewise two hundred thousand pounds, which
 remained still due upon the last treaty made with
 the houses of parliament for return of the Scottish
 army, when they had delivered up the king; and
 also, “ that payment should be made to the king-

“ dom of Scotland, for the charge and expense of
 “ their army in this future war, with due recom-
 “ pense for the losses which they should sustain
 “ therein; and that due satisfaction, according to
 “ the treaty on that behalf betwixt the two king-
 “ doms, should be made to the Scottish army in
 “ Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom, or
 “ otherwise: and that the king, according to the
 “ intention of his father, should endeavour a com-
 “ plete union of the two kingdoms, so as they
 “ may be one under his majesty, and his posterity;
 “ or if that cannot speedily be effected, that all
 “ liberties and privileges, concerning commerce,
 “ traffic, manufactures, peculiar to the subjects of
 “ either nation, shall be common to the subjects
 “ of both kingdoms without distinction; and that
 “ there be a communication, and mutual capacity,
 “ of all other privileges of the subjects in the two
 “ kingdoms: that a competent number of ships
 “ should be yearly assigned, and appointed out of
 “ his majesty’s navy, which should attend the
 “ coasts of Scotland, for a guard, and freedom of
 “ trade of that nation; and that his majesty should
 “ declare that his successors, as well as himself,
 “ are obliged to the performance of the articles
 “ and conditions of this agreement; but that his
 “ majesty shall not be obliged to the performance
 “ of the aforesaid articles, until the kingdom of
 “ Scotland shall declare for him in pursuance of
 “ this agreement; and that the whole articles and
 “ conditions aforesaid shall be finished, perfected,
 “ and performed, before the return of the Scottish
 “ army; and that when they return into Scotland,
 “ at the same time, *simul et semel*, all armies should
 “ be disbanded in England.” And for a compli-
 ment, and to give a relish to all the rest, the king
 engaged himself “ to employ those of the Scottish
 “ nation equally with the English in all foreign
 “ employments, and negociations; and that a
 “ third part of all the offices and places about the
 “ king, queen, and prince, should be conferred
 “ upon some persons of that nation; and that the
 “ king and prince, or one of them, will frequently
 “ reside in Scotland, that the subjects of that
 “ kingdom may be known to them.” This treaty
 and agreement being thus presented to the king
 by the Scottish commissioners in the castle of
 Carisbrook, his majesty was prevailed with to
 sign the same the 26th day of December, 1647;
 and to oblige himself, “ in the word of a king, to
 “ perform his part of the said articles;” and the
 earl of Lowden, chancellor of Scotland, and the
 earl of Lautherdale, and the earl of Lanrick, being
 intrusted as commissioners from that kingdom,
 signed it likewise at the same time; and engaged
 themselves “ upon their honour, faith, and con-
 “ science, and all that is dear to honest men, to
 “ endeavour to the utmost of their power, that
 “ the kingdom of Scotland should engage to per-
 “ form what was on its part to be performed;
 “ which they were confident the kingdom of
 “ Scotland would do, and they themselves would
 “ hazard their lives and fortunes in pursuance
 “ thereof.”

No man who reads this treaty (which very few
 men have ever done) can wonder that such an
 engagement met with the fate that attended it;
 which contained so many monstrous concessions,
 that, except the whole kingdom of England had
 been likewise imprisoned in Carisbrook castle with
 the king, it could not be imagined that it was pos-

sible to be performed; and the three persons who were parties to it were too wise to believe that it could be punctually observed; which they used as the best argument, and which only prevailed with the king, "that the treaty was only made to enable them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to raise an army, and to unite it in his majesty's service; which less than those concessions would never induce them to do; but when that army should be entered into England, and so many other armies should be on foot of his English subjects for the vindication of his interest, there would be nobody to exact all those particulars; but every body would submit to what his majesty should think fit to be done;" which, though it had been urged more than once before to induce the king to consent to other inconveniences, which they would never after release to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it should be inserted under the same treaty, as it was, "that his majesty did declare, that by the clause of confirming presbyterian government by act of parliament, he is neither obliged to desire the settling presbyterian government, nor to present any bills to that effect; and that he likewise understands that no person whatsoever shall suffer in his estate, nor undergo any corporal punishment, for not submitting to presbyterian government; his majesty understanding that this [indemnity] should not extend to those who are mentioned [in the article] against toleration:" and to this the three earls likewise subscribed their hands, "as witnesses only, as they said, that his majesty had made that declaration in their presence, not as assenters;" so wary they were of administering jealousy to their masters, or of being thought to be less rigid in so fundamental a point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

It was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the presbyterian counsels, and those who governed the independents, though they were equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience, the independents always doing that, which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the presbyterians, for the most part, did always somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two reasons that might naturally produce this ill success to the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men, whose humours and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the progress they had made.

In the second place, the presbyterians, by whom

I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people; and first considered how they might corrupt and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted and governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives, and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different success in all they undertook. Machiavel, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government, as any man then was, or now is; and says,) "that a man were better be a dog than be subject to those passions and appetites, which possess all unjust, and ambitious, and tyrannical persons;" but he confesses, "that they who are so transported, and have entertained such wicked designs as are void of all conscience, must not think to prosecute them by the rules of conscience, which was laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon them; they must make no scruple of doing all those impious things which are necessary to compass and support the impiety to which they have devoted themselves;" and therefore he commends Cæsar Borgia for "not being startled with breach of faith, perjuries, and murders, for the removal of those men who he was sure would cross and enervate the whole enterprise he had resolved, and addicted himself to; and blames those usurpers, who had made themselves tyrants, for hoping to support a government by justice, which they had assumed unjustly, and which having wickedly attempted, they manifestly lost by not being wicked enough." The common old adage, "that he who hath drawn his sword against his prince, ought to throw away the scabbard, never to think of sheathing it again," hath never been received in a neighbour climate; but hath been looked upon in the frolic humour of that nation, as a gaiety that manifests a noble spirit, and may conduce to many advantages, and hath been controlled by some wonderful successes in this age, in those parts, which used not to be so favourable to such attempts: yet without doubt the rule will still hold good; and they who enter upon unwarrantable enterprises,

must pursue many unwarrantable ways to preserve themselves from the penalty of the first guilt.

Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design; even his roughness and unpolishedness, which, in the beginning of the parliament, he affected contrary to the smoothness and complacency, which his cousin, and bosom friend, Mr. Hambden, practised towards all men, was necessary; and his first public declaration, in the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was first mustered, "that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his commission, to fight for king and parliament;" and therefore told them, "that if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any other private person; and if their conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his troop, or under his command;" which was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the professions the parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet served his turn, and severed from others, and united among themselves, all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his strict and unsociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he often made himself ridiculous or contemptible, drew all those of the like sour or reserved natures to his society and conversation, and gave him opportunity to form their understandings, inclinations, and resolutions, to his own model. By this he grew to have a wonderful interest in the common soldiers, out of which, as his authority increased, he made all his officers, well instructed how to live in the same manner with their soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purposes: whilst he looked upon the presbyterian humour as the best incentive to rebellion, no man more a presbyterian; he sung all psalms with them to their tunes, and loved the longest sermons as much as they; but when he discovered that they would prescribe some limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as soon as some few particulars were granted to them in religion, which he cared not for; and then that the government must run still in the same channel; it concerned him to make it believed "that the state had been more delinquent than the church, and that the people suffered more by the civil than by the ecclesiastical power; and therefore that the change of one would give them little ease, if there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the whole government in both were not reformed and altered;" which though it made him generally odious [at first], and irreconciled many of his old friends to him; yet it made those who remained more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own strength, and upon whom he might depend. This

discovery made him contrive the [new] model of the army; which was the most unpopular act, and disobliterated all those who first contrived the rebellion, and who were the very soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to pass, and changed a general, who, though not very sharp-sighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and he remained a private colonel of horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous composition.

After all the successes of his new model, he saw his army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the king, than that under Fairfax had done; and after all the victories, and reduction of the king to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the subjection of the king: nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the enterprise, and with the power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the people against the Scottish nation, "as being a mercenary aid, entertained at a vast charge to the kingdom, that was only to be paid their wages, and to be dismissed, without having the honour to judge with them upon what conditions the king should be received, and restored; the accomplishing whereof ought to be the peculiar glory of the parliament without a rival, and that the king might owe the benefit wholly to them." And this was as popular an argument as he could embark himself in, the whole kingdom in general having a great detestation of the Scots; and they who most desired the king's restoration wished that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal applause, he compelled the Scottish army to depart the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seemed nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the English army, in so general a discontent throughout the kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within itself; that the common soldiers should erect an authority distinct from their officers, by which they would choose to govern against their superior commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an interest of their own severed from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had never been heard of before in any army, and was looked upon as a prelude of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; and yet, if he had not raised this seditious spirit in the army, he could not have prevented the disbanding some part of it, and sending another part of it into Ireland, before the Scots left Newcastle; nor have been able to have taken the king from Holmby into the hands of the army, after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocrisy towards the king and his party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again so unrepentingly, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving

other cause to the king to suspect the safety of his person, and thereupon to make his escape from the army; by which his majesty quickly became a prisoner, and so was deprived of any resort, from whence many mischiefs might have proceeded to have disturbed his counsels. How constantly he pursued this method in his subsequent actions, will be observed in its place.

Contrary to this the presbyterian Scots proceeded, in all their actions after their first invasion in the year 1640, and always interwove some conditions in their counsels and transactions, which did not only prove, but, in the instant, might have been discerned to be, diametrically opposite to their public interest, and to their particular designs. It is very true, that their first invasion, saving their breach of allegiance, might have some excuse from their interest. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the court of England by king James and the present king, yet those particular men, who had been and then were in the court, were, for the most part, persons of no interest in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they found themselves exposed to some late pressures, which were new to them, and which their preachers told them "were against conscience, and an invasion of their religion;" from which they had vindicated themselves so rudely and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if those persons, whom they had most provoked, retained their interest still with the king, and in his councils; from whom they were promised to be secured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and so to procure relief and security for both kingdoms. In this enterprise, the success crowned their work; they were thought a wise and a resolute nation; and after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with spoils and great riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition, their whole true interest consisted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the king, and vindicating his honour and interest from all assaults; and their being suborned afterwards (when the king was in a hopeful way to have reduced his [English] rebels to their obedience, by the strength and power of his arms) to make a second invasion of the kingdom, was a weak and childish engagement, directly opposite to their interest, except they had at the same time a resolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced subjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpose to do,) or to withdraw it from the present king. When his majesty had trusted them so far (which they had never reason to expect) as to put his royal person into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themselves in the eyes of the world, and to undo some part of the mischief they had done, it was their interest to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themselves to his party in vindication of the law, and the government established; and if they had not had the courage at that time to have looked the English army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their interest to have retired

with the king in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garrisons in Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, all which were in their possession, to have expected a revolution in England from the divisions amongst themselves, and from some conjunction with a strong body of the king's English party, which would quickly have found themselves together; and the delivery of the king up, besides the infamy of it, was, in view, destructive to all that could be thought their interest.

After all this, when they found themselves cozened and deceived in all the measures they had taken, and laughed at and despised by those who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to serve the king, and then to insist upon such conditions as must make it impossible for them to serve him effectually, was such a degree of sottishness, and a depraved understanding, that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their interest was, or what was necessary to advance their own designs. And yet we shall be obliged to observe how incorrigibly they adhered to this obstinate and froward method, in all the transactions they afterwards had with the king; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the destruction of that idol they adored, and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

All designs and negociations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the king remained under a strict and disconsolate imprisonment, no man being suffered to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all letters which might pass to or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some inhabitants of the island, to receive important advertisements from his friends; and to write to and receive letters from the queen; and so he informed her of the Scottish transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seemed to take much pleasure; and looked upon it as a good omen, that in that desperate lowness of his fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but men of most barbarous and inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his majesty's gracious disposition and generous affability still wrought upon some soldier, or other person placed about him, to undertake and perform some offices of trust, in conveying papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had natural duty; or some desperate men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. For many, who did undertake to perform those offices, did not make good all they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

In the parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public; but in all those transactions which concerned particular persons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were considered according to the party they were of; every day those received benefit who had appeared most to adhere to the army; the notorious presbyterians were removed from all places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and

well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-skirmishes were higher than ever; the presbyterians, in those fields, losing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the city, notwithstanding the emulation of the independents, who were more learned and rational: who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected, and were followed by, the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching, and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious assemblies, where the bishops had exercised such illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original consecrations. Liberty of conscience was now become the great charter; and men who were *inspired*, preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himself was the greatest preacher; and most of the officers of the army, and many common soldiers, shewed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptists and quakers grew very numerous, with whom the independents concurred so far as to join with them for the utter abolishing of tithes, as of Judaical institution; which was now the patrimony of the presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one party, and defended by the other, with equal passion and animosity. If any man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of confusion, as at this time had spread itself over the face of the whole kingdom.

During all this time, the prince remained at Paris under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness, that though his highness was above the age of seventeen years, he never put his hat on before the queen, nor was it desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the royal family was in. The assignation which was made by the court of France for the better support of the prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such clothes and other necessities provided for his highness as were thought necessary; her majesty desiring to have it thought that the prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the prince of Wales to be a pensioner to the king of France. Hereby none of his highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired. The lord Jermyn was the queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffered who had been more acquainted with it. All who had any relation to the prince, were to implore his aid; and the prince himself could obtain nothing but by him; which made most persons of honour of the English nation who were driven into banishment, as many of the

nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, choose to make their residence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris, where the prince was, and could do so little: nor was this economy well liked even in France, nor the prince himself so much respected as he would have been if he had lived more like himself, and appeared more concerned in his own business.

When the marquis of Ormond came thither, he was received very graciously by the queen, and consulted with in all things, being the person most depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them by the king, and of the most universal reputation of any subject the king had. He pressed a speedy despatch, that he might pursue his designs in Ireland; where he longed to be, whilst the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the parliament, who had yet sent no supplies thither. He informed the queen, and the lord Jermyn, of the necessity of hastening that work, which they understood well enough by the Irish commissioners; who had been there, and had been sent back with a million of promises, a coin that court always abounded with, and made most of its payments in.

When the queen, who was as zealous for the despatch as was possible, pressed the queen regent, and the cardinal, upon it, she received [in words] all the satisfaction imaginable, and assurance that all things should be speedily provided; and when the marquis spoke first with the cardinal upon the subject, he found him well disposed; making such ample promises for a very good sum of money, and such a proportion of arms and ammunition, as could be wished. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that those provisions might be sent thither to meet him; and that he should be ready to transport himself within a very short time; of which he gave notice to those who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much disappointed in his expectation; the cardinal was not so confident of the recovery of the king's affairs as to disoblige the parliament by contributing towards it: so that affair advanced very slowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly observed by me, crowded in all the particular passages and important transactions of two whole years into this book, that I might not interrupt or discontinue the relation of the mysterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocrisy, and dissimulation, practised towards the king and his party, and then their pulling off their mask, and appearing in their natural dress of inhumanity and savageness, with the vile artifices of the Scottish commissioners to draw the king into their hands, and then their low and base compliance, and gross folly, in delivering him up, and lastly their absurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance, when there was no other way of preserving themselves, and their nation from being destroyed, the many woful tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, must be the subject of the discourse in the next book.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XI.

DEUT. xxix. 24. *Even all nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?*

LAM. ii. 7. *The Lord hath cast off his altar, he hath abhorred his sanctuary, he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her palaces; they have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of a solemn feast.*

IF a universal discontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almost as general a detestation both of parliament and army, and a most passionate desire that all their follies and madness might be forgotten in restoring the king to all they had taken from him, and in settling that blessed government they had deprived themselves of, could have contributed to his majesty's recovery, never people were better disposed to erect and repair again the building they had so maliciously thrown and pulled down. In England there was a general discontent amongst all sorts of men; many officers and soldiers who had served the parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great testimonies of their courage and fidelity [to their party], and had been disbanded upon the new model, looked upon the present army with contempt, as those who reaped the harvest and reward of their labours, and spake of them and against them in all places accordingly: the nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the parliament by concurring with it against the king, found themselves totally neglected, and the most inferior people preferred to all places of trust and profit: the presbyterian ministers talked very loud; their party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from Scotland, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland, for supplies of men and money against the Irish, who grew powerful, raised the courage of all discontented persons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh against the army, and the officers who had corrupted it. The parliament bore no reproach so concernedly, as that of "the want of supplies to Ireland, and that, having so great an army without an enemy, they would not spare any part of it to preserve that kingdom." This argument made a new warmth in the house of commons, they who had been silent, and given over insisting upon the insolence and presumption of the army, which had prevailed, and crushed them, took now new spirit, and pressed the relief of Ireland with great earnestness, and in order thereunto made great inquisition into the expenses of the money, and how such vast sums received had been disbursed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

There was a design this way to get the presbyterians again into power, and that they might

get the command of an army for the subduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, got the lord Lisle, eldest son to the earl of Leicester, sent under the title of lord lieutenant of that kingdom thither, with a commission for five or six months. He had landed in Munster, either out of the jealousy they had of the lord Inchiquin, or because the best part of their army of English were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the English no relief, nor weakened the power or strength of the Irish, but rather increased their reputation by the faction and bitterness that was between the lieutenant and the president, who writ letters of complaint one against the other to the parliament, where they had both their parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his commission being expired, and the contrary party not suffering it to be renewed, the lord Lisle returned again into England, leaving the lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have destroyed, in the entire possession of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preserved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the marquis of Ormond, and every day informing the parliament of the ill condition he was in, and pressing for a supply of men and money, when he knew they would send neither.

Upon the return of the lord Lisle the presbyterians renewed their design, and caused sir William Waller to be named for deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his service) because he could quickly draw together those officers and soldiers which had served under him, and were now disbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old general. At the first, Cromwell did not oppose this motion, but consented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller, and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he saw Waller insist upon great supplies to carry with him, as he had reason to do, and when he considered of what consequence it might be to him and all his designs, if a well formed and disciplined army should be under the power of Waller, and such officers, he changed his mind; and first set his instruments to cross such a sup-

ply of men and money, as he had proposed; "the one, as more than necessary for the service; and the other, as more than they could spare from their other occasions:" and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he caused Lambert to be proposed for that expedition, a man who was then fast to the same interest he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized so long upon this, that Ireland remained still unsupplied, and their affairs there seemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made so much noise of their purposes, even before their commissioners left London, and gave such constant advertisements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the king, though they made no haste in providing for such an expedition, that both the presbyterians, who were their chief correspondents, and the royal party, bethought themselves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themselves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the king from his imprisonment, but be able to preserve him in liberty from any presbyterian impositions, which they still apprehended the Scots might endeavour to impose, though they had no suspicion of the engagement [lately mentioned] at the Isle of Wight.

The earl of Holland, who had done twice very notoriously amiss, and had been, since his return from Oxford, notably despised by all persons of credit in the parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough engagement. He had much credit by descent and by alliance with the presbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of Scotland, and had constant intelligence of the advance that was made there. His brother, the earl of Warwick, had undergone some mortification with the rest, and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had used to have, though he was the high admiral of England by ordinance of parliament, and had done them extraordinary services. He did not restrain or endeavour to suppress the earl of Holland's discontents, but inflamed them, and promised to join with him, as many others of that gang of men did; resolving that the Scots should not do all that work, but that they would have a share in the merit. The duke of Buckingham, and his brother, the lord Francis Villiers, were newly returned from travel, and though both under years, were strong and active young men, and being, in respect of their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt by it, and coming now to the possession of large estates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the crown upon the first opportunity, they fell easily into the friendship of the earl of Holland, and were ready to embark themselves in his adventure. The earl had made tender of his resolutions to his old mistress the queen at Paris, who was always disposed to trust him, and the lord Jermyn and he renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

And a commission was sent from the prince to the earl to be general of an army, that was to be raised for the redemption of the king

from prison, and to restore the parliament to its freedom. The earl of Peterborough, and John Mordaunt his brother, the family of the earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had served the king in the war, with which the city of London and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands.

This engagement was so well known, and so generally spoken of, that they concluded that the parliament durst not take notice of it, or wished well to it. And there is no question, never undertaking of such a nature was carried on with so little reservation; there was scarce a county in England, in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the king. They who had the principal command in Wales under the parliament, sent to Paris to declare, "that, if they might have supply of arms and ammunition, and a reasonable sum of money for the payment of their garrisons, they would declare for the king, having the chief places of those parts in their custody." The lord Jermyn encouraged all those overtures with most positive undertaking, that they should be supplied with all they expected, within so many days after they should declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his custom, never thought of after; by which the service miscarried, and many gallant men were lost.

Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose combination could produce, than, by seizing upon persons, to engage the parliament in examinations, and in parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the presbyterian party had so great an influence upon the general, that he declared to him, "he would not march against the Scots," whom he had a good mind to have visited before their counsels and resolutions were formed; and Cromwell had reason to believe, that Fairfax would be firm to the same mind, even after they should have invaded the kingdom.

All things being in this forwardness in England, it is fit to inquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they used in raising their army. After the commissioners' return from London, upon the king's being made prisoner in the Isle of Wight, it was long before the marquis of Argyle could be prevailed with to consent that a parliament should be called. He had made a fast friendship with Cromwell and Vane; and knew that in this new stipulation with the king, the Hamiltonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatsoever should follow. And yet the duke lived very privately at his own house, had never seen the king, nor went abroad to any meeting after his return to Scotland; and to those who came to him, and to whom that resolution would be grateful, he used to speak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon those who had imprisoned him, than of assisting the crown to recover the authority it had lost. Argyle, whose power was over that violent party of the clergy which would not depart from the most

rigid clause in the covenant, and were without any reverence for the king or his government, discerned that he should never be able to hinder the calling of a parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he should sooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obstructing their determinations, after they should be assembled, than by obstinately opposing their coming together. So summons were issued for the convention of a parliament; and they who appeared most concerned for the king, and to set him at liberty from his imprisonment, (which was all they pretended,) were the earl of Lanrick, brother to duke Hamilton, and then restored to his office of secretary of Scotland, who had been imprisoned at Oxford, and made his escape from thence; and the earl of Lautherdale, who had been with the forwardest from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was scarce of age, and prosecuted it to the end with most eminent fierceness and animosity.

They were both men of great parts and industry, though they loved pleasures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better nature, and better judgment, and an openness and clearness more to be trusted and relied upon than most men of that nation: the latter, insolent, imperious, flattering, and dissembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkest designs. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was absolutely necessary, and no impediment of honour to restrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his passions.

These two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair; for though the chancellor, the earl of Lowden, had been a commissioner in England, and as privy to the treaty with the king, and had made as many professions and protestations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was so obnoxious for his loose and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durst not provoke Argyle or the clergy by dissenting from them. They used all the interest and skill they had, to get such elections in the boroughs of members for the parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and ashamed of the infamous delivery up of the king to the English, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and so had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cause of it.

At the opening of the parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people against the army in England; which, they said, "had forced the parliament there to break the treaty between the two kingdoms in their ill usage of the king, who was imprisoned by the army, nor was it in the power of the parliament to set him at liberty: that they had now, upon the matter, absolutely deposed him, by not suffering him to perform the office of a king, nor permitting any of his subjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom of Scotland was concerned, in that being independent upon England, and the parliament of

England, they were by them deprived of their king, and could not be admitted to speak with him, nor his majesty to send to them; which was such a presumption, and violation of the law of nations, and such a perfidious breach and contempt of the solemn league and covenant, and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obligations human and divine to be sensible of it, and to redeem their king's liberty, and their own honour, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to them: and therefore they desired that they might enter upon those counsels, which might soonest get an army together, which should no sooner enter England, but it would find a conjunction from that whole kingdom, except only the army; and that it would then quickly appear that the parliaments of both kingdoms desired the same thing, and to live happily under the government of the same king."

This discourse, urged and seconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it. He saw the election of the knights and burgesses had succeeded according to their wishes, and that they would concur with whatsoever was proposed; and he found likewise that they had wrought upon the greatest part of their clergy; who believed all they said to them. He did not therefore oppose any thing proposed by them, but only desired, "that they would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of so great concernment, which was like to terminate in a bloody war between the two kingdoms; which had hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he hoped there was no purpose to shake any of those foundations which had been laid in the years by-gone, which supported that government, and made that kingdom happy; which if dissolved, all the mischief and tyranny they had formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent that should destroy them." Every body declared, "that there was no purpose to swerve, in the least degree, from what was established for the government in either kingdom, by their solemn league and covenant, which they had in perfect veneration, and looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all that had been proposed;" upon which Argyle acquiesced as satisfied, not doubting but that, in the prosecution of their counsels, he should find opportunity enough to obstruct the quick progress, and to interrupt the conclusion, and execution.

The lords who had been in England, and frequented Hampton Court, whilst the king was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the king's party with all manner of caresses, and more particularly had much applied themselves to those gentlemen of the north who had most eminently served the king, and who had good fortunes there to support their interest. Of this kind there were two very notable men, sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave; both men of large and plentiful estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of justices of peace, and deputy lieutenants, had, in the begin-

ning of the war, engaged themselves in commands in the king's army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their swords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the parliament, and the chief officers of the army, with most jealousy, as men worthy to be apprehended, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottish lords had not been scrupulous to let these two gentlemen know what they intended, and "that they made no question but they should engage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a present war with England on the king's behalf; and therefore desired them, by the interest and influence they had upon the northern counties, to dispose them to a conjunction with them." And because they knew that they two were too notorious to stay with any security about London, much less in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they assured them, "they should not only be safe, but very welcome; and should be witnesses of their proceedings, and have parts of their own to act in, as soon as the season should be ripe."

These gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and, whilst the army made those professions towards the king, had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themselves to make their compositions, they should be apprehended, and imprisoned. And therefore, being confident that the Scots would engage for the king, they accepted their invitation, and told them, "they should quickly find them in Scotland after their own return." Accordingly, after having secretly spent some time in their own counties, and directed their friends to be in a readiness when they should be called upon, and in the mean time settled a way how to correspond together, they went into Scotland to those who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned such a wariness, in respect of the jealousies amongst themselves, and the ill arts of Argyle, that they desired them "for some time to withdraw to some place," (which they recommended to them,) "and there to remain in secret, and under feigned names, until the calling of the parliament; at which time they might come to Edinburgh, and appear in their own likeness with all freedom." So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for some months, when the parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themselves with the more freedom and confidence in their conversation, the forementioned lords telling them all they meant to do, and what arts they were to use till they could get their army up, towards which they believed they had mastered the greatest difficulties.

Though the Scottish commissioners had withdrawn from London, shortly after they had protested loudly against the proceedings of the parliament, both in imprisoning the king, and in refusing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the government of that kingdom, and thought it high

time to provide for their own security by quitting their station at London, where they received every day affronts, and their persons were exposed to contempt; yet there were no sooner preparations towards a parliament in Scotland, than commissioners were sent from the lords and commons at Westminster to reside at Edinburgh, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a strong or at least an active party there. They were received with the same show of respect, and the same care was taken for their accommodation, as had been when they first came for contriving of the covenant; not only the marquis of Argyle, and his party, very diligently visited them, and performed all offices of respect towards them, but even the Hamiltonian faction, and they who were most solicitous to raise the war, attended them as officiously as others, and made the same professions to preserve the peace and amity between the two nations.

That rigid party of the clergy which so adored the covenant in the strictest sense of the letter, that they did not desire to have any more dependence upon the king, but to lay him aside, and to settle the government without him, as their brethren in England had resolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received such presents and pensions from the English commissioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them fast friends. By this means nothing was resolved, or proposed in the most secret councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themselves as haughtily and imperiously, as if they had their army at hand to second them. They took notice of the resort of so many to Edinburgh, and that there were many amongst them who had been in arms against the parliament, and demanded, "that they might either be banished that kingdom, or delivered to them to be sent to the parliament."

They were so clamorous in this argument, and found so much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the English thither, had not the courage to own them; but advised them underhand, "to absent themselves from the town, till that storm should be over." And even sir Marmaduke Langdale, and sir Philip Musgrave, whom, over and above all the discourses held with them at London, the Scottish lords had sent to confer with as they passed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them, and desired them "to prepare all things with their friends for the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle, when the season should be ripe; and that they would hasten their journey into Scotland, that they might be out of danger of imprisonment;" even these men were desired, "either to withdraw again from Edinburgh, or to keep their chambers there, and not to be seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and such a general made choice of as would take care of their protection." And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that duke Hamilton should be that general; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them, "that whatever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the covenant, which was very necessary to bring their designs to pass, he should be no sooner invested in the command

"his friends designed for him, than he would manifest his resolution to join with the king's party, upon the true interest of the crown, without which he could hope for little success in England:" and he desired them, "though they saw little appearance yet of raising an army, which would be as soon finished as begun, by the method they were accustomed to use, that they would write very earnestly to their friends in England to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the designs they had laid, in as many parts of the kingdom as they could, upon confidence that they should receive relief before they could be oppressed." To the same purpose they writ to the queen, and desired "that the prince might be in a readiness to be with them against the time their army should be ready to march; which, they assured her, should be by the beginning of May." All which several advertisements, being communicated in England, found a people too ready to give credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were hastened by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

The king, whilst he was at Hampton Court, when he foresaw that the army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and resolved to get himself out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the duke of York, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "that, when a fit opportunity should be offered, he should make his escape into the parts beyond the seas, and follow the directions of his mother:" and about this time, when so much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his majesty, in all places, found some way to advertise the duke, "that it would be a very proper season for him to make his escape." The person who was intrusted to contrive it was colonel Bamfield, a man of an active and insinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the king's service; he had served the king in the late war as a colonel of foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other party, and was in truth much more conversant with the presbyterian party than with the king's. So that his repair often to the place where the duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The duke and his brother and sister were then kept at St. James's, where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exercise themselves in, and lords, and ladies, and other persons of condition, were not restrained from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner Bamfield had been sometimes there; and after he had informed the duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observed to speak too often with him, he provided a small vessel to be ready about the custom-house, and to have its pass for Holland, and then advertised the duke to be ready in the close of an evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other children, in a room from whence there was a pair of stairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park; where Bamfield would meet him. And this

was so well adjusted, that the duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a coach was ready, and so carried him into a private house; where he only stayed whilst he put on women's apparel, that was provided for him; and presently, with colonel Bamfield only, went into a pair of oars that was ready; so he passed the bridge, and went on board the vessel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoisted sail, and arrived safe in Holland, without any man of the ship having the least imagination what freight they carried.

The duke, as soon as he was on shore, and in a lodging, resolving no longer to use his woman's habit, stayed there till he advertised his sister, the princess royal of Orange, of his arrival; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the Hague; from whence the queen was informed, and so knew as soon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from London. The prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolved which way he should go; so that it was thought best that the duke should, for the present, stay at the Hague with his sister, till farther resolutions might be taken; and though the service which Bamfield had performed was very well esteemed, yet they thought the making him a groom of his bedchamber would be an ample recompense, and that it was necessary to put a person of a better quality about his highness, who might have a superior command over the other servants; and because the lord Byron, who had been made governor of the duke of York by the king, was then in England, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter assigned to him, sir John Berkley was sent by the queen to wait upon the duke, as governor in the absence of the lord Byron, which Bamfield looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living, to have the command over him.

The lord Capel, who was in the most secret part of all these intrigues in England, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the presbyterians, nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the chancellor of the exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to embark himself in that attempt, as soon as it should be ripe; and had signified the king's command to him, "that as soon as the chancellor should be required to wait upon the prince, he should without delay obey the summons:" and the king had likewise writ to the queen very positively, "that when it should be necessary for the prince to remove out of France, the chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his attendance upon the person of his royal highness, in the condition he had formerly done." About the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the lord Capel, who had always corresponded with the chancellor, and informed him of the state of affairs, and all that concerned himself, writ to him, "that all things were now so ripe, that he believed the prince would not find it fit to remain longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that he would be ready, if he should be sent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon his highness;" which, he said, all the king's friends expected he should do; and which he was resolved to do as soon as the prince should be out

the people, that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the king, who would return with it into Kent;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the king made the earl of Northumberland admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the duke of York;" and the duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known that his highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

The parliament was well informed of the distemper amongst the seamen, and had therefore forbore putting the half of the provisions aboard the ships, which, for the greatest part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the summer service. But those officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the seamen mocked and laughed at them, sent every day to inform the parliament, what mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they sent Rainsborough and some other officers thither; presuming that the presence of the admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a man of a rough imperious nature, as soon as he came on board his ship, begun to make a strict inquiry into the former disorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the men of his ship retired into their old fortress of one and all, and presently laid hold on him, and put him, and such other officers of the ship as they liked not, into the boat, and sent them on shore. Which was no sooner known to the rest of the ships, but they followed their example, and used their officers in the same manner. After they had for some days been feasted and caressed by the people of Kent, some of the gentlemen putting themselves on board to join with them, and in order to assist them towards providing such necessaries as were wanting, they went out of the Downs, and stood for Holland, that they might find their admiral; and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What was done by the gentlemen of Kent on shore, and the success thereof, will be related hereafter.

This so very seasonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when so many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a sure omen of the deliverance of the king. And the report that the ships were before Calais, as if they had expected somebody there, which was true, for some time, was the reason that it was thought fit that the prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being sent for by the Scots, and how to find himself with them) should make all possible haste to Calais. This was the cause of that his sudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money, and all other things necessary for his journey. The cardinal shewed no manner of favouring all these appearances of advantage to the king; he gave less countenance to Scotland, than he had

ever done when it was in rebellion against the king; and, notwithstanding all his promises with reference to Ireland, the marquis of Ormond remained still at Paris, without obtaining arms or money in any proportion, (both which had been promised so liberally,) and was, after all importunities, compelled to transport himself into Ireland (where he was so importunately called for) without any manner of supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the prince was so behoveful, the cardinal utterly refused to furnish him with any money; all which discountenances were shortly after remembered to Cromwell, as high merit.

The prince's remove was by every body thought so necessary, that the lord Jermyn, as was pretended, found means to borrow so much money as was necessary for the journey; which the king paid long after with full interest. Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time, as the chief agent and confident of my lord Jermyn, was presently sent into Holland, to dispose the seamen to be willing to receive the lord Jermyn to command the fleet. So solicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was like to prosper, how unfit soever he was for it; having neither industry, nor knowledge of any thing of the sea, and being less beloved by the seamen than any man that could be named. The prince made what haste he could to Calais, attended by prince Rupert, the lord Hopton, and the lord Colepepper, and some other gentlemen, besides his own domestics; and finding one of the English frigates before Calais, and understanding that the duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvoetsluys, and had put himself on board the fleet there, his highness presently embarked, and made the more haste lest his brother should be in action before him, and was received at the fleet with all those acclamations and noises of joy, which that people are accustomed to; they having expressed as much some days before, at the arrival of the duke of York.

As soon as it was known in Holland that the prince of Wales was arrived, the prince of Orange, with his wife the princess royal, came presently thither to entertain his highness the best that place would permit, but especially to rejoice together, having not seen each other from the time they were children. The prince found the fleet in faction and disorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkley's coming to the Hague to assume the government of the duke of York, had not been acceptable to his royal highness; who was persuaded by colonel Bamfield, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the king to the Isle of Wight. The colonel himself was so incensed with it, that he used all the skill and insinuation he had, to lessen his highness's reverence to the queen, and to dispute her commands. Then taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvoetsluys, he went thither, and having, as is said before, a wonderful address to the disposing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet consisted of, the greatest officer among them being not above the quality of a boat-swain or master's mate, he persuaded them "to declare for the duke of York, without any respect to the king or prince; and when his highness should be on board, that they should not meddle in the quarrel between the king and the

before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would rise together. And so those gentlemen of Kent, who were privy to any design, lay privately in London to avoid all cabals in their country; so that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happened to be at some jovial meeting in Kent about that time, one Mr. L'Estrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk, who had been always of the king's party, and for attempting somewhat in his own country for his majesty's service, had been taken prisoner by the parliament, and by a court of war condemned to die, but being kept in prison till the end of the war, was then set at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel usage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendship with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to one of the greatest fortunes of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old severe grandfather, who for the present kept the young couple from running into any excess; the mother of the lady being of as sour and strict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them so much of the parliament party, that they were not willing any part of their estates should be hazarded for the king. At the house of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Estrange was, when, by the communication which that county always hath with the ships which lie in the Downs, the report first did arise that the fleet would presently declare for the king, and those seamen who came on shore talked as if the city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country who wished well, to visit the ships, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowship was a vice generally spread over that country, and this young great heir, who had been always bred among his neighbours, affected that which they were best pleased with, and so his house was a rendezvous for those who delighted in that exercise, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the king; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had against the parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Estrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterprising nature. He observed, by the good company that came to the house, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the king. He begun to tell Mr. Hales, "that though his grandfather did in his heart wish the king well, yet his carriage had been such in his conjunction with the parliament, that he had more need of the king's favour than of his grandfather's to be heir to that great estate; and that certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfather, or more glorious to him, than to be the instrument of both;" and therefore advised him "to put himself into the head of his own country, which would be willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom should be in arms, he might, with the body of his countrymen, march

"towards London; which would induce both the city and the parliament to join with him, where-by he should have great share in the honour of restoring the king."

The company that frequented the house thought the discourse very reasonable, and saw that the issue must be very honourable: the young lady of the house was full of zeal for the king, and was willing her husband should be the instrument of his delivery: the young gentleman himself had not been enough conversant in the affairs of the world to apprehend the danger or hazard of the attempt, and so referred himself and the whole business to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Estrange, whom they all believed by his discourse to be an able soldier. He writ some letters to particular gentlemen, who he was informed would receive them willingly, and signed warrants to the constables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring, "in his majesty's name, all persons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to advise together, and to lay hold on such opportunities, as should be offered for relieving the king and delivering him out of prison." There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Estrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and those persons which had been used to their company. Mr. L'Estrange spoke to them in a style very much his own; and being not very clear to be understood, the more prevailed over them. He spake like a man in authority, inveighed against "the tyranny of the army, which had subdued the parliament, against their barbarous imprisonment of the king, and against a conspiracy they had to murder him." He added, "that the affections of that noble country were well known to his majesty, and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted not but they would together be too strong for his enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend themselves in many other places; and that his majesty was willing they should have a gentleman of their own country, well known to them, to be their general;" and named Mr. Hales; who was present. There was not one man who so much as asked for any letter or commission, or other authority from the king; but all of them, very frankly and unanimously, declared "they would be ready to join, and march as their general Hales should direct;" and so another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and listing and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Estrange set out such declarations and engagements, as he thought most like to prevail with the people, and required, "that they should be read in all churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the same courage, many coming armed both horse and foot, and shewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their general then gave out his commissions for several regiments, and a new day was appointed for their rendezvous, when all should come armed, and keep together in a body, until it should be fit to march to London.

It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had absolutely renounced the service of the parliament, and rejected all their officers. It was easy to persuade

the people, that they were gone upon some important enterprise, and would speedily return; and it was insinuated, "that it was gone to the Isle of Wight to release the king, who would return with it into Kent;" which made them hasten their preparations.

At the time when the king made the earl of Northumberland admiral, he declared, and it was inserted in his commission, "that he should enjoy that office during the minority of the duke of York;" and the duke having made his escape at this time, when there was this commotion amongst the seamen, it was no sooner known that his highness was in Holland, but the seamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent stirring them up and inflaming them to that resolution, and the seamen again pressing the gentlemen to hasten their rising in arms, that they might assist and second each other, they both declared themselves sooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterprise of that importance.

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"parliament, but entirely join with the presbyterian party, and the city of London; which by this means would bring the parliament to reason:" and he prepared his friends the seamen when the duke should come to them, that they would except against sir John Berkley, and cause him to be dismissed; and then he believed he should be able to govern both his highness and the fleet.

At the same time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowship, had gotten acquaintance with others of the seamen, and made them jealous of Bamfield's activity; and endeavoured to persuade them, "that they should all petition the prince," (who, he knew, would be shortly with them,) "that the lord Jermyn might be made their admiral; who would be able to supply them with money, and whatsoever else they wanted: that there was no hope of money but from France, and that the lord Jermyn had all the power and credit there, and might have what money he desired;" and by these agitations, the infant loyalty of the seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland; and was arrived at Rotterdam, when Bamfield returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the duke of York at the Hague. Bamfield delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the duke's journey thither; and told him, "the seamen made great inquiry after the lord Willoughby, and much longed to have him with them;" insinuating to the duke, "that he had much contributed to that good disposition in the seamen, and was privy to their revolt, and had promised speedily to come to them, and that it would be the most acceptable thing his highness could do to carry him with him to the fleet, and make him his vice-admiral." The duke made all imaginable haste to Helvoetsluys, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the lord Willoughby his vice-admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bamfield continued his activity; and the doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bamfield, and took all the ways he could that the prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey; which did likewise contribute to the haste his highness made. He arrived at Helvoetsluys very seasonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the seamen, upon his highness's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour; which the prince knew would be best preserved by action; and therefore exceedingly desired to be at sea, where he was sure he must be superior to any force the parliament could in a short time put out. But the fleet already wanted many provisions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and assistance of the prince of Orange, was in a short time procured in a reasonable proportion; and

then the prince set sail for the Downs; having sent his brother, the duke of York, with all his family to the Hague, to remain there.

Though the duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been persuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reason would not permit they should both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the prince determining to engage his own person, he submitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his sister. The prince did not think fit to remove the lord Willoughby (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the presbyterian party) from the charge the duke had given him; though he had never been at sea, and was not at all known to the seamen. But captain Batten coming at the same time when his highness did to the fleet, and bringing the Constant Warwick, one of the best frigates the parliament had built, with Jordan, and two or three seamen of good command, his highness knighted him, and made him rear-admiral of the fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the seamen, than by putting the same man, who had commanded them so many years, over them again at this time; whose experience and government would supply the defects and want of skill of the vice-admiral, who was very willing to be advised by him. But the prince shortly after found he was mistaken in that expedient, and that the seamen (who desired to serve the king upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty) did not in any degree affect Batten, because he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the prince came prepared and disposed from the queen, to depend wholly upon the presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the Scottish army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the city of London; and the lord Colepepper, and Mr. Long, the prince's secretary, were trusted by the queen to keep the prince steady and fast to that dependence; and his highness was enjoined to be entirely advised by them; though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the prince himself not inclined that way. Dr. Steward, the dean of the king's chapel, whom his majesty had recommended to his son to instruct him in all matters relating to the church, and Dr. Earles, and his rest of his chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent those infusions. But, by those two, the benefit of this fleet was principally considered, as a happy means to put the prince on shore, that he might be in the head of the Scottish army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very shortly after, the prince would have been advised, with the fleet, "to have followed all the advice which should have been sent from the Scots."

In the mean time it was thought most counselable, after the prince had sailed some days about the coast, that the kingdom might generally know that his highness was there, that they should all go into the river of Thames, and lie still there; by which they expected two great advantages; first, that the city would be thereby engaged to declare itself, when they saw all their trade obstructed; and that their ships homewards bound, of which, at that season of the year, they expected many,

must fall into the prince's hands; and then, that the presence of the prince in the river would hinder the parliament from getting seamen; and from setting out that fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the command of the earl of Warwick; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the charge, thought he should be in a better posture to choose his party, in any other alteration that should happen at land.

When the parliament first heard of the commotion in Kent, and saw the warrants which were sent out and signed by L'Estrange, whom nobody knew, (and the gentlemen of Kent, who sat in the parliament, assured them, "that there was no such gentleman in that county;" and sir Edward Hales, who likewise was present there, told them, "he was very confident that his grandson could not be embarked in such an affair,") they neglected it, and thought it a design to amuse them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and saw the declarations which were published, and were well assured that young Hales appeared with them as their general, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their general, "to send two or three troops of horse into Kent to suppress that seditious insurrection;" sir Edward Hales now excusing himself with revilings, threats, and detestation of his grandson; who, he protested, should never be his heir.

The earl of Holland, who had a commission to be general, and the rest who were engaged, were not yet ready, the Scots being not yet entered; nor did they understand any thing of the business of Kent; however when they were assured that they were drawn into a body, and were so strong that the officers who commanded the troops which had been sent to suppress them, had sent to the parliament word, "that they durst not advance, for that the enemy was much stronger than they, and increased daily; and that they had sent a letter to the city of London inviting them to join with them;" they thought it fit to send them all the countenance and encouragement they could; and thereupon despatched those officers who had been designed for the troops of that county, when the season should be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in London to avoid suspicion. They were desired to call their friends together, as soon as was possible, to join with their neighbours; and were told, "that they should very shortly receive a general from the king:" for they did not think Mr. Hales equal to the work, who found his power and credit to grow less, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to inquire for the king's commission. The earl of Holland had formed his party of many officers who had served both the king and the parliament; all which were in the city; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends, and therefore consulting with the rest, and finding the earl of Norwich, who had been some months in England under a pass from the parliament, (upon pretence of making his composition, from which he had never been excluded,) willing to engage himself in the conduct of those in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the king's service being not to be doubted, they resolved that he should go thither; and there being many

blank commissions ready to be disposed as the service should require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to him, "with power to lead them any whither as the good of the king's service should make requisite." And with this commission he made haste into Kent, and found at Maidstone a better body of horse and foot armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought against them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another general to be sent thither, and upon the storms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his grandfather, on the one side, and on his wife by her mother on the other side, and upon the conscience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the least declined, found means to transport himself, and wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Estrange, who had lost his credit with the people, into Holland; resolving, as soon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himself, and to venture his person in the service which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from Scotland with the presbyterians their correspondents, the fame of sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edinburgh, and that many English officers and soldiers daily flocked thither, but especially the promises from Paris of supplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as soon as they could expect it, set all the other wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter. There were in South Wales colonel Laughorn, colonel Powell, and colonel Poyer, who commanded those parts under the parliament, which they had served from the beginning: the first of them a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in those counties, who had been bred a page under the earl of Essex, when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was first engaged in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wishing ill to the king: the second was a gentleman too, but a soldier of fortune: the third, had from a low trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was at this time trusted by the parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke. These three communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the parliament for the service they had done, and that other men, especially colonel Mitton, were preferred before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the king upon the presbyterian account. But Laughorn, who was not infected with any of those freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it should be time, to sober resolutions, would not engage till he first sent a confident to Paris to inform the prince of what he had determined, and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved, they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of. And the lord Jermyn sent him a promise under his hand, "that he should not fail

"of receiving all the things he had desired, before he could be pressed by the enemy;" and therefore conjured him, and his friends, "forthwith to declare for the king; which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to his majesty's service; since, upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scottish army would be ready to march into England." Hereupon they presently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not supplied with provisions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

The lord Byron had been sent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland, to get as many places to declare in England in several places, as might distract the army, and keep it from an entire engagement against them; to dispose his old friends about Chester and North Wales to appear as soon as might be: and he presently, with the help of colonel Robinson, possessed himself of the island of Anglesey, and disposed all North Wales to be ready to declare as soon as the Scots should enter the kingdom. But that which was of most importance, and seemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was that some gentlemen, who had formerly served the king in the garrison of Newark, and in the northern army, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received from him since, when he believed the Scots would be in a short time ready to begin their march) surprised the strong castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, (which had a garrison in it for the parliament,) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of officers and soldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the communication between London and York insecure, except it was with strong troops. Upon which argument of the surprise of Pontefract, we shall enlarge hereafter, before we speak of the tragic conclusion of this enterprise. All affairs were in this motion in England, before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of May.

Indeed as to the raising an army in Scotland, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should command, and be general of this army, was the matter upon which the success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure duke Hamilton to be made choice of for that service, they could promise themselves no good issue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old general Lesley, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their prosperous successes; but he was in the confidence of Argyle, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the man was grown old, and appeared, in the actions of the last expedition into England, very unequal to the command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command, upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his honour against the English, except assisted by English, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment he had per-

formed; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always received some affront. When by this means there was a new general to be named, duke Hamilton was proposed, as a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly undergone the office of general under the king of Sweden, where Lesley, that had now declined the employment, was major general under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of war.

Whilst this was depending, Argyle took notice of sir Marmaduke Langdale's and sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other English officers in their company, and desired, "that, if they were to have any command in the army, they might presently take the covenant; and that there might be a general declaration, that there should be neither officer nor soldier received into their army, before he had first taken the covenant: and that, after they were entered into the kingdom of England, they should make no conjunction with any forces, or persons, who had not done, or should refuse to do the same." This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the army for the delivery of the king, being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though duke Hamilton and his brother of Lanrick did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of England, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to speak against it; and the chancellor of Scotland and the earl of Lautherdale were as passionate for the advancement of it, as Argyle himself; and seemed to think that those two gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after so long knowledge of England, and their observation of whom the king's party did consist, after their so often conferences with the king without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preserve himself at Newcastle from being delivered up to the parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yielded to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to consent to or promise, "that any man should be compelled to take the covenant;" that they should still adhere to that fatal combination against the church, which they could never hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the king under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the parliament and army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the king's party, and designed no less to oppress them than the independents and anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the parliament to the king, the insurrection in Kent, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the king, they slackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that strength might be oppressed and reduced, that so they might be absolute masters after they had prevailed over the army. And at last, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate pressure of their friends in London, they sent the earl of

Lautherdale with those insolent instructions, which will be mentioned anon, and positively required the prince immediately to repair to them; positively declaring, "that if his person should not be forthwith in their army, they would return again into Scotland without making any attempt;" and the knowing this resolution, was the reason that the queen was so positive in her instructions, notwithstanding the appearance of any other advantage to the king in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave no sooner heard of this declaration, than they went to those lords, and expostulated very sharply with them, for "having broken their faiths, and betrayed them into their country; where they were looked upon as enemies." They were answered, "that they must give over their design to redeem the king, or yield to this determination, which their parliament was so firm and united in; and would never depart from." And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the covenant; some of them desiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to satisfy them, that the covenant did not include those things in it, which they thought it did. But when they saw those gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they resolved presently to leave the country; and told them, "they would deceive those honest people in England, who were too much inclined to trust them; and that they should find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined;" the Scottish lords knew well enough of what importance their presence was to be to them, for their very entrance into England; and thereupon desired them, "that they would have a little patience, and again absented themselves from Edinburgh, till the heat of this dispute was over, and till the army should be ready to march;" and duke Hamilton, who had a marvellous insinuation to get himself believed, assured them in confidence, "that as soon as he should find himself in the head of his army, and upon their march, there should be no more talk of covenants, but that all the king's friends should be welcome, and without distinction." So they left Edinburgh again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not stayed long, before the duke sent for them to come to him in private; and after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; and that their friends in England called so importunately for them, that he was resolved to march in very few days; which he thought necessary to communicate to them, not only for the friendship he had for them; which would always keep him without reserve towards them; but because he must depend upon them two to surprise the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, against the time he should be able to march thither; for he intended to march between those two places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their first entrance into Scotland, adjusted with their friends who inhabited near those places, to be ready for that enterprise when they should be called upon; which they then believed would have been much sooner; so that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commissions from the duke for the doing thereof; which he excused himself for not giving,

under pretence of "the secrecy that was necessary; in respect whereof he would not trust his own secretary; and likewise, as a thing unnecessary for the work; since it was their own reputation and interest, and their being known to have been always trusted by the king, by which they could bring it to pass, and not his commission; for which those towns would have no reverence." Besides, he told them, "that the marquis of Argyll had still protested against their beginning the war by any act of hostility against the English, in forcing any of the towns; which was not necessary in order to the king's deliverance; but that an army might march to the place where the king was, to the end that those messengers who were sent by the state to speak with the king, might have liberty to speak with his majesty; which was a right of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be no breach of the pacification between the two kingdoms."

This argument, they knew, was not reasonable enough to sway the duke. But they foresaw two other reasons, which did prevail with him not to give those commissions they desired, which otherwise might have been given with the same secrecy that the business was to be acted with; the one, the order against giving any commission to any man before he had taken the covenant: and how much authority soever the duke might take upon him to dispense with that order after he should be in England, it might not be convenient that he should assume it whilst he remained yet at Edinburgh: the other was, that, when they had done it without his commission, he might, upon his march, or as soon as he came thither, dispossess them of the government, and put Scotchmen into their places; the last of which he did not dissemble to them; but confessed, "that, though the council of Scotland would not attempt the taking of those towns, yet when they should be taken, they would expect the government thereof should be in their hands, and depend upon them, without which they should not be able to send him those continual supplies which he expected from them." And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which sir George Monroe had near raised in the north, who were to begin their march after him, as soon as he should be out of Scotland, the two gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the army, at least whilst they stayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well, it was for the service that those towns should remain in the hands of the English, without which few of the gentlemen of those parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offered to the duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had several officers, and soldiers, laid privately on the Scottish side to wait his commands, and more on the English; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Berwick, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had for some time harboured many men. Some of them sir Marmaduke appointed to meet him, on the Scottish

side, at a place about a mile distant from Berwick, the night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the town by the rising of the sun; some about the market place, and some upon the bridge, by which he must enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horses, laden with sacks of corn, always resorted to the town, sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about a hundred horse, and some few foot, which walked with the market people, presently after sunrising, was upon the bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he caused the bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his troops went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. There was so general a consternation seized upon the whole town, there being no other garrison but town's-men, that after they had seized upon the mayor, who was the governor, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip Musgrave, with as little opposition, possessed himself of Carlisle; where he had a greater interest; and the people were generally better affected to the king, and more disinclined to the Scots than those of Berwick used to be; and they both hastened advertisement to the duke of what they had done.

It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foresaw they should have a war with Scotland, and had constant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garrisons into those two important places, the very strength of which could for some time have withstood all the power which Scotland could have brought against them. But the same reason which had been current at Edinburgh to this very time, had prevailed at Westminster. It was specially provided for by the act of pacification between the two kingdoms, when the parliaments of both kingdoms combined against the king, "that there should be no more garrisons kept on either side in Berwick or Carlisle;" where they were then disbanded, and some of their fortifications slighted; which could easily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an enemy for some time. And the parliament would not now permit any men to be sent thither, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them; but left Berwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens; who could have defended themselves against the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had so perfect a contempt of the whole strength of that nation, that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field, or what place they ever possessed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and sir Philip Musgrave were no sooner possessed of Berwick and Carlisle, than all the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly served the king, resorted and flocked to them well armed, appointed, and provided for the war; so that they had not only very sufficient garrisons to keep those places, but troops enough of horse to free the adjacent counties from those forces, and committees, and other persons, who were either publicly engaged in, or well known privately to wish well to the parliament. It was upon the 28th of April

that sir Marmaduke Langdale possessed himself of Berwick; and next day after sir Philip Musgrave surprised Carlisle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; so that the citizens were in confusion, and made little resistance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to duke Hamilton, that they would deliver up the towns to him when he should require them; he having assured them, "that the king had promised, under his hand, "that those two towns should be delivered into "the possession of the Scots;" which it must needs be supposed that they should first take from the parliament, in whose possession they were both when the king signed the engagement at Carisbrook castle. And the duke had not only refused to give them any men, or other assistance towards the taking them, but, as hath been said, would not grant them his commission to perform it; pretending, "that he durst not do it, "because they were bound not to begin the war:" only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promised "to send five hundred muskets, and ten "barrels of powder to each garrison; and that "their whole army should march into England "within twenty days; and that, if they were "sooner in distress, they should be sure to be "relieved."

But after he heard that both places were possessed by them, he deferred not to send a governor and garrison to receive Berwick; to whom sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promise; and was required "to march with "all the English to the parts adjacent to Carlisle, "and there to increase his troops to what number "he could, with what expedition was possible;" which he performed so effectually, that, in very few days, he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carlisle, where he mustered above three thousand foot well armed, and seven hundred horse not so well armed; all which were raised in Cumberland and Westmoreland, over and above the garrison of Carlisle; which yet remained under sir Philip Musgrave; and, within two days, five hundred horse, very well appointed, came out of Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; so that sir Marmaduke Langdale resolved presently to march into Lancashire, to reduce those who were for the parliament there; which he could easily have done, the lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheshire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progress towards an army, was not well looked upon at Edinburgh; and an express was despatched with positive orders to sir Marmaduke Langdale "not to engage or fight with the enemy, "upon what advantage soever, until the Scottish "army should come up." And wherever that express should overtake sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with his forces near Carlisle; which he obeyed as soon as he received the order, and when he might have marched against Lambert; who was sent before with a less strength than sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

But, as if this had not been discouragement enough, within one or two days after that express, letters were sent from the council in Scotland, by which sir Marmaduke Langdale was very severely reprehended, "for receiving papists into his army,

“and not owning the covenant in the declarations which he had published;” and told, “that he should receive no assistance from them, except the covenant was embraced by all his army.” This struck at the root of all their hopes; and was so contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scottish lords, both by words and letters, “that they should never be troubled with any such motions, after they were once upon English ground; and that then they should proceed upon those grounds as were like to bring in most men to their assistance;” that sir Marmaduke prevailed with sir Philip Musgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edinburgh, to expostulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm resolution to the lords there.

Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a list with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the covenant before they could be admitted to composition, or procure the sequestrations to be taken from their estates, and of some others who had taken it for quietness’ sake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in some degree mitigated, but seemed to retain still their rigour, that it should be submitted to by the whole army.

In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a strong body of horse and foot, advanced upon sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carlisle, and suffer himself to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one side, whilst he sent letter upon letter to the duke “to hasten his march, or to send some troops to his assistance, and liberty to fight the enemy.”

Though the earl of Norwich had found the assembly at Maidstone very numerous, he found them likewise very disorderly, and without government, nor easy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealousies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of several opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire submission and obedience to the earl of Norwich as their general, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and persons, nor to inquire by what means they had first been drawn together; which implied that many men wished they had been to begin again. The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise. He had always lived in the court in such a station of business as raised him very few enemies; and his pleasant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at least made many delight in his company. So that by the great favour he had with the king and queen, and the little prejudice he stood in with any body else, he was very like, if the fatal disorder of the time had not blasted his hopes, to have grown master of a very fair fortune; which was all that he proposed to himself. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exercise the office he had taken upon him of general, but was very willing to please every man, and comply with every body’s humour; which

was quickly discovered; and so men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obstinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indisposition increased, when they heard that Fairfax himself was appointed to march towards them. They who best understood the affair, and how to apply the strength they had to the best advantage, advised, “that they might retire beyond Rochester, and by breaking down the bridge there, and fortifying another pass or two, which was easy to be done, they might keep the enemy from entering into the [east] of Kent” (which was the largest and best part of that rich and populous county) “longer than they would be able to continue the attempt, for fear of being enclosed by an enemy at their back, if the city of London, or those of Essex, who were most spoken of, had a mind to declare for the king; and by this means they might be sure of a correspondence with the fleet;” of the return whereof in a short time they were most confident; and the more, because some gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in some authority, who, they knew, would hasten their return all they could.

Many were the more persuaded that the fleet was gone to the Isle of Wight for the rescue of the king, because those gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the most reasonable, and if it had been pursued might have kept the enemy at a bay for some time. But other men less reasonable were of another mind: they did not believe “that Fairfax could have leisure to look after them; they were confident that the parliament had so many enemies to look after, those in Wales growing strong, and having beaten the party that had been sent against them; and the officers in the north, who had seized upon Pontefract castle in Yorkshire, and had drawn in a strong garrison from the parts adjacent, had a body of horse, that infested all those parts; and the Scots were upon their march for England: and therefore they concluded that Fairfax could not be at leisure to visit them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, which would dishearten their friends at London, and all those of that part of Kent, which must be deserted upon their retreat, would desert them, as soon as that resolution should be known;” and therefore they desired, “that they might all march towards Blackheath; which would raise the spirits of their friends, and many would resort every day to them out of London and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well affected.”

The noise for this was the greater, and the earl of Norwich himself was thereby swayed to be of that opinion; and so they resolved to advance, and a short day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Blackheath; and orders were sent out accordingly.

The disturbance in so many places made the resolution of the general now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, “that Fairfax himself was not willing to march against the Scots;” which was not now counsellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing to take that province to himself, and had always so great a contempt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much lesser number than he well knew the Scottish army to consist of, and being

informed which way the Scots resolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as soon as they should be entered, with those troops which he had made choice of, having first suppressed the risings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke castle, and making prisoners therein Laughorn, Powell, and Poyer, the heads of that insurrection, and not troubling himself with Pontefract castle, which he thought would not be of great consequence, if the Scots were subdued.

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the army, remained in and about London to suppress the insurrection in Kent, and watch any other which should fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehension than of all the power of Scotland. And so when the parliament was advertised by their troops which were first sent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the earl of Norwich was declared general of the Kentish troops, and was marching in the head of them towards Blackheath, Fairfax drew all his army together, and his cannon, and marched over London-bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to stop their march to London. The earl was now advanced so far, and Fairfax advanced too fast to put the former counsel in practice, of breaking down the bridges, and keeping the passes; and they who had opposed that counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmest season of the year, the month of July, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remained had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore the earl, upon conference with those who remained, and were resolved to run the utmost hazard, resolved to pass themselves and their horses by such boats as they had ready about Greenwich, and down the river, over into Essex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fairfax and his army could not visit them in some days. And so they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near two thousand men, horse and foot; whereof many were officers and soldiers who had served the king, and young gentlemen grown up in those families, who had been too young to appear before.

They found many persons in Essex ready to join with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the alarm of Kent; and who had purposed to have passed over into Kent to have joined with and assisted those who had so frankly appeared for the king, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave lord Capel, sir William Compton, sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, sir Bernard Gascoigne, all excellent officers, with whom colonel Farr, who had served the parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the earl of Warwick, and had at that time the command of Languard Point, a fort of importance upon the sea, joined with them, and many other gentlemen and officers of name, who had drawn together many soldiers; so that when they were all joined together, with those who came from Kent, they made a body of above three thousand horse and foot,

with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army.

They well knew Fairfax would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in Colchester, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they cast up such works before the avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an assault; and resolved to expect a conjunction with other of their friends; and were most confident that the Scottish army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be distressed.

They had scarce put themselves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fairfax came upon them; who made no stay in Kent, after he heard what was become of the earl of Norwich and his friends; but left two or three troops of horse to settle that county, with the assistance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with those who had revolted from them. When he came first before Colchester, and saw it without any fortifications, he thought presently to have entered the town with his army; but he found so rude resistance, that by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the general as well as the army, he resolved to encompass it with his troops, and without hazarding the loss of men, to block them up, till famine should reduce them; and disposed his army accordingly; which quickly stopped up all passages by which either men or provisions should get into the town; though by many brave sallies from within, their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were lost on both sides.

The fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulness, submitted to the command of the prince, was not so active as it was expected it should be; and was very much the worse for the factions and divisions which were amongst those who attended upon the prince; who, according to their several humours, endeavoured to work upon the seamen; a people capable of any impression, but not very retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the prince was very kind, did not, upon many old contests in the late war, love the lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greatest influence on prince Rupert, Herbert the attorney general, that of all men living was most disposed to make discord and disagreement between men; all his faculties being resolved into a spirit of contradicting, disputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was proposed. He having no title or pretence to interpose in councils, and yet there being no secret in the debates there, found it easy to infuse into prince Rupert, who totally resigned himself to his advice, such arguments as might disturb any resolution: and there were so many who were angry that they were not admitted into the council, as the lords Piercy, Wilmot, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolved there. They had all that admission and countenance from the prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to and before him, as any where else. Prince Rupert had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the coast, which might have caused some sea-towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the king; which seemed not a design that would bear a

reasonable discourse. But action was a very grateful word to the seamen, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his instructions at Paris, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from London; from whence they had the assurance already, that duke Hamilton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thousand men; which was true.

When the prince came with the fleet into the sea from Helvoetsluys, he met a ship of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been so soon ready for sea. The ship was taken, and, the decks being sealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet; which, at their entrance into the river of Thames, took many other ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the ship itself was a very strong ship, and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a seaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to serve the king: and, without doubt, if all the ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure ports, the value of the goods would have mounted to so great a sum, as might have countervailed a very great expense at sea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure port, where that treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his royal highness's proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was so alarmed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the seizure of so many of their ships, especially the cloth ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the people: and the lord mayor and aldermen applied themselves to the parliament, for leave to send down some agents to the fleet to procure a release of that ship; and if that could not be brought to pass, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing such a commerce and correspondence between the fleet and the city, in such a conjuncture of jealousy, that most men believed the parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another sort of treasure enclosed in that ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of those who granted that indulgence to the city, had more money on board that vessel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no less than forty thousand pounds.

Upon this liberty granted by the parliament, a committee was sent from the city with a petition to the prince of Wales, "that he would restore the ship which belonged to his father's good subjects." With these men came letters from some of those who were well known to be very solicitous at that time for the advancement of the king's service, and privy to the treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the earl of Holland: the countess of Carlisle, who was trusted by all

that people, and had gotten again confidence with the queen, trusted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the city in this negociation, to say many things to the prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how necessary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and testimonies to give him credit, as a man trusted by all who intended to serve the king, who had with wonderful address got him to be one of those employed by the city, that he might, under that security, give such animadversions to the prince, and to his council, as was necessary. He was a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city, and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was trusted by the presbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the king's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this petition, the prince writ a long letter to the city, and enclosed in it a declaration, for the publishing of both which in print care was taken, the substance of which was, "the great affection he bore to the city, and the prosperity thereof;" the whole being in such a style, as might best please the presbyterians, with less care than should have been used to preserve the zeal of the king's party; and desiring, "that they would join with him for the delivery of the king his father out of prison, and to make a good understanding between his majesty and the parliament, which his highness desired with all imaginable concernment." The citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their ship released without a good sum of money, which the prince told them "was absolutely necessary for the payment of the seamen, and he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it when a peace should be made." So some of them returned to London, and the rest remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ships. By this means the prince received advertisement of the Scots continuing their march, and that those who were enclosed in Colchester were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the earl of Holland being ready to declare as soon as their pressures should require it. After near a month's negociation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the prince, and thereupon that cloth ship was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any search suffered to be made.

Whilst the prince lay in the Downs, there was an enterprise necessary to be made on shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the fleet from the parliament, and before it set sail for Holland, it had taken one or two of those blockhouses, which are nearest the mouth of the river; and had left some seamen in them, with sufficient provisions to defend themselves till the fleet should return. The prince found these blockhouses besieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days.

The strength that lay before them consisted more in horse than foot; and at high tide the boats might go so near, that there seemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the besiegers to rise: and the seamen, having nothing else to do, offered to undertake the service for the redemption of their fellows; many land officers being likewise on board, and some foot soldiers, the prince sent some of those with the seamen to undertake the business; but it had no good issue; the tide was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the castle than they imagined, and the horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the men were killed, and more taken prisoners, and the rest forced to their boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the blockhouses at last came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the prince, those forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there was some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appeared very prosperous in any place; and any access of good fortune raised the spirits of those, who easily were persuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some mortification.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the parliament of more and better ships than had revolted, and the command thereof given to the earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the tide was come within sight of the prince; and there dropped anchor. So that both fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there seemed all alacrity in the prince's fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the king; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it seemed to have no foundation in truth.

The earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared resolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known, that the earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the earl of Holland, and had promised to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the prince should write to the earl to summon, or invite him to return to his allegiance. This was sent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an answer from the earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly besought his highness "to put himself into the hands of the parliament; and that the fleet with him might submit to their obedience; upon which they should be pardoned for their revolt."

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the earl's inclination, yet the prince was prevailed with, that Mr. Crofts might give the earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having married his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the earl; which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain. But Crofts returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the prince, he resolved to attack them. All anchors were weighed, and preparations made

to advance to the assault, the whole fleet being under sail towards the other; which seemed equally resolved and disposed, though the wind, which drove the prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was somewhat narrower. In an instant the wind ceased, and there was a calm; so that the prince could not advance; and some doubts arose, upon the narrowing of the river, as if some of his ships might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind rose again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the prince's face; and would not suffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new consultations; great want of provisions was discovered to be in the fleet, insomuch as that they should not be able to stay at sea above ten days, and many ships would want sooner, and therefore since the earl of Warwick, as the wind stood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be distressed for provisions, it was thought most counsellable to put to sea; where they could more commodiously engage in a battle, if the earl of Warwick would advance; and if he did not, there was great reason to hope, that the prince might meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth to join with the earl, and which might easily be surprised or taken by the prince's fleet; which was much superior to them in strength.

At this time the earl of Lautherdale arrived in a ship from Scotland; and having left duke Hamilton upon his march towards Berwick, he was sent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the prince in the purpose of putting out to sea, since it was absolutely necessary to carry the fleet first into Holland, before it could transport him into the northern parts. So the whole fleet went to sea, and continued their course for Holland, with hope still to meet with those ships which were coming from Portsmouth. And meet with them they did in the night; which the prince knew not till the morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now necessary to make all possible haste to Holland; since by the conjunction with these ships, besides all other advantages, the earl of Warwick was now become superior in the number, as well as the strength and goodness of his ships; which appeared by his coming before Helvoetsluys, within few days after the prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of July, when duke Hamilton entered into England with his army, when he came to Carlisle, and immediately took that government from sir Philip Musgrave, and drew out all the English garrison, and put Scots in their place. And after some few days' stay there, the English and Scottish forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to Penrith in Cumberland where Lambert then quartered: and if they had continued their march, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the duke would quarter that night two miles short; and Lambert, in the same night, marched from thence in great disorder and confusion to the edge of Yorkshire. The duke rested many days, that all his forces might come up, which came slowly out of Scotland. As soon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal; where he rested again a full fortnight; the reason where-

of nobody could imagine; except it were that those forces which were up in several parts of the kingdom, for the king, might undergo some defeat, that they might not be so united, as to control or obstruct the presbyterian design. For after that army was entered into England, it moved, as hath been said, by such very slow marches, and so negligently, and with so little apprehension of an enemy, and it was quartered at so huge a distance, that the head-quarter was very often twenty miles distant from some part of the army; the duke himself performing no part of the office of a general, but taking his ease, and being wholly governed by David Lesley the lieutenant general of the army, and two or three other officers.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched, with his body of English, consisting of near four thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertisement of the enemy's motion, and for which they made no other provision, and likewise meant that he should bear the first brunt of them, desiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of August, when sir Marmaduke Langdale advertised the duke, by an express, "that he had received unquestionable intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three days' march, and resolved to engage his army as soon as possibly he could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the people's gathering together at any distance from him, in what posture soever;" and therefore desired his grace, "that he would keep his army close together; for they could not be far asunder with any security;" and declared, "that he himself would rest, and wait the advance of the enemy, and then retire back as he should find it necessary."

The duke, notwithstanding this advertisement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was persuaded, "that the enemy could not be so near; and that, if Cromwell was advanced to such a distance, it was only with such a party, as he would not presume to engage with their whole army." In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke sent him every day advice that confirmed the former, "and that his horse had encountered some of the enemy, and that their whole body was at hand; but that it was true, it was not a body equal in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell expected was to join battle with him." All this gained not credit, till sir Marmaduke himself, making his retreat with very sharp skirmishes, in which many men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head quarters of the duke; whither he likewise brought with him some prisoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or six miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The duke was confounded with the intelligence, and at his wits' end knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no show of any purpose to fight. In this amazement, the duke stayed himself with some officers at Preston; and caused his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wigan, a pretty town in Lancashire, where he should, as he thought, find some regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to

his troops, the duke having promised to send him some troops to assist, and that some foot should be sent to keep a lane, that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the closes near Preston. The enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintained the dispute for above six hours with great courage, and with very great loss to the enemy in officers, and common soldiers; insomuch as they seemed to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the Scots sent him no assistance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that assaulted him, but only some party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, "that he verily believed, if one thousand foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day:" and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw foot fight so desperately as they did.

The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking any care to secure the lane, which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horse came upon his flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, sir Marmaduke, and such of his horse as kept together, were driven into the town; where the duke remained yet with some officers; who all retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal disorder. For as soon as the English forces were broken, the Scots were presently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the duke had still his own army entire; with which he continued to march two or three days, till he came to Uxeter; and in that time many of the Scottish noblemen forsook him, and rendered themselves prisoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops pressed so hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding one man of their own. The duke was scarce got into Uxeter, when his troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by Cromwell's horse under Lambert, that himself and all the principal officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their horses, made their escape) were taken prisoners: the duke neither behaving himself like a general, nor a gentleman of courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses when he was brought to Cromwell that a poor-spirited man could do.

Thus his whole army was routed, and defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserved it by any opposition; the rest taken prisoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only some of their horse, which had been quartered most backward, made haste to carry news to their country of the ill success of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the most part taken by the activity of the country, or the horse that pursued them; whereof sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with some of his officers and soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill fortune to be discovered; and was so taken prisoner, and sent to the castle of Nottingham. All this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army amount-

ing to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together ; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this victory, after the English forces under Langdale had been defeated.

[It may be proper now to mention, that] the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, had many misadventures ; which detained them from attending upon the prince in the fleet. As soon as they heard that his highness had put himself on board a ship at Calais to find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Dieppe, in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk ; where when they arrived, they found a gentleman, a servant of the prince's, who informed them, "that the prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and that he had sent him with a letter to the marshal Ranzaw, who was governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a frigate of him ;" which he had there, and had by some civil message offered to lend to his highness ; and the marshal, who received them with great civility, assured them that the frigate should be ready the next day, and, if they pleased to make use of it, should carry them to the prince.

They looked upon it as an excellent opportunity, which would deliver them much sooner at the fleet, than they had before expected to be ; and so, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreseen, they embraced the occasion ; there being no hazard which they apprehended at sea, but that they might be taken by the parliament ships ; which, by the prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and so being master at sea, was hardly possible. So they unwarily put themselves into that frigate, and set sail in the evening from Dunkirk ; presuming that they should, the next morning, find themselves in the Downs with the prince. But there was so dead a calm that night, that they made very little way ; and, the next morning, they found that they were chased by six or seven frigates of Ostend. The sum was, that they were taken prisoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money,) and were carried into Ostend, where, though they were presently at liberty, they were compelled to stay many days, not without some hope, raised by the civility of the Spanish governor, and the lords of the admiralty there, who very liberally promised an entire restitution of all that they had lost. But that being without any effect, that brutish people, the freebooters, being subject to no government, they found means to give notice to the prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his command at Flushing ; whither they easily went without being exposed any more to the perils of the sea. Within few days after, the prince, out of the Downs, sent a frigate for them to Flushing ; where they embarked several times, and were at sea the whole night, and in the morning driven back by high winds, sometimes into Flushing, sometimes to Ramekins ; and so were compelled to go to Middleborough, and after a month's stay in those places, and many attempts to get to sea, they received order from the prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had resolved to go, as soon as the earl of Lautherdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the prince's immediate repair to the Scottish army ; which was then entered into England.

By this means they came not to the prince, till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvoetsluys.

The prince was received by the States with all outward respect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge at the hotel de ville ; his royal highness every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the prince of Orange and the princess lay, and where both his royal highness and the duke of York had very good apartments ; the prince and duke, after two or three days, always eating with the princess royal, the prince of Orange himself keeping his own table open, according to custom, for the resort of such of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble persons, who frequently repaired thither.

The prince of Wales's court was full of faction, and animosity against each other, so that the new comers were not only very well received by the prince, but very welcome to every body, who being angry with the other counsellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Herbert the attorney general, who had never loved either of them, came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and how much prince Rupert longed for their company." And within a very short time after, prince Rupert himself came to bid them welcome, with all possible grace, and profession of great kindness and esteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly against the whole administration of the fleet, in which most part of the court, which had been present, and who agreed in nothing else, concurred with them.

The whole clamour was against the lord Colepepper, and sir Robert Long the prince's secretary, who, by the queen's injunction, was wholly subservient to the lord Colepepper. They accused them of corruption, not only with reference to the cloth ship, but to the release of very many other ships, which they had discharged upon no other reason, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much discourse of money brought to both their cabins by Mr. Lowe, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the lord Colepepper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way ; but, having some infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never absolved from any thing of which any man accused him ; and the other was so notoriously inclined to that way of husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great riches were parted with, and had been released for little or no money ; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it easily believed that such unthrifty counsel could not have been given, except by those who were well rewarded for it ; which still fell upon those two.

There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain so long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had been proposed that it might go to the Isle of Wight, where they might, in the consternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have released the king ; Carisbrook being near the sea, not strong in itself, and without a strong castle, the island well affected, and at that time under no such power as could subdue them.

And why such an attempt, which, if unsuccessful, could have been attended with no damage considerable, was not made, was never fully answered.

They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him, that the two fleets did not fight with each other, when they were so near engaging in the river; which, they said, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the prince; and in this the clamour of the seamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for most dispassionate men gave him a good testimony in that affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon him, of passing by the ships which came from Portsmouth, in the night, was not so well answered: for it was known, though he said that they were passed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reasonably enough have been done, out of apprehension, besides the inconvenience of a night engagement, that the noise of the conflict might have called the earl of Warwick out of the river to their assistance, before they could have mastered them; there being two or three of the best ships of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable resistance. But this being never urged by himself, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the seamen, as well as the courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally thought, without reason, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and because he was a man of a regular and orderly course of life, and command, and of very few words, and less passion than at that time raised men to reputation in that county. There was only one man in the council of whom nobody spoke ill, or laid any thing to his charge; and that was the lord Hopton. But there was then such a combination, by the countenance of prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the court, and the attorney general, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the prince himself to have a less esteem of him than his singular virtue, and fidelity, and his unquestionable courage, and industry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deserve.

This state the court was in, when the two new counsellors came; who quickly discerned, by the unsteady humours and strong passions all men were possessed with, that they should not preserve the reputation they seemed to have with every body for the present, any long time, and foresaw that necessity would presently break in upon them like an armed man, that would disturb and distract all their counsels. And there was, even at the instant in which they arrived at the Hague, the fatal advertisement of that defeat of the Scottish army, which must break all their measures, and render the condition of the prince, and of the whole kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the king his father in the utmost despair.

The rumour of this defeat came to the Hague the next day after the prince came thither, but not so particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet thoroughly understood. And his highness appointing his council to meet together the next morning after the lord Cottington and the

chancellor of the exchequer came thither, he informed them of the lord Lautherdale's message to him from the parliament of Scotland, and that he very earnestly pressed him, even since the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his highness thought fit, that the earl should give an account of his commission at the board; whereupon he was sent for in; and, that all respect might be shewed to the parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon.

He first read his commission from the parliament, and then the letter which the parliament had writ to the prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the parliament, "that out of their native and constant affection and duty to their king, and finding that, contrary to the duty of subjects, his majesty was imprisoned by the traitorous and rebellious army in England, they had raised an army in that kingdom, that, since their advice, counsel, and treaty in an amicable way, could not prevail, might by force redeem his majesty's person from that captivity; which they held themselves obliged by their solemn league and covenant to endeavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes: that this army was already entered into England, under the command of James duke Hamilton, whom, in respect of his known and eminent fidelity to his majesty, they had made general thereof; and having now done all that was in their power to do for the present, and having taken due care for the seasonable supply and recruit of that army, they now sent to his highness, that he would with all possible speed, according to the promise which the king his father had made, transport his royal person, that he might himself be in the head of that army to obtain the liberty of his father;" and they desired him, "that for the circumstances of his journey he would be advised by the earl of Lautherdale, to whom they had given full instructions;" and they besought his highness "to give credit to him in all things."

The earl likewise shewed his instructions, by which none of the prince's chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *godly* men should be suffered to be about the person of his highness; and particularly that neither prince Rupert, nor the chancellor of the exchequer, nor some other persons should be permitted to go with the prince. And after all these things were read and enlarged upon, he pressed the prince, with all imaginable instance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their army in England, of which he could not be without particular relation, that he would lose no time from entering upon his journey; and all this with as insolent and supercilious behaviour, as if their army had been triumphant.

When he had said all he meant to say, he sat still, as if he expected to hear what the prince or any body else would say to what he proposed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to say, he would withdraw, to the end that the council might debate the matter, before they gave their advice to the prince." He took this motion very ill, and said "he was a privy counsellor to the king in Scotland, and being likewise a commissioner from the parliament, he ought not to be excluded from any debate that concerned the affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in so

imperious and offensive a manner, that drew on much sharpness; and the chancellor of the exchequer, who knew him very well since the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the highest importance, treated him with the same liberty they had then been accustomed to. He told him, "he meant not to say any thing in that debate, when he should be withdrawn, that he desired should be concealed from him, or unheard by him; and that he was ready to say, that, in his judgment, all he had proposed was very unreasonable; but he would not that the dignity of the board should be prostituted to his demand, nor that he should be present there at any debate." The earl replied, "that he was sent by the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, to the prince of Wales, and that he did protest against having any thing he proposed to be treated, and debated by, or before the English board; nor did he consider what was or should be said, by any man but the prince himself." The prince told him, "it was necessary that he himself should hear, and know what the opinion of the council should be; and that it was as unreasonable that he should be present;" and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he presently submitted to with indecency enough. The prince then told them, "that there were some persons come to the town, the last night, who came out of England after the news of the victory over the Scots came to London, with all the circumstances thereof; and of the duke's being taken prisoner;" and that the prince of Orange had told him, "that the States had received intelligence of it from their ambassador Newport, who resided in London." Upon the whole matter, the prince resolved "to meet again the next morning to consult farther what he was to do, and that, in the mean time, the intelligence would be more perfect, and unquestionable, and they should see whether Lautherdale would take any notice of it."

But the night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next morning with the same confidence, and the same importunity for the prince to remove, and begin his journey. He was asked, "whether he had received no information of some ill fortune, that had befallen that army, which might so change the case since he left Scotland, that what might then have been fit, would be now unfit and uncounsellable?" The earl said, "he knew well what the news was from England; and whatever he hoped, that he was not confident it was not true: however he hoped, that would not change the prince's purpose, but that it would more concern him to pursue the resolution he was formerly obliged to; that if any misfortune had befallen that army, the prince had the more reason to endeavour to repair it; which could be done no other way, than by his making all possible haste into Scotland; which remained still a kingdom entire, wholly devoted to his service; and that, by the benefit of his presence, might quickly draw together another army, towards which there was a good beginning already by the preservation of that body under Monroe: that if his highness should decline this only probable way to preserve himself, and to recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as little for his own interest, and for

"the preservation of the crown: he therefore besought his highness, that he would cause some of his ships to be forthwith made ready, and would therein immediately transport himself into Scotland; whereby the late wound would, in a short time, be healed; which would otherwise prove incurable."

But Scotland was so well known, and the power of Argyle, (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party,) that his proposition was by all dispassionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the news from London, that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honest man in that opinion. And within few days the earl of Lautherdale seemed rather to think of going thither himself, where his own concerns were in great danger, than of pressing the prince to so hazardous a voyage; and after a few weeks more stay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the same ship that transported him from thence, with as much rage and malice against the council about the prince, as against Cromwell himself.

The wonderful defeat of the Scottish army at Preston, though it was not at first believed to be an entire victory over their whole body, there being double that number that was not there or that marched from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising men, in those northern counties, for the king's service, to have joined and united under sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildesly, a gentleman of a fair estate, who had served the king from the beginning of the war with good courage, was then with a body of English, with which he had besieged the castle of Lancaster, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preston arrived. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that major general Monroe, who, shortly after the duke marched out of Scotland, followed him with a recruit of above six thousand horse and foot, was come to the skirts of Lancashire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had been broken at Preston, and some others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildesly moved Monroe, "that his forces, and some regiments of Scots, who yet remained about Kendal, might join with the English under his command, and march together towards Preston, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as he pursued the Scots:" which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand men; which was superior in number to the army under Cromwell. But the major general would not consent to the motion, but retired to the farther part of Westmoreland; and the English followed them in the rear; presuming, that though they would not be persuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would choose some other more convenient post to make a stand in, if the enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was pressed again the next day, but continued still fast in his sullen resolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through Cumberland, where he had left a sad remembrance of his having passed that way a few days before, having then raised vast sums of money

upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almost all they had left.

The English marched into the bishopric of Durham, to join with such new levies as were then raising there; and their number being increased by the addition of those troops which were under the command of sir Henry Bellingham, they met again major general Monroe in Northumberland, and desired him, "that they might unite together against the common enemy, who equally desired the destruction of them both." But he resolutely refused, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into Scotland, and expect orders there;" which he did with all possible expedition.

Sir Philip Musgrave believed that he and his foot might be welcome to Carlisle; and went thither, and sent sir Henry Bellingham, sir Robert Strickland, and colonel Chater, to the earl of Lanrick, and offered that they should carry their troops into Scotland to join with him; who he knew well would stand in need of help. But he durst not accept their motion, saying, "if he should, Argyle would from thence take an excuse to invite Cromwell;" who they heard was then upon his march towards Berwick, to bring his army into Scotland: upon which sir Henry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was necessary for them to pass through.

Sir Philip Musgrave had no better success with sir William Levingston, the governor of Carlisle, for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the assistance of the English, and therefore desired the assistance of sir Philip in both,) yet when articles were agreed upon, and signed by sir Philip Musgrave, the governor fell back, and refused to engage himself "not to deliver up the garrison without the consent of sir Philip Musgrave;" who was contented that none of his men should come within the walls, until it should be most apparent, that they could no longer keep the field.

Within a short time after, orders were sent out of Scotland for the delivery of Berwick and Carlisle to the parliament; in which orders there was not the least mention of making conditions for the English. Sir Philip Musgrave had yet Appleby castle in his own possession, having taken it after he had delivered Carlisle to duke Hamilton, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of quality, who lived again to venture, and some to lose, their lives for the king: after which, he soon transported himself into Holland.

Cromwell resolved to lose no advantage he had got, but as soon as he had perfected his defeat of duke Hamilton, by gathering up as many prisoners as he could of the dispersed troops, he marched directly towards Scotland, to pull up the roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from Yorkshire to reduce those at Pontefract castle, which grew very formidable to all their neighbours; and, not satisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made

excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial men prisoners, and carried them to the castle; where they remained till they redeemed themselves by great ransoms. However, he would not defer his northern march; but believing that he should be in a short time capable to take vengeance upon those affronts, he satisfied himself in sending colonel Rainsborough, with some troops of horse and foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himself, with the rest of his army, continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of August, or beginning of September, before the harvest of that country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroyed.

It was generally believed, that the marquis of Argyle earnestly invited him to this progress; for the defeat of the Scottish army in England had not yet enough made him master of Scotland. There was still a committee of parliament sitting at Edinburgh, in which, and in the council, the earl of Lanrick swayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raised under Monroe for the recruit of the duke's army, were still together, and at the earl's devotion; so that the marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great shows of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no act of hostility committed; Cromwell declaring, "that he came with his army to preserve the godly party, and to free the kingdom from a force, which it was under, of malignant men, who had forced the nation to break the friendship with their brethren of England, who had been so faithful to them: that it having pleased God to defeat that army under duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage the two nations in each other's blood, he was come thither to prevent any farther mischief, and to remove those from authority who had used their power so ill; and that he hoped he should, in very few days, return with an assurance of the brotherly affection of that kingdom to the parliament of England; which did not desire in any degree to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." He was conducted to Edinburgh by the marquis of Argyle, where he was received with all solemnity, and the respect due to the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered about, and supplied with all provisions the country could yield.

The earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian faction, (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it,) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at Edinburgh were resolved to obey Argyle; who they saw could protect them. There were then enough left of the committee of parliament to take care of the safety and good of the kingdom, without putting Cromwell to help them by the power of the English; which would have been a great discredit to their government. Whilst he remained their guest, (whom they entertained magnificently,) Argyle was able, by the laws of Scotland, to reform all that was amiss, and preserve the government upon the true foundation. So the committee of parliament sent to Monroe an order and command to disband his troops; which

when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually: so that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Argyle; the committee of parliament, the council, all the magistrates of Edinburgh, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in prison, or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late engagement, and solemn fasts enjoined by the assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the chancellor Lowden giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having therefore concerted all things with his bosom friend Argyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edinburgh, that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do,) he returned for England; where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

The committee of parliament at Edinburgh (who had authority to convene the parliament when the major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly; and the assembly joining with them, they excommunicated all who had the most eminent parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any office in the state, or of sitting in council, or in parliament; subjecting those who had sinned in a less degree, to such penalties as would for ever make them subject to their government. By these judgments, amongst others, the earl of Lanrick was deprived of being secretary of state, and that office was conferred upon the earl of Lothian; who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conspirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was imprisoned thereupon, and being after set at liberty continued amongst those who, upon all occasions, carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the king. And by this time Argyle was become so much more master of Scotland than Cromwell was of England, that he had not so much as the shadow of a parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a necessity to exercise his known great talent of dissimulation, all men doing as he enjoined them, without asking the reason of his direction.

[To return to the state of the king's affairs in England:] when the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel with the Kentish and Essex troops were enclosed in Colchester, their friends could not reasonably hope that the Scottish army, which had so long deferred their march into England, contrary to their promise, would, though they were now come in, march fast enough to relieve Colchester before they should be reduced by famine. The earl of Holland thought it necessary, since many who were in Colchester had engaged themselves

upon his promises and authority, now to begin his enterprise; to which the youth and warmth of the duke of Buckingham, who was general of the horse, the lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning, at his lodging, of those officers who were known to have served the king; his commissions shewed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my lord Holland go out?" and the answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publicly talked of two or three days before.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights, and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at Kingston, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

During the short stay he made at Kingston, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from London; and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough. The principal officer the earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had served the parliament as commissary general of the horse under the earl of Essex, and having been left out in the new model, was amongst those discontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the army; which they despised for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the earl of Holland, who thought himself likewise happy in such an officer. The keeping good guards, and sending out parties towards the Kentish parts, where it was known some troops remained since the last commotion there, was committed to his care. But he discharged it so ill, or his orders were so ill observed, that the second or third morning after their coming to Kingston, some troops of horse under the command of colonel Rich (eminent for praying but of no fame for fighting) fell into the town, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them; the earl and most of the rest making too much haste out of town, and never offering to charge those troops. And in this confusion the lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person, not being upon his horse so soon as the rest, or endeavouring to make some resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers,

until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The earl with near an hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, by those few horse who pursued him; where the earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance: yet at the same time Dalbeer and Kenelm Digby, the eldest son of sir Kenelm, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themselves, was not known; and the duke of Buckingham had severed himself from them, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to secure himself by being transported into Holland; where the prince was; who received him with great grace and kindness. The earl of Holland remained prisoner in the place where he was taken, till by order from the parliament he was sent to Windsor castle, where, notwithstanding he was constable of it, he was kept prisoner with great strictness.

The total defeat of the Scottish army lately mentioned succeeded this, and when those noble persons within Colchester were advertised of both, they knew well that there was no possibility of relief, nor could they expect it longer, being pressed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near all their horses. They sent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reasonable conditions; but he refused to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common soldiers he was contented to dismiss. A day or two was spent in deliberation. They within proposed "to make a brisk sally; and thereby to shift for themselves, as many as could." But they had too few horse, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterprise. Then, "that they should open a port, and every man die with their arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be sure of being killed, without much hurting their adversaries, who had ways enough securely to assault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themselves up prisoners at mercy; and were, all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town; where they were locked up, and a strong guard set upon them. They were required presently to send a list of all their names to the general; which they did; and, within a short time after, a guard was sent to bring sir Charles Lucas, and sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne to the general, being sat with his council of war. They were carried in, and in a very short discourse told, "that after so long and so obstinate a defence until they found it necessary to deliver themselves up to mercy, it was necessary, for the example of others, and that the peace of the kingdom might be no more disturbed in that manner, that some military justice should be executed; and therefore, that council had determined they three should be presently shot to death;" for which they were advised to prepare themselves; and without considering, or hearing what they had a mind to say for themselves, they were led into a yard that was contiguous; where they found three files of musketeers ready for their despatch.

Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a gentleman of Florence; and had served the king in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither; and had only English enough to make himself understood, that he desired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his prince the great duke, that his highness might know in what manner he lost his life, to the end his heirs might possess his estate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the general and council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand: when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration; they had chosen him out of the list for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman, and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

This delay brought the news of this bloody resolution to the prisoners in the town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the lord Capel prevailed with an officer, or soldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, signed by the chief persons and officers, and in the name of the rest, to the general; in which they took notice of that judgment, and desired him "either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, who were equally guilty with those three, undergo the same sentence with them." The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the sending to the officer to despatch his order, reserving the Italian to the last. Sir Charles Lucas was their first work; who fell dead; upon which sir George Lisle ran to him, embraced him, and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked those who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they stood at too great a distance, spake to them to come nearer; to which one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you:" he answered smiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me." Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, so that he fell down dead of many wounds without speaking word. Sir Bernard Gascoigne had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the officer told him "he had order to carry him back to his friends;" which at that time was very indifferent to him. The council of war had considered, that if they should in this manner have taken the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children who should visit Italy might pay dear for many generations; and therefore they commanded the officer, "when the other two should be dead, to carry him back again to the other prisoners."

The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries, and always amongst the horse. He had little conversation in that court, where great civility was practised, and learned. He was very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature not to be lived with, of an ill understanding, of a rough and proud nature, which

made him during the time of their being in Colchester more intolerable than the siege, or any fortune that threatened them; yet they all desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle was a gentleman who had had the same education with the other, and at the same time an officer of foot; had all the courage of the other, and led his men to a battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; loved all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

The manner of taking the lives of these worthy men was new, and without example, and concluded by most men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to Ireton, who swayed the general, and was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As soon as this bloody sacrifice was ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to the town-house to visit the prisoners; and the general (who was an ill orator on the most plausible occasion) applied with his civility to the earl of Norwich, and the lord Capel; and, seeming in some degree to excuse the having done that, which he said "the military justice required," he told them, "that all the lives of the rest were safe; and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the parliament should direct." The lord Capel had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "that they should do well to finish their work, and execute the same rigour to the rest;" upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that cost him his life in few months after. When the general had given notice to the parliament of his proceedings, he received order to send the earl of Norwich and the lord Capel to Windsor castle; where they had afterwards the society of earl of Holland, to lament each other's misfortunes; and after some time they were all sent to the Tower.

Though the city had undergone so many severe mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entering into any more dangerous engagements, at least all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recovered new spirits for new undertakings; and seemed always to have observed somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the army, when that was at a distance appeared resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their counsels. So that Cromwell had no sooner begun his march towards the north, and Fairfax his into Kent, but the common council delivered a petition to the parliament, "that they would entertain a personal treaty with the king, that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace; which could be hoped for no other way." This was the first presumption that had been offered, since their vote of no more addresses to be made to the

king; which had been near half a year before; and this seemed to be made with so universal a concurrence of the city, that the parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made sir Harry Vane, and that party in the parliament to which the army adhered, or rather which adhered to the army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee of the house of commons, to meet with such a committee of the common council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the king's safety and security during the time of the treaty: which committee being met together, that of the house of commons perplexed the other with many questions, "what they meant by those expressions, they used in their petition," (and had been the common expressions, long used both by the king and the parliament, in all applications which had concerned a treaty,) "that his majesty might treat with honour, freedom, and safety? what they intended by those words? and whether the city would be at the charge in maintaining those guards, which were to be kept for the security of the king during such treaty; and if the king should in that treaty refuse to give the parliament satisfaction, how his person should be disposed of?" and many such questions, to which they well knew that the committee itself could make no answer, but that there must be another common council called, to which they must repair for directions. And by this means, and administering new questions at every meeting, much time was spent, and the delays they wished could not be avoided. So that notwithstanding all their clamours that the treaty might be presently entered upon, much time was spent, and the insurrection in Kent, and the designs of the earl of Holland (to both which they had promised another kind of assistance) were both disappointed, and expired. However, the prince was still in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colchester defended themselves resolutely, and the Scottish army was entered the kingdom, all which kept up their courage; insomuch as, after all the delays, the parliament consented, and declared, "that they would enter into a personal treaty with the king for the settling the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty should be in the Isle of Wight, where his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety."

The city had offered before to the committee upon some of the questions which had been administered to them, "that if the treaty might be in London, they would be at the charge of maintaining those guards which should be necessary for the safety and security of the king;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the treaty should be now in the Isle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new instances for change of the place, lest the parliament might recede from their vote, that there should be a treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be used; and, in spite of all delays, in the beginning of August a committee was sent from both houses to the king to Carisbrook castle, where he had been close shut up about half a year, without being

suffered to speak with any but such who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

The message the committee delivered was, "that the houses did desire a treaty with his majesty, in what place of the Isle of Wight he would appoint, upon the propositions tendered to him at Hampton Court, and such other propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and that his majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to his person." The messengers, who were one of the house of peers and two commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being strict in the limitation of time, because the treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

The king received them very graciously, and told them, "they could not believe that any man could desire a peace more heartily than himself, because no man suffered so much by the want of it: that, though he was without any man to consult with, and without a secretary to write what he should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for an answer;" which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, he said, "he did very cheerfully embrace their motion, and accepted a treaty they promised should be with honour, freedom, and safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be performed; for that, in the condition he was in, he was so totally ignorant and uninformed of the present state of all his dominions, that a blind man was as fit to judge of colours, as he was to treat concerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would first revoke their votes, and orders, by which all men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, he could have wished, for the expedition that would have resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near London, to the end that the parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the treaty, than it could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolved that it should be in the Isle of Wight, he would not except against it, but named the town of Newport for the place of the treaty." He said, "though he desired all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending the treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom to treat, except, before the treaty begun, all such persons might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the treaty." He sent a list of the names of those his servants which he desired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his bedchamber, and of his privy council. He named likewise all the other servants, whose attendance he desired in their several offices. He sent a list of the names of several bishops, and of such of his chaplains, as he desired to confer with, and of many common lawyers, and some civilians, whose advice he might have occasion to use, and desired, "that he might be in the same state of freedom, as

he enjoyed whilst he had been at Hampton Court."

By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scottish army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, "what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the parliament, that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they should recede from their former vote and declaration of no farther addresses to the king, and conjured them to continue firm in that resolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and since the first motion and petition from the common council for a treaty, very many members, who had opposed the vote and declaration of no more addresses, and from the time that had passed, had forborne ever to be present in the parliament, upon the first mention of a treaty, flocked again to the house, and advanced that overture; so that they were much superior in number to those who endeavoured first to obstruct and delay, and now hoped absolutely to frustrate all that had been [proposed] towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained against the Scots, and which they concluded must speedily reduce Colchester, and put a quick period to all other attempts against the parliament, made them more earnest and solicitous for a treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confusion they discerned was the purpose of the army to bring upon the kingdom: and so with the more vigour they pressed "that satisfaction might be given to the king, in all that he had proposed in his answer;" and, notwithstanding all opposition, it was declared "that the vote for no more addresses should stand repealed: that the treaty should be at Newport, and that his majesty should be there in the same freedom in which he was at Hampton Court; that the instructions to colonel Hammond, by which the king had been in that manner restrained, and all persons restrained from going to him, should be recalled; that all those persons who were named by the king, should have free liberty to repair to him, and to remain with him without being questioned, or troubled." And having proceeded thus far, they nominated a committee of five lords and ten commoners to be the commissioners who should treat with the king, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readiness for the treaty with all possible expedition; but the lord Say and sir Harry Vane, being two of those commissioners, used all their arts to obstruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would despatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to use more effectual and powerful arguments against it, than they were furnished withal.

All these occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which persuaded him to believe that his presence at the parliament was so necessary to suppress the presbyterians, who ceased not to vex him at any distance, that he would not be prevailed with to stay and finish that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pontefract castle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Rainsborough, who had lost his life by that garrison, with some circumstances which deserve to be remembered; as in truth all

that adventure in the taking and defending that place, should be preserved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the persons who were engaged in it.

When the war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and persons, which had held for the king, and all men's hopes had been rendered desperate, by the imprisonment of his majesty in the Isle of Wight, those officers and gentlemen who had served, whilst there was any service, betook themselves generally to the habitations they had in the several counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the insolence of those neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, submitted to them. When the parliament had finished the war, they reduced and slighted most of the inland garrisons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable; yet by the interest of some person who commanded it, or out of the consideration of the strength and importance of the place, they kept still a garrison in Pontefract castle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the crown, and then part of the queen's jointure. The situation in itself was very strong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the house very large, with all offices suitable to a princely seat, and though built very near the top of a hill, so that it had the prospect of a great part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire, yet it was plentifully supplied with water. Colonel Cotterell, the governor of this garrison, exercised a very severe jurisdiction over his neighbours of those parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and soldiers, who had served the king throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived with all submission to the present government. Upon the least jealousy or humour, these men were frequently sent for, reproached, and sometimes imprisoned by the governor in this garrison; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the king, sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had visited and conferred with some of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within some distance of Pontefract, who informed him of that garrison, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the assurance he had of the resolution of the principal persons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it should appear that an army was raised in Scotland upon that account, which must draw down the parliament's army into the other northern counties, and that there should be risings in other parts of the kingdom," (which the general indisposition and discontent, besides some particular designs, made like to fall out,) "that then those gentlemen should endeavour the surprise of that castle, and after they had made themselves strong in it, and provided it with provisions to endure some restraint, they should draw as good a body to them as those countries would yield:" and having thus adjusted that design, they settled such a way of correspondence with sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding.

In this disposition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the governor of the castle lived towards them with less jealousy, and more humanity, than he had been accustomed to.

There was one colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in some regiments of the king's; and, out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that service, and engaged himself in the parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable; and by the clearness of his courage, and pleasantness of his humour, made himself not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable services for them, being a stout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greatest danger; wherein he had usually success. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a stricter discipline, his life of great license kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free speaker and censurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many professions of kindness, and respect to his eminent courage, which they would find some occasion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent estate in those parts in Yorkshire; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily detested himself for having quitted the king's service, and had resolved to take some seasonable opportunity to wipe off that blemish by a service that would redeem him; and so was not troubled to be set aside by the new general, but betook himself to his estate; enjoyed his old humour, which was cheerful and pleasant; and made himself most acceptable to those who were most trusted by the parliament; who thought that they had dismissed one of the best officers they had, and were sorry for it.

He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and conversed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party soever they had been, and renewed the friendship he had formerly held with some of those gentlemen who had served the king. But no friendship was so dear to him, as that of the governor of Pontefract castle, who loved him above all men, and delighted so much in his company, that he got him to be with him sometimes a week and more at a time in the castle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of those gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, "that he would surprise that castle, whenever they should think the season ripe for it;" and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him so entirely, that he told his companions, "that they should not trouble themselves with contriving the means to surprise the place; which, by trusting too many, would be liable to discovery; but that he would take that charge upon himself, by a way they need not inquire into; which he assured them should not fail:" and they all very willingly acquiesced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the governor, who never thought himself well without him; and always told him "he must have a great care of his garrison, that he had none but faithful men in the castle; for that he was confident there were some men who lived not far off, and who many

"times came to visit him, had some design upon the place;" and would then in confidence name many persons to him, some whereof were those very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were most devoted to the parliament, all his particular friends and companions; "but that he should not be troubled; for he had a false brother amongst them, from whom he was sure to have seasonable advertisement;" and promised him, "that he would, within few hours' notice, bring him at any time forty or fifty good men into the castle to reinforce his garrison, when there should be occasion;" and he would shew him the list of such men, as would be always ready, and would sometimes bring some of those men with him, and tell the governor before them, "that those were in the list he had given him of the honest fellows, who would stick to him when there should be need;" and others would accidentally tell the governor, "that they had listed themselves with colonel Morrice to come to the castle, whenever he should call or send to them." And all these men thus listed, were fellows very notorious for the bitterness and malice which they had always against the king, not one of which he ever intended to make use of.

He made himself very familiar with all the soldiers in the castle, and used to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often rise in the night, and visit the guards; and by that means would sometimes make the governor dismiss and discharge a soldier whom he did not like, under pretence, "that he found him always asleep," or some other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend some other to him as very fit to be trusted and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garrison. The governor received several letters from his friends in the parliament, and in the country, "that he should take care of colonel Morrice, who resolved to betray him;" and informed him, "that he had been in such and such company of men, who were generally esteemed most malignant, and had great intrigues with them;" all which was well known to the governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the show of secrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any house, but he always told the governor of it, and of many particular passages in those meetings; so that when these letters came to him, he shewed them still to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horse, and went home to his house, telling his friend, "that though he had, he knew, no mistrust of his friendship, and knew him too well to think him capable of such baseness, yet he ought not for his own sake be thought to slight the information; which would make his friends the less careful of him: that they had reason to give him warning of those meetings, which, if he had not known himself, had been very worthy of his suspicion; therefore he would forbear coming to the castle again, till this jealousy of his friends should be over; who would know of this, and be satisfied with it:" and no power of the governor could prevail with him, at such times, to stay; but he would be gone, and stay

away till he was, after some time, sent for again with great importunity, the governor desiring his counsel and assistance as much as his company.

It fell out, as it usually doth in affairs of that nature, when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be thoroughly ripe. The business of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterprise imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been sent, and miscarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the design. The time agreed upon was such a night, when the surprisers were to be ready upon such a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two soldiers were to be appointed for sentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the castle, and in bed with the governor, and, according to his custom, rose about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the sign agreed upon, and were answered by one of the sentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By some accident, the other sentinel who was designed was not upon the other part of the wall; so that when the ladder was mounted there, the sentinel called out; and finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; and in his way met Morrice, who, finding him to be a wrong soldier, seemed not to believe him, but took him back with him to shew him the place, and carried him to the top of the wall, nearer, that they might listen; and from thence, being a very strong man, he made a shift to throw the soldier over the wall: and by this time they from without were got upon the wall from both places, and had made their signs to their friends at a distance. With these Morrice went to the court of guard, which was in part prepared, so that with knocking two or three of the other in the head, they became masters there, and opened the port for their friends' horse and foot to enter. Morrice, with two or three gentlemen, went to the governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him, "the castle was surprised, and himself a prisoner." He betook himself to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpose, yet he received some wounds. Morrice comforted him with assurance "of good usage, and that he would procure his pardon from the king for his rebellion."

They put the garrison in good order, and so many came to them from Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a short time be restrained, and had leisure to fetch in all sorts of provisions for their support, and to make and renew such fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From Nottingham there came sir John Digby, sir Hugh Cartwright, and a son and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many soldiers who had been under

their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were present, and deserve to have their names recorded, since it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of these men after their first appearance, and only appointing some county troops to enclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those troops to a greater distance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incursions much farther, and rendered themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the Scots' defeat, those of Yorkshire sent very earnestly to Cromwell, "that he would make it the business of his army to reduce Pontefract." But he, resolving upon his Scottish expedition, thought it enough to send Rainsborough to perform that service, with a regiment of horse, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army; which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the same command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. As soon as the castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be governor of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of sir John Digby; who was colonel general of those parts, and was a man rather cordial in the service, than equal to the command; which made him refer all things still to the counsel and conduct of those officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute persons.

The total defeat of the Scottish army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that Rainsborough was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some troops to be quartered near them, himself yet keeping his headquarters at Doncaster, ten miles from the castle. They resolved, whilst they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they still called their general,) after the overthrow of the Scottish army, had been taken prisoner, and remained in Nottingham castle, under a most strict custody, as a man the parliament declared, "they would make an example of their justice." Morrice, with a party of twelve horse, and no more, but picked and choice men, went out of the castle, in the beginning of the night, with a resolution to take Rainsborough prisoner, and thereby to ransom their general. They were all good guides, and understood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went so far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of August, they put themselves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guards expected no enemy; and so slightly asked them "whence they came?" who negligently answered; and asked again, "where their general was?" saying, "they had a letter for him from Cromwell." They sent one to shew them where the general was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the best inn of the town. And when the gate of

the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the bridge, over which they were to pass towards Pontefract; where they expected and did find a guard of horse and foot, with whom they entertained themselves in discourse, saying, "that they stayed for their officer, who went only in to speak with the general;" and called for some drink. The guards making no question of their being friends, sent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, some of the horse alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, asked in which chamber the general (for so all the soldiers called Rainsborough) lay; and the fellow shewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other stayed below, and held the horses, and talked with the soldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainsborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noise they had made. They told him in short, "that he was their prisoner, and that it was in his power to choose whether he would be presently killed," (for which work he saw they were very well prepared,) "or quietly, without making resistance, or delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a horse, that was ready below for him, and accompany them to Pontefract." The present danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, so that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haste that was necessary to put on his clothes. One of them took his sword, and so they led him down stairs. He that held the horses, had sent the soldier away to those who were gone before, to speak to them to get some drink, and any thing else that could be made ready in the house, against they came. When Rainsborough came into the street, which he expected to find full of horse, and saw only one man, who held the others' horses, and presently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to struggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they saw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their swords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horses, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When those at the bridge saw their companions coming, which was their sign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and killed so many of them, that all the rest fled in distraction; so that the way was clear and free; and though they missed carrying home the prize for which they had made so lusty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was necessary, a shorter way than they had come, to their garrison; leaving the town and soldiers behind in such a consternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their general, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the devil had been there; and could not recollect themselves, which way they were to pursue an enemy they had not seen. The gallant party came safe home without the least damage to horse or man, hoping to make some other attempt more success-

fully, by which they might redeem sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have lost as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wish, and fit to be intrusted in the most desperate interest, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it should be time to dismiss the earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune spoken of in the beginning of the summer.

When Lambert came to this charge, (instructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loss of Rainsborough, to whose ghost he designed an ample sacrifice,) and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpose, he reduced them in a short time within their own circuit, making good works round about the castle, that they might at last yield to hunger, if nothing else would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly suffer themselves to be cooped up without bold and frequent sallies, in which many of the besiegers, as well as the others, lost their lives. They discovered many of the country who held correspondence with, and gave intelligence to the castle, whom they apprehended, and caused to be hanged in sight of the castle, whereof there were two divines, and some women of note, friends and allies to the besieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the castle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they sent word, "that they had provisions yet for a good time; that they durst die, and would sell their lives at as dear a price as they could." Lambert answered, that he knew "they were gallant men, and that he desired to preserve as many of them, as was in his power to do; but he must require six of them to be given up to him, whose lives he could not save; which he was sorry for, since they were brave men; but his hands were bound." The six excepted by him were colonel Morrice, sir John Digby, and four more whose names he found to have been amongst those who were in the party that had destroyed Rainsborough; which was an enterprise no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert desire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the rest he "was content to release, that they might return to their houses, and apply themselves to the parliament for their compositions, towards which he would do them all the good offices he could." They from within acknowledged "his civility in that particular, and would be glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of so base a thing, as to deliver up any of their companions;" and therefore they desired "they might have six days allowed them, that those six might do the best they could to deliver themselves; in which it should be lawful for the rest to assist them;" to which Lambert generously consented, "so that the rest would surrender at the end of that time;" which was agreed to. Upon the first day the garrison appeared twice or thrice, as if they were resolved to make a sally, but retired every time without charging; but

the second day they made a very strong and brisk sally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their post, with the loss of men on both sides; and though the party of the castle was beaten back, two of the six (whereof Morrice was one) made their escape, the other four being forced to retire with the rest. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt so prosperously, that two of the other four likewise escaped: and the next day they made great shows of joy, and sent Lambert word, "that their six friends were gone," (though there were two still remaining,) "and therefore they would be ready the next day to surrender."

The other two thought it to no purpose to make another attempt, but devised another way to secure themselves, with a less dangerous assistance from their friends, who had lost some of their own lives in the two former sallies to save theirs. The buildings of the castle were very large and spacious, and there were great store of waste stones from some walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be least visited, where they walled up their two friends in such a manner that they had air to sustain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to escape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had caused a strict inquisition to be made for those six, none of which he did believe had in truth escaped, and was satisfied that none of them were amongst those who were come out, he received the rest very civilly, and observed his promise made to them very punctually, and did not seem sorry that the six gallant men (as he called them) were escaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken spirits, that sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an escape out of the castle of Nottingham; who shortly after transported himself beyond the seas. Lambert presently took care so to dismantle the castle, that there should be no more use of it for a garrison, leaving the vast ruins still standing; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; so that, within ten days after the surrender, the two, who were left walled up, threw down their enclosure, and securely provided for themselves. Sir John Digby was one of those who lived many years after the king's return, and was often with his majesty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancashire, and by a wonderful act of Providence was put to death in the same place where he had committed a fault against the king, and where he first performed a great service to the parliament.

In this desperate condition, that is before described, stood the king's affairs when the prince was at the Hague, his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in necessity, and that of his brother the duke of York full of intrigues and designs, between the restless unquiet spirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of sir John Berkley. The council, which was not numerous, (for the prince had not authority

to add any to those who were his father's counsellors,) wanted not unity in itself, so much as submission and respect from others, which had been lost to those who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to those still remained, and so abated much of the reverence which most men were willing to pay to the two who came last. And the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington, and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had some passions and infirmities, which no friends could restrain; and though prince Rupert was very well inclined to the chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by Herbert the attorney general, who had the absolute ascendant over that prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the prince of Wales at his lodgings) at the lord treasurer's lodging, (he and the chancellor of the exchequer being in one house,) about giving direction for the sale of some goods which had been taken at sea, for the raising of money toward the payment of the fleet. In such services merchants, and other proper persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince Rupert proposed, "that one sir Robert Walsh" (a person too well known to be trusted) "might be employed in that affair:" it was to sell a ship of sugar. No man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employed; but the lord Colepepper spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon prince Rupert, who had proposed him. Upon which, he asking "what exceptions there were to sir Robert Walsh, why he might not be fit for it," Colepepper answered with some quickness, "that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriously true, the prince seemed to take very ill; and said, "he was his friend, and a gentleman; and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he knew not how the lord Colepepper could avoid fighting with him." Colepepper, whose courage no man doubted, presently replied, "that he would not fight with Walsh, but he would fight with his highness;" to which the prince answered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the council rose in great perplexity.

Prince Rupert went out of the house, and the chancellor led the lord Colepepper into the garden, hoping that he should so far have prevailed with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have persuaded him presently to repair to the prince, and to ask his pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seemed to think only of making good what he had so imprudently said. Prince Rupert quickly informed his confident the at-

torney general of all that had passed; who was the unfittest man living to be trusted with such a secret, having always about him store of oil to throw upon such fire. He soon found means to make it known to the prince, who presently sent for the chancellor of the exchequer to be informed of the whole matter; and when he understood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "to let Colepepper know, that he ought to make a submission to prince Rupert; without which worse would fall out."

He went first to prince Rupert, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he so far prevailed with his highness, who would have been more cholerick if he had had less right of his side, that he was willing to receive a submission; and promised, "that the other should receive no affront in the mean time." But he found more difficulty on the other side, the lord Colepepper, continuing still in rage, thought the provocation was so great, that he ought to be excused for the reply, and that the prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as he the other. But after some days' recollection, finding nobody with whom he conversed of his mind, and understanding how much the prince was displeased, and that he expected he should ask prince Rupert pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no security from his quality and function, he resolved to do what he ought to have done at first; and so he went with the chancellor to prince Rupert's lodging; where he behaved himself very well; and the prince received him with all the grace could be expected; so that so ill a business seemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worst was to come: the attorney general had done all he could to dissuade that prince from accepting so small and so private a satisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed sir Robert Walsh, who had been informed of all that had passed at the council concerning himself, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought, that he was assured prince Rupert would not be offended. And the next morning after his highness had received satisfaction, as the lord Colepepper was walking to the council without a sword, Walsh, coming to him, seemed quietly to expostulate with him, for having mentioned him so unkindly. To the which the other answered, "that he would give him satisfaction in any way he would require; though he ought not to be called in question for any thing he had said in that place." On a sudden, whilst they were in this calm discourse, Walsh struck him with all his force one blow in the face with his fist; and then stepped back, and drew his sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the lord Colepepper, with his nose and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the sight of the town; which troubled the prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in

matters which they do not take to heart, caused Walsh to be summoned, and after so many days, for want of appearance, he was by the sound of a bell publicly banished from the Hague; and so he made his residence in Amsterdam, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the prince for so ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the prince himself, as well as his council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been used in the fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the seamen, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new victual the ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the station where they were for the present, and the extreme license which all men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all counsels, and made conversation itself very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that license; every man believing that his particular necessities, with which all men abounded, might easily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a treasure taken, which turned to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the fleet, and supply of the prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed; and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good markets. And nobody was satisfied with the reasons which were given for the discharging and dismissing so many ships to gratify the city of London, and the presbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people; whose affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their trade, and the seizing upon their estates, was the most proper application to the city of London, and the best arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itself to that, and visited all those maritime parts which were in counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the king, (as Scarborough in Yorkshire did,) if it had not been possible to have set the king at liberty in the Isle of Wight, or to have relieved Colchester, the fort at Harwich being then declared for the king, (both which many men believed, how unskillfully soever, to be practicable,) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great,

if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would have been discovered by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the queen was so fully possessed of the purpose and the power of the Scots to do the king's business, before the insurrections in the several parts in England, and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon Scotland, as the sole foundation of the king's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to transport the prince with security thither. And her instructions to those she trusted about the prince were so positive, "that they should not give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that expedition," that, if the earl of Lautherdale had been arrived when the prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have transported the prince into Scotland, what other conveniences soever, preferable to that, had offered themselves. And the very next day after that lord's coming to the prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct mutiny among the seamen prevented it. His highness's own ship was under sail for Holland, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other voyage: nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way, if there had been any quantity of provision in the fleet for such a peregrination. This expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, because it was evident that the prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offered, and only resigned himself implicitly to the pleasure of his mother.

The present ill condition of the fleet, and the unsteady humour of the common seamen, was the more notorious and unseasonable, by the earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the parliament upon the coast of Holland, within few days after the prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the king's fleet. And it is probable he would have made some hostile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and seamen were on shore, if the States had not, in the very instant, sent some of their ships of war to preserve the peace in their port. However, according to the insolence of his masters, and of most of those employed by them, the earl sent a summons of a strange nature to the king's ships, in which he took notice, "that a fleet of ships, which were part of the navy royal of the kingdom of England, was then riding at anchor off Helvoetsluys, and bearing a standard: that he did therefore, by the parliament's authority, by which he was constituted lord high admiral of England, require the admiral, or commander in chief of that fleet, to take down the standard; and the captains, and mariners belonging to the ships, to render themselves and the ships to him, as high admiral of England, and for the use of the king and parliament: and he did, by the like authority,

"offer an indemnity to all those who should submit to him."

After which summons, though received by the lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of vice-admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impression upon the officers, nor visibly, at that time, upon the common men, yet, during the time the earl continued in so near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private insinuations, and by sending many of his seamen on shore at Helvoetsluys, (where they entered into conversation with their old companions,) so to work upon and corrupt many of the seamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; some whereof went on board his ships, others stayed to do more mischief. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the season of the year, and the winds which usually rage on that coast in the month of September, removed him from that station, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

All these disturbances were attended with a worse, which fell out at the same time, and that was the sickness of the prince; who, after some day's indisposition, appeared to have the small pox; which almost distracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the consternation was very universal whilst that was thought in danger. But, by the goodness and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that distemper; and, within a month, was restored to so perfect health, that he was able to take an account himself of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

There were two points which were in the first place to be considered, and provided for by the prince; neither of which would bear delay for the consultation and resolution: the first, how to make provision to pay and victual the fleet, and to compose the mutinous spirits of the seamen; who paid no reverence to their officers, insomuch as, in the short stay which the earl of Warwick had made before Helvoetsluys, as hath been said, many of the seamen, had gone over to him, and the *Constant Warwick*, a frigate of the best account, had either voluntarily left the prince's fleet, or suffered itself willingly to be taken, and carried away with the rest into England. The other was, what he should do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

Towards the first, there were some ships brought in with the fleet, laden with several merchandise of value, that, if they could be sold for the true worth, would amount to a sum sufficient to pay the seamen their wages, and to put in provisions enough to serve four months; and there were many merchants from London, who were desirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commissions from thence to buy the rest. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other market, but must be sold in the place where they were; and therefore they were resolved to have very good pennyworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the prince had promised, whilst he was in the river, should be paid out of the first money that should be raised upon the sale of such and

such ships: particularly, the prince believed that the countess of Carlisle, who had committed faults enough to the king and queen, had pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she had totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the earl of Holland, (which sum of fifteen hundred pounds the prince had promised the lord Piercy her brother, who was a very importunate solicitor,) should be paid upon the sale of a ship that was laden with sugar, and was then conceived to be worth above six or seven thousand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ships: so that when money was to be raised upon the sale of merchandise, they who had such engagements would be themselves intrusted, or nominate those who should be, to make the bargain with purchasers, to the end that they might be sure to receive what they claimed, out of the first monies that should be raised. By this means, double the value was delivered, to satisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worse than all this, the prince of Orange advertised the prince, that some questions had been started in the States, "what they should do, if the parliament of England (which had now a very dreadful name) should send over to them to demand the restitution of those merchants' goods, which had been unjustly taken in the Downs, and in the river of Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and were offered to sale there, against the obligation of that amity which had been observed between the two nations, during the late war? What answer they should be able to make, or how they could refuse to permit the owners of those goods to make their arrests, and to sue in their admiralty for the same? Which first process would stop the present sale of whatever others pretended a title to, till the right should be determined." The prince of Orange said, "that such questions used not to be started there without design;" and therefore advised the prince "to lose no time in making complete sales of all that was to be sold; to the end that they who were engaged in the purchase, might likewise be engaged in the defence of it." Upon this ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, hasty bargains were made with all who desired to buy, and who would not buy except they were sure to be good gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wisdom of any who were upon the place, with no more authority than they had. Mr. Long, who was secretary to the prince, had been possessed of the office of receiving and paying all monies, whilst the prince was in the fleet, and so could not well be removed from it when he came into Holland: though he was thought to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it less, would at that time have submitted to the employment, which exposed him to the importunity and insolence of all necessitous persons, when he could satisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice and disadvantage.

As soon as the money was raised, it was sent to the fleet to pay the seamen; and the prince made a journey to the fleet to see, and keep up the spirits of the seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infusions of some who did not desire they should be too well pleased with their

officers. The lord Willoughby stayed on board purely out of duty to the king, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more respect for him than for any body else. Sir William Batten likewise remained with them, not knowing well how to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his province, the seamen having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the king; against whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be resolved was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the fleet, and who should command it?" and though the advertisement the prince of Orange had given his royal highness, of the question started in the States, concerned only the merchants' ships, which were made prize, yet it was very easy to discern the logic of that question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the royal navy, as to merchants' ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ships of the king or of the parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the houses, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the ports of those provinces, and that the States wished it exceedingly.

Whilst Bamfield was about the person of the duke of York, he had infused into him a marvelous desire to be possessed of the government of the fleet; but the duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his highness, nor for his father's service, that he should be embarked in it: and Bamfield, by an especial command from the king, who had discovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the prince, was not suffered to come any more near the person of the duke. So he returned into England; where he was never called in question for stealing the duke away. From this time the duke, who was not yet above twelve or thirteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, "that he should go to Helvoetsluys, to appear amongst them," who professed great duty to his highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some servant about him who took pains to persuade him, "that the council had persuaded the prince to that designation, out of ill will to his highness, and that the ships might deliver him up to the parliament." So unpleasant and uncomfortable a province had those persons, who, being of the king's council, served both with great fidelity; every body who was unsatisfied (and nobody was satisfied) aspersing them, or some of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in such a manner as touched the honour of the rest, and most reflected upon the king's own honour and service.

It was evident enough that prince Rupert had a long desire to have that command of the fleet put

into his hands; and that desire, though carried with all secrecy, had been the cause of so many intrigues, either to inflame the seamen, or to cherish their froward inclinations, and increase the prejudice they had to Batten. The attorney mentioned this to the chancellor of the exchequer, shortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing, he thought, that prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the king's service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what person the government of the fleet could be committed, when it should set sail from that port, and whither it should go. The chancellor made no other answer to him, than "that it was like to be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he must not believe that any body would propose the undertaking it to prince Rupert, or that the prince would command him to undertake it; and that he thought it necessary, that it should be first resolved what the fleet should do, and whither it should go, before a commander should be appointed over it."

When the marquis of Ormond had waited so many months at Paris for the performance of those gaudy promises which the cardinal had made, after he saw in what manner the prince of Wales himself was treated by him, and that he would not suffer the least assistance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon so powerful insurrections in England, and possessing so many places of importance on the king's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland seemed so united for his majesty's service, and an army of thirty thousand men were even ready to march; I say, after he discerned that the cardinal was so far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the destroying them but the imprisoning the prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he resolved, though he had neither men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition, all which had been very liberally promised to transport with him, he would yet transport his own person, to what evident danger soever he was to expose it. Upon the full assurance the cardinal had given him of very substantial aid, he had assured the lord Inchiquin, "that he would be present with him with notable supply of money, arms, and ammunition, and good officers, and some common men," (which were all in readiness, if the money had been paid to entertain them,) and had likewise sent to many, who had formerly served the king, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters, upon the articles which had been formerly granted the marquis of Ormond, "that they should expect his speedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, sent advertisements of the delays and obstructions he met with in the French court, so that he did almost despair of any assistance from it, yet the lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the lord Lisle, who had been sufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and such information (which was not hard for him to be furnished with) as would put Cromwell and the army into such fury, that his friends in the parliament, who had hitherto sustained his credit, would be very hardly

able to support him longer. So that, as he was to expect a storm from thence, so he had a very sharp war to maintain against the Irish, led and commanded by the pope's nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munster with wonderful animosity, and with some circumstances of bloodiness, especially against priests, and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that those people would live well together. And indeed the Irish were near rooted out of the province of Munster, though they were powerful enough and strong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the lord Inchiquin, with all possible earnestness, writ to the lord of Ormond, "that, though without any other assistance, he would transport his own person:" by whose countenance and authority he presumed the Irish might be divided and brought to reason; and desired him, "in the mean time to send to such of the Irish as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not wish well to the nuncio, that they would secretly correspond with him, and dispose their friends and dependents to concur in what might advance the king's service; to which they did not know that he was inclined, but looked upon him, as the same malicious and irreconcilable enemy to them, as he had always appeared to me to their religion, more than to their persons."

From the time that the Irish entered into that bloody and foolish rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions, and designs, which were every day improved in the carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation by the English many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of queen Elizabeth was seldom without. And of that temper most of the province of *Lemster* was: Munster was the most planted with English of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldest Irish extractions, and of those families which had been kings of Munster, yet many of them had intermarried with the best English families, and so were better bred and more civilized than the rest of the old Irish, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exercise of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The seat of the old Irish, who retained the rites, customs, manners, and ignorance of their ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the neighbourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumstances of great rigour, if not of injustice. Here the rebellion was first contrived, cherished, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neiles, the Macguynes, and the Macmahons; and though it quickly spread itself, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many persons of honour and quality engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they

pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the lords justices, who denounced the war against all Irish equally, if not against all Roman catholics; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions sent to them out of England, but so unskilfully pursued by the justices and council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had cheerfully offered their service, they concluded, that the English Irish were as much in the jealousy of the state as the other, and so resolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courses as the rest had done,) yet, I say, they were no sooner entered into the war, which was so generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the king, or of invading his prerogative, put themselves under the command of general Preston: the other, of the fiercer and more savage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the crown of England, and looked upon all the estates which had ever been in the possession of any of their ancestors, though forfeited by their treason and rebellion, as justly due to them, and ravished from them by the tyranny of the crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neile; both generals of the Irish nation; the one descended of English extraction through many descents; the other purely Irish, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealousy of each other; the one of the more frank and open nature; the other darker, less polite, and the wiser man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart, than all the king's power could bring into the field against either of them.

This disparity in the temper and humour of those people first disposed those of the most moderate to desire a peace shortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the cessation that was first entered into, and the peace, which did not soon enough ensue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exercise of the Roman catholic religion; but did that in so immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the protestants of the king's dominions.

Owen Roe O'Neile refused to submit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though transacted and confirmed by their catholic council at Kilkenny, which was the representative the Irish nation had chosen for the conduct of all the counsels for peace and war, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid, an entire obedience. The pope's nuncio, who about that time came from Rome, and transported himself into that kingdom, applied himself to Owen O'Neile, and took that party into his protection; and so wrought upon their clergy, generally, that he broke that peace, and prosecuted those who had made it, with those circumstances which have been before remembered, and which necessitated the lord lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the parliament; the lord Inchiquin having likewise refused to consent,

and submit to that peace, and continued to make the war sharply and successfully against the Irish in the province of Munster; whereof he was president. But the nuncio was no sooner invested in the supreme command of that nation both by sea and land, as over a people subject to the pope, and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantastical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himself so insolently towards all, (and, having brought no assistance to them but the pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himself,) that even the men of Ulster were weary of him; and they who had been the instruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment those jealousies and discontents, which had produced that application to the queen and prince at St. Germain, and the resolution of sending the marquis of Ormond thither again, both which have been related before. And the marquis now having given the lord Muskerry (who had married his sister, and was the most powerful person and of the greatest interest in Munster of all the Irish) and other of his friends notice that the lord Inchiquin would serve the king, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the marquis of Ormond arrived there, against all the opposition the nuncio could make, a cessation of arms was concluded between the confederate catholics and the lord Inchiquin; and the nuncio was driven into Waterford; and, upon the matter, besieged there by the catholic Irish; and the marquis arriving at the same time at Kinsale, and being received by the lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the king's lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned nuncio found it necessary to transport himself into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication, and interdict, as an apostate nation; and all the province of Munster (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the king's obedience. All which being well known to the prince and the council, it was easily concluded, "that it was the best, if not the only place the fleet could repair to;" though the danger in conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the answer [the chancellor of the exchequer gave to the attorney Herbert].

There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but prince Rupert: for it was well known that the lord Wilmoughby, besides his being without much experience of the sea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of order, to be reduced by a commander of an ordinary rank. It was as true, that prince Rupert, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune to be no better beloved by the king's party, than he was by the parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: and as there was no other choice of a place to which the fleet must be carried, but Munster; and the passage thither could not but be full of danger, in respect that the parliament was without question

master of the sea, (although the island of Scilly being then under the king's authority, and sir John Grenvil being the governor thereof, made that passage something the more secure,) so this purpose was to be concealed as the last secret; there being great danger that the seamen would rather carry all the ships back again to the parliament, than into Ireland; against which people they had made a war at sea with circumstances very barbarous, for they had never given any quarter, but the Irish, as well merchants and passengers, as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been said before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the sea; so that they could have no inclination to go into a country whose people had been handled so cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection against the person of prince Rupert, who would never endure to be subject to the command of the lord lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it seemed most reasonable that the ships, whilst they stayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in rebellion: besides that there was cause to fear, that the prince would not live with that amity towards the marquis of Ormond, as was necessary for the public service. Notwithstanding all this, when the stratagem of having prince Rupert desired to take the command of the fleet upon him did not succeed, prince Rupert himself made the proposition to the prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his royal highness would be pleased to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, necessity made that to be counsellable, against which very many reasonable objections might be made. So it was resolved that prince Rupert should be admiral of that fleet, and that it should sail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the presence of good officers, who had long commanded in the royal navy: sir Thomas Kettleby, whom the prince made captain of his own ship the *Antelope*; sir John Mennes, who had the command of the *Swallow*, a ship of which he had been captain many years before; and colonel Richard Fielding, who was made captain of the *Constant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful men to the king's service, of long experience in the service at sea, and well known and loved by the seamen. With these officers, and some other gentlemen, who were willing to spend their time in that service, prince Rupert went to Helvoetsluys, where the ships lay, and seemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all bestirred themselves in their several places to get the ships ready for sea, and all those provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict survey of the ships, the carpenters were all of opinion, "that the *Con-vertine*, a ship of the second rank, that carried "seventy guns, was too old and decayed to be "now set out in a winter voyage, and in so rough "seas, and that when a great deal of money should "be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe." And it did appear, that when the officers of the navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the summer, they had declared, "that, "when she came in again, she would not be fit "for more use, but must be laid upon the stocks." Whereupon the ship was brought into Helvoet-

sluys, upon the next spring tide, and examined by the best Dutch carpenters and surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by prince Rupert to the prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the sale of the ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raised upon the prizes.

Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvoetsluys, till all was ready to set sail, and had, with notable vigour and success, suppressed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of his own arms. When he wanted any thing, he always writ to the chancellor, whom of all the council he most esteemed; and twice in that time he writ to the prince to send the chancellor to Helvoetsluys, to advise with him upon some particulars; who went accordingly in very cold seasons, and stayed a day or two with him, commonly to compose some differences between him and the officers. All subordinate officers were appointed, commissioners for the sale of all prize goods, and ships that should be taken, treasurers and paymasters for issuing and paying and receiving all monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observed: and though all persons employed were well known, and approved by prince Rupert, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and issues under his own management, and sole government. When all was ready he came to the Hague to take leave of the prince, and returned, and about the beginning of December he set sail for Ireland, met with good prizes in the way, and arrived safely at Kinsale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland, when the prince had a shrewd evidence how unsecure a longer abode would have been there, by some parliament ships coming into that road, and sending their men on shore, who at noonday burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvoetsluys, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the affront offered to themselves, and their government.

In this calamitous state of affairs there seemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the king might yet be restored to such a condition, that there might be those roots left in the crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might sprout out hereafter, and flourish. The commissioners for the treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilst Cromwell yet remained in his northern progress, and his army divided into several parts for the finishing his conquest; which was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wished it might succeed well, were as solicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less to insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

They stayed three days in the island before the treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the house for the king's reception at Newport, and adjusting many circumstances of the treaty. In that time they waited several times on the king, with great show of outward duty and respect; and though none of them durst adventure to see the king in private, they communicated freely with some of those lords, and others, who, with the parliament's leave, were come to attend the king during the time of the treaty. And so they found means to advertise his majesty of many particulars, which they thought necessary for him to know; which made impressions upon him, as the information proceeded from persons better or worse affected to him. And many of those who had liberty to attend, were competent considerers of the truth of what they said.

The truth is, there were amongst the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the king would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia, and against the church, there was no man, except sir Harry Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty. For as all the other lords desired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions might never more be called to remembrance; so the lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage, if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to, (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do,) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the king to yield to what was proposed to him, and, afterwards, upon the parliament, to be content with what his majesty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections soever they were, was the same, "that his majesty should, forthwith, and without delaying it to the expiration of the term assigned by the parliament for the treaty," (which was forty days,) "yield to the full demands which were made in the propositions." Their only argument was, "that, if he did not, or not do it quickly, the army would proceed their own way, and had enough declared, that they would depose the king, change the government, and settle a republic by their own rules and invention." And this advertisement was as well believed by those of the king's own party, as by the commissioners themselves.

Before the treaty begun, the commissioners made it known to the king, "that they could not admit that any person should be present in the room where the treaty should be, much less that any man should presume to speak, or interpose his opinion or advice, upon any matter that should be in debate: that they were commissioners sent from the parliament to treat with his majesty, and with him alone; and that they might not permit any particular and private persons to oppose or confer with them upon the demands of the parliament." So that albeit the parliament had given leave to the several bishops, and other divines, and to many lawyers of eminency, to wait on his majesty, upon his desire, that they might

instruct and inform him in all difficult cases which related to religion or the law of the land, they were like to be of little use to him now they were come, if they might not be present at the debate, and offer such advice to his majesty, as upon emergent occasions he should stand in need of, or require from them. At last they were contented, and his majesty was obliged to be contented too, that they might stand behind a curtain, and hear all that was said, and when any such difficulty occurred as would require consultation, his majesty might retire to his chamber, and call those to him, with whom he would advise, to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own resolution. This was the unequal and unreasonable preliminary and condition, to which the king was compelled to submit before the treaty could begin.

They who had not seen the king in a year's time (for it was little less from the time that he had left Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely altered. From the time that his own servants had been taken from him, he would never suffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; so that his aspect and appearance was very different from what it had used to be: otherwise, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his discourses towards all men than could have been imagined, after such mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his spirits, but carried himself with the same majesty he had used to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very sad, made it thought that he had sorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that shadow.

Upon Monday the 18th of September, the treaty begun, and the commissioners presented their commission to his majesty, to treat with him personally, upon the propositions presented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon such propositions as should be offered either by his majesty, or the two houses of parliament, according to their instructions, &c. Though the king knew very well, that Cromwell had so totally subdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the least authority or power, who did so much as pretend to wish well to him, and that, in truth, Cromwell had as much the command there as Argyle himself had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover their broken spirits, or to manifest his own royal compassion for them, he told the commissioners, "that, when the propositions had been delivered to him at Hampton Court, the Scottish interest was so involved in them, that it could be hardly separable from that of England: that it concerned him, as king of both kingdoms, to be just and equal between both; and that though they had no authority to treat for any thing but what related to England, yet he, who was to provide for the public peace, (which could hardly be provided for, except the Scots were comprehended in this treaty,) did desire, that they would send to the two houses of parliament, to give a pass for one of the servants to go into Scotland, to invite the council there to send some body authorized by that kingdom, who might treat with the commissioners of parliament:" and to that purpose his majesty delivered them a paper in writing to be sent by them to the parliament, telling them at the same time, "that it was

"never his desire or meaning, that they should meddle in the government of England, but only should treat concerning the peace, to the end that that might be durable." But the commissioners alleged, that "it was not in their power to receive and transmit that, or any other paper, to the parliament, that referred to that kingdom; and they besought him to give them leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of what ill consequence the transmission of that paper at that time might be to the treaty itself." Whereupon he declined sending it by a messenger of his own for the present, (which he intended to have done,) being unwilling to give any occasion of dispute or jealousy so early, and believing that after he should have gotten a good understanding with the two houses, in what was of immediate concernment to England, he should more effectually transmit that, or any other paper, for the more easy composing the affairs of Scotland.

Then they presented their first proposition to his majesty; "that he would revoke all declarations, and commissions granted heretofore by him against the parliament." Whereupon his majesty desired, "that he might see all the propositions, they had to make to him, together; that he might the better consider what satisfaction he could give them upon the whole:" which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at last delivered them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not sure they ought to do. And though their commission referred to instructions, and his majesty desired that he might have a view of those, they peremptorily refused to let him have a sight of them; and only told him, "that they were directed by their instructions, first to treat upon the proposition they had already presented to him, concerning the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the next place, of the church, then of the militia, and fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the rest of the propositions in order;" and they declared likewise that, "by their instructions, they were not to enter upon any new propositions, before they should have received his majesty's final answer to what was first proposed."

Hereupon the king demanded of them, "whether they had power and authority to recede from any particular contained in their propositions, or to consent to any alterations, if his majesty should give them good reason so to do?" To which they answered very magisterially, "that they were ready to debate, to shew how reasonable their desires were, and that there could be no reason why they should alter or recede from them; but if his majesty did satisfy them, they should do therein as they were warranted by their instructions." These limitations and restrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of government, and an alteration of all civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, almost damped and stifled all the hope his majesty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he resolved to try if consenting to the substantial part of any proposition would give them satisfaction; and so, without taking notice of the preamble of that proposition, which they had delivered to him, he declared in writing, which he delivered to them, "that he was willing to grant the body of their proposition, that was to recall all declarations, &c." But they immediately returned another

paper to him, in which they said, "his majesty had left unanswered the most essential part of their proposition," repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, "that the two houses of parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence; and that the kingdom of England had entered into a solemn league and covenant to prosecute the same;" and so justifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently pressed his majesty's approbation and consent, as the most necessary foundation of a lasting peace, and the indispensable expectation of the two houses and of the whole kingdom; and that the two houses, and the kingdom, could not decline this particular demand, without which they could not believe themselves to be in any security; since, by the letter of the law, they who had adhered to the parliament, might seem guilty of raising war against the king, and so to be guilty of high treason by the statute of the 25th year of king Edward the Third: whereas by the construction and equity thereof they were justified; and therefore that the consenting to this preamble was so essential, that without it the parliament would be thought guilty; which they hoped his majesty did not desire it should." And that this might make the deeper impression upon him, the lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more passion than was natural to his constitution, "that he did tremble to think how sad the consequence would be, if what they now pressed should be denied." And others said, that "it was no more than his majesty had heretofore granted in the act of indemnity that he had passed in Scotland; and if he should now refuse to do it in England, there would be a speedy end put to the treaty, without entering upon any of the other propositions." The king was so much perplexed and offended with this impudent way of reasoning, that he told those with whom he consulted, and writ the same to the prince his son, "that the long restraint he had endured in the castle of Carisbrook, was not a greater evidence of the captivity of his person, nor was he more sensible of it, than this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being forced to decline those answers and arguments which were proper to the support of his cause, and which must have brought blushes over the faces of the commissioners, and to frame others more seasonable and fit to be offered to men in that condition from him who was to receive, and not give conditions."

However, this proposition was of so horrid and monstrous a nature, so contrary to the known truth, and so destructive to justice and government, that it seemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all posterity, that his majesty could not forbear to tell them, that no act of parliament could make that to be true, which was notoriously known to be false; that this treaty must be the foundation of the future peace and security, and what was herein provided for both could never be called in question; that he was most willing, that it should be made very penal to every man to reproach another for any thing he had done during the late troubles, upon what provocation soever." He put them in mind, "that it was well known to some of them, that the act of indemnity in Scot-

land was passed when his majesty was not there, nor any commissioner appointed by him; that it was prepared and drawn by his attorney general of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was against his majesty; and therefore it was no wonder that he called those of his own side, loyal subjects, and good Christians, in the preamble of that act; which was never seen by his majesty, though it was confirmed indeed, with the other acts which had passed in that disorderly time, by his majesty upon the conclusion of the peace, and their return to their obedience; and that, when that should be the case here, he would give them all the appellations they should desire, and as unquestionable security as they could wish." To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimously, but that they could not believe themselves secure, if that preamble was not entirely consented to."

This refractory obstinate adherence of the commissioners to their own will, without any shadow of reason, prevailed nothing upon the king; inso-much as he was inclined to run the hazard of the present dissolution of the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and mischiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to sacrifice his honour, and the justice of his cause, to their insolent demand, until he had entered into a serious deliberation with those persons who were about him, of whose affections to him he had all assurance, and of the great abilities and understanding of most of them he had a very just esteem. They all represented to him, from the conference they had with such of the commissioners, who, they were confident, spoke to them as they thought and believed, "that if there were no expedient found out to give more satisfaction upon this first proposition, than his majesty had yet offered, as soon as the commissioners should give account of it to the two houses, they would be presently recalled; and the treaty be at an end: and then it would be universally declared and believed, how untrue soever the assertion was, that the king refused to secure the parliament, and all who had adhered to them, from a prosecution by law; upon which they thought it to no purpose to proceed farther in the treaty: whereas if his majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which concerned the lives and fortunes of the whole kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy peace must have ensued."

Then the lawyers informed him, "that his giving way to a recital in a new law, which was not a declaratory law of what the law was formerly in being, concerning the business in question, and only in a preamble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not make their actions lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take away from those who had adhered to him, any defence or benefit the former laws had given to them; nor would his party be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his majesty had always offered, in all his declarations, that they who followed him, and who were by them called delinquents, should, at all times, submit to a trial by the laws of the land, and if they should be found guilty of any crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was evident, by their not prosecuting any one since they were fallen

“into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not think their transgressions can be punished by law.”

Upon these reasons, and the joint advice and importunity of all about him, as well the divines as the lawyers, the king first delivered a paper in writing to the commissioners, in which he declared, “that nothing that should be put in writing concerning any proposition, or part of any proposition, should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if the treaty should break off without effect:” and the commissioners presented another paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that declaration, in the very terms of the said declaration. Thereupon the king consented to pass the first proposition, with the preamble to it, albeit, he said, “that he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; yet he hoped his good subjects would confess that it was but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the peace of his dominions.”

The first proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they delivered their second concerning religion and the church; which comprehended “the utter abolishing episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, and alienating their lands, which should be sold to the use and benefit of the commonwealth; the covenant; which was presented to his majesty to take himself, and to impose upon all others: the Common-Prayer and public Liturgy of the church to be abolished, and taken away; and that the reformation of religion, according to the covenant, in such manner as both houses had, or should agree, after consultation with divines, should be settled by act of parliament:” which, the king told them, “exceeded the implicit faith of the church of Rome; which only obliges her proselytes to what she does hold, than to what she shall.” It required “the establishing the presbyterian government, the directory, the articles of Christian religion,” (a body whereof they presented,) “the suppressing innovations in churches; the better advancement of preaching, the observation of the Lord’s day; a bill against pluralities and non-residency; several acts against papists; and the taking and imposing the covenant.”

This pregnant proposition, containing so many monstrous particulars, sufficiently warned his majesty, how impossible it would be to give them satisfaction in all; and therefore having, by consenting to the entire first proposition, put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and to tell the people, “that the king, at the entrance into it, had denied to give them any security for their lives and fortunes,” he thought it now fit to offer to the commissioners a proposition of his own, that both the parliament, and the people, might clearly discern how much of his own right and dignity he would sacrifice for their peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the designs of those who might endeavour, upon one single proposition, or part of a proposition, to break the treaty.

His own proposition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. “That he might enjoy his liberty: 2. That his revenue might be restored to him: 3. That an act of oblivion might pass:” which, he very well knew, would be most grateful to those who seemed to value it

least, as it would exempt his own friends from a world of illegal and unjust vexations.

The commissioners absolutely refused to send it to the houses, though they had no authority to answer it themselves. They said, “it rather contained an answer to all their propositions, than was a single proposition of his own; and that the sole end of making it was to cajole the people;” which, the king told them, “better became him to do than any body else.” But when they peremptorily refused to transmit it to the houses, the king sent an express of his own to deliver it; which being done, after some days’ deliberation, the houses returned no other answer to the king, “than that his proposition was not satisfactory.” In the mean time the commissioners pressed for his answer to the first part of their proposition, for the abolishing of bishops. It would be very tedious and unnecessary to set down at large the dispute, and arguments which were used on both sides upon this subject. The commissioners, who would not suffer any of the king’s servants to be so much as present when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let loose their own clergy upon the king; who was much better versed in the argument than they were.

That which they urged most, was the common allegations, “that bishop and presbyter in the scripture language signified one and the same thing: that, if the apostles exercised a larger jurisdiction, it had been granted to them as apostles, and concerned not their successors, to whom no such authority had been granted, nor any superiority over other presbyters, who were of the same function with them.” Then they inveighed vehemently against “lords bishops; their pride, and lustre;” and as they all behaved themselves with that rudeness, as if they meant to be no longer subject to a king, as well as to a bishop; so two of them very plainly and fiercely told the king, “that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of episcopacy, he would be damned;” with which his majesty was not moved. The men, Jenkins and Spurstow, lived after the return of king Charles the Second, and, according to the modesty of that race of people, came to kiss his majesty’s hand, and continued the same zeal in all seditious attempts.

The king pressed them with those texts of scripture which have been constantly urged by those who maintain the *jus divinum* of bishops, the authority of the fathers, and the government of all Christian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the church of England, before and since the reformation, by constant and uniform practice and usage; which could not but be by themselves acknowledged to have been by bishops. The commissioners relieved their ill-mannered clergy, and urged, “that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered; for if it had its original from men, it might by men be changed, or reversed: that episcopacy as it was established in the church by the laws of England, was not that episcopacy that was mentioned or prescribed in scripture; and therefore the laws which supported it might be justly taken away; which, they said, was the reason that had induced many men who were not enemies to episcopacy, to take the covenant; which obliged them to take the present hierarchy away.”

In a word they urged “the practice of other

"reformed churches, and that his majesty insisting upon the preservation of episcopacy, as essentially necessary, was to reproach and condemn them." To which he answered, "that both Calvin and Beza, and most learned men of the reformed churches, had approved and commended the episcopal government in England; and many of them had bewailed themselves, that they were not permitted to retain that government."

Besides all their arguments in public, which his majesty with wonderful acuteness fully answered, and delivered his answers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto,) they found means in private to advertise the king, that is, such of them who were known to wish well to him, "that they were of his majesty's judgment with reference to the government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method his majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the crown, was in dividing the parliament from the army; which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the church; which would unite the parliament in itself, some few persons excepted, and the city to the parliament; where the presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the parliament would immediately have power to reform their army, and to disband those who would not be reformed: that then the king would be removed to London, to perfect that by his own presence in parliament, which should be prepared by this treaty; and then the wording those bills, and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations; which, being now attempted, would destroy all, and reconcile the parliament to the army; which would destroy the king: but then, what the king urged as matter of conscience in himself would find respect, reverence, and concurrence." No doubt they, who did make these insinuations, did in truth believe themselves; and did think, as well as wish, that the sequel would be such as they foretold. But that which had more authority with the king, and which nobody about him could put him in mind of, because none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promised concerning the church to the Scots, in the engagement at the Isle of Wight; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the presbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had promised to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raising an army, he might reasonably now offer when that army was destroyed, and no hope left of raising another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the same he had then promised to do, because he hoped then it would not be in his power to do it; which was, "to suspend episcopacy for three years, and then upon consultation with divines, amongst which he would nominate twenty to be present, and to consult with them, such a government of the church as should be agreed upon might be established: that he would not force any man to take the covenant, and would have the privilege of his own chapel to use the Common-Prayer, and observe the same worship he had used to do; and that all persons, who desired it, might have liberty to take the covenant, and to use the directory: in fine, he consented to all that he had offered in

"that engagement with reference to the government of the church;" and likewise, "that money should be raised upon the sale of the church lands, and only the old rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors."

These, with some other concessions of less importance, which related to other branches of the same proposition, *magna inter suspiria*, he delivered to the commissioners as his final answer; which the major part of them did then believe would have preserved his majesty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The next proposition was concerning the militia; which was their darling; and distinguished the Scots from the English presbyterians; the former never desiring to invade that unquestionable prerogative of the crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of presbytery itself; and in that particular concurred even with Cromwell, and made little doubt of subduing him by it in a short time. In this demand they exercised their usual modesty, and, to abridge the substance of it in few words, they required "a power to keep up the present army, and to raise what other armies they pleased for the future; which gave them authority over the persons of all subjects, of what degree or quality soever. Secondly, a power to raise money for the use and maintenance of those forces, in such a manner, and by such ways and means as they should think fit." And hereby they had had the disposal of the estates and fortunes of all men without restraint or limitation. Thirdly, "all forces by land and sea to be managed and disposed as they should think fit, and not otherwise." All this modest power and authority must be granted to the lords and commons for twenty years." And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all cases, when the lords and commons shall declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, unless the king give his royal assent to such a bill as shall be tendered to him for raising money, the bill shall have the force of an act of parliament, as if he had given his royal assent."

There were other particulars included, of power to the city of London over the militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the king, if he once disposed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the rest belonged. Here the king was to consider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reasonably hope so to limit it, that they might have authority enough to please them, and he reserve some to himself for his own security. The king had thought with himself, upon revolving all expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propose "that the inhabitants of every county should be the standing militia of the kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any occasions which should occur;" which would prevent all excessive taxes and impositions, when they were to be paid by themselves. But he quickly discerned that such a proposition would be presently called a conspiracy against the army, and so put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in such a manner, that it might not appear so monstrous to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and therefore proposed, "that none should be compelled to serve in the war against

“ their wills, but in case of an invasion by foreign enemies : that the power concerning the land forces should be exercised to no other purposes, than for the suppressing of forces which might at any time be raised without the authority and consent of the lords and commons, and for the keeping up and maintaining the forts and garrisons, and the present army, so long as it should be thought fit by both houses of parliament : that what monies should at any time be thought necessary to be raised, should be raised by general and equal taxes, and impositions; and lastly, that all patents and commissions to the purposes aforesaid might be made in the king’s name, by warrant signified by the lords and commons, or such other signification as they should direct and authorize.”

These limitations were sent to the parliament, who, according to the method they had assumed, soon voted “ that the message was unsatisfactory.” Hereupon, that he might at least leave some monument and record of his care and tenderness of his people, (for, after his extorted concessions to the so great prejudice of the church, he never considered what might be dangerous to his own person,) he delivered his consent to the proposition itself to the commissioners, with a preamble to this purpose; “ that whereas their proposition concerning the militia required a far larger power over the persons and estates of his subjects, than had been ever hitherto warranted by the laws and statutes of the kingdom, yet in regard the present distractions might require more, and trusting in his two houses of parliament, that they would make no farther use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distempers should be settled, than should be agreeable to the legal exercise thereof in times past, and for the purposes particularly mentioned in their proposition, and to give satisfaction to his two houses of parliament that he intends a full security to them, and to express his real desires to settle the peace of the kingdom, his majesty doth consent to the proposition concerning the militia as it was desired.” This the commissioners did by no means like, nor would acquiesce in, and alleged, “ that as the concession must be the subject of an act of parliament, so this preamble must be a part of it, and would administer occasion of difference and dispute upon the interpretation of it; which being so clearly foreseen, ought not to be admitted in any act of parliament, much less in such a one as is to be the principal foundation of a lasting peace of the kingdom.” After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of friends, as well as of enemies, and being almost as weary of denying as of granting, he suffered the preamble to be left out, and his consent to be delivered without it.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having so far complied with these three propositions, there should be any pause or hesitation in the debate of the rest. For in that concerning the church, and the other concerning the militia, both the church and the militia of Ireland (though a kingdom distinct, and never subject to the parliament of England, but to the king alone) followed the fate of England, and were in effect comprehended in the same propositions: so that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom, “ but declaring the peace that was made there

“ with the Irish, to be void;” which they pressed with the same passion, as if they had obtained nothing; although his majesty referred the carrying on the war to them, and told them, “ that he knew nothing of the peace, which had been made during his imprisonment, when he could receive no advertisement of what was doing, or done; and therefore he was content that it should be broken, and the war be carried on in such a manner as should please them;” which was all one to their ends and purposes, as what they desired. But this did by no means please them. If the peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not so easily take that vengeance of the marquis of Ormond as they resolved to do. Yet after all these general concessions, which so much concerned himself, and the public, and when the necessity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excused him for satisfying them in all the rest of their demands, when they pressed his consent to what only concerned private and particular persons, as the revoking all honours and grants of offices which he had conferred upon those who had served him faithfully, and to except many of them from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful censure of the two houses, both for their lives and fortunes; to submit others to pay, for their delinquency in obeying and serving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their several professions and functions, (which exposed all the lawyers and divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin,) it cannot be expressed with what grief and trouble of mind he received those importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingness have died, than submitted to it; but the argument, “ that he had done so much,” was now pressed upon him, (by his friends, and those who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it,) “ that he should do more; and since he had condescended to many things which gave himself no satisfaction, he would give so full satisfaction to the parliament, that he might receive that benefit, and the kingdom that peace and security he desired.”

Many advertisements came from his friends in London, and from other places, “ that it was high time that the treaty were at an end, and that the parliament had all his majesty’s answers before them, to determine what they would do upon them, before the army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would shortly do, as soon as those in the north had finished their work, and Fairfax had reduced Ragland castle, which could not hold out much longer, and which was his last work to do.” It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the conclusion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and so after all importunities, as well of those who were to suffer, as of those who were to triumph in their sufferings, his majesty’s consent was procured to most that was demanded in the rest of the propositions; the king, and all men, conceiving the treaty to be at an end.

The king had, about the middle of October, again delivered his own proposition for his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion, to the commissioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the treaty, they had refused to transmit it to the houses, yet now, after so

many concessions, they thought fit to send it; and did so as soon as they received it. But no answer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his majesty demanded of them, "whether they had received any instructions to treat upon, or to give an answer to his own proposition, which he had delivered to them so long since? or whether they had received any order to prolong the treaty?" To which they answered, "they had not as to either." And when he asked them the same question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same answer. So that the whole forty days assigned for the treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any answer to the single proposition the king had made to them. However they told him, "they had received new command to make fresh instance to his majesty, that he would forthwith publish a declaration against the marquis of Ormond; who had very lately declared, that he had authority to make a peace with the Irish rebels; and was then treating with them to that purpose." To which his majesty answered, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any declaration against the marquis; since that if the treaty should end happily, the desires of the two houses were satisfied by the concessions he had already made;" and so adhered to his first answer. And conceiving the treaty to be closed, he desired the commissioners, "that since he had departed from so much of his own right to give his two houses satisfaction, they would be a means that he might be pressed no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them in had so near relation to his conscience, that, with the peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desired them to use the same eloquence and abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in representing to the two houses the sad condition of the kingdom, if it were not preserved by this treaty." And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any bowels.

All this being past, and the king believing and expecting that the commissioners would take their leave of him the next morning, they came the same night to inform him, "that they had then received new orders and instructions for the continuing and enlarging the treaty for fourteen days longer;" for which his majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the houses who wished well to him desire that prolongation. For it was easily discerned, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itself should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance of the treaty was the best sign that both sides desired peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new instances they made, that delay was their only business. The commissioners, with new importunity and bitterness, begun upon their new instructions, "that the king would immediately publish the declaration against the marquis of Ormond," without any other reasons than those which he had answered before. His majesty answered, "there was no other difference between them but in point of time, whether pre-

sently, or at the conclusion of the peace: upon the peace, they had the substance of their desire already granted; and if there were no peace, they had reason to believe that no declaration he should make would be believed or obeyed;" and so adhered to what he had answered formerly.

Then they declared, "that the parliament was not satisfied with his concessions with reference to the church; that the presbyterian government could be exercised with little profit, or comfort, if it should appear to be so short-lived as to continue but for three years; and that they must therefore press the utter extirpating the function of bishops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their lands was insisted on; whereas by the king's concessions the old rent was still reserved to them. They said, "the parliament did not intend to force, but only to rectify his conscience;" and, to that end, they added more reasons to convince him in the several points. They repeated their old distinction between the scripture-bishop, and the bishop by law. For the absolute alienation of their lands, they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or necessity, not so visible and manifest as appeared at present; and concluded with their usual threat, "that the consequence of his denial would be the continuance of the public disturbances."

To all which his majesty answered, "that, for the presbyterian government, they might remember that their own first order for the settling it was only for three years; which they then thought a competent time for a probationary law, that contained such an alteration in the state; and therefore they ought to think the same now: and that it might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that time bear the test and examination of it; and that nothing could be a greater honour to that discipline, than its being able to bear that test and examination." He said, "he was well pleased with their expression, that they did not intend to force his conscience; yet the manner of pressing him looked very like it, after he had so solemnly declared that it was against his conscience; that he did concur with them in their distinction of bishops, and if they would preserve the scripture-bishop, he would take away the bishop by law." He confessed, "that necessity might justify or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the church of God of an order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers in the church." For the point of sacrilege, he said, "the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much better information to his conscience, what is sacrilege, than any precedents or law of the land could be." Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former answer in all the particulars, and concluded, "that he could with more comfort cast himself upon God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from, all afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for any politic consideration that might seem to be a means to restore him."

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the treaty was to end, they delivered to the king the votes which the two houses had passed concerning and upon his own message, (which had

lain so long in their hands unanswered,) which were in effect, 1. "That from and after such time as the agreements upon this treaty should be ratified by acts of parliament, all his houses, manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits thereof, and all other legal revenue of the crown should be restored to him, liable to the maintenance of those ancient forts, and castles, and such other legal charges as they were formerly charged withal, or liable to. 2. That he should be then likewise resettled in a condition of honour, freedom, and safety, agreeable to the laws of the land. 3. That an act of indemnity should be then passed with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be declared by act of parliament, that nothing contained in his majesty's propositions should be understood or made use of to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agreement in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commission agreed upon by his majesty and the two houses of parliament, in pursuance thereof;" in all which his majesty acquiesced.

The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the commissioners believed it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the king, and early the next morning went to Cowes harbour to embark themselves. But the tide not serving to transport them out of the island, that night a messenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they returned and acquainted his majesty with it.

At the same time, the thundering declaration of the army was published; which declared their full resolution "to change the whole frame of the government, and that they would be contented with no less an alteration;" which, as it was an argument to the king to endeavour all he could to unite the two houses, that they might be able to bear that shock, so it was expected that it would have been no less an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the king, since their interest was no less threatened than his.

The fresh instances the commissioners made were upon several votes which had passed the two houses against delinquents; and a new proposition concerning those who had engaged themselves against the parliament since the last January, and particularly against the marquis of Ormond. They proposed, "that there should be seven persons, the lord Newcastle, and six others," (who were named,) "who should be excepted from pardon, and their estates forfeited: that the delinquents, in the several classes mentioned in their proposition, should pay for their composition, some a moiety, others a third part of their estates, and other rates, as they were set down; and that all who had been engaged in the land or sea service since January 1647, should pay a full year's value of their whole estates more than the other delinquents; and that none who had been against the parliament should presume to come within either of the courts belonging to the king, queen, or prince, or be capable of any office or preferment, or of serving in parliament, for the space of three years; and that all clergymen who had been against the parliament should be deprived

of all their preferments, places, and promotions; which should be all void as if they were naturally dead." To these the king answered, that, "to the excepting the seven persons named from pardon, and the forfeiture of their estates, his answer was, that, if they were proceeded against according to the ancient established laws, and could not justify and defend themselves, he would not interpose on their behalf; but he could not, in justice or honour, join himself in any act for taking away the life or estate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates which were to be paid for composition, he referred it to the two houses of parliament, and to the persons themselves, who would be contented to pay it; and he did hope and desire, that they might be moderately dealt with." And for the clergymen, whose preferments he well knew were already disposed of, and in the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deserved so well of the parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his majesty desired, "that they might be allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such time that they, or the pre-sent incumbents, should be better provided for." As to the marquis of Ormond, against whom they pressed what they had before done with extraordinary animosity, the king answered, "that since what he had said before" (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "did not give them satisfaction, he had written a letter," (which he delivered to them, to be sent, and read to them,) "in which he directed him to desist; and said, if he refused to submit to his command, he would then publish such a declaration against his power and his proceedings, as they desired."

And now the second limitation of time for the treaty was at an end. But that night came another vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a command to the commissioners to return on Tuesday morning; which was the eight and twentieth of November: and thereupon they presented two propositions to his majesty, which were to be despatched that day.

The two propositions they sent for one day's work were, the first, concerning Scotland; the other, concerning the church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded "the king's consent, to confirm by act of parliament such agreements as should be made by both houses with that kingdom, in the security of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the parliament of England, and for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other." The king put them in mind, "that at the beginning of the treaty they had informed him, that their commission was only to treat concerning England and Ireland; and that they had no authority to meddle in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they had thereupon refused to receive a paper from him, which was to preserve the interest of that kingdom; and demanded of them, whether their commission was enlarged;" which they confessed "was not; and that they had presented that paper only in obedience to the order they had received." So that the king easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish,

"that the king had rejected whatsoever was tendered to him on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland." To prevent which, he answered, "that as he would join in any agreement, to be confirmed by act of parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for their mutual defence of each other under him as king of both; so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with them: but for any new engagement, or confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, and be advised with in the making it, before he would promise to confirm it." The other business with reference to the church gave him much more trouble. The commissioners pressed him "to consider the exigence of time, and that there was not a whole day left to determine the fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite the counsels of those who wished and desired peace, and to live happily under his subjection and obedience, against the bold attempts of the army, which had enough declared and manifested what their intention was, but satisfying the houses fully in what they demanded in that particular." His own council, and the divines, besought him "to consider the safety of his own person, even for the church's and his people's sakes, who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserved, which could not but be attended with many blessings: whereas, if he were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was not sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which occurred to them, the order which he, with so much piety and zeal, endeavoured to preserve, was much more like to be destroyed by his not complying, than by his suspending it till his majesty and his two houses should agree upon a future government; which, they said, much differed from an abolition of it."

Hereupon he gave them his final answer, "that after such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the business of the church, he had expected not to be farther pressed therein; it being his judgment, and his conscience." He said, "he could not, as he was then informed, abolish episcopacy out of the church; yet, because he apprehended how fatal new distractions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed his two houses would yield to truth, if it were made manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would comply with their demands, if he were convinced in his conscience, he did therefore again desire a consultation with divines, in the manner he had before proposed, and would in the mean time suspend the episcopal power, as well in point of ordination of ministers, as of jurisdiction, till he and the two houses should agree what government should be established for the future. For bishops' lands, he could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the church, but would consent that leases for lives, or years, not exceeding ninety-nine, should be made for the satisfaction of purchasers or contractors:" little differing from the answer he had formerly given to this last particular: and in all the rest he ad-

hered to his former answers. And the commissioners, having received this his final answer, took their leaves, and the next morning begun their journey towards London.

The king had begun a letter to the prince his son before the first forty days were expired, and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded, and finished it the nine and twentieth of November, after the commissioners were departed, and with it sent a very exact copy of all the papers which had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the clerks who attended. But the letter itself was all in his own hand, and contained above six sheets of paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those concessions; out of which most of this relation is extracted. And it is almost evident, that the major part of both houses of parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. That which seemed to afflict him most, next what referred to the church and religion, and which, he said, "had a large share in his conscientious considerations," was the hard measure his friends were subjected to; for whose interest he did verily believe he should better provide in the execution of the treaty, than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he said, "he could not but think, that all who were willing that he should continue their king, and to live under his government, would be far from desiring in the conclusion to leave so foul a brand upon his party, of which they would all desire to be accounted for the time to come. However, he hoped that all his friends would consider, not what he had submitted to, but how much he had endeavoured to relieve them from;" and conjured the prince his son, "that the less he had been able himself to do for them, the more, if God blessed him, he should acknowledge and supply." He said, "he would willingly forget in how high degree some subjects had been disloyal, but never had prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet, he said more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty, than could in any story be exemplified; and that, by that, subjects might learn how dangerous the neglect of seasonable duty is; and that men cannot easily fix when they please what they have unnecessarily shaken." The conclusion of the letter, as it was dated the five and twentieth of November, (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional passages upon the enlargement of time,) deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, and gives the best character of that excellent prince; and was in these words.

"By what hath been said, you see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace; shew the greatness of your mind, if God bless you, (and let us

“comfort you with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us pass under the censures of men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God’s mercy, to us a deliverance, it will to you a blessing,) rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not for having parted with so much of our own right; the price was great, but the commodity was security to us, peace to our people: and we were confident, another parliament would remember how useful a king’s power is to a people’s liberty; of how much thereof we divested ourself, that we and they might meet once again in a due parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of prince and people. And in this give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative, than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all men intrust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if princes, like the sea, receive, and repay all the fresh streams the river intrusts with them, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince, as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For our subjects have learned (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated.

“We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you, or the world, publicly: we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, we bless God, we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourself by retiring into ourself; and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God’s providence will restrain our enemies’ power, and turn their fierceness to his praise.

“To conclude, if God gives you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If he restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These men, who have forced laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth the obtaining by foul and unjust means.

“You are the son of our love, and as we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you, (to whom we are a natural parent,) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be

“a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

“Your very loving father, C. R.”

Newport, 25th Nov. 1648.

Whilst the treaty lasted, it was believed that his majesty might have made his escape; which most men who wished him well thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and he himself was inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness of his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shewed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer by the closest imprisonment. And sure there was, at that time, no court in Christendom so honourably or generously constituted, that it would have been glad to have seen him; and it might be some reason that they who wished him very well did not wish his escape, because they believed imprisonment was the worst his worst enemies intended towards him; since they might that way more reasonably found and settle their republican government; which men could not so prudently propose to bring to pass by a murder; which, in the instant, gave the just title to another who was at liberty to claim his right, and to dispute it. Before the treaty, and after the votes and declarations of no more addresses, when his treatment was so barbarous, his majesty had proposed to himself to make an escape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but such persons who were placed by those who wished worst to his safety; and therefore chose such instruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongst those there was a young man, one Osborne, by extraction a gentleman; who was recommended by the lord Wharton (one who deserved not to be suspected by Cromwell himself) to colonel Hammond, to be placed in some near attendance about the king; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitness of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as gentleman usher; which gave him opportunity to be almost always in the presence of the king. This young man, after some months’ attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the king’s carriage, and the great affability he used towards those who were always about him, to have a tenderness and loyal sense of his sufferings; and did really desire to do him any service that might be acceptable. By his office of gentlemen usher he usually held the king’s gloves when he was at meat, and first took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expressed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his glove. The king was not forward or over credulous of the professions of a person he knew so little, and who, he knew, would not be suffered to be about him, if he were thought to have those inclinations. However, after longer observation, and sometimes speaking to him whilst he was walking amongst others in the garden allowed for that purpose, his majesty began to be-

lieve that there was sincerity in him; and so frequently put some memorial into fingers of his glove, and by the same expedient received advertisement from him.

There was in the garrison one Rolph, a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confidant, a fellow of a low extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a common soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put any thing into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himself from speaking maliciously and wickedly against the king, when dissimulation was at the highest amongst the great officers. This man grew into great familiarity with Osborne, and knowing from what person he came recommended to that trust, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and so, according to his custom of reviling the king, he wished "he were out of the world; for they should never make any settlement whilst he was alive. He said, "he was sure the army wished him dead, and "that Hammond had received many letters from "the army to take him away by poison, or any "other way; but he saw it would never be done "in that place; and therefore, if he would join with "him, they would get him from thence; and then "the work would easily be done." Osborne asked him, "how it could be possible to remove him from "thence, without Hammond's or the king's own "consent?" Rolph answered, that the king might "be decoyed from thence, as he was from Hampton "Court, by some letters from his friends, of some "danger that threatened him, upon which he would "be willing to make an escape; and then he might "easily be despatched." Osborne shortly found an opportunity to inform the king of all this.

The king bid him "continue his familiarity with "Rolph, and to promise to join with him in "contriving how his majesty should make an escape;" and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's villainy the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common soldiers to Osborne, "who, "he said, he thought might be trusted;" and wished him "to trust one Doucet;" whom the king had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back stairs, and was indeed an honest man; for it was impossible for him to make an escape, without the privacy of such persons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the castle, as well as help him from thence. Osborne told Rolph, "he was confident he should in the end persuade the king "to attempt an escape, though he yet seemed "jealous and apprehensive of being discovered, "and taken again." Doucet concurred very willingly in it, and the soldier who was chosen by the king proved likewise very honest, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who used to stand sentinels at the place where the king intended to get out. All things were provided; and the king had a file and saw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, sawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readiness, the night was appointed, and Osborne at the place where he was to receive the king. But one of the soldiers informed Rolph of all which Osborne had not done; by which he concluded that he was false,

and directed the soldier to proceed, and stand sentinel in the same place to which he had been assigned; and he, and some others trusted by him, were armed, and stood very near with their pistols. At midnight the king came to the window, resolving to go out; but as he was putting himself out, he discerned more persons to stand thereabout than used to do, and thereupon suspected that there was some discovery made; and so shut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a discourse, which then flew abroad, as if the king had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after, nor get his head back, and so was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the king had designed; who presently went into his chamber, and found the king in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and presently seized upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Osborne; who was either fled out of the island, or concealed in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to insult upon Doucet in prison, and scornfully asked him, "why "his king came not forth when he was at the "window?" and said, "he was ready with a good "pistol charged to have received him." When Osborne had got into a place of present safety, he writ a letter to his patron the lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and desired him, "to acquaint the house of peers of the design "upon the king's life, and that he would be ready "to appear and justify the conspiracy." The good lord, after he had kept the letter some time, sent it to Hammond, as the fittest person to examine the truth of the relation. Osborne was not discouraged with all this; but sent two letters to the speakers of both houses, and enclosed the letter he had formerly writ to the lord Wharton. In the house of commons the information was slighted, and laid aside; but it made more impression upon the house of peers; who sent, with more than ordinary earnestness, to the commons, "that Rolph might be sent for, and a safe-guard "for forty days to Osborne to appear, and prosecute."

Rolph brought with him a large testimonial from Hammond of his "integrity, and of the "many good services he had done to the state." Osborne appeared likewise at the lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before set down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The house of commons had no mind to have it examined farther; but the clamour of the people was so great, that, after many delays, they voted "that it should be tried at the general assizes at "Winchester." And thither they sent their well-tried sergeant Wild, to be the sole judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the same jury that had found captain Burley guilty was impannelled for the trial of Rolph. Osborne, and Doucet, who upon bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the indictment; and, upon their oaths, declared all that Rolph had said to them, as is set down before. The prisoner, if he may be called a prisoner who was under no restraint, had two lawyers assigned to be of council with him, contrary to the law and custom in those cases: but he needed not to have had any council but the judge himself; who told the jury, "that

“ it was a business of great importance that was before them; and therefore that they should take heed what they did in it: that there was a time indeed when intentions and words were treason, but God forbid it should be so now: how did any body know but that those two men, Osborne and Doucet, would have made away the king, and that Rolph charged his pistol to preserve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him away to have engaged them in a second war.” He told them, “ they were mistaken who did believe the king in prison; the parliament did only keep him safe to save the shedding of more blood.” Upon these good directions, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill; and this was some months before the treaty.

When the commissioners, who had treated with the king at the Isle of Wight, were returned to the parliament, their report took up many days in the house of commons, where the resolution was first to be taken; which commonly was final, the lords rarely presuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The question upon the whole was, “ whether the answer that the king had made to their propositions was satisfactory?” which was debated with all the virulence and acrimony towards each other, that can fall from men so possessed as both sides were.

Young sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with the highest insolence and provocation; telling them, “ that they should that day know and discover, who were their friends, and who were their foes; or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the king's party in the house, and who were for the people;” and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the person of the king, and the government that had been too long settled; put them in mind, “ that they had been diverted from their old settled resolution and declaration, that they would make no more addresses to the king; after which the kingdom had been governed in great peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that republican government which they intended and begun to establish, when, by a combination between the city of London and an ill affected party in Scotland, with some small contemptible insurrections in England, all which were fomented by the city, the houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution, and enter into a personal treaty with the king; with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserved a power in himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as tyrannical a government as he had done: that all the insurrections, which had so terrified them, were now totally subdued; and the principal authors and abettors of them in their custody, and ready to be brought to justice, if they pleased to direct, and appoint it: that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their brethren, the parliament of England; so that there was nothing wanting, but their own consent and resolution, to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world; and to that purpose desired, that they might, without

“ any more loss of time, return to their former resolution of making no more addresses to the king; but proceed to the settling the government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner, as might terrify all other men for the future from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their army, which had merited so much from them by the remonstrance they had so lately published.”

This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked, by that kind of murmur which usually shews how the house stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there, of the success that is like to be. And his preface, and entrance into the debate, were taken notice of with equal sharpness; and, “ his presumption in taking upon himself to divide the house, and to censure their affections to the public, as their sense and judgment should agree, or disagree, with his own; and since he had, without example, taken so much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the contrary was assumed by other men; and that it was as lawful for another man, who said he was no gainer by the troubles, to make another division of the house, and to say, that they should find in the debate of that day, that there were some who were desirous of peace; and that they were all losers, or, at least, no gainers by the war; and that others were against peace; and that they by the war had gained large revenues, and great sums of money, and much wealth; and therefore his motion was, that the gainers might contribute to the losers, if they would not consent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the other possess what they had got, by a peace that might be happy for both.”

Whilst this was debating in the house, which continued several days, six officers, from the headquarters at Windsor, whither the army had been brought before, or at the time when the treaty ended at the Isle of Wight, brought their large remonstrance to the house; in which they desired, “ that there might be no farther proceedings upon the treaty; but that they would return to their former determination of no farther addresses, and make what haste they could in settling the government: that the bargaining proposition on the behalf of delinquents, which was only upon a contract with the king, and not in any judicial way, might be laid aside, and that public justice might be done upon the principal actors in the late troubles, and that others, upon a true submission, might find mercy: that a peremptory day might be set, when the prince of Wales and the duke of York should be required to appear; which if they should not do, they should stand exiled as traitors; and if they should appear, yet they should be bound to make some satisfaction: that an end might be put to this parliament, and a new representative chosen of the people, for the governing and preserving the whole body of the nation. That no king might be hereafter admitted but upon election of the people, and as upon trust for the people, who should be likewise limited and restrained by the representative;” with many other impracticable particulars, which troubled the parliament the less for their incoherence, and impossibility to be reduced into practice.

But that which troubled most, and indeed which awakened them to the most dismal apprehensions, was, that they were advertised, that the king was taken away from Carisbrook castle by an officer of the army, and carried to Hurst castle, not far from the other, and in so vile and unwholesome an air, that the common guards there used to be frequently changed for the preservation of their health. Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ many letters to the parliament, to be discharged from that government, and from the care of the king's person; and the officers of the army seemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no sooner ended, (and before the commissioners begun their report to the houses,) but he was discharged of the government, and another colonel sent to take the person of the king, and to carry him to Hurst castle.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the king's answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately voted, "that the seizing upon the king's person, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst castle, was without their advice and consent:" which vote had no contradiction, because no man would own the advice. Then they caused a letter to be written to the general, "that the orders and instructions to colonel Ewre" (the officer who had seized the king) "were contrary to their resolutions, and instructions to colonel Hammond; and therefore, that it was the pleasure of the house, that he should recall those orders; and that colonel Hammond should again resume the government of the Isle of Wight." But the general, without taking any notice of their complaint, or of their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army; and told them, "that, unless there were present money sent to that purpose, he should be forced to remove the army, and to draw them nearer to London." And at the same time a new declaration was sent to the house from the army, in pursuance of their late remonstrance; which the house refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy members moved, "that the army might be declared traitors, if they presumed to march nearer London than they were at present; and that an impeachment of high treason might be drawn up against the principal officers of it." Hereupon, the general marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham House, the Mews, Covent Garden, Westminster, and St. James's; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the city without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the house of commons retained its courage, and were resolute "to assert the treaty; and that the king's answers were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that the house might and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the settlement of peace in church and state, rather than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue the kingdom in war and distraction."

They who vehemently pressed this conclusion, and would be thought to be for the king, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all

the invectives both against the king, and all the time of his government, that his bitterest enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted had provided remedies for all those evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the distractions to-morrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time sacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the debate most part of the night, till almost five of the clock in the morning, on Monday night, they had first put the question, "whether the question should be put?" and carried it by a hundred and forty voices against one hundred and four: the main question, "That the answer of the king to the propositions of both houses was a ground for the houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom," was so clearly voted, that the house was not divided; and, that there might be no afterclaps, they appointed a committee "to confer with the general, for the better procuring a good intelligence and correspondence between the army and the parliament;" and then they adjourned the house to Wednesday morning, it being then near the morning of Tuesday.

The committee that was appointed to confer with the general waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give some account to the house the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, "that the way to correspond with the army, was to comply with their remonstrance:" and the next morning there was a guard of musketeers placed at the entry into and door of the house, and the officers thereof having a list in their hands of the names of those who should be restrained from going into the house, all those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the court of wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which, there were so many of the same opinion got into the house, through the inadvertency of the guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory persons, that the debate, upon resuming the same question, continued very long; several members who observed the force at the entrance of the house, and saw their companions not suffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the house would take no notice of it. In the conclusion, after a very long debate, the major part of those who were present in the house voted the negative to what had been settled in the former debate, and "that the answer the king had given to their propositions was not satisfactory."

Those gentlemen who for some hours had been restrained in the court of wards were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster-hall, (except some few, who were suffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away,) by a strong guard, to that place under the exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. And here

they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night: after which hour, in respect of the extreme cold weather, and the age of many of the members, they were carried to several inns; where they were suffered to lodge as prisoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they published a protestation in print against the proceedings of the house of commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been used against them:" and then the house, with the remaining members, having determined what they thought fit, the other were at liberty to do what they pleased. Nobody owned this act of violence in the exclusion of so many members: there was no order made for it by the house. Fairfax the general knew nothing of it, and the guards themselves being asked "what authority they had," gave no other answer "but that they had orders." But afterwards there was a full and clear order of the house, without taking notice of any exclusion, "that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote prevailed should sit any more in the house, before they had first subscribed the same vote, as agreeable to their judgments; which if they subscribed, they were as well qualified members as before." Many of these excluded members, out of conscience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the house for many years; some, not before the revolution; others, sooner or later, returned to their old seats, that they might not be idle when so much business was to be done.

Then they renewed their old votes of no more addresses, and annulled and made void all those which introduced the treaty: and, that they might find no more such contradiction hereafter, they committed to several prisons major general Brown, (though he was then sheriff of London,) sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, major general Massey, and commissary general Copley, who were the most active members in the house of the presbyterian party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the service of the parliament in their several stations against the king as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the present army had then credit to do: of these, Massey made his escape, and transported himself into Holland; and there, according to the natural modesty of that sect, presented himself to the prince, with as much confidence (and as a sufferer for the king his father) as if he had defended Colchester.

The protestation that the secluded members had published and caused to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had been done in the house of commons, made a great noise over the kingdom, and no less incensed those who remained and sat in the house, than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the house likewise made a declaration against that protestation; and declared it "to be false, scandalous, and seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom;" and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the small house of peers, and jointly ordained, "that that protestation should be suppressed, and that no man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the same."

When they had in this manner mastered all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to establish some affirmative conclusions, as they had done negatives. They were told, "that it was high time to settle some form of government, under which the nation was to live: there had been much treasure and blood spent to recover the liberty of the people, which would be to no purpose if there were not provision made for their secure enjoying it; and there would be always the same attempts made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy the public peace, if there were not such exemplary penalties inflicted, as might terrify all men, of what condition soever, from entering upon such desperate undertakings." They resolved to gratify the army, by taking a view of a paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new government, which was called *the agreement of the people*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, shot to death, when he found the parliament was so much offended with it. They declared now, as the most popular thing they could do to please both the people and the army, "that they would put an end to the parliament on the last day of April next; and that there should be a representative of the nation, consisting of three hundred persons chosen by the people; of which, for the term of seven years, no person who had adhered to the king, or who should oppose this agreement, or not subscribe thereunto, should be capable of being chosen to be one, or to have a voice in the election; and that, before that time, and before the dissolution of the present parliament, it would be necessary to bring those signal delinquents, who had lately disturbed the quiet and peace of the kingdom, and put it to so great an expense of blood and treasure, to exemplary punishment." And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with him who had been the cause of all the miseries, and mischiefs, which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power and authority to govern them for the future; and they had already had near two years' experience, that the nation might be very happily governed without any recourse to him: that they had already declared, and the house of peers had concurred with them, that the king had been the cause of all the blood which had been spilt; and therefore, that it was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and murders: that the people expected this at their hands; and that having the principal malefactor in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him."

How new and monstrous soever this language and discourse was to all English ears, they found a major part still to concur with them: so that they appointed a committee for the present "to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign; which being made ready, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice."

This manner of proceeding in England was so unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propose any way to oppose it that might carry with it any hope of success. However, the pain the prince was in would not suffer him to rest without making some effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from wishing that success and honour to the crown of England, as it had deserved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own presence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were devising all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be so universally odious to all Christians, that no body of men would appear to favour it. His highness therefore sent to the States General, to desire them "to give him an audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they sat;" which he did, being met by the whole body at the bottom of the stairs, and conducted into the room where they sat.

The prince was attended by four or five of his council; and when he had said a little to the States of compliment, he referred them to a paper which sir William Boswell, the king's resident there, was to deliver to them. The paper described shortly the ill condition the king his father was in; and the threats and menaces which his enemies used to proceed against him in such a manner as must be abominated by all Christians, and which would bring the greatest reproach and obloquy upon the protestant religion, that ever Christianity had undergone: and therefore desired them, "that they would interpose their credit, and authority, in such a manner as they thought fit, with the two houses at Westminster, that, instead of such an unlawful and wicked prosecution, they would enter into terms of accommodation with his royal father; for the observation whereof his royal highness would become bound."

The States assured his highness, "that they were very much afflicted at the condition of the king, and would be glad any interposition of theirs might be able to relieve him; that they would seriously consider in what manner they might serve him." And, that day, they resolved to send an extraordinary ambassador into England, who should repair to the prince of Wales, and receive his instructions to what friends of the king's he should resort, and consult with; who, being upon the place, might best inform him to whom to apply himself. And they made choice of Paw, the pensioner of Holland, for their ambassador; who immediately attended the prince with the offer of his service, and many professions of his desire that his journey might produce some good effect.

The council that was about the prince had looked upon Paw as a man that had always favoured the rebellion in England, and as much obstructed all civilities from the States towards the king, as was possible for him to do; and therefore they were very sorry that he was made choice of for ambassador in such a fatal conjuncture. But the prince of Orange assured the prince, "that he had used all his credit to compass that election; that he was the wisest man of their body; and that neither he, nor any of the rest, who had cherished the English rebellion more than he, ever desired it should prosper to that degree it had

done, as to endanger the changing the government;" and therefore wished "there might not appear any distrust of him, but that the prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the council would confer with him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed in." But the wisdom of angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any menaces to the parliament as if they would embark themselves in the quarrel. So that the council could only wish, "that the ambassador would confer with such of the king's friends who were then at London, and whose relation had been most eminent towards his majesty; and receive advice from them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particular men, and thereby with the parliament." And so the ambassador departed for England, within less than a week after he was nominated for the employment.

At the same time, the queen of England, being struck to the heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the parliament intended, sent a paper to the agent who was employed there by the cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the parliament. The paper contained a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the king her husband was in; desiring "that they would grant her a pass to come over to him, offering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give her leave to perform any of those offices towards the public, that she might be permitted to perform the duty she owed him, and to be near him in the uttermost extremity." Neither of these addresses did more than express the zeal of those who procured them to be made: the ambassador Paw could neither get leave to see the king, (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do,) nor be admitted to an audience by the parliament, till after the tragedy was acted: and the queen's paper was delivered, and never considered in order to return any answer to it.

When the committee had prepared such a charge, which they called "an impeachment of high treason against Charles Stewart, king of England," digested into several articles, which contained all those calumnies they had formerly digested into that declaration of no more addresses to be made to him, with some additional reproaches, it was read in the house; and, after it was approved there, they sent it to the house of peers for their concurrence. That house had very little to do from the time that Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, and used to adjourn for two or three days together for want of business; so that it was believed, that they who had done so many mad things, rather than they would dissent from the house of commons, would likewise concur with them in this, rather than sever from them when they were so triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this impeachment was brought up to the peers, it was so ill received, that there was not one person who concurred with them; which, considering the men and what most of them had done, might seem very strange. And when they had, with some warmth, rejected it,

they adjourned for a week; presuming they should thereby at least give some interruption to that career which the house of commons was upon, and, in that time, some expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both houses. But they were as much deceived in this; the house of commons was very well pleased with it, and thought they had given them ease, which they could not so well have contrived for themselves. So they proceeded in their own method, and when the day came to which the lords had adjourned their house, they found their doors all locked, and fastened with padlocks, that there should then be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after sit in that house as peers [above twice or thrice at most], till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a house of peers of his own creation; in which some of them then very willingly took their places.

The charge and accusation, upon which they resolved to proceed against the king, being thus settled and agreed upon, they begun to consider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be some appearance of justice. Nothing could be found in the common or statute law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the precedent of deposing Richard the Second (the sole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpose: for, how foul soever the circumstances precedent had been, he had made a resignation of his royalty before the lords in parliament; so that his deposition proceeded from himself, and with his own consent, and would not agree in any particular with the case in question. So that they must make a new form to warrant their proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They constituted and erected a court that should be called "*the high court of justice*, to consist of so many judges, "who should have authority to try the king, "whether he were guilty of what he was accused "of, or no; and, in order thereunto, to examine "such witnesses as should be produced:" the number of the judges to be eight and forty, whereof the major part might proceed.

They could not have found such a number yet amongst themselves, after so many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this last tragical act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they should make only their own members to be judges in this case, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defensive, as they pretended, against the king, and so not so fit to be the only judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they should name none of themselves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themselves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would discourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they resolved, that the judges should be nominated promiscuously, as well of members of the house, as of such other of their good and godly men in the kingdom, as they should think fit to nominate. Whosoever would not be one himself when named, as there were yet many amongst them, who, out of conscience, or of fear, utterly protested against it, should take upon him to name another man; which sure he could not but think was equally unlawful: so that few took

upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themselves.

All the chief officers of the army were named and divers accepted the office; and such aldermen and citizens of London, as had been most violent against peace, and some few country gentlemen, whose zeal had been taken notice of for the cause, and who were like to take such a preferment as a testimony of the parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When such a number of men were nominated as were thought in all respects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a speaker, or prolocutor, who should be called lord president of that high court, who must manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the witnesses all proper questions, and answer what the prisoner should propose. And to that office one Bradshaw was chosen, a lawyer of Gray's inn, not much known in Westminster-hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious and discontented persons. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheshire and Lancashire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great insolence and ambition. When he was first nominated, he seemed much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo so important a charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was pressed with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "time to consider of it;" and said, "he would then give his "final answer;" which he did the next day; and with great humility accepted the office, which he administered with all the pride, impudence, and superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great state, and many officers and a guard assigned for the security of his person, and the dean's house at Westminster given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good sum of money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the lord president of the high court of justice seemed to be the greatest magistrate in England. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "that "they believed that office was not to be looked "upon as necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for "continuance; and that he who executed it deserved to have an ample and a liberal estate "conferred upon him for ever:" which sudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar spirit, accustomed to no excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some lawyers (eminent for nothing but their obscurity, and that they were men scarce known) to perform the offices of attorney general, and solicitor general for the state, to prosecute the prisoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence against him. Other officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several offices of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in Westminster-hall, for which such architects were ap-

pointed as were thought fit to give direction therein.

The king was now sent for from Hurst castle, and when he came out of the boat which transported him from thence he was received by colonel Harrison with a strong party of horse; by whom he was to be conducted to Windsor castle. Harrison was the son of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in those parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the person, imbues young men with more pride than any other kind of breeding; and disposes them to be pragmatical and insolent, though they have the skill to conceal it from their masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the rebellion first began, this man quitted his master, (who had relation to the king's service, and discharged his duty faithfully,) and put himself into the parliament army; where, having first obtained the office of a cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the state of a captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the army; when Cromwell, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his service, much given to prayer and to preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his clerkship contributed very much: and then he was preferred very fast; so that, by the time the king was brought to the army, he had been a colonel of horse, and looked upon as inferior to few, after Cromwell and Ireton, in the council of officers and in the government of the agitators; and there were few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the king with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any address; answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the king had some thought of making an escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windsor, and so to pass by Bagshot, the king expressed a desire to see his little park at Bagshot, and so to dine at the lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the lord Newburgh, who had lately married the lady Aubigney, lived there; and said, "he would send a servant to let that lady know that he would dine with her, that she might provide a dinner for him." Harrison well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the king so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by not suffering him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his majesty should send a servant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there.

Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the king; the lady, after her husband the lord Aubigney had been killed at Edge-hill, having so far incensed the parliament, that she had endured a long imprisonment, under a suspicion or evidence that she had been privy to the

design which had been discovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewise herself been put to death, if she had not made her escape to Oxford. After the war was ended, she had, with the king's approbation, married the lord Newburgh; who had the same affections. They had, from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, concerted with his majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the letters which passed between the king and the queen passed through their hands; who had likewise a cipher with the king, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from Hurst castle, and advised him "to find some way that he might dine at the lodge at Bagshot; and that he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the horse he rode upon, or to find such fault with his going, that he might take another horse out of the lord Newburgh's stables to continue the rest of his journey upon." That lord much delighted in horses, and had, at that time, in his stables, the most notorious for fleetness that was in England; and the purpose was, to mount the king upon that horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the sudden, set spurs to him; and, if he could get out of the company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that forest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the king had so earnestly insisted upon dining at Bagshot; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

Before the king came thither, Harrison had sent some horse with an officer to search the house, and all about the park, that he might be sure that no company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the king, all the morning, found fault with the going of his horse; and said, "he would change it, and procure a better." When his majesty came to the lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, "that the horse so much depended upon was, the day before, by the blow of another horse, so lamed, that he could not be of use to the purpose he was designed for." And though that lord had other good horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the king had observed so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred horse, the officers all exceedingly well horsed, and every man, officer and soldier, having a pistol ready spanned in one hand, that he resolved not to pursue that design. And Harrison had already told him, "that he had provided a better horse for him;" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made use of one of the lord Newburgh's. So that after having spent three or four hours there with very much satisfaction to himself, though he was not suffered to be in any room without the company of six or seven soldiers, who suffered little to be spoken, except it was so loud that they could hear it too, he took a sad farewell of them, appearing to

have little hope ever to see them again. The lord Newburgh rode some miles in the forest to wait upon the king, till he was required by Harrison to return. His majesty lodged that night at his castle of Windsor, and was soon after carried to St. James's. In this journey, Harrison observing that the king had always an apprehension that there was a purpose to murder him, and had once let fall some words of "the odiousness and wickedness of such an assassination and murder, which could never be safe to the person who undertook it;" he told him plainly, "that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention;" and assured him, "that whatever the parliament resolved to do would be very public, and in a way of justice; to which the world should be witness; and would never endure a thought of secret violence:" which his majesty could not persuade himself to believe; nor did imagine that they durst ever produce him in the sight of the people, under any form whatsoever of a public trial.

It hath been acknowledged since by some officers, and others who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the king's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had mastered both the parliament and the city, and were weary of having the king with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consultations what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they should never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived:" and after he was become a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of no more addresses, the most violent party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till he should be first dead; and therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place." Some were for "an actual deposing him; which could not but be easily brought to pass, since the parliament would vote any thing they should be directed:" others were for "the taking away his life by poison; which would make least noise;" or, "if that could not be so easily contrived, by assassination; for which there were hands enough ready to be employed." There was a third sort, as violent as either of the other, who pressed "to have him brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which," they said, "would be most for the honour of the parliament, and would teach all kings to know, that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives."

Many of the officers were of the first opinion, "as a thing they had precedents for; and that he being once deposed, they could better settle the government than if he were dead; for his son could pretend no right whilst he was alive; whereas, if the father were dead, he would presently call himself king, and others would call him so too; and, it may be, other kings and princes would own him for such. If he were kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a revolution."

There were as many officers of the second judgment, "that he should be presently despatched." They said, "it appeared by the experience they

had, that whilst he was alive, (for a more strict imprisonment than he had undergone, he could never be confined to,) there would be always plots and designs to set him at liberty; and he would have parties throughout the kingdom; and, in a short time, a faction in their most secret councils, and it may be in the army itself; and, where his liberty would yield so great a price, it would be too great a trust to repose in any man, that he would long resist the temptation. Whereas, if he were confessedly dead, all those fears would be over; especially if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity towards all his party, as in prudence they ought to do." This party might probably have carried it, if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too much conscience to expose himself to that infamy; and without his privity or connivance it could not be easily done.

The third party, which were all the levellers and agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and Harrison were, would not endure either of the other ways; and said, "they could as easily bring him to justice in the sight of the sun, as depose him; since the authority of the parliament could do one as well as the other: that their precedent of deposing had no reputation with the people; but was looked upon as the effect of some potent faction, which always oppressed the people more after, than they had been before. Besides, those depositions had always been attended with assassinations and murders, which were the more odious and detested, because nobody owned and avowed the bloody actions they had done. But if he were brought to a public trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, and for his misgovernment, upon the complaint and prosecution of the people, the superiority of the people would be hereby vindicated and made manifest; and they should receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppressions which he had imposed upon them, and for which he ought to pay so dear; and such an exemplary proceeding and execution as this, where every circumstance should be clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and security of the government they intended to establish; and no man would be ambitious to succeed him, and be a king in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be accountable to the people." This argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was resolved upon and consented to.

Whether the incredibility or monstrosity of such a kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men, or whether the principal actors took pains, by their insinuations, to have it so believed, but it is very strange that they who wished the king best, and stood nearest to the stage where these parts were acted, did not believe that there were those horrid intentions that shortly after appeared. The preachers, who had sounded the trumpets loudest to, and throughout the war, preached now as furiously against all wicked attempts and violence against the person of the king, and foolishly urged the obligation of the covenant (by which they had involved him in all the danger he was in) for the security of his person.

As soon as the prince heard of the king's being carried by Harrison to Windsor, and from thence to St. James's, though he had lately sent a servant on purpose to see his majesty, and to bring him an account of the state he was in, which servant was not permitted to see him, he sent now another with a letter to Fairfax and the council of war, (for he knew the parliament had no authority,) in which he told them, "that he had no other means to be informed of the health and condition of the king his royal father, but by the common prints, and general intelligences that arrived in those parts: he had reason by those to believe, that, after the expiration of the treaty in the Isle of Wight, (where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace had been laid,) his majesty had been carried to Hurst castle; and since, by some officers of the army, to Windsor, not without purpose of a more violent prosecution; the rumour whereof, though of so monstrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his piety to make this address to them; who had at this time the power to choose, whether they would raise lasting monuments to themselves of loyalty and piety, by restoring their sovereign to his just rights, and their country to peace and happiness, a glory which had been seldom absolutely vouchsafed to so small a number of men, or to make themselves the authors of endless misery to the kingdom, by contributing or consenting to an act which all Christians, into how different opinions soever divided, must abhor as the most inconsistent with the elements of any religion, and destructive to the security and being of any kind of government: he did therefore earnestly desire and conjure them, sadly to consider the vast and prodigious disproportion in that election; and then," he said, "he could not doubt but that they would choose to do that which is most just, safe, and honourable for them to do; make themselves the blest instruments to preserve, defend, and restore their king; to whom only their allegiance was due; by which every one of them might justly promise themselves peace of conscience, the singular good-will and favour of his majesty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of all good men, and the particular and unalterable affection of the prince himself." This letter was, with much ado, delivered into the hands of Fairfax himself; but the messenger could never be admitted to speak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the council of war, and laid aside.

From the time of the king's being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and custody of colonel Tomlinson, a colonel of foot, though the officer seemed to be a man of a better breeding, and of a nature more civil than Harrison, and pretended to pay much respect and duty to the king in his outward demeanour, yet his majesty was treated with more rudeness and barbarity than he had ever been before. No man was suffered to see or speak to him, but the soldiers who were his guard, some of whom sat up always in his bedchamber, and drank, and took tobacco, as if they had been upon the court of guard; nor was he suffered to go into any other room, either to say his prayers, or to receive the ordinary benefits of nature, but was obliged to do both in their presence and before them: and yet they were so jealous of these their janizaries, that they might

be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent prince, or by the remorse of their own conscience upon the exercise of so much barbarity, that they caused the guards to be still changed; and the same men were never suffered twice to perform the same monstrous duty.

When he was first brought to Westminster-hall, which was upon the twentieth of January, before their high court of justice, he looked upon them, and sat down, without any manifestation of trouble, never stirring his hat; all the impudent judges sitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the least show of respect. The odious libel, which they called a charge and impeachment, was then read by the clerk; which contained, "that he had been admitted king of England, and trusted with a limited power to govern according to law; and, by his oath and office, was obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, out of a wicked design to erect to himself an illimited and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, traitorously levied war against the present parliament, and the people therein represented." And then it mentioned his first appearance at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his setting up his standard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edge-hill, and all the other several battles which had been fought in his presence; "in which," it said, "he had caused and procured many thousands of the freeborn people of the nation to be slain: that after all his forces had been defeated, and himself become a prisoner, he had, in that very year, caused many insurrections to be made in England, and given a commission to the prince his son to raise a new war against the parliament; whereby many who were in their service, and trusted by them, had revolted, broken their trust, and betook themselves to the service of the prince against the parliament and the people: that he had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars; and was therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, and spoils, desolations, damage, and mischief to the nation, which had been committed in the said war, or been occasioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer, and a public implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." And it was prayed, "that he might be put to answer to all the particulars, to the end that such an examination, trial, and judgment, might be had thereupon, as should be agreeable to justice."

Which being read, their president Bradshaw, after he had insolently reprehended the king "for not having stirred his hat, or shewed more respect to that high tribunal," told him, "that the parliament of England had appointed that court to try him for the several treasons, and misdemeanours, which he had committed against the kingdom during the evil administration of his government; and that, upon the examination thereof, justice might be done." And, after a great sauciness and impudence of talk, he asked the king, "what answer he had to make to that impeachment."

The king, without any alteration in his coun-

tenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "he would first know of them, by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God; though they had been always such as he need not be ashamed to own them before all the world." He told them, "that he was their king, they his subjects; who owed him duty and obedience: that no parliament had authority to call him before them; but that they were not the parliament, nor had any authority from the parliament to sit in that manner: that of all the persons who sat there, and took upon them to judge him, except those persons who being officers of the army he could not but know whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only two faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names were known to him." And, after urging "their duty, that was due to him, and his superiority over them," by such lively reasons, and arguments, as were not capable of any answer, he concluded, "that he would not so much betray himself, and his royal dignity, as to answer any thing they objected against him, which were to acknowledge their authority; though he believed that every one of themselves, as well as the spectators, did, in their own consciences, absolve him from all the material things which were objected against him."

Bradshaw advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "not to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had said would do him any good: that the parliament knew their own authority, and would not suffer it to be called in question or debated:" therefore wished him, "to think better of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that he would answer directly to his charge; otherwise, he could not be so ignorant, as not to know what judgment the law pronounced against those who stood mute, and obstinately refused to plead." So the guard carried his majesty back to St. James's; where they treated him as before.

There was an accident happened that first day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all those who were commissioners had taken their places, and the king was brought in, the first ceremony was, to read their commission; which was the ordinance of parliament for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man answering to his name as he was called, and the president being first called and making answer, the next who was called being the general, lord Fairfax, and no answer being made, the officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard that said, "he had more wit than to be there;" which put the court into some disorder, and somebody asking, who it was, there was no other answer but a little murmuring. But, presently, when the impeachment was read, and that expression used, of "all the good people of England," the same voice in a louder tone answered, "No, nor the hundredth part of them:" upon which, one of the officers bid the soldiers give fire into that box whence those presumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly discerned that it was the general's wife, the lady Fairfax, who had uttered both those sharp sayings; who was presently persuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new disorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of

the daughters and heirs of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the church of England, as she ought to have had, and so had unhappily concurred in her husband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what misery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all she could to hinder her husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever sit in that bloody court, though out of the stupidity of his soul he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could very hardly have been otherwise effected.

As there was in many persons present at that woful spectacle a real duty and compassion for the king, so there was in others so barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him tyrant and murderer; and one spit in his face; which his majesty, without expressing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.

The two men who were only known to the king before the troubles, were sir Harry Mildmay, master of the king's jewel-house, who had been bred up in the court, being younger brother of a good family in Essex, and who had been prosecuted with so great favours and bounties by king James, and by his majesty, that he was raised by them to a great estate, and preferred to that office in his house, which is the best under those which entitle the officers to be of the privy council. No man more obsequious to the court than he, whilst it flourished; a great flatterer of all persons in authority, and a spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the parliament, he concurred with those who were most violent against the court, and most like to prevail against it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men most impudent, he continued his desperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his master. The other was sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expense in his way of living, contracted a vast debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being seduced and a seducer, became so far involved in their counsels, that he suffered himself to be applied to their worst offices, taking it to be a high honour to sit upon the same bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that party of miscreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that scorn and detestation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

The several unheard of insolences which this excellent prince was forced to submit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majestic behaviour under so much insolence, and resolute insisting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifest authorities in the law, as well as by the clearest deductions from reason, the pronouncing that horrible sentence upon the most innocent person in the world, the execution of that sentence by the most execrable murder that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour, and the circumstances thereof; the application and interposition that was used by some noble persons to prevent that woful murder, and the hypocrisy with which that inter-

position was eluded, the saint-like behaviour of that blessed martyr, and his Christian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars so well known, and have been so much enlarged upon in a treatise peculiarly writ to that purpose, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itself odious as well as needless; and therefore no more shall be said here of that lamentable tragedy, so much to the dishonour of the nation, and the religion professed by it.

But it will not be unnecessary to add a short character of his person, that posterity may know the inestimable loss which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a prince, whose example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the most strict laws can have. To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to the public, that flowed from such his indulgence. And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private cabinet devotions; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered: and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and alloy, that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely; and he paused too long in giving, which made those, to whom he gave, less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; and did not love strangers; nor very confident men. He was a patient

hearer of causes; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was very fearless in his person, but not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most slavish obedience that could have been wished. But no man can say he had then many who advised him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to fighting, or any other fatigue. He was always an immoderate lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him till he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one earl, who had drank "most of the rest down, and was not himself "moved or altered," the king said, "that he de- "served to be hanged;" and that earl coming shortly after into the room where his majesty was, in some gayety, to shew how unhurt he was from that battle, the king sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth and the stars designed it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not from any treasonable purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by

the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account used in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had such excellent health, and so great vigour of body, that when his murderers caused him to be opened, (which they did, and were some of them present at it with great curiosity,) they confessed and declared, "that no man had ever all his vital parts so perfect and unhurt: and that he seemed to be of so admirable a composition and constitution, that he would probably have lived as long as nature could subsist." His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James's; where he likewise remained several days. They who were qualified to look after that province declared, "that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent manner, provided that the whole expence should not exceed five hundred pounds." The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, desired those who governed, "that they might have leave to perform the last duty to their dead master, and to wait upon him to his grave;" which, after some pauses, they were permitted to do, with this, "that they should not attend the corpse out of the town; since they resolved it should be privately carried to Windsor without pomp or noise, and then they should have timely notice, that, if they pleased, they might be at his interment." And accordingly it was committed to four of those servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that they should convey the body to Windsor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had usually been his bedchamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall; where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to colonel Whitchcot, the governor of the castle, and shewed the order they had from the parliament to be present at the burial; which he admitted: but when they desired that his majesty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the bishop of London being present with them to

officiate, he expressly, positively and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, "it was not lawful; that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded;" nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all tombs, inscriptions, and those landmarks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a vault, in which king Harry the Eighth and queen Jane Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. There the king's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed with these words only, *King Charles 1648*. When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which was seldom put to any use.

I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occasion to mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the king underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the king himself. Upon the return of king Charles the Second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in king Harry the Seventh's chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the king himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The duke of Richmond was dead before the king returned; the marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his majesty came to Whitehall: the earl of Southampton and the earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as

had attended them in that service, and as many others as they remembered had been then present, and were still alive; who all amounted to a small number; there being, at the time of the interment, great strictness used in admitting any to be present whose names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confusion they had at that time observed to be in that church, all things pulled down which distinguished between the body of the church and choir, and the small alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, so totally perplexed their memories, that they could not satisfy themselves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred: yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they caused the ground to be opened at a good distance, and, upon such inquiries, found no cause to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this account to the king, the thought of that remove was laid aside; and the reason communicated to very few, for the better discountenancing farther inquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable action had to a degree satisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or security. They had no sooner freed themselves from one, than another king was grown up in his place. And besides the old royal party, which continued still vigorous, notwithstanding their loss of so much blood, and (which weakens almost as much) of so great estates, they did apprehend that there were in the vast number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had so grievously offended) who would yet be very willing to submit, and be obedient to the new king; who was like to find more friends abroad, as well as at home, than his father had done. And therefore they made haste to prevent this threatening evil, by publishing a proclamation, "that no person whatsoever should presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other person, to be king, or chief magistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging thereunto, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever; and that whoever, contrary to this act, presume to proclaim, &c. should be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and suffer accordingly."

In the next place, that their infant republic might be nursed, cherished, and brought up by those only who had begotten and brought it forth, they resolved to take away and abolish the house of peers, and voted, "that they would make no farther addresses to the house of lords, nor receive any more from them: that the house of peers, in parliament, was useless and dangerous; and that an act should be brought in for abolishing it: that the privilege of the peers, of being freed from arrests, should be declared null and void;" all which was done within few days. However, they declared, "that the peers should have the privilege to be elected knights, or burgesses;" of which gracious concession some of them took the benefit soon after, and sat, upon their election into vacant places, in the house of commons.

There remained yet another provision to be made against their own ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongst them many who were not equally fond of a commonwealth;

and therefore they declared, "that it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, or to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, and safety, and public interest of the nation; and therefore that it should be utterly abolished; and to that purpose an act should be forthwith prepared:" which was likewise done, and passed. And by this triple cord they believed their republic would be strongly compacted, and sufficiently provided for.

Their new great seal was by this time ready; whereon was engraven, on one side, the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription, *The great seal of England*; and on the other side the portraiture of the house of commons sitting, circumscribed, *In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648*. The custody of this great seal was committed to three lawyers, whereof one had sat among the king's judges, and the others had contributed too much to their service. All things being now in this good order, they sent for their judges, to agree upon the formality and circumstances of proceedings. For it was declared by the parliament, "that they were fully resolved to maintain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation, in order to the preservation of the lives, property, and liberty of the people, notwithstanding all the alterations made in the government for the good of the people:" and the writs were no more to run in the king's name, as they had always done, but the name, style, and test, to be *Custodes libertatis Angliæ, autoritate parliamenti*. If it were not a thing so notoriously known, it could not be believed, that of twelve judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly submitted, from the beginning of the war, to the authority that governed, six laid down their places, and could not give themselves leave to accept commissions from the new established power. So aguish and fantastical a thing is the conscience of men who have once departed from the rule of conscience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a less pressing occasion.

It will require, at least it may not be unfit, to rest and make a pause in this place, to take a view, and behold with what countenance the kings and princes of Christendom had their eyes fixed upon this woful bloody spectacle; how they looked upon that issue of blood, at which their own seemed to be so prodigally poured out; with what consternation their hearts laboured to see the impious hands of the lowest and basest subjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their sovereign; a brother king, the anointed of the Lord, dismembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon those monsters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly spilt. Alas! there was not a murmur amongst any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the prophet Isaiah, *Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled*, they made haste, and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch.

Cardinal Mazarine, who, in the infancy of the French king, managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his

friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris. The king of Spain had, from the beginning of the rebellion, kept don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his ambassador to the king, residing still at London; and he had, upon several occasions, many audiences from the parliament, and several treaties on foot; and as soon as this dismal murder was over, that ambassador, who had always a great malignity towards the king, bought as many pictures, and other precious goods appertaining to the crown, as, being sent in ships to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Christina, queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and some pictures of a great price, and received Cromwell's ambassador with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The archduke Leopold, who was governor of Flanders, disbursed a great sum of money for many of the best pictures, which adorned the several palaces of the king; which were all brought to him to Brussels, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in this renowned kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greatest necessities which ever king was subject to. And that which is stranger than all this, and more wonderful, (since most men, by recovering their fortunes, use to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for the true owner,) not one of all these princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the king, after his blessed restoration.

Whilst these perfidious wretches had their hands still reeking in the precious blood of their sovereign, they were put upon a new piece of butchery, as necessary to the establishment of their new tyranny. The king was no sooner dead, but they declared, as hath been said, "that from this time England should be governed as a commonwealth by the parliament;" that is, by that handful of men, who by their wisdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And because the number of those appeared very small, and the number of those they had excluded was as visible, they made an order and declaration, "that as many of the members who had been excluded, as would under their hands approve all that had been done during the time they were excluded, should return to their seats in the house without any prejudice for the future." Hereupon very many went again into the house, satisfying themselves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been spilt; and so their number increased. They had made a new great seal, as hath been said, and called the commissioners, who were entrusted with the keeping thereof, *the keepers of the liberties of England*. And the court of king's bench they called the *upper bench*, and ap-

pointed certain persons to consider of such alterations as were necessary to be made in the laws of England, in regard of so important a mutation. That they might have some obligation of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and established, which they called an *engagement*; the substance whereof was, that every man should swear, "that he would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again, or words to that effect:" and whosoever refused to take that engagement should be incapable of holding any place or office in church or state. The necessity of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in church and state, who, being of the presbyterian party, durst not sacrifice their beloved covenant to this new engagement. And so they filled many considerable places, both in the one and the other, with men thoroughly prepared for their service. But before they could model and finish all this, and whilst it was preparing, they had, in several parts of the kingdom, terrified the people with bloody spectacles, in the executing many of the persons who had been taken. And, that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their subjects, the peers of England, that they should hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land were, a new high court of justice was appointed to sit for the trial of duke Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the earl of Norwich, the lord Capel, and another gentleman, one sir John Owen, (who, having been heretofore a colonel in the king's army, had in a late insurrection in Wales killed the high sheriff,) that they might see there should hereafter be no more distinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greatest lord and the meanest peasant should undergo the same judicatory, and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreasonable, that all the creations of the crown should be determined by that jurisdiction to which the crown itself had been subjected.

Duke Hamilton could not well be thought other than a prisoner of war, and so not liable to a trial for his life. But his own conscience had given him a shrewd presage, when it tempted him to make an escape, which he had so luckily performed, that he was out of his enemies' hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater distance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking horse in Southwark; and carried prisoner into the tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that high court of justice. He insisted upon "the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the least dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a subject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the parliament of that kingdom having thought it necessary to raise an army for the relief of their king, and constituted him general of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuse the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be liable to any punishment but what a prisoner of war was bound to undergo." He was told, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland

"were not called in question, nor could be violated by their proceedings against him, who was a subject of England; against which he was charged with rebellion and treason: that they did not proceed against him as duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as such." The earl of Holland was not at that time in a good disposition of health, and so answered little, as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The earl of Norwich behaved himself with great submission to the court, and with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections: spoke of "his being bred up in the court from his cradle, in the time of queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to king James all his reign; of his dependence upon prince Harry; afterwards upon the late king; of the obligations he had to the crown, and of his endeavours to serve it;" and concluded as a man that would be beholding to them, if they would give him leave to live.

The lord Capel appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "that in the condition and capacity of a soldier and a prisoner of war, he said, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer to any thing which they had said against him;" (Prideaux having treated him with great rudeness and insolence;) but insisted upon "the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days: which were long since expired." He urged "the declaration which Fairfax the general had made to him, and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of sir Charles Lucas and sir George Lisle; that no other of their lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted;" and concluded, "that, if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers: which was his right by the laws of the land; the benefit whereof he required." Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of his judges, denied "that the general had made any such promise, and if he had, that the parliament's authority could not be restrained thereby;" and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the general's civility. The other insisted still on the promise; and urged, "that the general might be sent for and examined;" which they knew not how to deny; but, in regard of his indisposition of health, they said they could not expect he should come in person, but they would send to him for his testimony in writing, whilst they proceeded against sir John Owen, who was the other prisoner.

He answered them without any application, "that he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been always taught to obey the king; that he had served him honestly during the war, and finding afterwards that many honest men endeavoured to raise forces, whereby they might get him out of prison, he did the like; and the high sheriff endeavoured to oppose him, and so chanced to be killed; which he might have avoided, if he had stayed at home:" and concluded like a man that did not much care what they resolved concerning him.

Whether the question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was else said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the parliament; which it ought to have been; and that, at most, it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court, or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the parliament, not to give direction to such a legal proceeding against them, as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom." The president Bradshaw told the lord Capel, with many insolent expressions, "that he was tried before such judges as the parliament thought fit to assign him; and who had judged a better man than himself." So the sentence of death was pronounced against all five of them, "that they should lose their heads;" upon which sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks; and being asked by a stander by, "what he meant?" he said aloud, "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords;" and swore a great oath, "that he was afraid they would have hanged him."

The prisoners were all carried to St. James's; where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preserve their lives by the power and authority of the parliament; where there were so many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon them, and who were of several affections, and liable to several temptations, that there might be a reasonable hope to rescue them from the cruel and unjust judgment. Their wives, and children, and friends, left no way untried to prevail; offered and gave money to some who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But they who had the greatest credit, and most power to terrify others who should displease them, were inexorable; yet dealt so much more honestly than the rest, that they declared to the ladies, who solicited for their husbands and their fathers, "that they would not endeavour to do them service." Ireton, above all men, continued his insolent and dogged humour, (*sævus ille vultus et robur a quo se contra pudorem muniebat*;) and told them, "if he had credit, they should all die." Others, who gave better words, had no better meaning than he.

All their petitions were read in order, being penned in such styles as the friends, who solicited for them, were advised. Duke Hamilton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of justice, and as they imagined his death might be the occasion of new troubles between the two nations, since Scotland could not but resent it, would have been willing he should live. But he had fewer friends to his person than any of the rest; and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: so that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The consideration of the earl of Holland took up a long debate: the interest and interposition of the earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every presbyterian, to a man, was solicitous to preserve him. They urged "his

“merit towards the parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how much he had suffered in the court for his affection to them: his age and infirmities, which would not suffer him long to enjoy that life they should give him: and the consideration of his wife, and children, which were numerous.” But these arguments stirred up others to inveigh against his backslidings with the more bitterness, and to undervalue the services he had ever done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith. So that when the question was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animosity against him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the summer, and for some words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himself. The earl of Norwich came next upon the stage; who, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wished him well, and few who had animosity against him: so that when the question was put concerning him, the house was equally divided, the votes which rejected his petition, and those which would preserve his life, were equal: so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the speaker; who told the house, “that he had received many obligations from that lord; and that once when he had been like to have incurred the king’s displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been very penal to him, the lord Goring” (under which style he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) “had by his credit preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged in gratitude to give his vote for the saving him.” By this good fortune he came to be preserved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the speaker made it only as an excuse for saving any man’s life who was put to ask it in that place.

The lord Capel, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor castle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be best able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no safer place, he found the water and the mud so deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he must have perished, since the water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud so intolerable, that his spirits were near spent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the prison, than to be found in such a place, from whence he could not extricate himself, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleased God, that he got at last to the other side; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the Temple; where he remained two or three nights secure from any discovery, notwithstanding the diligence that could not but be used to recover a man they designed to use no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he trusted much, and who deserved to be trusted, conceiving that he might be more secure in a place to which there was less resort,

and where there were so many harboured who were every day sought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they chose rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple stairs, than to trust one of that people with the secret; and it was so late that there was one only boat left there. In that the lord Capel (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend put themselves, and bid the waterman to row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their passage thither, the other gentleman called him *my lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealousy by observing what he thought was a disguise, when they were landed, the wicked waterman, undiscerned, followed them, till he saw into what house they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded, “what he would give him to bring him to the place where the lord Capel lay?” And the officer promising to give him ten pounds, he led him presently to the house, where that excellent person was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the petition, that his wife had delivered, was read, many gentlemen spoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; and “that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party; but always resolutely declared himself for the king:” and Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe, when he concluded, “that his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, whether they would preserve the most bitter and the most implacable enemy they had: that he knew the lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition.” Ireton’s hatred was immortal; he spake of him and against him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were swayed by the argument that had been urged against duke Hamilton, “that God was not pleased that he should escape, because he had put him into their hands again, when he was at liberty.” And so, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the question being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: so that of the four lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition presented, Ireton told them, “there had been great endeavours and solicitation used to save all those lords; but that there was a commoner, another condemned person, for whom no one man had spoke a word, nor had he himself so much as petitioned them; and therefore he desired, that sir John Owen might be preserved by the mere motive and goodness of the house itself;” which found little opposition; whether they were satiated with blood, or that they were

willing, by this instance, that the nobility should see that a commoner should be preferred before them.

A scaffold was erected before Westminster-hall, and all the prisoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to suffer,) upon the ninth of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the king, to sir Thomas Cotton's house, at the upper end of Westminster-hall; where they were suffered to repose themselves about the space of an hour, and then were led successively through the hall to the scaffold, duke Hamilton being first; who seemed yet to have some hope of a reprieve, and made some stay in the hall, till the earl of Denbigh came to him; and, after a short whisper, in which he found there was no hope, he ascended the scaffold. He complained much of "the injustice that was done him; and that he was put to death for obeying the laws of his country; which if he had not done, he must have been put to death there." He acknowledged the obligations he had to the king, and seemed not sorry for the gratitude he had expressed, how dear soever it cost him. His natural darkness, and reservation in his discourse, made him to be thought a wise man, and his having been in command under the king of Sweden, and his continual discourses of battles, and fortifications, made him be thought a soldier. And both these mistakes were the cause that made him be looked upon as a worse and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deserved to be.

The earl of Holland was brought next, who, by his long sickness, was so spent, that his spirits served not to entertain the people with long discourse. He spoke of "his religion, as a matter unquestionable, by the education he had had in the religious family of which he was a branch:" which was thought a strange discourse for a dying man, who, though a son, knew enough of the iniquity of his father's house, which should rather have been buried in silence, than, by such an unreasonable testimony, have been revived in the memory and discourse of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to parliaments, than a good servant to his master, and was thought to say too little of his having failed so much in his duty to him, which most good men believed to be the source from whence his present calamity sprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much desired to enjoy ease and plenty, when the king could have neither; and did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then so weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The lord Capel was then called; who walked through Westminster-hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw there, with a very serene countenance, accompanied with his friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his sentence; but, at the foot of the scaffold, his lordship took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and said, he should go no farther, having some apprehension that he might receive some affront by the soldiers after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being men of the time, and the doctor being well known to be most contrary.

As soon as his lordship had ascended the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, "whether the other lords had spoken to the people with their hats on?" and being told, that "they were bare;" he gave his hat to his servant, and then with a clear and a strong voice he said, "that he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of: that he had been born and bred under the government of a king, whom he was bound in conscience to obey; under laws, to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a church, which he thought the best in the world: that he had never violated his faith to either of those, and was now condemned to die against all the laws of the land; to which sentence he did submit."

He enlarged himself in commending "the great virtue and piety of the king, whom they had put to death; who was so just and so merciful a prince;" and prayed to God, "to forgive the nation that innocent blood." Then he recommended to them the present king; "who," he told them, "was their true and their lawful sovereign; and was worthy to be so: that he had the honour to have been some years near his person, and therefore he could not but know him well;" and assured them, "that he was a prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and of exemplary piety; that he was not to be shaken in his religion; and had all those princely virtues, which could make a nation happy:" and therefore advised them "to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the protestant religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after some prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he submitted himself, with an unparalleled Christian courage, to the fatal stroke, which deprived the nation of the noblest champion it had.

He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Cromwell's own character well described; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and revered, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: so that no man was more happy in all his domestic affairs; and he was so much the more happy, in that he thought himself most blessed in them.

And yet the king's honour was no sooner violated, and his just power invaded, than he threw all those blessings behind him; and having no other obligations to the crown, than those which his own honour and conscience suggested to him, he frankly engaged his person and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterprises of the greatest hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one false step, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that

might have excused him for some remission of his former warmth. But it made no other impression upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilst they would let him alone, and, with the same cheerfulness, to obey the first summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the lord Capel.

So ended the year one thousand six hundred forty-eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had passed before it; a year of the

highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons, that any nation was ever cursed with, or under: a year, in which the memory of all the transactions ought to be rased out of all records, lest, by the success of it, atheism, infidelity, and rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a year, of which we may say, as the historian said of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio, &c.*; or, as the same writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes pertererentur.*

END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XII.

2 CHRON. xxviii. 10. *And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God?*
ISAIAH xvii. 12. *Woe to the multitude of many people, which make a noise like the noise of the seas; and to the rushing of nations, that make a rushing like the rushing of mighty waters.—xxix. 10. For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.*

WHILST these tragedies were acting in England, and ordinances formed, as hath been said, to make it penal in the highest degree for any man to assume the title of king, or to acknowledge any man to be so, the king himself remained in a very disconsolate condition at the Hague. Though he had known the desperate state his father was long in, yet the barbarous stroke so surprised him, that he was in all the confusion imaginable, and all about him were almost bereft of their understanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceived, with what a consternation this terrible news was received by all the common people of that country. There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it, fell into travail, and in it died. There could not be more evidence of a general detestation, than there was, amongst all men of what quality soever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the king's recollection, the States presented themselves in a body to his majesty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great sorrow and condolence, save that there was not bitterness enough against the rebels and murderers. The States of Holland, apart, performed the same civility towards his majesty; and the body of the clergy, in a very good Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune, in terms of as much asperity, and detestation of the

actors, as unworthy the name of Christians, as could be expressed.

The desperateness of the king's condition could not excuse his sinking under the burden of his grief: but those who were about him besought him to resume so much courage as was necessary for his present state. He thereupon caused those of his father's council who had attended him to be sworn of his privy council, adding only Mr. Long his secretary: who, before, was not of the council. All which was done before he heard from the queen his mother; who, notwithstanding the great agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain, wrote to the king, "that he could not do better, than to repair into France as soon as was possible, and, in the mean time, desired him not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him." Whether it was, that she did not think those persons to be enough at her devotion; or that she would have them receive that honour upon her recommendation.

The king himself had no mind to go into France, where he thought he had not been treated with excess of courtesy; and he resolved to perform all filial respect towards the queen his mother, without such a condescension and resignation of himself, as she expected; and, to avoid all éclaircissements upon that subject, he heartily desired that any other course might be found more counsellable

than that he should go into France. He himself lived with and upon the prince of Orange; who supplied him with all things necessary for his own person, for his mourning, and the like: but towards any other support for himself and his family, his majesty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themselves in the most private way: and it was visible enough, that they should not be long able to reside in the Hague; where there was, at that very time, an agent for the parliament, Strickland; who had been there some years, but pretended at that time to reside there with his wife, (who was a Dutch woman,) and without any public character, though he was still under the same credentials. And their advertisements from London assured them, that the parliament had nominated one, who was presently to be sent as their ambassador, or envoy to the States, to give them an account of their affairs, and to invite them to enter into an alliance with them. So that it was time to think of some other retreat for the king; and none appeared then so seasonable in their view, as Ireland; from whence they heard, "that prince Rupert was arrived safely at Kinsale with the fleet: that the lord Inchiquin had made a cessation with the Irish, before the lord lieutenant came thither; and the Irish had deserted the pope's nuncio, who was driven away, and had embarked himself for France: that the marquis of Ormond was received by the lord Inchiquin with all the obedience imaginable, by which he became entirely possessed of the whole province of Munster; and that the confederate Roman catholics had invited him to Kilkenny; where he had made a full peace with them: so that they were preparing an army to march under his command against Dublin." This news made them hope, that every day would improve it so much, that it would be fit for the king to transport his own person thither in the spring.

In this conjuncture there arrived a gentleman, one sir Joseph Douglass, with a letter from the privy council of Scotland, by which they sent his majesty word, that they had proclaimed him king of Scotland; and sent him the proclamation; and wished "that he would prepare himself to repair into that his kingdom; in order to which they would speedily send another invitation to him." And that invitation arrived at the same time with some commissioners deputed by the council, and three or four preachers sent from the commissioners of the kirk. The proclamation indeed declared, "for that as much as the late king was, contrary to the dissent and protestation of that kingdom, removed by a violent death, that, by the Lord's blessing, there was left unto them a righteous heir, and lawful successor, Charles, &c. who was become their true and lawful king;" but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and strict observation of the covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." A proclamation so strangely worded, that, though it called him their king, manifested enough to him, that he was to be subject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the commissioners, both laity and clergy, spoke no other language; and saving that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambassadors from a free state to an equal ally,

than like subjects sent to their own sovereign. At the same time, though not in the same ship, arrived likewise from Scotland the earl of Lanrick, and earl of Lautherdale; the former not knowing, till he came into Holland, that he was duke Hamilton by the slaughter of his elder brother. But they two were so far from having any authority from their country, that they were fled from thence as proscribed persons and malefactors. The earl of Lautherdale, after his departure from the Hague, in that discontent that is mentioned before, bent his course for Scotland. But before he came thither, he was informed, that the state of all things had been reversed, and the engagement declared unlawful, and to what penalties himself was liable, if he should be taken. Whereupon, without suffering his ship to go into any port, he found means to send on shore to some friends, and so to concert all things, that, without being discovered, the earl of Lanrick, and some other persons, liable to danger if they were found, put themselves on board the same ship, and arrived in Holland about that time when the other messengers from the state and from the kirk came from Scotland, and when the news came of the execution of duke Hamilton.

Whereupon the new duke kept his chamber for some days, without so much as waiting on the king; who sent a gracious message to him to condole for the loss of his brother; and all the lords, and other persons of quality about the king, made their visits to him with all civility. This duke was not inferior in wisdom, and parts of understanding, to the wisest man of that nation, and was very much esteemed by those who did not like the complying and insinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage, and sincerity in his nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the men of that time, was still the same man he pretended to be; and had very much to say in his own defence for the errors he had run into; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his countrymen; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and less clogged with scruples and reservations for the king's service, than any other of them did.

Though Cromwell, at his being in Scotland, had left Argyle in full possession of the government there, and had reduced and disbanded all those who were in arms against him, and promised him all necessary assistance to subdue those who should rise up in arms against him in that kingdom, and thereby compelled the committee of estates to convene and summon the parliament to assemble, which they had authority to do; and so he had suppressed the party of Hamilton, driven the earl of Lanrick to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemned the engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the persons who advanced and promoted it, as deserters of the covenant, and so to stand excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in parliament, or in the council of estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he proposed; yet, after the parliament had served him so far, when they heard that the parliament in England was broken, and their freedom and privileges were taken from them by the insolence and power of the army, (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those sects and liberalism they heard were introduced in religion con-

trary to their covenant, which Cromwell himself had promised should be strictly observed,) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the covenant itself. The delivery of the king's person into the hands of the parliament at Newcastle had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the army they had then on foot, which took itself to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the wisdom of Argyle: and the general indignation against that action was the principal incitement to that general engagement with duke Hamilton, that the honour of the nation might in some degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a gross oversight in the Hamiltonian party, and discerned then to be so by the earl of Lanrick, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, Argyle himself and all his faction had not been sacrificed to the redemption of the honour of their country. But that duke's politics did not lie that way; and, so he might return to his old post of favour in England, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody enterprises in Scotland, which, he knew well, used not to be short-lived in that climate after once begun, but had always fresh sacrifices of blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

They had no sooner heard of the erection of a high court of justice, and of a purpose of trying the king for his life, than, notwithstanding all the artifices Argyle could use, they were all in a flame. As well the assembly of the kirk, as the parliament, renewed the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his person, of which the present danger he was in was the consequence. And the marquis of Argyle had had too deep a share in that wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to prosecute an high expostulation with those of England, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety and preservation of the king's person, at the time he was delivered up; and therefore proposed "that commissioners should be forthwith sent to the parliament at London, to require the performance of what they had proposed, and to enter their dissent and protestation against all their proceedings against their king, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland." And the earl of Lothian, and two others, who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away, that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the king, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such farther directions, as he should judge necessary for his service.

Thus far Argyle could not oppose; and therefore was as zealous as any man to advance it; knowing that the particular instructions must be prepared by a less number of men, and not subjected to the examination and perusal of so many. And in those, he was sure to prevent any incon-

venient powers to be granted to the commissioners, with whom he had credit enough, having made the earl of Lothian secretary of state, in the place of the earl of Lanrick, and the other two being (however solicitous for the due observation of the covenant, as he himself likewise pretended to be) known to be most averse from the Hamiltonian party. Their private instructions were, "that they should not, in their enlargements and aggravations upon the subject of their message, seem to take notice, or to imply, that any violence had been used against the parliament, or any member of it: that they should be so short in their amplifications, that they gave no occasion of offence: that nothing should proceed from them justifying the king's proceedings, nor in approbation of the late engagement, or which might import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new war: they should urge, that the parliament would delay to meddle with the king's person, according to their several promises and declarations at Newcastle and at Holmby: that if they should proceed to sentence against the king, then they were to enter their dissent and protest, that this kingdom may be free from the miseries which will inevitably follow, without offering in their reasons, that princes are exempted from trial and justice: that none in the parliament of Scotland hath or had any hand in the proceedings against the king, or members of parliament in England. If they proceed, then to shew the calamities that will follow, and how grievous it must be to the kingdom of Scotland, considering his being delivered up at Newcastle: that if the papers which were entitled, *The agreement of the people*, appeared to be countenanced, and should import any thing concerning the processing of the prince, or changing the fundamental government of the kingdom, they should enter their dissent: that they should alter those their instructions, and manage their trust therein, according to the advice they should receive from their friends there: that they should prosecute their instructions concerning the covenant, and against any toleration: that they should shew, that the king's last concessions were unsatisfactory to those propositions which they had made in point of religion."

These were their private instructions; and who those friends at London were, by whose advice they were to alter their instructions, or manage their trust therein, can be understood of no other men but Cromwell, and young sir Harry Vane; with whom Argyle held close correspondence. The commissioners observed their instructions very faithfully, and, after the king had been twice brought before the high court of justice, they gave in their very calm protestation; in which they put them in mind, "that they had, near three weeks before, represented to them what endeavours had been used for taking away the king's life, and for the change of the fundamental government of the kingdom, and introducing a sinful and ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that therein they had expressed their thoughts, and fears of the dangerous consequences, that might follow thereupon; and that they had farther earnestly pressed, that there might be no proceeding against his majesty's person, which would certainly continue the great distractions of the kingdom, and involve them in many evils, troubles, and confusions; but that, by the

“free counsels of both houses of parliament of England, and with the advice and consent of the parliament of Scotland, such course might be taken in relation to the king, as might be for the good and happiness of both kingdoms; both having an unquestionable and undeniable right in his person, as king of both; which duly considered, they had reason to hope, that it would have given a stop to all farther proceedings against his majesty's person. But now understanding that after the imprisonment and exclusion of divers members of the house of commons, and without and against the consent of the house of peers, by a single act of their own, and theirs alone, power was given to certain persons of their own members, of the army, and some others, to proceed against his majesty's person, in order whereunto he had been brought before that extraordinary new court; they did therefore in the name of the parliament of Scotland, for their vindication from false aspersions and calumnies, declare, that though they were not satisfied with his majesty's late concessions, in the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, especially in the matters of religion, and were resolved not to crave his restoration to his government, before satisfaction should be given by him to that kingdom; yet they did all unanimously with one voice, not one member excepted, disclaim the least knowledge of, or accession to, the late proceedings of the army here against the king; and did sincerely profess that it would be a great grief to their hearts, and lie heavy upon their spirits, if they should see the trusting his majesty's person to the two houses of the parliament of England to be made use of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of the kingdom of Scotland, and solemn professions of the kingdom of England: and to the end that it might be manifest to the world, how much they did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his majesty's person, they did, in the name of the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, declare their dissent from the said proceedings, and the taking away of his majesty's life; protesting, that as they were altogether free from the same, so they might be free from all the miseries, evil confusions, and calamities, that might follow thereupon to the distracted kingdoms.”

Whoever considers the wariness in the wording and timing this protestation, the best end whereof could be no other than the keeping the king always in prison, and so governing without him in both kingdoms, (which was thought to have been the purpose and agreement of Cromwell and Argyle when they parted,) must conclude that both the commissioners, and they who sent them, laboured and considered more, what they were to say in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the present mischief they seemed to apprehend. And the parliament best knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their protestation, till after they had executed their execrable villainy; and then they sent them an answer that might suit with all their palates. They said, “they had heretofore told them, what power this nation had in the fundamentals of government: that if Scotland had not the same power and liberty, as they went not about to confine them, so they would not be limited by them, but leaving them to act in theirs as they should see cause, they resolved

“to maintain their own liberties as God should enable them. And as they were very far from imposing upon them, so they should not willingly suffer impositions from them, whilst God gave them strength or lives to oppose them.” They said, “the answer they made to their first and second letter was, that after a long and serious deliberation of their own intrinsical power, and trust, (derived to them by the providence of God, through the delegation of the people,) and upon the like considerations of what themselves and the whole nation had suffered from the misgovernment and tyranny of that king, both in peace, and by the wars, and considering, how fruitless and full of danger and prejudice the many addresses to him for peace had been, and being conscious how much they had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the impartial execution of justice, in relation to the innocent blood spilt and mischief done in the late wars, they had proceeded in such a course of justice against that man of blood, as they doubted not the just God (who is no respecter of persons) did approve and would countenance with his blessings upon the nation; and though perhaps they might meet with many difficulties before their liberties and peace were settled, yet they hoped they should be preserved from confusion, by the good-will of him who dwelt in the bush, which burned, and was not consumed; and that the course they had taken with the late king, and meant to follow towards others the capital enemies of their peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good and happiness of both nations; of which if that of Scotland would think to make use, and vindicate their own liberty and freedom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not away,) they would be ready to give them all neighbourly and friendly assistance in the establishing thereof; and desired them to take it into their most serious consideration, before they espoused that quarrel, which could bring them no other advantage than the entailing upon them, and their posterities, a lasting war, with all the miseries which attended it, and slavery under a tyrant and his issue.”

It cannot be denied, but that Scotland had by this a fair invitation to have made themselves a poor republic, under the shelter and protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the commissioners, who well knew how unsuitable such a change would be to the constitution of their government, and that they might be welcome to their own country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this answer with more courage than they had yet expressed; for which, notwithstanding their qualification, they were imprisoned by the parliament; and, upon new instance from Scotland, set at liberty afterwards.

Matters being reduced to this state, the marquis of Argyle could not hinder the new king's being acknowledged and proclaimed king, nor from being invited home; which since he could not obstruct, it would be his masterpiece to clog the proclamation itself with such conditions as might terrify the new king from accepting the invitation; and therefore he caused this clause to be inserted in the body of the proclamation itself, “because his majesty is bound, by the law of God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom, to rule in righteousness and equity to the honour of God,

“and the good of religion, and the wealth of the people; it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the exercise of his royal power, he shall give satisfaction to this kingdom in those things which concern the security of religion, the unity betwixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this kingdom, according to the national covenant and solemn league and covenant; for which end, they were resolved, with all possible expedition, to make their humble and earnest address to his majesty.”

This was the proclamation that sir Joseph Douglass brought to the Hague, and the subject upon which the commissioners were to invite his majesty to go for Scotland, whose instructions were very suitable to the proclamation: and at the same time when the commissioners came from thence, Middleton, and some other officers, who had been in their last army, hearing that the prince was proclaimed king, thought it was seasonable to put themselves into a posture to serve him upon his arrival; and so assembled some of those troops which had formerly served under them in the north of Scotland; whereupon David Lesley was appointed forthwith, with a party of horse and foot, against those royalists, whom they knew to be real assertors of his cause, without any other interest or design than of their performing their duties, as loyal subjects ought to do: and the kirk at the same time declared, “that, before the king should be received, albeit they had declared his right by succession, he should first sign the covenant, submit to the kirk’s censure, renounce the sins of his father’s house, and the iniquity of his mother,” with other things of the like nature. All which information arrived at the same time with the commissioners, that they who were about the king might not be too much exalted with their master’s being declared king of one of his three kingdoms. And it was very manifest, by all that passed then and afterwards, that the marquis of Argyle meant only to satisfy the people, in declaring that they had a king, without which they could not be satisfied, but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew he would not submit to; and so he should be able, with the concurrence of the kirk, to govern the kingdom, till, by Cromwell’s assistance and advice, he might reverse that little approach he had made towards monarchy by proclaiming a king.

It was a great misfortune to the king, and which always attends courts which labour under great wants and necessities, that, whilst the greatest union imaginable amongst the few friends he had was necessary, and of too little power to buoy him up from the distresses which overwhelmed him, there was yet so great a faction and animosity amongst them, that destroyed any the most probable design that could offer itself; as it now fell out with reference to Scotland, which, if united, might yet be able to give reputation at least, if not a vigorous assistance to the king’s interest.

The marquis of Mountrose, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late king to lay down his arms; and after he had performed such wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his majesty’s first coming into the Scottish army to Newcastle, had first arrived in France, and had not such a reception from the queen of England, and those who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable services he had

performed for the king had merited. The truth is, he was somewhat elated with the great actions he had done; which, upon his first coming to Paris, he caused to be published in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the prince of Wales; in which, as his own person, courage, and conduct was well extolled, so the reputation of all the rest of that nation (upon whose affections the queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and suppressed; which obliged the queen and the prince to look less graciously upon him; which he could not bear without expressing much disturbance at it. He was then a man of *eclat*, had many servants, and more officers, who had served under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the queen should enable him to maintain with some lustre, by a liberal assignation of monies. On the other hand, the queen was in straits enough, and never openhanded, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them. So that, after a long attendance, and some overtures made by him to cardinal Mazarine, to raise an army for the service of that king, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deserved, the marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the emperor’s court, desiring to see armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to Brussels, about the time that the prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the murder of the late king. Then he sent a servant over to the king with the tender of his service, and to know, “if his majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring any prejudice to his majesty; and if so, that he would send over the chancellor of the exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where he was at present to expect him, and had matters to communicate to him of much importance to his majesty’s service.” Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his majesty’s pleasure, or out of some vanity that was predominant in him, that he might seem to come to the king, after the coldness he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the king commanded the chancellor presently to go to him; and, “if he could, without exasperating him,” (which he had no mind to do,) wished, “he might be persuaded rather for some time to suspend his coming to the Hague, than presently to appear there;” which was an injunction very disagreeable to the chancellor; who in his judgment believed his majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his esteem.

The sudden violent frost, which shut up all the rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another message from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague; whither the marquis had transported himself. The chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he seemed to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal actions, won so many battles, and in truth made so great a

noise in the world, that there appeared no less alteration to be in his humour and discourse, than there had been in his fortune. He seemed rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the king, and how to make a party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his majesty. There was yet no news from Scotland since the murder of the king, and he seemed to think of nothing but that the king would presently send him thither with some forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that night together in conference, and the next morning the chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or somewhere else, until he might give him notice, what the king's sense should be of the matters discoursed between them; insisting principally, "that, if his going into Scotland should be thought presently to be necessary, it would then be as necessary, that he should not be taken notice of publicly to have been with the king:" with which reason he seemed satisfied; and promised "not to come to the Hague, till he should first receive advice from the chancellor." But when he heard of the commissioners being come from Scotland, and of the other lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague well attended by servants and officers, and presented himself to the king; who received him with a very good countenance.

There were at this time in the Hague the commissioners who came from the council and the kirk to invite the king into Scotland, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, duke Hamilton, the earl of Lautherdale, and others of the nobility of that faction, who were now as odious, and as much persecuted by that party, which then governed Scotland, and which in that manner invited the king, as any men were who had served the king from the beginning. There was also the marquis of Mountrose, with more of the nobility, as the earls of Seaford, and Kinoul, and others, who adhered to Mountrose, and believed his clear spirit to be most like to advance the king's service. Of these three parties, it might reasonably have been hoped that the two last, being equally persecuted by the power that governed, should have been easily united to have suppressed the other. But it was a business too hard for the king to bring to pass; and he could as easily have persuaded the parliament to reject Cromwell, as the lords of the engagement, and those who had joined with duke Hamilton, to be reconciled to Mountrose: so that when the king hoped to have drawn all the Scottish nobility together, to have consulted what answer he should give to the messages he had received from the council and the kirk, with which they themselves were enough offended, those lords of the engagement did not only refuse to meet with the lord Mountrose, but, as soon as he came into the room where they were, though his majesty himself was present, they immediately withdrew, and left the room; and had the confidence to desire the king, "that the marquis of Mountrose" (whom they called James Graham) "might be forbidden to come into his majesty's presence, or court, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the

"judicatory of that kingdom." This proposition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded so much in this sense, that a learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr. Wishart, who was then chaplain to a Scottish regiment in the service of the States, being appointed to preach before the king on the Sunday following, they formally besought the king, "that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, for having refused to take the covenant;" though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine was, that they knew he was the author of the excellent relation of the lord Mountrose's actions in Scotland. This carriage and behaviour of those lords appeared ridiculous to all sober men, that any men should have the presumption to accuse those who had served the king with that fidelity, and were only branded by those rebellious judicatories for having performed their duties of allegiance, and to demand that the king himself should condemn them for having served his father: which made those of his majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence, and his majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the marquis of Mountrose with the more countenance, and hearing the doctor preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joint advice of the nobility of that kingdom in an affair that so much concerned himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the king's council, (who thought the Scottish lords might as reasonably move the king, that they might be removed, who lay under the same brand and reproaches in England for adhering to the crown, as the other did in Scotland,) the king had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the marquis of Mountrose (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those persons whom he contemned too much; and so that the peace of the country, where his majesty was but a guest, would be violated by his subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence the more desired.

He, to whom this unreasonable animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and prosecutor of it, was the earl of Lautherdale; whose fiery spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the council conferring one day with him upon a subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desired him "to inform him, what foul offence the marquis of Mountrose had ever committed, that should hinder those to make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the rebels, were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who could not more desire the king's restitution than he did." The earl told him "calmly enough, that he could not imagine or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Mountrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland; that he never gave quarter to any man, but pursued all the advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruelty: that he had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of Ar-

“gyle, and that he had utterly rooted out several names and entire noble families.” The other told him, “that it was the nature and condition of that war, that quarter was given on neither side; that those prisoners which were taken by the Scots, as once they did take some persons of honour of his party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproachfully, which was much worse than if they had been killed in the field;” and asked him, “if Mountrose had ever caused any man to die in cold blood, or after the battle was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceness of his soldiers, than to his want of humanity.” The earl confessed, “that he did not know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in the field;” but concluded with more passion, “that his behaviour there was so savage, that Scotland would never forgive him.” And in other company, where the same subject was debated, he swore with great passion, “that though he wished nothing more in this world than to see the king restored, he had much rather that he should never be restored, than that James Graham should be permitted to come into the court:” of which declaration of his the king was informed by William Legg and sir William Armorer, who were both present at the Hague, and in the company, when he said it.

There was at that time in the Hague the lord Newburgh, who, after the murder of the late king, was compelled, together with his wife, the lady Aubigny, to fly out of England, Cromwell every day making discoveries of correspondences which had been between the king and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the Hague. The lady had, in the life of her former husband the lord Aubigny, and during the time of her widowhood, held much friendship with the chancellor, and was very willing it should continue with her new husband, whom he had not seen before; he having been too young to have had a part in the former war, had been then sent, by his majesty’s direction, to be bred in France; from whence he returned not till his majesty was in the hands of the Scottish army; and from that time he performed all the offices of fidelity and duty to the king, that a generous and worthy person could find any opportunity for: with which his majesty was abundantly satisfied and pleased: and he now transported himself and his wife into Holland, that he might leave her there, and himself attend the king in any expedition.

This lady was a woman of a very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues, which at that time could be best managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies: and so she had not been a stranger to the most secret transactions with the Scots, and had much conversation with the lord Lanrick, during the time the king was at Hampton Court, and whilst he stayed afterwards in London, when the king was imprisoned in the Isle of Wight; and being now both in the Hague, they had much conversation together. She had likewise had long acquaintance and friendship with one of the council, who, she knew, had been as much trusted as any by the father, and was believed to have credit with the present king. She lamented those divisions amongst the Scots, which every body spoke of, and every body knew the disorder

they produced in the king’s councils; and said, “she desired nothing more, than that there were a good understanding between duke Hamilton and him; which,” she said, “she was sure would easily be, if they two had but once a frank conference together.” The other, who indeed had an esteem for the duke, seemed very desirous of it: and she thereupon told him, that “the duke had expressed to her, that he would be willing to embrace the occasion:” and it was so concerted, that within a day or two they met as by chance at her lodgings. And she so dexterously introduced them to a civility towards each other, and to express their inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour’s general conversation there, to which she left them, and went herself abroad, they parted with fair professions of future good will; and the other promised to visit the duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted; and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the duke having commanded his servant to tell any who came to visit him, that he was asleep. The other spoke of “the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king into Scotland, and of the strange spirit that possessed those who governed there, and persuaded them not to imagine it possible, that the king could ever be persuaded to take the covenant, or that it could be of advantage to him to do so; since it could not but much alienate the affections of all that party in England that had served his father, upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his restoration to the government of that kingdom.” Then he spoke of “the differences and jealousies which were between those of that nation who had an equal desire to serve the king, and seemed to be equally prosecuted by the party that now prevailed, which had excluded both:” and wished that some expedient might be found out to unite all those; and particularly that his grace and the marquis of Mountrose might be reconciled; towards which,” he said, “he was sure that the marquis had great inclination, and had always esteemed him a man of honour; which appeared by the book which was published, where he was always worthily mentioned, though he had not dealt so well with many others.”

When the duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the first part, “concerning the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the king to come to them, he was not to make any other judgment by it, than only of the person of the marquis of Argyle; who, with the assistance of some few ministers, and others his creatures, did at present govern: that Argyle well knew there was an absolute necessity, in respect of the whole people, to proclaim the king after the murder of his father; and therefore he could find no other way to keep him from coming thither, but by clogging the proclamation and message with those unworthy expressions, which might deter him from putting himself into their hands; which Argyle did not wish he should do, because in his absence he was sure he should govern all, being well agreed with Cromwell how the government should be carried; and so the king might be kept out, Cromwell would support him against all other

"parties; but that they both knew well enough, that, if his majesty were once there, the whole nation would stick to him and obey him." He confessed, "that there was generally so great a superstition for the covenant, that whosoever should speak against it for the present, would lose all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much mischief, and would do more whilst it should be insisted upon; but," he said, "that must be a work of time, and an effect of the king's government: which would find it necessary, in many other respects, to lessen the power of the ministers; which being lessened, the reverence of the covenant would quickly fall too; and till then, he, and all men, must have patience. For the second," he said, "he wished heartily that there could be a union of all parties which desired the king's restoration, and that the animosity against the marquis of Mountrose might be extinguished. For his own part, that he had only one quarrel against him, which was that, by his unjust calumnies and prosecution, he had driven him into rebellion; which nothing else could have done. And for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the king; and would, with all his heart, join to-morrow with the marquis of Mountrose, in carrying on the king's service, though he did believe, in that conjuncture, the animosity against the marquis was so great, that, if he should declare such an inclination, all his own friends would fall from him, and abhor him." He said, "his own condition was very hard; for that having been always bred up in the church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant; which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation; and would be as glad as any man of a good opportunity to declare against it. But," said he, "I dare not say this; and if I did, I should have no power or credit to serve the king. There is," said he, "a very worthy gentleman, who lodges in this house, the earl of Lautherdale, my friend and my kinsman; who, upon my conscience, loves me heartily; and yet I dare say nothing of this to him, either against the covenant, or for the marquis of Mountrose: and, if I should, I believe he would rather choose to kill me, than to join with me: so much he is transported with prejudice in both these particulars, and so incapable to hear reason upon either of those arguments, though, in all other things, few men have a better understanding, or can discourse more reasonably."

Whilst they continued in all possible freedom in this conference, the earl of Lautherdale, who it seems was informed of the other's being there, came in his nightgown into the chamber, and so broke off the discourse. The other, after sitting some time in general conversation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the duke and him. But as himself told the lady Aubigney, who shortly after died there, "he could not, without giving jealousy to his friend Lautherdale, which he had no mind to do,

"spend so much time with the other in private as he could have been willing to have done:" and the death of that lady lessened the opportunities.

In this unsteady and irresolute condition of the king's council, it was very manifest, that, how long soever his majesty should defer the resolution, to what place he would remove, he should not be able to stay long in the place where he was. The States, especially those of Holland, let fall somewhat every day in their councils and consultations, "that the king's residing in the Hague would be very inconvenient to them;" and it was the great interest of the prince of Orange, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from sending a message directly to his majesty, to desire him, "that he would depart from that country, as soon as he could." And there happened an accident at this time, which made the resolution necessary, and would inevitably have drawn on that message, which had yet been kept back.

It was touched before, that there was a purpose at London, to send over an envoy from thence into Holland, to prepare the way for a farther good intelligence and negociation, which might end in a firm peace, and a reciprocal alliance between the two republics. To that purpose one Dorislauus, a doctor in the civil law, was named; who, being born in Delph in Holland, had been bred at Leyden, and afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Gresham college as a professor in one of those chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that society, and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exercise of the judge advocate's office in the earl of Essex's army. In this conjuncture this man arrived at the Hague, and took his lodging in a house where strangers used to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwise for their better accommodation. Whilst he was at supper, the same evening that he came to the town, in company of many others who used to eat there, half a dozen gentlemen entered the room with their swords drawn, and required those who were at the table "not to stir; for that there was no harm intended to any but the agent who came from the rebels in England, who had newly murdered their king." And one of them, who knew Dorislauus, pulled him from the table, and with a dagger killed him at his feet: and thereupon they all put up their swords, and walked leisurely out of the house, leaving those who were in the room, in much amazement and consternation. Though all who were engaged in the enterprise went quietly away, and so out of the town, insomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in question, yet they kept not their own counsel so well, (believing they had done a very heroic act,) but that it was generally known they were all Scottish men, and most of them servants or dependants upon the marquis of Mountrose.

The king was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this accident, which he could not foresee, and easily discerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly resent it, in many respects;

that the man who was killed was in truth their own subject, and employed to them, as a public minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any quarrel. Upon all which his majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some quarrels and fighting in the streets between some servants of the king and some gentlemen of the town; in which a son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the king. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations and clamour for justice they must expect, and sustain from England, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a crime, to escape the ministers of justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their government: yet they proceeded very slowly in their inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual, (and which could bring no prejudice to the offenders; who were either gone out of their dominions, or concealed themselves in other towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discovered,) and without so much reflection upon the king, as if they believed that the guilty persons had any relation to his service: yet they took notice of "the multitude of strangers which were in the town, and how impossible it would be for them to preserve the peace and good government thereof, if such resort were not restrained." They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offered to the state itself, in the attempt that had been made upon a person under their protection, and for whose safety the public faith was, upon the matter, engaged;" with insinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the king to remove from thence." Of all which his majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the Scottish commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that people, "that they were sent from the kingdom of Scotland, that was entirely and unanimously at his majesty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take possession of his government there, where there was already an army preparing to assist him towards the recovery of his other dominions; but that there was a party of evil counsellors about his majesty, who dissuaded him from accepting that their invitation, except they would be content to change their government of their church, and to establish episcopacy there again." And by these insinuations they persuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference between the king and them, which kept the king from going into Scotland: so

that the king was not without some apprehension, that, by that mistake and false information, the States might give him advice to accept the Scots' invitation. And therefore he sent to the States of Holland, "that he had a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him an audience the next day;" which they readily did.

The king was received in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the room of council, after a short compliment, he delivered a paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as soon as they pleased. The memorial contained, in the first place, his majesty's acknowledgment of the civilities he had received there, and his desire "that by them the States General" (who were not at that time assembled) "might be informed of such his majesty's sense of their favours; especially in the full and high detestation they had expressed of the impious and unparalleled murder of his royal father of blessed memory, their fast and unshaken ally, by which the forms and rules of all kind of government were no less violated and dissolved, than that of monarchy: that he came to inform them that he did intend, in a short time, so to dispose of his person, as might with God's blessing most probably advance his affairs; and that for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so important an affair receive their particular advice, he should impart to them the true state and condition of his several dominions. That he needed not inform them of the deplorable condition of his kingdom of England, where the hearts and affections of his loyal subjects were so depressed and kept under by the power and cruelty of those who had murdered their late sovereign, and who every day gave fresh and bloody instances of their tyranny, to fright men from their allegiance, that for the present no man could believe that miserable kingdom could be fit for his majesty to trust his person in: that in Scotland, it is very true, that his majesty is proclaimed king, but with such limitations and restrictions against his exercise of his royal power, that in truth they had only given him the name, and denied him the authority: that above five parts of six of the nobility and chief gentry of that kingdom were likewise excluded from their just right, and from any part in the administration of the public affairs; so that that kingdom seemed not sufficiently prepared for his majesty's reception; but that he hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a short time a perfect union and right understanding between all his subjects of that his kingdom, and a due submission and obedience from them all to his majesty, for that he was resolved (and had never had the least purpose to the contrary) to preserve and maintain the government of church and state in that kingdom, as it is established by the laws thereof, without any violation or alteration on his part: so that there could be no difference between him and his subjects of that kingdom, except they should endeavour, and press his majesty to alter the

"laws and government of his other kingdoms; which as it would be very unreasonable to desire, so it is not in his power to do if he should consent, and join with his subjects of Scotland to that purpose: which made him confident, that, when they had thoroughly weighed and considered what was good for themselves, as well as for him, they would acquiesce with enjoying the laws and privileges of that kingdom, without desiring to infringe or impose upon those of their brethren and neighbours." And his majesty desired the States, "that if any persons had endeavoured to make any impressions upon them, that he hath or ever had any other intentions or desires, with reference to his subjects of Scotland, than what himself now expressed to them to have, that they would give no credit to them: and assured them, that they should always find him constant to those resolutions, and especially, that all ways and means which might lead to the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion should be so heartily embraced by him, that the world should have cause to believe him to be worthy of his title of *Defender of the faith*, which he valued as his greatest attribute."

This being the true present condition of his two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his majesty, to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own personal activity and vigour, he told them, "there remained only, that he should impart to them the like state of his other kingdom of Ireland; which had likewise sent to him, and desired him to repair thither with great importunity: that the marquis of Ormond, his lieutenant there, had concluded a peace with the Roman catholics; and that thereby his majesty was entirely possessed of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful kingdom, and of the command of good armies, and of many good ships to be joined to his own fleet; and that he had reason to hope and to believe that Dublin itself, and the few other places, which had submitted to the rebellious power in England, either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious parricide, returned to their allegiance, or would speedily be reduced; of which he expected every day to receive advertisement; which if it should fall out, yet he foresaw many objections might be made against his going thither, not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his passage, but of the jealousies which would arise upon the large concessions which were made unto the Roman catholics of that kingdom; which could not be avoided." And having thus given them a clear information of the state of his three kingdoms, his majesty concluded with his desire, "that the States would give him their advice as freely, to which of them he should repair; and that they would give him all necessary assistance that he might prosecute their counsel."

Many men had great fear that the king would have brought great prejudice to himself by this communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himself to follow their advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own judgment. For nothing was more commonly discoursed among the Dutch, and by many of the States themselves, than "that the king ought, without delay, to

"throw himself into the arms of Scotland, and to gratify them in all they desired: that bishops were not worth the contending for; and that the supporting them had been the ruin of his father, and would be his, if he continued in the same obstinacy." But the king knew well that they would not so much concern themselves in his broken affairs, as to give him advice what to do: and it was necessary for him to get a little more time, upon some occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a positive resolution which way to steer: for though, in his own opinion, Ireland was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that, notwithstanding the peace that was made, there were several parties still in arms there, besides those who adhered to the parliament, who refused to submit to that peace. Though the general council at Kilkenny (which had been always looked upon as the representative of the confederate catholics of that kingdom, and to which they had always submitted) had fully consented to the treaty of peace with the lord lieutenant, yet Owen O'Neile, who had the command of all the Irish in Ulster, and who was looked upon as the best general they had, totally refused to submit to it, and positively protested against it, as not having provided for their interest; and that council was not sorry for his separation, there being little less animosity between those of Ulster and the other Irish, than was between them both and the English: and they knew that O'Neile more insisted upon recompense in lands and preferments, than upon any provision that concerned religion itself. Then the Scots in Ulster, who were very numerous, and under good discipline, and well provided with arms and ammunition, would not submit to the commands of the lord lieutenant; but were resolved to follow the example of their countrymen, and to see the king admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would submit to his authority: which made the marquis of Ormond the less troubled at the obstinacy of O'Neile, (though he had used all the means he had to draw him in,) since he presumed the Scots and he would mortify each other, during the time that he should spend in making himself strong enough to suppress them both: for the Scots who would not join with the marquis were very vigorous in prosecuting the war against O'Neile, and the Irish of Ulster. These divisions, factions, and confusions in Ireland, made the king the more solicitous that his council should be unanimous for his going thither, at least that the Scots, how virulent soever against each other, should all concur in their advice, "that it was not yet seasonable for him to go for Scotland;" which made him labour so much to bring the Hamiltonians, and those who followed Mountrose, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the king in council: but it is said before how impossible it was to obtain that conjunction.

When the king found that it was not possible to bring the lords of the Scottish nation together to confer upon the affairs of that kingdom, he thought to have drawn them severally, that is, those of the engagement by themselves, and the marquis of Mountrose with his friends by themselves, to have given him their advice in the presence of his council, that so, upon debate thereof between them, his majesty might the more maturely have determined what he was to do. The marquis of Mountrose

expressed a great willingness to give his majesty satisfaction this or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning things, or persons, before any body, and in any place. But the lords of the engagement positively refused to deliver their opinion, but to the king himself, and not in the presence of his council; which, they said, “would be to confess a kind of subordination of the kingdom of Scotland, which was independent on the council of England;” and duke Hamilton told the counsellor, with whom he had before so freely conversed, and who expostulated with him upon it, “that it was the only ground of the heavy judgment in parliament against the earl of Traquair, that, having been the king’s commissioner in Scotland, he gave account to the king of his transactions, and of the affairs of that kingdom, at the council table in England; whereof he was likewise a member; so jealous that kingdom was, and still is, of their native privileges;” and therefore desired, “that he might not be pressed to do what had been so penal to another in his own sight.”

The king satisfied himself with having all their opinions delivered to himself, subscribed under all their hands, which every one consented to: though most of them would have been glad that the king would have gone into Scotland, upon what condescensions soever; because they all believed his presence would quickly turn all, and that they should be quickly restored to their estates, which they cared most for; yet nobody presumed to give that advice, or seemed to think it seasonable. So that the king resumed the former debate of going directly for Ireland, and direction was given for providing ships, and all other things necessary for that voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his majesty should take France in his way, that he might see his mother, who by letters and messages pressed him very earnestly so to do; or whether he should embark in Holland directly for Ireland; which would be less loss of time, and might be done so early in the spring, before the parliament’s fleet should put to sea.

They who did not wish that the queen should exercise any power over the king, or have too much credit with him, were against his going into France, as “an occasion of spending more time than his affairs would permit, and an obligation to make a greater expense than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray:” and they thought it an argument of moment, “that, from the time of the murder of his father, the king had neither received letter of condolence from France, nor the least invitation to go thither.” On the other side, they who wished and hoped that the queen would have such an influence upon the king that his council should have less credit with him, desired very much that his majesty would make France his way. The Scots desired it very much, believing they should find her majesty very propitious to their counsels, and inclined to trust their undertakings; and they were very sure that Mountrose would never go to Paris, or have credit with the queen.

The prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, had a great desire to gratify the queen, and that the king should see her in the way; and proposed, “that his majesty might appoint a place, where the queen and he might meet, without going to Paris; and, after three or four

“days stay together, his majesty might hasten his journey to some convenient port, from whence he might embark for Ireland by a shorter passage than from Holland; and the prince of Orange would appoint two ships of war, to attend his majesty in that French port, before he should get thither.” His majesty inclined this way, without positively resolving upon it; yet directed “that his own goods of bulk, and his inferior servants, should be presently embarked to take the quickest passage to Ireland;” and directed “that the rest, who were to wait upon his person, should likewise send their goods and baggage, and such servants who were not absolutely necessary for their present service, upon the same ships for Ireland;” declaring, “that, if he made France his way, he would make all possible haste, and go with as light a train as he could.” Hereupon two ships were shortly after provided, and many persons (and great store of baggage) embarked for Ireland, and arrived there in safety; but most of the persons, and all the goods, miscarried in their return, when they knew that the king was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This resolution being taken, the lord Cottington, who had a just excuse from his age, being then seventy-five years old, to wish to be in some repose, considered with himself how to become disentangled from the fatigue of those voyages and journeys, which he saw the king would be obliged to make. In Holland he had no mind to stay, having never loved that people, nor been loved by them; and the climate itself was very pernicious to his health, by reason of the gout, which frequently visited him. France was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to Spain, and no friend to the crown of France; so that he was willing to find a good occasion to spend the remainder of his age where he had spent so much of his youth, in Spain, and where he believed that he might be able to do the king more service than any other way. And there was newly come to the Hague an English gentleman, who had been an officer in the king’s army, and was at Madrid when the news came thither of the murder of the king: and he related many particulars of the passion and indignation of that court, upon that occasion, against the rebels; that “the king, and all the court, put themselves into solemn mourning;” (and he repeated some expressions which the king and don Lewis de Haro had made of tenderness and compassion for our king;) and that “the king of Spain spoke of sending an ambassador to his majesty.”

These relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly soever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the lord Cottington took occasion to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer (with whom he held a strict friendship, they living and keeping house together) of “the ill condition the king was in, and that he ought to think, what prince’s kindness was like to be of most use and benefit to his majesty, and from whom he might hope to receive a sum of money; if not as much as might serve for a martial expedition, yet such an annual exhibition as might serve for his support: that he had already experience of France, and knew well the intelligence that the cardinal had at that very time with

"Cromwell: but he did verily believe, that if the king of Spain were dexterously treated with, and not more asked of him than could consist with his affairs to spare, a good yearly support might be procured there, and the expectation of it might be worth the king's sending an ambassador thither." He said, "he was more of that opinion since the king had taken the resolution of going for Ireland; where the king of Spain's credit might be of great benefit to him: that Owen O'Neile, with the old Irish of Ulster, were still in arms against the king; and would not submit to the conditions which the general council of the confederate catholics had consented to with the marquis of Ormond: that O'Neile had been bred in Spain, and had a regiment in Flanders, and so must have an absolute dependence upon his catholic majesty, for whom all the old Irish had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only to dispose him and that people to the king's obedience, and to accept those conditions which might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth such a journey; and the king of Spain would never refuse to gratify the king to the utmost that could be desired in that particular." The chancellor thought this discourse not unreasonable, and asked him, "who would be fit to be sent thither?" not imagining that he had any thought of going thither himself. He answered, "that, if the king would be advised by him, he should send them two thither, and he did believe they should do him very good service;" at which the chancellor smiled, thinking he had only spoke in jest, and so the discourse ended.

The next day the lord Cottington resumed it again, and told him that he was not only in very good earnest in his former discourse, but that it was not sudden, nor without very serious deliberation. He said he might be thought principally to consider himself, that he might have the comfort of a friend whom he loved so well; but he assured him that did not prevail with him, but purely the consideration of the king's service, with a due regard to the person of the chancellor, who he thought ought to be pleased with the employment. That himself was old, and not fit to be relied on alone, in an affair of that weight; he might probably die upon the way, or shortly after his coming thither, and thus the whole affair, how hopeful soever, must miscarry; whereas if he were with him, the business would proceed upon all events, and he would have no occasion to repent the experience of such a negociation and the knowledge of such a court, when he could not spend his time more pleasantly or more profitably: that he would take no great pleasure in France, nor find much grace with the queen; and if the king delayed his journey for Ireland so long as he was like to do, if he would be advised by his mother, they might make their journey into Spain, and with so good success, that the chancellor might embark in a convenient port from Spain, and arrive in Ireland as soon as the king, with those advantages of arms, ammunition, and other supplies, as would make him very welcome. These conferences continued for some days between themselves, when they were alone, and when they came tired from other consultations.

The chancellor was weary of the company he was in, and the business, which, having no prospect

but towards despair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual contentions and animosities between persons. He knew he was not in the queen's favour at all, and should find no respect in that court. However, he was very scrupulous, that the king might not suspect that he was weary of his attendance, or that any body else might believe that he withdrew himself from waiting longer upon so desperate a fortune. In the end, he told the lord Cottington, "that he would only be passive in the point, and refer it entirely to him, if he thought fit to dispose the king to like it by all the arguments he could use; and if the king approved it so much as to take notice of it to the chancellor, and commend it as a thing he thought for his service, he would submit to his command, and very cheerfully accompany him through the employment;" with which Cottington was very well pleased, taking upon him what concerned the king.

The lord Cottington's heart was much set upon this employment, and he knew well, that if it took air before the king was well prepared and resolved, it would be much opposed as to the chancellor's part; because many who did not love him, yet thought his presence about the king to be of some use, therefore would do all they could to divert his going: and therefore he managed it so warily with the king, and presented the whole scheme to him so dexterously, that his majesty was much pleased with it, and approved it, and spake of it to the chancellor as a business he liked, and promised himself much good from it, and therefore persuaded him to undertake it cheerfully. Whereupon the chancellor desired him to think well of it, for he was confident many would dissuade his majesty from employing him that way; therefore he only besought him, that when he was so far resolved upon it as to publish it, he would not be afterwards prevailed with to change his purpose; which the king said he would not do; and shortly after declared his resolution publicly to send the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer his ambassadors extraordinary into Spain, and commanded them to prepare their own commission and instructions, and to begin their journey as soon as was possible. This was no sooner known, than all kinds of people, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel, and the more, because it had never been mentioned or debated in council. Only the Scots were very glad of it, (Mountrose excepted,) believing that when the chancellor was gone, their beloved covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned, and that the king would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour from the marquis of Mountrose: and the marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other party; and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew very much of his confidence, which he had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with, and was henceforward to move *extra sphaeram activitatis*, in an office he had not been acquainted with; and then they should want his credit to support and confirm them in the king's favour and grace. And there were many who were very sorry when they heard it, out of particular duty to the king, who being

young, they thought might be without that counsel and advertisements which they knew well he would still administer to him. No man was more angry and offended with the counsel than the lord Colepepper, who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the employment, if he could have persuaded the lord Cottington to have accepted his company, which he could by no means do; and though he and the chancellor were not thought to have the greatest kindness for each other, yet he knew he could agree with no other man so well in business, and was very unwilling he should be from the person of the king. But the chancellor himself, from the time that the king had signified his own pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the commission, and did believe that he should in some degree improve his understanding and very much refresh his spirits, by what he should learn by the one, and by his absence from being continually conversant with those wants which could never be severed from that court, and that company which would be always corrupted by those wants. And so he sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, where he intended they should reside whilst he continued in Spain, and where they were like to find some civilities, in respect of his employment.

Before the king could begin his own journey for France, and so to Ireland, and before his ambassadors for Spain could begin theirs, his majesty thought it necessary, upon the whole prospect of his affairs with reference to all places, to put his business into as good a method as he could, and to dispose of that number of officers, and soldiers, and other persons, who had presented themselves to be applied to his service, or to leave them to take the best course they could for their own subsistence. Of these, many were sent into Ireland with the ships which carried the king's goods, with recommendation to the marquis of Ormond, "to put them into his army till the king came thither." Since the Scots were no better disposed to serve, or receive the king for the present, his majesty was resolved to give the marquis of Mountrose all the encouragement he desired to visit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the Hague Cornificius Wolfelte, ambassador extraordinary from the king of Denmark to the States General; who came with a great train and great state, and was himself a man of vanity and ostentation, and took pains to be thought so great a man by his own interest, that he did not enough extol the power of his master; which proved his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the news came thither of the murder of the king, and so he had no credentials for his majesty, by reason whereof he could not receive any public formal audience; but desired "the king's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to speak to him at the queen of Bohemia's court;" where his majesty used to be every day; and there the ambassador often spoke to him. The marquis of Mountrose had found means to endear himself much to this ambassador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the king would send him thither, and that he might obtain arms and ammunition there for Scotland. The ambassador told him, "that, if the king would write a letter to him to that purpose, he would presently supply him with some money and arms, in

"assurance that his master would very well approve of what he should do." The marquis of Mountrose well knew that the king was not able to supply him with the least proportion of money to begin his journey; and therefore he had only proposed, "that the king would give him several letters, in the form he prescribed, to several princes in Germany, whose affections he pretended to know;" which letters he sent by several officers, who were to bring the soldiers or arms they should obtain, to a rendezvous he appointed near Hamburg; and resolved himself to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get supplies in both those places, both from the crowns, and by the contribution of many Scottish officers, who had command and estates in those countries; and so to have credentials, by virtue of which he might appear ambassador extraordinary from the king, if he should find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his business in private, and without any public character. All this was resolved before his confidence, at least his familiarity, with the ambassador was grown less. But, upon the encouragement he had from him, he moved the king "for his letter to the ambassador, to assist the marquis of Mountrose with his advice, and with his interest in Denmark, and in any other court, to the end that he might obtain the loan of monies, arms, and ammunition, and whatever else was necessary to enable the marquis to prosecute his intended descent into Scotland." The king, (who was exceedingly tired with his importunities,) glad that he did not press for ready money, which he was not able to supply him with, gave him such letters as he desired to all persons, and particularly to the ambassador himself, who, having order from his master to present the king with a sum of money for his present occasions, never informed the king thereof, but advised Mountrose to procure such a letter from his majesty to him; which being done, the marquis received that money from him, and likewise some arms; with which he begun his unfortunate enterprise; and prosecuted his journey to Hamburg; where he expected to meet his German troops, which he believed the officers he had sent thither with the king's letters would be well able to raise, with the assistance of those princes to whom they had been sent. But he was carried on by a stronger assurance he had received from some prophecies and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he should by his valour recover Scotland for the king, and from thence conduct an army that should settle his majesty in all his other dominions."

There had been yet nothing done with reference to England since the murder of the king; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was so terrible a consternation, that still possessed the spirits of that people, that though men's affections were greater, and more general for the king, out of the horror and detestation they had of the late parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken courage; nor was it believed possible for any man to contribute any thing, at present, for their deliverance. However, most men were of opinion, "that it was necessary for the king to publish some declaration, that he might not seem utterly to give over his claim there; and to keep up the spirits of his friends." And many from England,

who in the midst of their despair would give some counsel, advised, "that there might be somewhat published by the king that might give some check to the general submitting to the engagement, which was so universally pressed there." The king being every day advertised, how much this was desired and expected, and the Scottish lords being of the same opinion, hoping that somewhat might be inserted in it that might favour the presbyterians, his majesty proposed at the council, "that there might be some draught prepared of a proclamation, or declaration, only with reference to the kingdom of England;" and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had been most conversant in instruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "that he did not know what such a declaration could contain, and therefore that he thought it not seasonable to publish any." The prince of Orange was present at that council, and, whether from his own opinion, or from the suggestion of the Scottish lords, who were much favoured by him, he wished, "that, in regard of the great differences which were in England about matters of religion, the king would offer, in this declaration, to refer all matters in controversy concerning religion to a national synod; in which there should be admitted some foreign divines from the protestant churches;" which, he thought, would be a popular clause, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the king believed no objection could be made against it; and so thought fit such a clause should be inserted.

Within a short time after the council was parted, the prince of Orange sent for the lord Cottington, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the chancellor of the exchequer, but desired him to entreat him not to be too sharp in this declaration, the end whereof was to unite and reconcile different humours; and that he found many had a great apprehension, that the sharpness of his style would irritate them much more." The chancellor knew well enough that this came from the lord Lautherdale, and he wished heartily that the charge might be committed to any body else, protesting, "that he was never less disposed in his own conceptions and reflections to undertake any such task in his life; and that he could not imagine how it was possible for the king to publish a declaration at that time, (his first declaration,) without much sharpness against the murderers of his father;" which nobody could speak against; nor could he be excused from the work imposed upon him: and the prince of Orange assured him, "it was not that kind of sharpness which he wished should be declined:" and though he seemed not willing farther to explain himself, it was evident that he wished that there might not be any sharpness against the presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occasion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and particular instruction, the chancellor could not presume to express. The great end of this declaration was to confirm the affection of as many as was possible for the king, and, consequently, as few were to be made desperate as might consist with the king's honour, and necessary justice; so that how far that clause, which was essential to a declaration upon this subject, concerning the indemnity of persons, should extend, was the ques-

tion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the most prevalent was, "that no persons should be excepted from pardon, but only such who had an immediate hand in the execrable murder of the king, by being his judges, and pronouncing that sentence, and they who performed the execution." Others said, they "knew that some were in the list of the judges, and named by the parliament, who found excuses to be absent;" and others, that "some who were not named, more contrived and contributed to that odious proceeding, than many who were actors in it." But the resolution was, that the former should be only comprehended.

When the declaration was prepared, and read at the board, there was a deep silence, no man speaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for the second reading it, against which time every man might be better prepared to speak to it: and in the mean time the prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect master of the English tongue, desired he might have a copy of it, that he might the better understand it. And the chancellor of the exchequer desired, "that not only the prince of Orange might have a copy, but that his majesty would likewise have one, and, after he should have perused it himself, he would shew it to any other, who he thought was fit to advise with;" there being many lords and other persons of quality about him, who were not of the council: and he moved, "that he might have liberty himself to communicate it to some who were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds of the people;" and named Herbert the attorney general, and Dr. Steward, who was dean of the chapel to the king; whose opinion, in all things relating to the church, the king had been advised by his father to submit to. All which was approved by the king; and, for that reason, a farther day was appointed for the second reading. The issue was, that, except two or three of the council, who were of one and the same opinion of the whole, there were not two persons who were admitted to the perusal of it, who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception.

Doctor Steward, though a man of a very good understanding, was so exceedingly grieved at the clause of admitting foreign divines into a synod that was to consult upon the church of England, that he could not be satisfied by any arguments that could be given of "the impossibility of any effect, or that the parliament would accept the overture; and that there could be no danger if it did, because the number of those foreign divines must be still limited by the king;" but came one morning to the chancellor, with whom he had a friendship, and protested "he had not slept that night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he knew loved the church so well, should consent to a clause so much against the honour of it;" and went from him to the king, to beseech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion, "that there were too few excepted from pardon; by which the king would not have confiscations enough to satisfy and reward his party:" and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not prudent to make so many men desperate; but that it would be sufficient to except Cromwell, and

"Bradshaw, and three or four more of those whose malice was most notorious; the whole number not to exceed six."

The Scots did not value the clause for foreign divines, who, they knew, could persuade little in an English synod; but they were implacably offended, that the king mentioned the government of the church of England, and the Book of Common Prayer, with so much reverence and devotion; which was the sharpness they most feared of the chancellor's style, when they thought now the covenant to be necessary to be insisted upon more than ever. So that, when the declaration was read at the board the second time, most men being moved with the discourses, and fears which were expressed abroad of some ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly debated, and men seemed not to think that the publishing any, at this time, was of so much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the king to resolve, and act with that steadiness and resolution, which the most unprosperous condition doth more require than the state that is less perplexed and entangled. The declaration slept without farther proposition to emit any.

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two ambassadors for Spain were very solicitous to begin their journey, the king being at last resolved not to give his mother the trouble of making a journey to meet him, but to go himself directly to St. Germain's, where her majesty was. The prince of Orange, to advance that resolution, had promised to supply the king with twenty thousand pounds; which was too great a loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the king to discharge the debts he and his family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his journey. Out of this sum the lord Cottington and the chancellor were to receive so much as was designed to defray their journey to Paris: what was necessary for the discharge of their embassy, or for making their journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The king had some hope, that the duke of Lorraine would lend him some money; which he designed for this service; which made it necessary that they should immediately resort to Brussels, to finish that negociation, and from thence to prosecute their journey.

In the soliciting their first despatch at the Hague, they made a discovery that seemed very strange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their journey having been put off some days, only for the receipt of that small sum, which was to be paid out of the money to be lent by the prince of Orange, and Hemflet, the prince's chief officer in such affairs of money, had been some days at Amsterdam to negotiate that loan, and no money was returned, they believed that there was some affected delay; and so went to the prince of Orange, who had advised, and was well pleased with that embassy, to know when that money would be ready for the king, that he might likewise resolve upon the time for his own journey. The prince told them, he believed, "that they, who knew London so well, and had heard so much discourse of the wealth of Holland, would wonder very much that he should have been endeavouring above ten days to borrow twenty thousand pounds; and that the richest men in

Amsterdam had promised him to supply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet provided." He said, "it was not that there was any question of his credit, which was very good; and that the security he gave was as good as any body desired, and upon which he could have double the sum in less time, if he would receive it in paper, which was the course of that country; where bargains being made for one hundred thousand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known that twenty thousand pounds was paid together in one town; but by bills upon Rotterdam, Harlem, the Hague, and Antwerp, and other places, which was as convenient, or more, to all parties; and he did verily believe, that though Amsterdam could pay a million within a month, upon any good occasion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thousand pounds together into any one room; and that was the true reason, that the money was not yet brought to the Hague; which it should be within few days;" as it was accordingly.

They took their leave of the king at the Hague before the middle of May, and had a yacht from the prince of Orange, that expected them at Rotterdam, and transported them with great convenience to Antwerp, where the chancellor's wife and his family were arrived ten days before, and were settled in a good and convenient house; where the lord Cottington and he both lodged whilst they stayed in that city. There they met the lord Jermyn in his way towards the king, to hasten the king's journey into France, upon the queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the king, and believed he should more easily prevail with his majesty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days stay at Antwerp, they went to Brussels to deliver their credentials both to the archduke and the duke of Lorraine, and to visit the Spanish ministers, and, upon their landing at Brussels, they took it for a very good omen, that they were assured, "that Le Brune, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Munster, on the behalf of the king of Spain, was then in that town with credentials to visit the king, and to condole with him." They had an audience, the next day, of the archduke: they performed the compliments to him from the king, and informed him of their embassy into Spain, and desired his recommendation, and good offices in that court; which he, according to his slow and formal way of speaking, consented to: and they had no more to do with him, but received the visits from the officers, in his name, according to the style of that court. Their main business was with the duke of Lorraine, to procure money for their journey into Spain.

The duke was a prince that lived in a different manner from all other sovereign princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his country by France, he had retired to Brussels with his army, which he kept up very strong, and served the king of Spain with it against the French, upon such terms and conditions as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great sums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was sure very rich in money. He always commanded apart in the field; his officers received no orders but from himself: he always agreed at the council of war what he

should do, and his army was in truth the best part of the Spanish forces. In the town of Brussels he lived without any order, method, or state of a prince, except towards the Spaniards in his treaties, and being present in their councils, where he always kept his full dignity: otherwise, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the bourgeois and their wives, and feasted with them, but scarce kept a court, and no number of servants, or retinue. The house wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and worse furnished; nor was he often there, or easy to be found; so that the ambassadors could not easily send to him for an audience. He received them in a lower room with great courtesy and familiarity; and visited them at their own lodging. He was a man of great wit, and presence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the prince. He loved his money very much; yet the lord Cottington's dexterity and address prevailed with him to lend the king two thousand pistoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their embassy. But they hoped they should procure some supply in Spain, out of which their own necessary expenses must be provided for.

There were two Spaniards, by whom all the councils there were governed and conducted, and which the archduke himself could not control; the conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from Munster, being the other plenipotentiary there; and stayed only at Brussels, in expectation of renewing the treaty again with France; but, whilst he stayed there, was in the highest trust in all the affairs) and the conde of Fuensaldagna, who was the governor of the arms, and commanded the army next under the archduke; which was a subordination very little inferior to the being general. They were both very able and expert men in business, and if they were not very wise men, that nation had none. The former was a man of the robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of Le Brune, (the other plenipotentiary,) who was indeed a wise man, and by seeming to defer in all things to Pignoranda, governed him. The conde of Fuensaldagna was of a much better temper, more industry, and more insinuation than Spaniards use to have: his greatest talent lay to business; yet he was the best general of that time to all other offices and purposes, than what were necessary in the hour of battle, when he was not so present and composed as at all other seasons.

Both these received the ambassadors with the usual civilities, and returned their visits at their own lodging, but seemed not pleased with their journey to Madrid, and spoke much of the necessities that crown was in, and its disability to assist the king; which the ambassadors imputed to the influence don Alonzo de Cardinas had upon them both; who remained still under the same character in England he had done for many years before. The same civilities were performed between Le Brune and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their negociation in Spain; acquainted them with his own instructions, "to give the king all assurance of the affection of his catholic majesty, and of his readiness to do any thing for him that

"was in his power." He said, "he only deferred his journey, because he heard that the king intended to spend some time at Breda; and he had rather attend him there, than at the Hague."

When the ambassadors had despatched all their business at Brussels, and received the money from the duke of Lorrain, they returned to Antwerp; where they were to negotiate for the return of their monies to Madrid; which required very much wariness, the bills from thence using to find now more difficulties at Madrid, than they had done in former times.

What was imagined fell out. By the letters my lord Jermyn brought, and the importunity he used, the king resolved to begin his journey sooner than he thought to have done, that is, sooner than he thought he should have been able, all provisions being to begin to be made both for his journey into France, and from thence into Ireland, after the money was received that should pay for them. But the queen's impatience was so great to see his majesty, that the prince of Orange, and the princess royal his wife, were as impatient to give her that satisfaction. Though her majesty could not dislike any resolution the king had taken, nor could imagine whither he should go but into Ireland, she was exceedingly displeased that any resolution had been taken before she was consulted. She was angry that the counsellors were chosen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the affairs; all which she imputed principally to the chancellor of the exchequer: and yet she was not pleased with the design of the negociation in Spain. For though she had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her commands, yet she had all confidence in his duty and integrity to the king, and therefore wished he should be still about his person, and trusted in his business; which she thought him much fitter for than such a negociation, which she believed, out of her natural prejudice to Spain, would produce no advantage to the king.

That the queen might receive some content, in knowing that the king had begun his journey, the prince of Orange desired him, "whilst his servants prepared what was necessary at the Hague, that himself, and that part of his train that was ready, would go to Breda, and stay there till the rest were ready to come up to him;" that being his best way to Flanders, through which he must pass into France. Breda was a town of the prince's own, where he had a handsome palace and castle, and a place where the king might have many divertisements. Hither the Spanish ambassador, Le Brune, came to attend his majesty, and delivered his master's compliments to his majesty, and offered his own services to him, whilst he should remain in those provinces; he being at that time designed to remain ambassador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died shortly after at the Hague, with a general regret. He was born a subject to the king of Spain, in that part of Burgundy that was under his dominion; and having been from his cradle always bred in business, and being a man of great parts and temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the best statesmen in Christendom, and who best understood the true interest of all the princes of Europe.

As soon as the lord Cottington and the chancellor heard of the king's being at Breda, and that he intended to hasten his journey for France, they resolved, having in truth not yet negociated all things necessary for their journey, to stay till the king passed by, and not to go to St. Germain's till the first interview, and eclaircissements were passed between the king and queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what weather was like to be.

The king was received at Antwerp with great magnificence : he entered in a very rich coach with six horses, which the archduke sent a present to him when he came into the Spanish dominions : he was treated there, at the charge of the city, very splendidly for two days : and went then to Brussels, where he was lodged in the palace, and royally entertained. But the French army, under the command of the conte de Harcourt, was two days before set down before Cambray ; with the news whereof the Spanish council was surprised, and in so much disorder, that the archduke was gone to the army to Mons, and Valenciennes, whilst the king was in Antwerp ; so that the king was received only by his officers ; who performed their parts very well.

Here the conde of Pignoranda waited upon the king in the quality of an ambassador, and covered. And his majesty stayed here three or four days, not being able suddenly to resolve which way he should pass into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt ; for the French thought to have surprised that town, and to have cast up their line of circumvallation before any supplies could be put in ; but the conde Fuensaldagna found a way to put seven or eight hundred foot into the town ; upon which the French raised the siege ; and so the king made his journey by the usual way ; and, near Valenciennes, had an interview with the archduke ; and, after some short ceremonies, continued on his journey, and lodged at Cambray ; where he was likewise treated by the conde de Garcies, who was governor there, and a very civil gentleman.

About a week after the king left Brussels, the two ambassadors prosecuted their journey for Paris ; where they stayed only one day, and then went to St. Germain's ; where the king and the queen his mother, with both their families, and the duke of York's, then were ; by whom they were received graciously. They had no reason to repent their providence in staying so long behind the king, for they found the court so full of jealousy and disorder, that every body was glad that they were come. After the first two or three days that the king and queen had been together, which were spent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened since their last parting, the queen began to confer with the king of his business, and what course he meant to take ; in which she found him so reserved, as if he had no mind she should be conversant in it. He made no apologies to her ; which she expected ; nor any professions of resigning himself up to her advice. On the contrary, upon some expostulations, he had told her plainly, " that he would always perform his duty towards her with great affection " and exactness, but that in his business he would " obey his own reason and judgment ; " and did as good as desire her not to trouble herself in his affairs ; and finding her passions strong, he fre-

quently retired from her with some abruptness, and seemed not to desire to be so much in her company as she expected ; and prescribed some rules to be observed in his own retirement, which he had not been accustomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this distance, which the king seemed to affect, was more than the chancellor of the exchequer could wish ; and that there was somebody else, who did her most disservice : insomuch as to the ladies who were about her, whereof some were very much his friends, she seemed to wish, that the chancellor were come. There was a gentleman, who was newly come from England, and who came to the Hague after the chancellor had taken his leave of the king, and had been ever since very close about him, being one of the grooms of his bedchamber, one Mr. Thomas Elliot, a person spoken of before ; whom the king's father had formerly sent into France, at the same time that he resolved the prince should go for the west ; and for no other reason, but that he should not attend upon his son. And he had given order, " that if he should " return out of France, and come into the west, " the council should not suffer him to be about " the prince ; " with whom he thought he had too much credit, and would use it ill ; and he had never seen the prince from the time he left Oxford till now. He was a bold man, and spoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late king which he ought to have had ; and less for the queen ; though he had great obligations to both ; yet being not so great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none. This gentleman came to the king just as he left the Hague, and both as he was a new comer, and as one for whom his majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well received ; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the king shewed him as bright, and to shine as much in the eyes of all men, as was possible. He was never from the person of the king, and always whispering in his ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the loyal party in England : and when he had a mind that the king should think well, or ill, of any man, he told him, " that he was much beloved by, or very " odious to, all his party in England. " By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the earl of Bristol, who came from Caen (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to ; and more to discountenance the lord Digby, and to tell him plainly, " that he " should not serve him in the place of secretary " of state ; " in which he had served his father, and from which men have seldom been removed upon the descent of the crown ; and not to admit either father or son to be of his council ; which was more extraordinary. He told the king, " it would be " the most unpopular thing he could do, and " which would lose him more hearts in England, " if he were thought to be governed by his mother. " And in a month's time that he had been about the king, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the favourite. He had used the queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much interest with the king, that he had procured a promise from his majesty to make colonel Windham, whose daughter Mr.

Elliot had married, secretary of state; an honest gentleman, but marvellously unequal to that province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his wife had been nurse to the prince, who was now king.

In these kinds of humour and indisposition they found the court, when they came to St. Germain's. They had, during their stay at Paris, in their way to court, conferred with the earl of Bristol, and his son the lord Digby; who breathed out their griefs to them; and the lord Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr. Elliot, who was a known and declared enemy of his, had gotten so much credit with the king, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his majesty; in whom, he knew, the king his father desired, that he should of all men have the least interest. After they had been a day or two there, the chancellor of the exchequer thinking it his duty to say somewhat to the queen in particular, and knowing that she expected he should do so, and the king having told him at large all that had passed with his mother, and the ill humour she was in, (all which his majesty related in a more exalted dialect than he had been accustomed to,) and his majesty being very willing that he should clearly understand what the queen thought upon the whole, the chancellor asked a private audience; which her majesty readily granted. And after she had easily expostulated upon the old passages at Jersey, she concluded with the mention of the great confidence the king her husband had always reposed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious professions of good-will towards him. Then she complained, not without tears, of the king's unkindness towards her, and of his way of living with her, of some expressions he had used in discourse in her own presence, and of what he had said in other places, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her majesty, and lastly of the incredible design of making Windham secretary; "who, besides his other unfitness," she said, "would be sure to join with the other to lessen the king's kindness to her all they could." The chancellor, after he had made all the professions of duty to her majesty which became him, and said what he really believed of the king's kindness and respect for her, asked her, "whether she would give him leave to take notice of any thing she had said to him, or, in general, that he found her majesty unsatisfied with his kindness?" The queen replied, "that she was well contented he should take notice of every thing she had said; and, above all, of his purpose to make Windham secretary:" of which the king had not made the least mention, though he had taken notice to him of most other things the queen had said to him.

The chancellor, shortly after, found an opportunity to inform the king of all that had passed from the queen, in such a method as might give him occasion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The king heard him very greedily, and protested, "that he desired nothing more than to live very well with the queen; towards whom he would never fail in his duty, as far as was consistent with his honour, and the good of his affairs; which, at present, it may be, required more reservation towards the queen, and to have it believed that he communicated less with her than he did, or than he intended to do; that, if he did not seem to

"be desirous of her company, it was only when she grieved him by some importunities, in which he could not satisfy her; and that her exception against Elliot was very unjust; and that he knew well the man to be very honest, and that he loved him well; and that the prejudice the king his father had against him was only by the malice of the lord Digby, who hated him without a cause, and had likewise informed the queen of some falsehoods, which had incensed her majesty against him;" and seemed throughout much concerned to justify Elliot, against whom the chancellor himself had no exceptions, but received more respects from him than he paid to most other men.

When the chancellor spoke of making Windham secretary, the king did not own the having promised to do it, but "that he intended to do it." The chancellor said, "he was glad he had not promised it; and that he hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honest gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that office." He put him in mind of secretary Nicholas, who was then there to present his duty to him; "that he was a person of such known affection and honesty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than to displace him." The king said, "he thought secretary Nicholas to be a very honest man; but he had no title to that office more than another man: that Mr. Windham had not any experience, but that it depended so much upon forms, that he would quickly be instructed in it: that he was a very honest man, for whom he had never done any thing, and had now nothing else to give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in a short time, he would make himself very fit." All that the chancellor could prevail with his majesty was, to suspend the doing it for some time, and that he would hear him again upon the subject, before he took a final resolution. For the rest, he promised "to speak upon some particulars with the queen, and to live with her with all kindness and freedom, that she might be in good humour." But he heard her, and all others, very unwillingly, who spoke against Mr. Windham's parts for being secretary of state.

One day the lord Cottington, when the chancellor and some others were present, told the king very gravely, (according to his custom, who never smiled when he made others merry,) "that he had an humble suit to him, on the behalf of an old servant of his father's, and whom, he assured him upon his knowledge, his father loved as well as he did any man of that condition in England; and that he had been for many years one of his falconers; and he did really believe him to be one of the best falconers in England;" and thereupon enlarged himself (as he could do excellently in all the terms of that science) to shew how very skilful he was in that art. The king asked him, "what he would have him do for him?" Cottington told him, "it was very true that his majesty kept no falconers, and the poor man was grown old, and could not ride as he had used to do; but that he was a very honest man, and could read very well, and had as audible a voice as any man need to have;" and therefore besought his majesty, "that he would make him his chaplain;" which speaking with so composed a countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the king looked upon him with a smile to know

what he meant; when he, with the same gravity, assured him, "the falconer was in all respects as fit to be his chaplain, as colonel Windham was to be secretary of state;" which so surprised the king, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his majesty was somewhat out of countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the standers by, it grew to be a story in all companies, and did really divert the king from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

Whilst all endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the king might prosecute his intended voyage for Ireland, and that the two ambassadors might proceed in their journey towards Spain, there came very ill news from Ireland. As soon as the marquis of Ormond was arrived, as hath been said before, the confederate catholics, who held their assembly, as they had always done, at Kilkenny, sent commissioners to him to congratulate his arrival, and to enter upon a treaty of peace, that they might all return to their obedience to the king. But the inconstancy of that nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to Paris to importune the queen and the prince to send the marquis of Ormond back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the English, who were under the lord Inchiquin, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: by this means so much time was spent, that the winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced against the parliament forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of supplies, whilst the distractions continued in England between the parliament and the army, the divisions in the army, and the prosecution of the king; during which the governors there had work enough to look to themselves; and left Ireland to provide for itself; and if that unfortunate people would have made use of the advantages that were offered, that kingdom might indeed have been entirely reduced to the king's obedience.

That the lord lieutenant might even compel them to preserve themselves, he went himself to Kilkenny, where the council sat, about Christmas, after three months had been spent from his arrival, that no more time might be lost in their commissioners' coming and going, and that the spring might not be lost as well as the winter. And at last a peace was made and concluded; by which, against such a day, the confederate catholics obliged themselves "to bring into the field a body of horse and foot, with all provisions for the field, which should be at the disposal of the lord lieutenant, and to march as he should appoint." The treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have reduced the whole nation to the same agreement. And the general assembly, to which they all pretended to submit, and from which all had received their commissions, as hath been said, sent to Owen O'Neile, who remained

in Ulster with his army, and came not himself to Kilkenny, as he ought to have done, upon pretence of his indisposition of health. He professed "to submit to whatsoever the general assembly should determine:" but when they sent the articles, to which they had agreed, to be signed by him, he took several exceptions, especially in matters of religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, positively declared, "that he would not submit, or be bound by them:" and at the same time he sent to the marquis of Ormond, "that he would treat with him apart, and not concern himself in what the assembly resolved upon."

The truth is, there was nothing of religion in this contention; which proceeded from the animosity between the two generals, O'Neile and Preston, and the bitter faction between the old Irish and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the English were; and lastly, from the ambition of Owen O'Neile; who expected some concessions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incensed the other party, if they had been granted to him: so that the assembly was well pleased to leave him out, and concluded the peace without him.

Hereupon the lord lieutenant used all possible endeavours that the army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the spring. And though there was not an appearance answerable to their promise, yet their troops seemed so good, and were so numerous, that he thought fit to march towards Dublin; and, in the way, to take all the castles and garrisons, which were possessed by the parliament: in which they had very good success. For many of the parliament soldiers having served the king, they took the first opportunity, upon the marquis of Ormond's approach within any distance, to come to him; and by that means several places surrendered likewise to him. Colonel Monk, who had formerly served the king, and remained for the space of three or four years prisoner in the Tower, had been at last prevailed with by the lord Lisle to serve the parliament against the Irish; pleasing himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the king. He was at this time governor of Dundalk, a garrison about thirty miles from Dublin; which was no sooner summoned (Tredagh and those at a nearer distance being taken) but he was compelled by his own soldiers to deliver it up; and if the officer, who commanded the party which summoned him, had not been his friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the king's service, his soldiers would have thrown him over the walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and most of that garrison betook themselves to the king's service.

Upon all these encouragements, before the troops were come up to make the army numerous enough, the marquis was persuaded to block up Dublin at a very little distance; having good reason to hope, from the smallness of the garrison, and a party of well affected people within the town, that it would in a short time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he used all the means he could to hasten the Irish troops, some whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raised, to come up to the army. By all their letters from London (with which, by the way of Dublin, and the ports

of Munster, there was good intelligence) they understood, that there were fifteen hundred or two thousand men shipped for Ireland: and the wind having been for some time against their coming for Dublin, there was an apprehension that they might be gone for Munster: whereupon the lord Inchiquin, who was not confident of all his garrisons there, very unhappily departed with some troops of horse to look after his province; there being then no cause to apprehend any sally out of Dublin, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the ships expected came into the port of Dublin; and landed a greater number of soldiers, especially of horse, than was reported; and brought the news that Cromwell himself was made lieutenant of Ireland, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of horse and foot. This fleet that was already come had brought arms, and clothes, and money, and victuals; which much exalted the garrison and the city; which presently turned out of the town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the marquis of Ormond, and imprisoned others. The second day after the arrival of the succours, Jones, who had been a lawyer, and was then governor of Dublin, at noon-day marched out of the city, with a body of three thousand foot, and three or four troops of horse, and fell upon that quarter which was next the town; where they found so little resistance that they adventured upon the next; and in short so disordered the whole army, one half whereof was on the other side the river, that the lord lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some officers whom he drew together, charged the enemy with the loss of many of those who followed him, was at last compelled to draw off the whole army, which, though the loss was not great, was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return again to their posts, till both the troops which he had were refreshed, and composed, and their numbers increased by the levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

It may be remembered, that the general insurrections in the last year, the revolt of the navy, and the invasion of the Scots, encouraged and drawn in by the presbyterian party, had so disturbed and obstructed the counsels both in the parliament, and in the army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of Ireland, except the sending over the lord Lisle as lieutenant, with a commission that was determined at the end of so many months, and which had given (so little relief to the English,) that it only discovered more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the Irish in making their progress in all the parts of the kingdom; and the more confirmed the lord Inchiquin to pursue his resolutions of serving the king, and of receiving the marquis of Ormond, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the Irish; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the parliament, with reference to the loss of Ireland, that the reproach and noise thereof was very great: so that Cromwell thought it high time, in his own person, to appear upon a stage of so great action. There had been always men enough to be spared out of the army to have been sent upon that expedition,

when the other difficulties were at highest; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power should be superior, the presbyterian or the independent. And therefore the one had set up and designed Waller for that command, and Cromwell, against him and that party, had insisted, that it should be given to Lambert, the second man of the army, who was known to have as great a detestation of the presbyterian power, as he had of the prerogative of the crown: and the contests between the two factions, which of these should be sent, had spent a great part of the last year, and of their winter counsels. But now, when all the domestic differences were so composed by their successes in the field, and the bloody prosecution of their civil counsels, so that there could be little done to the disturbance of the peace of England, and when Waller's friends were so suppressed, that he was no more thought of, Cromwell began to think that the committing the whole government of Ireland, with such an army as was necessary to be sent thither, was too great a trust even for his beloved Lambert himself, and was to lessen his own power and authority, both in the army which was commanded by Fairfax, and in the other, that, being in Ireland, would, upon any occasion, have great influence upon the affairs of England. And therefore, whilst there appeared no other obstructions in the relief of Ireland (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining which of the two persons named for the command of it should take that charge, some of his friends, who were always ready upon such occasions, on a sudden proposed, as a good expedient to put an end to that debate, wherein two persons of great merit were concerned, and who might possibly think that it would be some prejudice for either of them to be preferred before the other, to nominate a third person, who might reasonably be preferred before them both, and thereupon named Cromwell the lieutenant general, to conduct that expedition.

Cromwell himself was always absent when such overtures were to be made; and whoever had proposed Lambert, had proposed it as a thing most agreeable to Cromwell's desire; and therefore, when they heard Cromwell himself proposed for the service, and by those who they were sure intended him no affront, they immediately acquiesced in the proposition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other side, the presbyterian party was no less affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the service, and that he never did intend to go thither in person; or that if he did, his absence from England would give them all the advantages they could wish, and that they should then recover entirely their general Fairfax to their party; who was already much broken in spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared some bitterness against the persons who had led him to it. And so in a moment both parties were agreed, and Oliver Cromwell elected and declared to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with as ample and independent a commission, as could be prepared.

Cromwell, how surprised soever with this designation, appeared the next day in the house full of confusion and irresolution; which the natural temper and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid, when he least desired it; and there-

fore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life. And after much hesitation, and many expressions of "his own unworthiness, and disability to support so great a charge, and of the entire resignation of himself to their commands, and absolute dependence upon God's providence and blessing, from whom he had received many instances of his favour," he submitted to their good will and pleasure; and desired them, "that no more time might be lost in the preparations which were to be made for so great a work; for he did confess that kingdom to be reduced to so great straits, that he was willing to engage his own person in this expedition, for the difficulties which appeared in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to give some obstruction to the successes which the rebels were at present exalted with," (for so he called the marquis of Ormond, and all who joined with him,) "that so the commonwealth might retain still some footing in that kingdom, till they might be able to send fresh supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the strength he carried, he should be able, in any signal degree, to prevail over them."

It was an incredible expedition that he used from this minute after his assuming that charge, in the raising of money, providing of shipping, and drawing of forces together, for this enterprise. Before he could be ready himself to march, he sent three thousand foot and horse to Milford Haven, to be transported, as soon as they arrived there, to Dublin; all things being ready there for their transportation; which troops, by the contrary and adverse winds, were constrained to remain there for many days. And that caused the report in Ireland, by the intelligence from London, that Cromwell intended to make a descent in Munster; which unhappily divided the lord Inchiquin, and a good body of his men, from the lord lieutenant, as hath been said, when he marched towards Dublin. Nor did the marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his army should be grown more numerous, and more accustomed to discipline; but the wonderful successes of those troops, which were sent before, in the taking of Trim, Dundalk, and all the out-garrisons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within Dublin, made him unwilling to lose any more time, since he was sure that the crossness of the wind only hindered the arrival of those supplies, which were designed thither out of England: and the arrival of which supplies, the very day before his coming before Dublin, enabled the governor thereof to make that sally which is mentioned before; and had that success which is mentioned.

The marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole army from Dublin to Tredagh, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at Milford Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of Dublin, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his party had that he had sent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army, and, with a very prosperous wind, arrived at Dublin within

two or three days after the marquis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to prosecute those advantages which had already befallen him. And the marquis of Ormond was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his army to a greater distance, till those parties which were marching towards him from the several quarters of the kingdom might come up to him; and in the mean while to put Tredagh into so good a posture, as might entertain the enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his army, both of soldiers and officers, most of them English, to the number of three thousand foot, and two or three good troops of horse, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to sir Arthur Aston, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of Cromwell, for at least a month's time. And the marquis of Ormond made less doubt, in much less time, to relieve and succour it with his army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a rendezvous for his new levies.

This news coming to St. Germain's broke all their measures, at least as to the expedition: the resolution continued for Ireland; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the king begun his journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his majesty should venture to sea whilst the parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coast of Ireland; but that he should expect the autumn, when the season of the year would call home or disperse the ships. But where to stay so long was the question; for it was now the month of August; and as the king had received no kind of civility from France, since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his absence was impatiently desired by that court; and the queen, who found herself disappointed of that dominion which she had expected, resolved to merit from the cardinal by freeing him from a guest that was so unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and so was not at all solicitous for his longer stay. So his majesty considered how he should make his departure; and, upon looking round, he resolved, that he would make his journey through Normandy, and embark himself for his island of Jersey; which still continued under his obedience, and under the government of sir George Carteret; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the lord Jermyyn; who, in those straits the king was in, and the great plenty he himself enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the king's being there would lessen some of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the king's support, whilst he should stay there, necessary to sell some of the king's demesnes in that island, the yearly rent whereof used to be received by that lord towards the discharge of the garrisons there, he insisted, with all possible importunity, "that some of the money,

"which should be raised upon that sale, should be paid to him, because his receipt, for the time to come, would not remain so great as it had been formerly:" and though this demand appeared so unjust and unreasonable, that the council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the king in private, to give him such a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good sum of money, after the return of his majesty into England, upon that consideration. This resolution being taken for Jersey, the king sent to the prince of Orange, "that he would cause two ships of war to ride in the road before St. Maloes," (which they might do without notice,) "and that he might have a warrant remain in his hands, by which the ships might attend his majesty, when he should require them;" which they might do in very few hours; and in these he meant to transport himself, as soon as it should be seasonable, into Ireland. These ships did wait his pleasure there accordingly.

France had too good an excuse at this time for not giving the king any assistance in money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own affairs were in. Though the sedition, which had been raised in Paris the last winter, was at present so much appeased by the courage and conduct of the prince of Condé, (who brought the army, which he commanded in Flanders, with so great expedition before Paris, that the city yielded to reason,) so that his most Christian majesty, the queen his mother, and the whole court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The town continued still in ill humour; more of the great men adhered to them than had done before; the animosities against the cardinal increased, and, which made those animosities the more terrible, the prince of Condé, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his friendship with the cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: so that the court was far from being in that tranquillity, as to concern itself much for the king our master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

All things standing thus, about the middle of September, the king left St. Germain's, and begun his journey towards Jersey; and the queen, the next day, removed from thence to Paris, to the Louvre. The two ambassadors for Spain waited upon her majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their journey to Spain, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a pass to meet them at St. Sebastian's, and that they might have a house provided for them at Madrid, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an English gentleman, who lived there, to solicit, and advertise them in their journey of the temper of that court.

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a pass to go from Paris into Spain, that they should wait upon the queen-mother of France, and the cardinal; and likewise upon the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Condé; who were then in a cabal against the court. The prince of Condé spoke so publicly and so warmly against the cardinal, that most people thought the cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his house, and admitted few to

come to him, and had a strong guard in every room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the ambassadors declined any formal audiences; for which their equipage was not suitable: so the lord Cottington went privately to the queen regent, who received him graciously, and desired him "to recommend her very kindly to her brother the king of Spain," without enlarging upon any thing else. From her he went to the duke of Orleans, whom he found in more disorder; and when the ambassador told him, "he came to know whether he had any service to command him into Spain," the duke, who scarce stood still whilst he was speaking, answered aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain;" and so went hastily into another room; and the lord Cottington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the prince of Condé, and to the cardinal. But when they sent to the prince, he wisely, but with great civility, sent them word, "that they could not be ignorant of the disorder that court was in, and of the jealousies which were of him;" and therefore desired them "to excuse him, that he did not see them."

The cardinal appointed them an hour; and met them in an outer room, and conducted them into his inward room, where they sat down and conferred about half an hour, the lord Cottington speaking Spanish, and the cardinal and he conferring wholly in the same language. The cardinal acknowledged the apprehension he was in, in his looks; and took occasion in his discourse to mention "the unjust displeasure, which monsieur le prince had conceived against him." He seemed earnestly to desire a peace between the two crowns; and said, "that he would give a pound of his blood to obtain it;" and desired the ambassadors "to tell don Lewis de Haro from him, that he would with all his heart meet him upon the frontiers; and that he was confident, if they two were together but three hours, they should compose all differences:" which message he afterwards disavowed, when don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the stairs in disorder enough, his guards being very circumspect, and suffering no stranger to approach any of the rooms.

When they had provided all things for their journey, and contracted with Blavett, the sole person who could furnish coaches for the transportation of themselves, their baggage, and family, which consisted of twenty persons, and no more, to the Rayo of Spain, within twenty days, for which they paid him in hand, before they left Paris, four hundred pistoles, their whole share of their journey to that place being to be defrayed, as it was very handsomely, they began their journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continued it, without resting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in rebellion against the king. The city and the parliament had not only sent several complaints and bitter invectives against the duke of Espernon, their governor, for his acts of tyranny in his government, but had presumed, in order to make his person the more ungracious, to asperse his life and manners with those reproaches which they believed would most reflect upon the court. And the truth is, their greatest quarrel against him was, that he was a

fast friend to the cardinal, and would not be divided from his interest. They had driven the duke out of the town, and did not only desire the king, "that he might no more be their governor; but that his majesty would give the government to the prince of Condé;" which made their complaints the less considered as just. And it was then one of the most avowed exceptions that prince had against the cardinal, that he had not that government upon the petition of Bourdeaux, since he offered to resign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the duke of Espernon. At Blay, the ambassadors were visited by the marshal of Plessy Praslin, who was sent by the court to treat with the parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisting upon the remove of their old governor, and conferring the command upon the prince. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Chateau Trompette, which still held for the king, shooting at the town, the town having invested it very close, that no succour could be put into them, the duke of Espernon being at his house at Cadillac, from whence his horse every day infested the citizens when they stirred out of the town. Here the ambassadors were compelled to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the river, and in the town, not suffering their coaches and baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some counsellors and presidents of the parliament; who professed duty to their king, but irreconcilable hatred to the duke of Espernon; against whom they had published several remonstrances in print, and dedicated them to the prince of Condé. After a day's rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their journey to Bayonne; and were delivered, after they had broken their fast at St. Jean de Luce, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Taio; where they took boat, and in an hour or two they arrived at Girona, where they lay that night, and sent away to the governor of St. Sebastian's, that they would be there the next day. In their passage upon the river, they had the view of Fuentarabia, which had been so lately besieged by the prince of Condé, and the duke de la Valette, who was duke of Espernon; and they saw the ruins the French army had made in all the places adjacent, the greatest part of Girona itself having been burned, and still remaining un-repaired; and it was very manifest to them, by the discourses of all the people of that country, that so great a consternation had seized upon the hearts of all that people, upon the approach of the French army, that if it had advanced to St. Sebastian's, that important place was so ill provided to make resistance, that it would have been presently quitted to them, after which Fuentarabia had not been worth the contending for. Here they found an old priest, who governed the town, and was master of the posts, which office he had held when the lord Cottington had been last there, which was when the prince was in Spain, who was a jolly talking man, and glad to remember old stories. They were no sooner in their lodging, but the inquisitors came to examine what books they brought into their country; and at first, with some rudeness, the chief of them being a priest of a large size and a very barbarous aspect and behaviour, they urged to have the view of all the books they

had, but afterwards were contented with a catalogue of the names of them, subscribed by one of their secretaries; and received a piece of eight very thankfully. The next day they went by the river to Passage, and when they came out of their boats, which were rowed by women, according to their privilege there, they found mules, sent from St. Sebastian's to carry them thither. About half a mile from the town they were met by the governor of Guipuscoa, don Antonio de Cardinas, an old soldier, and a knight of the order, the corregidor and all the magistrates of St. Sebastian's, and the English merchants which inhabited there; and were conducted by the governor to one of the best houses in the town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the governor, and the rest of the magistrates, took their leave of them, and left them to their repose.

They had not been half an hour in their lodging, conferring with the English merchants, about conveniences to prosecute their journey, when the corregidor came to them, and desired to speak with them in private, and after some compliment and apology, he shewed them a letter, which he had received from the secretary of state; the contents whereof were, "that when the ambassadors of the prince of Wales should arrive there, they should be received with all respect; but that he should find some means to persuade them to stay and remain there, till he should give the king notice of it, and receive his farther pleasure." And at the same time an English merchant of the town, who had told them before, that he had letters from Madrid for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a packet from sir Benjamin Wright: who was intrusted by them to solicit at Madrid for their pass, and for a house to be prepared for them. In this letter their pass was enclosed, under the same style, as ambassadors from the prince of Wales; which he had observed, and desired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any order for the providing a house for them; but was told, "that it should be done time enough." This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they seemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to stay there a month, to refresh themselves after their long journey, and in expectation of other letters from the king their master. The corregidor offered to send away an express the same night, if they would write by him, or that he should stay a day or two for their letters, if they were not yet ready to write; but they desired that the messenger might be despatched away with all diligence, and they writ their letters presently. They writ to don Lewis de Haro, "that the king their master had sent them his ambassadors to his catholic majesty, upon affairs of the highest importance: that they were come so far on their way, but had, to their great wonder, met there with a signification of the king's pleasure, that they should stay and remain there, till they should receive his majesty's pleasure; which troubled them not so much, as to find themselves styled the ambassadors of the prince of Wales, which they thought very strange, after his catholic majesty had sent an ambassador to the king their master before they left him: they desired therefore to know, whether their persons were unaccept-

“able to his catholic majesty, and if that were the case, they would immediately return to their master; otherwise, if his majesty were content to receive them, they desired they might be treated in that manner as was due to the honour and dignity of the king their master.” And they writ to sir Benjamin Wright, “to attend don Lewis, and if he found that they were expected at Madrid, and that they reformed the errors they had committed, he should then send two letters to meet them at Victoria, and use those importunities, which were necessary for the providing a house for them against they should come.”

Though the court was then full of business, being in daily expectation of their new queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days journey of Madrid; yet the very next day after the letter was delivered to don Lewis de Haro, he returned an answer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed to the negligence or ignorance of the secretary; and sent them new passes in the proper style; and assured them, “that they should find a very good welcome from his majesty.” And sir Benjamin Wright sent them word, “that he had received the warrant for the providing the house; and the officer, to whom it was directed, had called upon him to view two or three houses; and that don Lewis told him, that, as soon as he had found a house that pleased him, orders should be given to the king’s officers of the wardrobe to furnish it; and then when the ambassadors came, there should be one of the king’s coaches to attend them whilst they stayed.” Hereupon they made haste in their journey, with some satisfaction and confidence that they should find a court not so hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with so barefaced and formed an affront, and then so easily recede from it with weak apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wished that they had not come; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were ashamed of their own expedient, and being pressed, chose rather to decline than avow it: so unnatural a thing is it for that nation to stoop to any ugly action, without doing it so ungraciously, as to confess it in their own countenance, and quickly receding from it.

It was about the middle of November when they left St. Sebastian’s, the weather yet continuing fair; and a gentleman of quality of the country was appointed to accompany them out of the jurisdiction of Guipuscoa, which was to the city of Victoria; and from thence they entered into Castile. When they came to Burgos the magistrates invited them to see the *toros*, which was performed the next day to celebrate the arrival of the queen, who was now come to Madrid, and all the country making their *fiestas*. They stayed that day to see that fight, which was new to all but the lord Cottington. The rains began to fall, which made their journey forward less pleasant, yet not with any great violence, as they seldom do in that country in the beginning.

When they came to Alcavendas, a little town belonging to the conde de Prono en rostro, within three leagues of Madrid, they discharged all their mules and litters, resolving to stay there till they sent notice to the court of their arrival, and sir Benjamin Wright to know what house was pro-

vided for them: he came to them, and told them, “all things were in the same state they were when he writ to them to St. Sebastian’s: that though don Lewis gave him very good words when he came to him, and seemed much troubled and angry with the officers that the house was not ready, and the officers excused themselves upon the jollities the town was in [during] the *fiestas*, which were held every day for the queen’s arrival, that nobody could attend any particular affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken from the court that there ought to have been, and that don Alonzo de Cardinas from England had done the ambassadors all the ill offices possible, as if their good reception in Spain would incense the parliament, and make them more propitious to France, which valued itself upon having driven all the royal family from thence.”

Upon this new mortification, they writ again from thence to don Lewis, to desire, “that they might not be put to stay there for want of a house, and so be exposed to contempt.” Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always answered their letters with great punctuality, and with courtesy enough, as if all things should be ready by the next day. The English merchants, who resided at Madrid, came every day to visit them, but still brought them word, that there was no appearance of any provision made to receive them; so that, after a week’s stay in that little town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation which sir Benjamin Wright made them, of reposing themselves *incognito* in his house; which would only receive their persons with a valet de chambre for each; and the rest of their family was quartered in the next adjacent houses for the reception of strangers; and so they went privately in the evening into Madrid in sir Benjamin Wright’s coach, having sent all their servants before, and came to his house, where they were very conveniently lodged, and where there were good rooms handsomely furnished for the reception of visitants; and if, by his generosity, they had not been thus accommodated, they must have been exposed to reproach and infamy, by the very little respect they received from the court. Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of a good family in Essex; and being a younger brother, had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where, as a merchant, he had great business and great reputation, but was of a nature and spirit above that employment, and affected another and a higher, after he had lived there above twenty years, and was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language, but in the generous part of their nature and customs, affected horsemanship, and the use of his weapon, and excelled in both, and gave several testimonies of his courage upon particular encounters, most with his countrymen, who, in respect of his being a merchant, exercised some insolencies towards him. So that he accustomed himself to the outward *fausto* of a Spaniard abroad, and kept the custom and manner of his own country at home, by living plentifully and splendidly in his house, very contrary to the custom of that nation. He resolved to give over that profession of a merchant; and having got a very plentiful estate by it, he entered into treaties with the ministers of state to supply the king’s affairs upon such assientos as

were usually made, with providing ships, and supplying monies for those parts of Italy and Flanders where the public affairs required it; an adventure that the merchants of Genoa were most conversant in, and wherein many had gotten very great estates, whilst the crown prospered, and made good its contracts; and in his first entrance into that kind of commerce, he had performed some very acceptable services to that king, and got very well himself, according to which he always increased the expense and port of his living. He married into the family of Toledo, a young lady who brought little more than her noble blood into his house; and he willingly took care that she should live in an expense equal to her birth. He had always performed great duty to his own king, and made himself still grateful to the English ambassadors, by his paying all respects to them, and behaving himself always for the honour of his nation; and by the ambassador's interposition his own king made him a baronet; the patent whereof no sooner came to his hands, than he entered it with the *consejo de los ordines*, and with much difficulty and contest he procured it to be registered; and then was treated with the style of *don* in all places, which wiped out the memory of the merchant; but in these contests, and the *rhodomontadoes* which accompanied them in the presents he made, and in the whole course and expense of his living, he stirred up the envy of the Spaniard, and lost the affection of his own countrymen, that is, of the merchants, for of all others he was well beloved.

About the year 1640, when the crown was very much declined in credit, and its necessities increased by the anticipation of all their revenue, they had no more security to give for any money they borrowed, but such as brought in nothing, till the present lease which had been granted should be expired; so that to make such a security to be accepted, they were obliged to grant interest, and other too advantageous conditions; and by this temptation many were drawn in to venture their estates. The affairs of Flanders were in great distress, for supplying whereof sir Benjamin Wright, upon assurance from his friends in England and Flanders, that they would join with him, and assist him, made an *assiento* with the ministers, that he would presently pay so much money by the month in Flanders, upon such a branch of the revenue being assigned by the king to him for so many years, to begin three years after, when the lease that was on foot would be expired; so that he was to be out of his money near three years before he should receive any thing towards his reimbursement; but then he should enter upon a revenue which would abundantly satisfy him with principal and interest. He performed his part very punctually, expecting to enter at his time upon his assignation; and by this means, and by the same kinds of security, the necessities of that time had been provided for. When the expiration of the term drew near, by which the new *assentistas* were to enter upon their several bargains, the necessities of the state appeared to be greater than before, by the unprosperousness of their affairs in all places; and there was now no possible way in view to provide for the future proportionable supplies. Hereupon the king did make a *junto* of divines, whereof his confessor was one, and other eminent prelates

were some, who were to consider and certify the king, whether he might with a good conscience break his contract with those men, whose money he had received already, and make them satisfaction some other way, according as should be judged reasonable; whereby he might, by taking those farms into his own hands, upon which others ought to enter, be able to borrow and provide money to supply the crying necessities of the crown. This consultation was held without calling any of the parties concerned before them; but upon the information of the ministers of state of the public necessity, and the computation of the immoderate gain the *assentistas* would receive, if they enjoyed their bargain, and had the benefit of all their covenants, the divines (not without great deliberation, and contests between themselves) gave it under their names, "That the king might with a good conscience resume those parts of his revenue, which he had granted to others, into his own hands, if he first gave satisfaction to those to whom such grants had been made." And when the king's conscience was thus satisfied, a decree was made, that all those persons (who were all named) to whom the king had granted such parts of his revenue, (which were likewise named,) and upon which they were to enter upon a day to come, should receive full satisfaction, and repayment of the monies they had advanced, with interest, upon the *juros* of the crown, which should be assigned and made over to them by a good form in the law; and that all other persons, who would advance monies for the king's service, upon those parts of his revenue which he took into his hands, should immediately enter into the receipt. The *juros* are of the nature of our tenures, or of our fee-farm rents, for they are not all of one kind nor of one value. So that men knew not how to treat for them; nor could be morally sure that the same might not be suddenly taken from them again, at least by a new king. However, many, who only looked for a competent revenue for their money, made tolerable bargains, and rested contented; but they who had laid out more money than their own, or who knew how to employ their money better, were undone by the overture, and utterly refused to receive them in satisfaction; but the decree left them no election, but determined both points positively, that they should not enjoy the benefit of their contracts, but that they should accept satisfaction by the *juros*. By these means poor sir Benjamin was reduced into great straits, when the king owed him very near two hundred thousand pounds sterling, according to the account then stated; and some friends of his, both in England and Flanders, were exceedingly damnified, and others utterly ruined by this decree. He himself, though fallen from his usual splendour, and his wife being likewise very seasonably dead, still enjoyed a good house, into which he received the ambassadors, kept good horses, and a coach with six mules; and retained so much of his natural generosity, that there appeared no want in the condition of his living; and he hoped and expected, by the interposition of the ambassadors, to receive some justice from the king in some extraordinary way.

The court well enough knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it. The lord Cottington therefore sent to don Lewis, to desire that he might have a private audience of him *incognito*;

which he presently consented to, and appointed, the next morning, to meet in the king's garden; which was at such a distance from the court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: don Lewis was a man of little ceremony, and used no flourishes in his discourses, which made most men believe that he said all things from his heart; and he seemed to speak so cordially, that the lord Cottington, who was not easy to be imposed upon, did think that they should have a house very speedily, and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He spoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the business of the murder of the king; excused all the omissions towards the ambassadors; "which should be repaired out of hand, after the few days, which yet remained to be spent in *fiestas* for the queen; during which time, he said, no officers would obey any orders which diverted them from the sight of the triumphs; and wished that the ambassadors would see the masquerade that afternoon, and the *toros* the day following."

The lord Cottington returned home very well satisfied; and had not been half an hour in the house, when a gentleman came from don Lewis to invite the ambassadors to see those exercises, which are mentioned before; and sent them word that there should be places provided for them. The chancellor went that afternoon to the place assigned, where he saw the masquerade and running of the course. That of the masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors, performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right; which, when they came within little more than a horse length, they throw with all the strength they can, and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty horse run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful, and well adorned, the men richly clad, and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not obey the quick motion and turns of their horses. All the rest is too childish: the darts are nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this they run the course; which is like our running at the ring, save that two men run still together, and the swifter hath the prize, a post dividing them at the end. From the start they run their horses full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. There the king and don Lewis ran several courses, in all which don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize, though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the marquis de Liche, the eldest son of don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed

to their chambers. The next day, and so for two or three days together, both the ambassadors had a box prepared for them, to see the *toros*; which is a spectacle very wonderful, different from what they had seen at Burgos, where the bulls were much tamer, and where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little harm done.

Here the place was very noble, being the market-place, a very large square, built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestry and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story, the lower rooms being shops, and for ordinary use; and in the division of those scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, (which in summer time was upon these occasions watered by carts charged with hogsheads of water.) As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole ground from the common people, so that there is no man seen upon the plain but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which leads into the streets is opened, at which the torreadors enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses of Spain, every one attended by eight or ten or more lackeys, all clinquant with gold and silver lace, who carry the spears, which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded upon their left shoulder, the least disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made their reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another, and expect the bull. The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains by the people used to that work, who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door, which opens into that large space; the key whereof is sent to the king, which the king, when he sees every thing ready, throws to an alguazil, who carries it to the officer that keeps the door, and he causes it to be opened, when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people, who sit over the door or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with sharp points of steel, to provoke him to rage. He commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback, who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids by the quick turn of his horse, and with his lance strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near upon the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg, and so is at such a distance that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow. And they who are the most skilful in the exercise do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke, insomuch as in a day two or three fall in that manner: but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him. Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness, (for if he escapes the first

man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way,) that he gores the horse with his horns, that his guts come out, and he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes, by the strength of his neck, he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down, and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge upon the bull by his sword, and upon his head, towards which the standers by assist him by running after the bull and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done, a good bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him, and then the king calls for his mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a time, and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as a last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs, of which they seldom turn above one at a time; and he rarely misses of taking the bull and holding him by the nose till the men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him. In one of those days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed, and four or five men, besides many more of both hurt: and some men remain perpetually maimed: for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bull, whereof the worst are reserved till the last: and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness those fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion upon one foot avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if he guided him from him; but then the next standers by, who have not the same activity, commonly pay for it, and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power, they say, to suppress it, though, if he disliked it enough, he might forbear to be present at it. There are three festival days in the year, whereof midsummer is one, on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles, not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days, upon any extraordinary accident of joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated, which no ecclesiastical censures or authority can suppress or discountenance. For pope Pius the Fifth, in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, which is still in force, in which he declared, that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at those spectacles, and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto*; and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the inquisition and the chief of the clergy,

which is always filled; besides that many religious men in their habits get other places; only the Jesuits, out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope, are never present there, but on those days do always appoint some such solemn exercise to be performed, that obliges their whole body to be together.

There was another accident, upon one of these days, the mention whereof is not unfit to shew the discipline and severity of that nation in the observation of order. It was remembered, that at the last masquerade, the admirante and the marquis of Liche were sent to their chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the town, and retire each to a house of his own, that was within three or four leagues of the town. The marquis of Liche was known to have gone the next day, and nobody doubted the same of the admirante, those orders being never disputed or disobeyed. The king, going to the *toros*, either himself discerned at another balcony, or somebody else advertised him of it, that the duchess, who was wife to the admirante, was there; and said, "he knew that lady" "was a woman of more honour than to come out" "of her house, and be present at the *fiesta*, whilst" "her husband was under restraint, and in the" "king's displeasure;" and therefore concluded that her husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an alguazil to that room, with command to examine carefully with his eye, whether the admirante was there; for there appeared none but women. The admirante being a young rash man, much in the king's favour, and a gentleman of his bedchamber, thought he might undiscerned see the triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dressed in the habit of a lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discovered. The alguazil brought the king word, that he was very sure that the admirante was there, in the habit of a woman, and sat next his wife among many other ladies. Whereupon the king sent the officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to his (the officer's) own house. And as soon as the king returned to the palace, there was an order that the alguazil should the next morning carry the admirante to Valladolid, four days journey from Madrid, where he had a house of his own; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that city; and under this restraint he remained for the space of full three years: so penal a thing it is amongst that people, for any man, of how great quality soever, (there was not in Spain a man of greater than the admirante of Castile,) to disobey or elude the judgment of the king.

Though it is not the course for ambassadors to make their visits to those who come last, before they receive the first audience from the king, yet the very night they came to the town, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate their arrival, and to know what hour they would assign of the next day to receive a visit from him; to which they returned their acknowledgments, and that when they obtained their audience of the king, they would be ready to receive that honour from him. However, the very next day he came to visit them; and he was no sooner gone, but the Ger-

man ambassador, not sending notice till he was at the bottom of the stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other ambassadors and public ministers took their times to make their visits, without attending the audience. There was one thing very notable, that all the foreign ministers residing then in Madrid (the English ambassadors and the resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italian, and, all but the Venetian, subjects of the great duke. Julio Rospigliosi, nuncio for the pope, was of Pistoja, and so subject to the duke of Florence, a grave man, and at that time, save that his health was not good, like to come to what he was afterwards, to be pope, as he was Clement the IXth. The emperor's ambassador, the marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a subject of Florence: he had been general of one of the emperor's armies, and was sent afterwards ambassador to Madrid. He was a man of great parts; and the removing the conde duke Olivarez from court was imputed to his artifice. He made the match between the king and the present queen, for which he expected to have the cap of a cardinal, and had received it, if he had not died before the following creation, the cardinal of Hesse being nominated by the emperor upon his death. He was a man of an imperious and insolent nature, and capable of any temptation, and nobody more glad of his death than his own servants, over whom he was a great tyrant. The ambassador of Venice

a noble Venetian, was a man, as all that nation is, of great civility and much profession. He was the first who told the ambassadors that the king their master had a resident at Venice, which was Mr. Killigrew; which they did not at first believe, having, before they left St. Germain's, dissuaded the king from that purpose; but afterwards his majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that capacity he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master, but was at last compelled to leave the republic for his vicious behaviour, of which the Venetian ambassador complained to the king, when he came afterwards to Paris.

The ambassador of the king of Poland was likewise a Florentine, who was much in favour with the king Vladislaus, from whom he was sent, and continued by king Casimir. He had lived in great splendour; but by his vicious course of life, and some miscarriages, he fell very low, and was revoked with some circumstances of dishonour. He was a man of a great wit, if it had not served him to very ill purposes.

The ambassador of Florence was a subject of his master, and an abbot, a grave man; and though he was frequently called ambassador, he was in truth but resident; which was discovered by a contest he had with the Denmark resident for place, who alleged that the other was no more than resident; which was true; and made the discovery that the Florentine sent no ambassadors to Madrid, because they are not suffered to cover, which they use to do in many other courts.

The archduke of Inspruck's minister was likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a knight of the order, and supported the character upon a small assignation from his master, for some benefit and advantage it gave him in negociations and pretences he had in that court.

The resident of Denmark was don Henrique Williamson, (he was afterwards called Rosewell,) who came secretary to Hannibal Zested who had been the year before ambassador in that court, and lived in extraordinary splendour, as all the northern ministers do, who have not their allowance from the king, but from a revenue that is purposely set aside for that kind of service. When he went away, he left this gentleman to remain there as resident. He was a grave and a sober man, wiser than most of his nation, and lived with much more plenty, and with a better retinue, than any other minister of that rank in that court.

They had not been many days in Madrid, when don Lewis sent them the news of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne was fled into Flanders: so much had the cardinal improved his condition from the time that they had left Paris. There was yet no house provided for them, which they took very heavily, and believed that it might advance the business, if they had once a public reception as ambassadors, and therefore they resolved to demand an audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised, that the ambassadors had prepared mourning for themselves and all their train against the audience, which was true, for they thought it the most proper dress for them to appear in, and to demand assistance to revenge the murder of their master, it being yet within the year; but don Lewis sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole court was *in gala* upon the joy of the marriage of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful reception, they could not dishonour the festival by appearing *in lute*, which the king could not but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought fit to advertise them of, out of friendship, and without any authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair which seemed to have somewhat of reason of it, as out of apprehension that from hence they might take occasion to defer their audience, they changed their purpose, and caused new clothes to be made, and then sent to demand their audience; upon the subject whereof, and what followed of the negociation, the relation shall be continued.

It may not be thought unnatural or impertinent to the work in hand, to make this digression upon this embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, and to make a short description of their reception in that court, of the formality and constitution of it, and of the nature and humour of that people, which seem foreign to the affairs of England. But since the king, after his leaving Paris, remained in Jersey for many months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to him to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no action or counsel to be mentioned at present, and this being the first and the only embassy, in which his majesty's person was represented, until his blessed return into England, (for though some other persons were afterwards sent to other princes, with commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that character, nor were treated as such in any other court in Christendom, Spain only excepted,) it may therefore be reasonably thought a material part of this history even to give such a relation of

this negotiation, that it may appear what sense other kings and princes had of those revolutions in England, and of the miserable condition to which this young innocent prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible, in which it was to be represented, and to which it was very hard to avoid giving some categorical answer; and every circumstance of their reception and treatment serves to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation thereof.

Before their audience, (which they importuned for, before they could procure any house to be assigned for their habitation, as that which would, as it did, accelerate the other,) don Lewis de Haro sent them word of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne had made his escape into Flanders; the news whereof gave that court much trouble; for they had promised themselves a better harvest from that seed, which they had carefully and industriously sown, and that the cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would be totally suppressed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a peace, which was no less desired in France than in Spain; or that those princes, and all their dependants, would appear in arms in that kingdom; by which they should be able to recover much of what they had lost in Flanders; the hopes of either of which appeared now blasted by this unexpected and unfear'd power of the cardinal.

Upon the day assigned for the audience, it being resolved that, when they had ended with the king, they should likewise have their audience with the queen, don Lewis de Haro sent horses to their lodging, for the accommodation of the ambassadors, and their servants: it being the fashion of that court, that the ambassadors ride to their first audience. And so they rode, being attended by all their own servants, and all the English merchants who lived in the town, together with many Irish officers who were in the service of his catholic majesty, all on horseback; so that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of the ambassadors likewise following them. In this manner they came to the court about ten of the clock in the morning, being conducted by [an officer], who had been sent to their lodging, and rode with them to the court.

Through several rooms, where there was only one officer, who attended to open and shut the doors, they came to the room next that where his majesty was; where, after a little stay, whilst their conductor went in and out, they found the king standing upright, with his back against the wall, and the grandees at a distance, in the same posture, against the wall. When they had made their several respects, and came to the king, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover. The lord Cottington spoke only general things, "of the confidence the king had in his majesty's kindness, and that he believed his condition such, as that all the kings of the world were concerned to vindicate the wrong he sustained: that this was the first embassy he had sent, relying more upon the honour of his majesty's nature and generosity, than upon any other prince;" with discourses of the same nature: then they presented their credentials.

The king expressed a very tender sense of the king's condition, and acknowledged "that it concerned all kings to join together for the punishment of such an impious rebellion and parricide; and if his own affairs would permit it, he would be the first that would undertake it; but that they could not but know how full his hands were; and whilst he had so powerful an adversary to contend with, he could hardly defend himself; but that when there should be a peace with France," (which he desired,) "the king, his sobrino," (for so he still called the king, his nephew,) "should find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his assistance and relief." After the formal part was over, the king asked many questions, most with reference to his sister, the queen of France; and discoursed very intelligently of every thing; so that his defects proceeded only from the laziness of his mind, not from any want of understanding; and he seemed then, when he was about eight and forty years of age, to have great vigour of body, having a clear ruddy complexion; yet he had been accustomed to fevers from his debauches with women, by which he was much wasted.

From the king they were conducted to the queen; who used very few words, and spoke so low, that she could scarce be heard; she stood, in the same manner the king did, against a wall, and her ladies on both sides as the grandees did; the infanta at a little distance from her, to whom likewise they passed a compliment from their master. The queen was then about eighteen years of age, not tall, round faced, and inclined to be fat. The infanta was much lower, as she ought to be by her age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of art, which every one else in the room, the queen herself, was beholden to; and she was then the fullest of spirit and wit of any lady in Spain, which she had not improved afterwards, when she had more years upon her. Their audience ended, they returned, and in a few days after made all their visits, as well to don Lewis and to all the other counsellors as to the ambassadors; and at last they had a house provided for them in the Calle de Alcala, belonging to the marquis of Villa Magna, to whom the king paid four hundred pounds sterling by the year; a good house, wherein three grandees had lived; and yet, after it was put into their hands, they were compelled to defer their remove for at least a week, to devise a place where to make a kitchen, there being no chimney in the house, but in the garrets, and of those not one big enough to roast a joint of meat; but rather hearths, upon which several pipkins might be set together, according to the custom and manner of living there in the greatest families. So that there being a stable adjoining to the house, they were compelled to build a chimney and ovens there, which accommodated them well. All the rooms of reception and entertainment were well furnished out of the king's wardrobe, with tapestry-hangings and chairs, which were changed upon the change of the season, with a cloth of state, and two very good beds for the ambassadors themselves; but they were put to hire all beds and other necessities for the accommodation of their retinue and servants. The king's coach always waited upon them at their door. So that they began to be at much more ease, and looked more like ambassa-

dors than they had done, and began to think of their negociation; and in regard that they had no servant who understood any thing of the court, to be sent up and down to demand audiences, and who understood what form and method was to be observed at home upon the reception of visits, and to advise the servants how they were to behave themselves on those occasions, they entertained Christopher Winnebank, a younger son of secretary Winnebank, to serve them. He had been bred at Magdalen College in Oxford, and sent from thence, when he was a young man, by his father, into Spain to understand that court under the countenance of the lord ambassador Hopton, who received him into his house as a friend for his father's sake; where he lived, made much of, till, according to the custom of his family, he fell in love with a woman, who deprived him of the conveniency he had of living in the ambassador's house, and brought him no other way of subsistence; so that his father's misfortune falling out about the same time, he was reduced to poverty, having only by change of his religion made himself the more capable of receiving obligation from the court, which, in regard of former good offices they had received from his father, promised him some pension, which they did not pay; so that this relation to the ambassadors was very welcome and convenient to him; and his service was useful to them, being a perfect Spaniard, and an honest man. Sir Benjamin's kindness was still very necessary to them; for as they had intrusted him to receive their money which was returned from Antwerp, so he issued it out to the major-domo as there was occasion, and contracted with the dispensers, and did many other good offices for them: which good intelligence continued between them during the time of their stay there.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of the state of that court at this time, and of the kingdom, that it may be the less wondered at, that an embassy, which had no other end than to procure relief and support for a distressed prince, had no better effect.

The council of state at this time consisted of don Lewis de Haro, the duke de Medina de los Torres, duke de Mounterey, marquis of Castille Roderigo, marquis de Vall-Periso, the conde of Castriho, and don Francisco de Melo; there were no more residing in that court then; the duke de Medina Celi residing constantly at his government of St. Lucar; the marquis of Leganez being general against Portugal, and so remained at Badajoz, and came seldom to Madrid; and the duke of Arcos stood confined to his house, since the defection of Naples when it was under his government; and the conde de Pignoranda [was] not yet come out of Flanders.

Don Lewis was as absolute a favourite in the eyes of his master, had as entire a disposal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age: nor was any thing transacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination: and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did so little alone, or seemed less to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the most ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal consultation with the rest

of the council; which hindered despatch, and made his parts the more suspected, and his power the more grumbled and murmured at. He was son of the marquis of Carpio, who had married the sister of Olivarez, and had been before his favours put about the person of the king, being about the same age with his majesty, and had so grown up in his affection, and was not thought to have been displeased at the disgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not succeed in that in many years, nor seemed to be concerned in any business till after the death of the then queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the king's affection, who had a great kindness for his person, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in business. His education had not fitted him for it, and his natural parts were not sharp, yet his industry was great, and the more commendable, because his nature had some repugnancy to it, and his experience had so fitted him for it, that he never spoke impertinently, and discoursed reasonably and weightily upon all subjects. He was of a melancholic complexion; seldom smiled, and was very hypochondriack; which, it may be, was the reason that he did not trust himself in himself, which was his defect. He seemed to be a very honest and well natured man, and did very rarely manifest his power in acts of oppression, or hardheartedness; which made him grateful enough to most particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French cardinals; who were successively favourites during his administration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind him much improved by his own industry: yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before; and that less was done with the consumption of so much money, than might have been expected. But it must be likewise considered, that he entered upon that administration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loss of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made such a rent in that diadem, as would have required more than an ordinary statesman to have soldered it again, and make it flourish as before.

The duke of Medina de los Torres was a cadet of the house of Gusmann, whom for that reason the duke of Olivarez, who was of the same family, had made choice [of] to continue his house, by giving him his only daughter in marriage, and raised him to be a duke and grandee, made him *sumiller de corps*, (which is groom of the stole with us, and the second, if not the first place in the court,) and then sent him viceroy into Naples; where burying his wife without child, he married again the princess of Aviliana, an inheritrix of that kingdom, of a great fortune, by whom he had children, and so the alliance and friendship with the condé duke expired. He was of a free and lively humour, unlike the Spaniards, and addicted to all kinds of debauchery alike, whereas they are usually indulgent but to one. He neither depended upon nor loved don Lewis, being as unlike him in his nature and humour as in his complexion, and had power enough with the king to do his own business, which was only to provide for his vast expenses, and being indeed the king's greatest confidant in his walks of liberty, and so

never crossed don Lewis in the general managery, and seldom came to council, except he was sent for, there being likewise great suits between don Lewis and him about some estate of the duke of Olivarez, which kept them from any intimate correspondence. He was a man of parts, and wanted nothing to be a very good statesman but application, and he was industriously without that. The duke of Monterey had married another of the sisters of the condé duke, and had been ambassador in Rome, and viceroy of Naples, and was now president de consejo de Italia, which is one of the greatest offices. He was esteemed a good man. He was slow, both by his nature and by his infirmities, being in a consumption, and spoke not to be heard at any distance. He was of great courtesy, and believed to be of great judgment, and on which don Lewis depended more than any other man's. The marquis of Castille Roderigo was the son of that Juan de Mora the Portugueze, who was secretary to Philip the Second, and was owner to a very great estate in Portugal, of which he was dispossessed entirely from the time of the general defection of that kingdom, and was now major-domo in that court, which is the greatest office. He had been ambassador in Rome, and afterwards governor of the Low Countries. He was a man of long experience, (his son being then ambassador in the emperor's court, and had treated the marriage of the king,) and much esteemed by the king and don Lewis, but a man of mean natural parts, and by his age peevish. He had been corrupted, during the time of his government in Flanders, by his correspondence with don Alonzo de Cardinas, in his affection towards the king, and in his understanding [of] the affairs of England; so that he was looked upon as the author of those disrespects which the ambassadors had undergone. However he made great professions to them of a desire to serve his majesty; but he died during the time of their stay at Madrid. The marquis of Vall-Periso was an old man, who was for the most part kept in his bed or in his chamber by the gout, so that he was seldom at the council, but his judgment much esteemed. He had formerly had a command of horse in Flanders: and there was a marvellous difference between those men who had ever employment out of Spain, and those whose education and business had been only in Spain. He was a grave man, very civil, and esteemed for his wisdom and integrity, and thought to have good affection for the king, (our master,) and a great detestation of the rebels in England; but his age and infirmities kept him too much within doors to have a notable influence upon their counsels. The condé de Castrilio was the younger brother of the marquis de Carpio, the father of don Lewis, otherwise of no kind of kin to his nephew. He had been bred up in the study of the law in Salamanca, where he had been eminent; and upon his stock in that knowledge came early into that court, and was so much trusted by the late queen, after the disgrace of the condé duke, to which he was thought to have contributed very much, that if she had lived, and held that power which she had newly got, he was very like to be the first minister; which did him no good when he missed it. He was presidente de las Indias, which is one of the greatest offices, and without comparison of the greatest benefit. He was a man of great parts, and a very wise man, grave and eloquent in his

discourse, and was thought to understand the state of Spain better than any man. He lived within himself, as if he had a mind to be rich, and by the prejudice don Lewis had towards him, he had not that authority with the king that he deserved to have. Don Francisco de Melo was a cadet of that family in Portugal, and coming young from thence into the court, and being of sharp and quick parts, and having seen other countries, grew into great reputation there, which was not much clouded by the rebellion of the other kingdom, where he had a small estate, and in Spain a great one: he had been viceroy in several kingdoms, and governor in Flanders, where he lost the battle of Rocroix to the prince of Condé. He was a wise man, and much trusted by don Lewis; yet he had no reputation of integrity, and was thought to affect being rich by what means soever.

The ambassadors had not been there long, when the conde of Pignoranda returned thither from his negociation in the treaty of Munster. He had been declared to be of the consejo de estado, after he had made that peace with Holland, and was admitted to it as soon as he returned. He was conde in the right of his wife only; and before, being of a good family, don Diego de Brachamonte, and bred in the study of the law, was looked upon as a good man of business, and so employed in matters of greatest trust. He was indeed a man of great parts, and understood the affairs of the world better than any man in that court, but was proud, to the height of his nation, and retained too much of the pedantry which he had brought with him from Salamanca. As soon as he returned, according to the method of that court upon great and successful employments, the presidentship de los ordines, an office of great reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The ambassadors found no benefit by his arrival, coming from Brussels, which was thoroughly infected by don Alonzo. The truth is, don Alonzo, who had no affection for the king, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into England, and liked well his employment and residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the king's condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and therefore that all civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a king [of England], in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambassadors, after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience with the king, and desired, "that he would appoint commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the alliance between the two crowns, which had been provided for by the last treaty to be renewed within so many months after the death of either king, and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in arms and money, as his catholic majesty would think [proper] to send to their master into Ireland," (whither one of the ambassadors desired to hasten his journey as soon as might be: and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his catholic majesty, they had desired likewise "that he would write to Owen O'Neile to dispose him to submit to the king, since his standing out did

"only weaken the catholic party, and would make them less united to oppose the parliament, whereby their own destruction would inevitably follow, as well as irreparable damage to the king their master," they received shortly after an answer, sent to them by don Francisco de Melo, who told them, "that the king had sent him to them, to confer with them upon the substance of their last memorial. He said, the king did not think it necessary to appoint any committee to renew the last treaty of peace; which was still in force, and might well be observed between the two nations; and that the renewing might be deferred till the times should mend;" implying very little less than that when the king should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He said, "he was ready to receive any propositions from them, wherein they might more particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to Owen O'Neile," (whom he called don Eugenio,) "he had so misbehaved himself towards his catholic majesty, by leaving his service in Flanders, and transporting himself into Ireland without his license, that his majesty could not in honour write to him; but that he would take such care, that he should know it would be agreeable to his majesty's good liking, that he betook himself to the service of the king of Great Britain without reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it:" which method they did conceive was proposed, because they should believe that the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion; whereas at the same time don Diego de la Torre was with the Irish as resident or envoy from Spain.

This answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private, as arms, and ammunition, and a small supply of money for the king's subsistence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the chancellor of the exchequer, who was designed by the king to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not present his memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the court any farther trouble by audiences, and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concerns in their own country. The chancellor betook himself to the learning the language by reading their books, of which he made a good collection, and informing himself the best he could of the government and the administration of their justice; and there began his devotion upon the Psalms, which he finished in another banishment.

Whilst they were in this impatient expectation to hear from the king, who yet remained at Jersey, by which they might take their own resolutions, prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; which he had brought from Ireland; and had sent a letter on shore to be sent to the chancellor of the exchequer, one of the ambassadors; which the officer upon the place sent presently to don Lewis de Haro; who, in the

same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The prince writ him word, "that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland, and that he had received an assurance from Portugal, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which he was resolved, after he had attended some days to meet with any English ships that might be prize, to go for Lisbon; and desired him to procure orders from the court, that he might find a good reception in all the ports of Spain, if his occasions brought him thither." The ambassadors sent immediately for an audience to don Lewis; who received them with open arms, and another kind of countenance than he had ever done before. A fleet of the king of England, under the command of a prince of the blood, upon the coast of Spain, at a season of the year when they expected the return of their galleons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the people, and the court received the news of it with disorder enough. All that the ambassadors asked was granted without hesitation; and letters were despatched away that very night (copies whereof were sent to the ambassadors) by several expresses, to all the governors of the ports, and other officers, for the good reception of prince Rupert, or any ships under his command, if they came into any of the ports; and for the furnishing them with any provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly clauses as could have been inserted if the king had been in possession of his whole empire: so great an influence a little appearance of power had upon their spirits; and the ambassadors found they lived in another kind of air than they had done, and received every day visits and caresses from the court, and from those in authority.

But the government of these benign stars was very short: within few days after, they received news, "that the prince, with the gross of his fleet, was gone into the river of Lisbon, and that a squadron of four or five ships, under the command of captain Allen, being severed from the prince by a storm, was driven upon the rocks at Carthagen; where the people of the country had treated them very rudely, and seized both upon the ships, and persons of the men, and the storm continuing had wrecked two or three of their vessels in the road, though the guns and all things in the ships were saved." When the ambassadors demanded justice, "and that restitution might be made of all those goods, and ordnance, and rigging of the ships, which not only the people, but the governors, and officers themselves had seized upon," they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the men at liberty, and re-delivery of the goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their vessels, and transport their men.

But as these orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and colonel Popham then appeared upon the coast in the head of a stronger fleet sent out by the parliament, which came into the road of St. Andero's; from whence he writ a very insolent letter in English to the king of Spain; wherein he required, "that none of those ships under the com-

“mand of prince Rupert, and which had revolted
 “from the parliament, and were in rebellion
 “against it, might be received into any of the
 “ports of Spain, and that those ships which were
 “in the ports of Carthagená might be delivered
 “to him, and the ordnance and tackling of the
 “other which were wrecked might be carefully
 “kept, and be delivered to such person as should
 “be authorized to receive the same by the com-
 “monwealth of England; to whom they be-
 “longed:” and concluded, “that as the common-
 “wealth of England was willing to live in amity
 “and good intelligence with his catholic majesty,
 “so they knew very well how to do themselves
 “right for any injury, or discourtesy, which they
 “should sustain.”

This imperious style made such an impression upon the court, that all the importunity the ambassadors could use could get nothing done at Carthagená in pursuance of the orders they had sent from the court; but the poor men were, after long attendance, forced to transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over land, and were compelled to list themselves in the Spanish service at land; where they, for the most part, perished; care being in the mean time taken, that Popham should be received in all places, with all possible demonstration of respect and kindness; and the king sent him a ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds. In this triumph he sailed from thence into Portugal, and dropped his anchors in the river of Lisbon, at a very small distance from the fleet of prince Rupert; and suffered not any ship to enter into that river; but denounced war against that kingdom, if that fleet were not presently delivered up into his hands.

The Portuguese had received prince Rupert very civilly, bought all the prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free use of all their ports, and furnished him with all things which he stood in need of. The queen, and the prince of Portugal then living, who was a young man of great hope and courage, made great professions of friendship to our king, and of a desire to assist him by all the ways and means which could be proposed to them. But when their river was blocked up, their ships taken, and the whole kingdom upon the matter besieged by Popham, of which they knew the Spaniard would quickly make use, the council was astonished, and knew not what to do: their free trade with England was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they should be deprived of that, they should not be able to preserve it any where else; which would put the whole kingdom into a flame; and therefore they besought their king, “that prince Rupert might be desired to leave the river, and
 “to carry his fleet from thence;” which was not possible for him to do without fighting with the enemy, to whom he was much inferior in strength of shipping, and number of men, by the loss he had sustained at Carthagená.

The prince of Portugal had so great indignation at this overture made by the council, that he declared “he would have all the ships in the port
 “made ready, and would himself go on board,
 “and join with prince Rupert, and so fight the
 “English, and drive them from thence:” and he manifested a great desire to do so; but the council prevailed with the queen not to consent to

that. So that in the end, after many months’ stay there, and the fleet being fully supplied with whatever it stood in need of, prince Rupert found it necessary, upon the assurance the Portuguese gave him that Popham should not follow him till after two tides, to set sail and leave that kingdom; which he did with so full a gale, that Popham, after so long a stay, found it to no purpose to follow him; but took full vengeance upon Portugal for rescuing his prey from him; until they were compelled, after great sufferings, to purchase their peace from Cromwell upon very hard conditions.

It seemed no good sign to the ambassadors that prince Rupert had left Ireland; where there were so many good ports, and where the fleet had been so necessary for the carrying on his majesty’s service. But, in a short time after, they received advertisement, “that the king had laid aside his
 “purpose of going thither, and had taken new
 “resolutions.” Before the marquis of Ormond could draw his army together, Cromwell had besieged Tredagh: and though the garrison was so strong in point of number, and that number of so choice men, that they could wish for nothing more than that the enemy would attempt to take them by storm, the very next day after he came before the town he gave a general assault, and was beaten off with considerable loss. But, after a day more, he assaulted it again in two places, with so much courage, that he entered in both; and though the governor and some of the chief officers retired in disorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear so possessed the soldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter: so that the enemy entered the works without resistance, and put every man, governor, officer, and soldier, to the sword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garrison, and all the citizens who were Irish, man, woman, and child, to the sword; and there being three or four officers of name, and of good families, who had found some way, by the humanity of some soldiers of the enemy, to conceal themselves for four or five days, being afterwards discovered, they were butchered in cold blood.

This insupportable loss took away all hopes from the marquis of Ormond of drawing an army strong enough, and resolute enough, together, to meet Cromwell in the field, during the summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into those quarters, where, in respect of the necessary passes, he might be secure, and from whence he might attempt upon the enemy. Cromwell in the mean time took no rest, but, having made himself terrible by that excess of rigour and cruelty, marched into Munster against the lord Inchiquin, and that body of English which was under his command. Here he defied fortune again; and marched so far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reasonable hope to receive supplies, that he must necessarily have been starved, and could not have retired, all the bridges over which he had passed being broken down, if the city of Cork, which he could not have forced, had not been by the garrison basely delivered up to him; those officers who had been most obliged to the lord Inchiquin, and in whom he had most con-

fidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him : so that by the example of Cork, and by the terror of Tredagh, the whole province of Munster in a very short time fell into his hands, except some few towns and sea-ports, which, being garrisoned by the Irish, would, neither officers nor soldiers, receive or obey any orders which were sent from the lord of Ormond. The king receiving information of this at Jersey, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into Ireland ; and dismissed the two ships, which, by the direction of the prince of Orange, had attended so long at St. Maloes, to have wafted him thither.

Though duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lauderdale, and the other Scottish lords, who remained in Holland when the king came into France, durst not return into their own country, yet they held intelligence with their party there. And though the marquis of Argyle had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of the whole nation, to have their king come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the people were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the king ; and that the government he was then possessed of could not be lasting, except he had another force to defend him, than that of his own nation. And he durst not receive any from Cromwell, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the king into Scotland, and keeping the Hamiltonian faction from entering with him, by the sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the king to submit to the covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time established ; and if his majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he would be sure to keep the power in himself under the king's name, and might reasonably hope that Cromwell, who made no pretence to Scotland, might be well enough pleased that his majesty might remain there under his government, and assurance, that he should not give England or Ireland any disturbance.

Upon this presumption, he wished the council of Scotland, and that committee of the parliament in whom the authority was vested, to send again to the king, (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of Jersey,) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions ; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the people did so passionately desire, he renewed all the solemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the king to come amongst them, but upon his first submitting to and performing all those conditions. And all those things being thus settled, and agreed, they sent a gentleman with letters into Jersey, to invite his majesty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he would receive. The lords, who are mentioned before to be then in Holland, were glad of this advance ; and believed that if the king were there, they should easily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the prince of Orange, to write very earnestly to the king, and to recommend it to the queen ;

and themselves made great instance to the queen, with whom they had much credit, " that the king " would not lose this opportunity to improve his " condition." Nobody presumed to advise him to submit to all that was proposed ; and yet it was evident, that if he did not submit to all, he could have the benefit of none ; but " that he " should make such an answer as might engage " the Scots in a treaty, for the king's better in- " formation, and satisfaction in some particulars : " which being done, he should imply a purpose " to transport his person thither."

The spring was now coming on, and though Jersey was a convenient place to retire to, in order to consider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reside in, nor would be longer safe, than whilst the parliament had so much else to do, that it could not spare where-withal to reduce it. The design for Ireland was at an end, and the despair of being welcome in any other place compelled the king to think better of Scotland ; and so, according to the advice he had received, he returned an answer to the message he had received, " that there were many " particulars contained in the propositions which " he did not understand, and which it was neces- " sary for him to be advised in ; and, in order " thereunto, and that he might be well informed " and instructed in what so nearly concerned " him, he resolved, by such a time, which was " set down, to find himself in Holland ; where he " desired to meet such persons as his kingdom of " Scotland would send to him, and to confer, and " treat, and agree with those upon all things that " might give his subjects of that kingdom satis- " faction ; which his majesty did very much " desire to do."

The queen had so good an opinion of many of the Scottish lords, and so ill a one of many of the English who were about the king, (in truth, she had so entire a despair of all other ways,) that she was very desirous that the overtures from Scotland should be hearkened to, and embraced : besides that she found her authority was not so great with the king, as she expected, she saw no possibility that they might be long together : she knew well that the court of France, that grew every day into a closer correspondence with Cromwell, would not endure that the king should make his residence in any part of that kingdom, and so shortened the assignations which they had made for her own support, that she was at no ease, and begun to think of dissolving her own family, and of her own retiring into a monastery ; which from that time she practised by degrees : and, no doubt, that consideration which made most impression upon the king, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him most from complying with the Scots' demands, which was the alteration it would make in religion, and the government of the church, seemed not to her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences ; nor did she prefer the glory of the church of England before the sordidness of the kirk of Scotland, but thought it the best expedient to advance her own religion, that the latter should triumph over the former. She therefore writ earnestly to the king her son, " that he would " entertain this motion from Scotland, as his " only refuge ; and that he would invite commis- " sioners to meet him in Holland, in such a

"place as the prince of Orange should advise;" and desired that, "in his passage thither, he would appoint some place where her majesty would meet him; that they might spend some days together in consultation upon what might concern them jointly." In all which his majesty complying, the city of Beauvais in Picardy was appointed for the interview; where both their majesties met, and conversed together three or four days; and then the queen returned to Paris, and the king passed through Flanders to Breda; which the prince of Orange thought to be the fittest place for the treaty, the States having no mind that the king should come any more to the Hague.

The Scottish commissioners came to Breda with the very same propositions which had been formerly sent, and without the least mitigation, and as positive an exception to persons: so that if the king should incline to go thither, he must go without any one chaplain of his own: there were ministers sent from Scotland to attend, and to instruct him. His majesty must not carry with him any one counsellor, nor any person who had ever served his father in the war against the parliament. And, that nobody might have cause to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worse treated than they had reason to expect, the king himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any man justly except against any thing that was afterwards done to him.

Here was no great argument for consultation: no man had so ill an understanding, as not to discern the violence that was offered to honour, justice, and conscience; yet whoever objected against what was proposed, upon any of those considerations, was looked upon as a party, because he himself could not be suffered to attend the king. It was thought to be of great weight, that they who dissuaded the king from going into Scotland, upon those rude and barbarous terms, could not propose any thing else for him to do, nor any place where he might securely repose himself, with any hope of subsistence: a very sad state for a prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifest enough, that the kings of the earth are not such a body as is sensible of the indignity and outrage that is offered to any limb of it. The Scottish lords were thought to be the most competent counsellors, since they, by going, were to be exposed to great rigour, and to undergo the severest part of all censures. They could not sit in the parliament, nor in the council, and knew well that they should not be suffered to be about the person of the king: yet all these resolved to wait upon him, and persuaded him to believe, "that his majesty's presence would dissipate those clouds; and that a little time would produce many alterations, which could not be presently effected." For his majesty's signing the covenant, "he should tell the commissioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of it; and that if then the kirk should press it upon him, he would give them satisfaction. And they were confident, that, after he should be there, he should be no more importuned in it, but that even the churchmen themselves would contend to make themselves gracious to him."

This kind of argumentation wrought much with the prince of Orange, but more with the duke of Buckingham, who had waited upon the king from the time of his adventure with the earl of Holland, (against whose person there was no exception,) and with Wilmot, and Wentworth, (who resolved to go with his majesty, and would submit to any conditions, which would be required of them,) and with others about the king, who could not digest the covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promises those Scottish lords made to them, who were like to grow into authority again when they should be once in their native air and upon their own soil, prevailed with them to use all their credit with the king to embark himself, and try how propitious fortune would be to him in Scotland. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a strong despair of any other expedient, prevailed so far with his majesty, that he resolved, upon what terms soever, to embark himself, in Holland, upon a fleet which the prince of Orange provided for him; and so with all the Scottish, and very few English servants, to set sail for Scotland.

There were two very strong arguments, which made deep impression on those lords who very vehemently dissuaded, and ever protested against his majesty's going for Scotland, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the highest importance, they could not make use of to convert others, especially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The first, "that the expedition of duke Hamilton the year before, with an army as numerous, and much better furnished, and provided, than Scotland could in many years be again enabled to send out, made it manifest enough, how little that nation, how united soever, could prevail against the force of England:" the other, "that the whole and absolute power of Scotland being, at that time, confessedly vested in the marquis of Argyle, it might reasonably be feared, and expected, that the king should no sooner arrive there, and the least appearance be discovered of such resolutions, or alterations in the affections of the people, upon which the Hamiltonian faction wholly and solely depended, but Argyle would immediately deliver up the person of the king into the hands of Cromwell; and, with the assistance he would willingly give, make that kingdom tributary or subservient to him, whilst the king remained his prisoner, and Argyle continued his vicegerent in Scotland." No doubt these objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of apprehension, by many men, who were not blinded with passion, or amazed with despair: and though they were not able to give any other counsel, what course the king might steer with reasonable hope and security, they might yet warrantably dissuade his exposing himself to so many visible dangers as that voyage was subject to both at sea and land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of king, in what obscurity soever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of king in any of his own dominions; which was the best that could reasonably be expected from the conditions which were imposed upon him; to which he was compelled to submit.

When the ambassadors who were in Spain expected every day to hear of his majesty's being arrived in Ireland, and had thereupon importuned that court for a despatch, the king gave them notice of this his resolution, and directed them "to remain where they were, till he could better judge of his own fortune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the king should ever venture himself in the hands of that nation, which had treated his father so perfidiously. And they were now necessitated to stay there, where they had received so little encouragement, and had no reason to expect more, yet they knew not whither else to go. They therefore resolved to set the best face they could upon it, and desired an audience from the king: in which they told his catholic majesty, "that they had received letters from the king their master; who commanded them to inform his majesty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good fortune that befell him, that it had now pleased God to work so far upon the hearts and affections of his subjects of Scotland, that they had given over all those factions and animosities, which had heretofore divided them, and made them rather instruments of mischiefs than benefit to his blessed father, and to himself: that they were now sensible of all those miscarriages, and had sent unanimously to entreat his majesty to come into that kingdom, and to take them all into his protection: with which his majesty was so well satisfied, that he had laid aside the thought of transporting himself into Ireland; which he had intended to do; and was gone into Scotland; where the kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could visit England, or Ireland, as he found it most convenient: and that he had reason to believe, that his friends in either of the kingdoms would quickly appear in arms, when they were sure to be so powerfully assisted, and seconded." And they said, "they would, from time to time, inform his majesty of the good success that should fall out." The king professed "to be very glad of this good news; and that they should assure the king their master, that he would be always ready to make all the demonstration of a brotherly affection that the ill condition of his own affairs would permit; and that, if it pleased God to give a peace to the two crowns, the world should see how forward he would be to revenge the wrong and indignity the king of Great Britain had undergone."

Though the ambassadors themselves were afflicted with the news of his majesty's being gone for Scotland, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that people, yet they found his majesty was much the more esteemed in this court by it. He was before looked upon as being dispossessed and disinherited of all his dominions, as if he had no more subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole kingdom, in which no man appeared in arms against him, a kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike people, which had borne good parts in all the wars of Europe in this age, and had been more celebrated in them than the English had been,

was a happy advance, and administered reasonable hope that he might be established in the other two kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous army on foot at that very time: so that the ambassadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the English merchants who lived in the ports of Spain, as they had sometimes occasion to do, upon taxes and impositions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties which had been made, and which they said were still in force, they were heard with respect; the merchants were relieved; and many favours were done to particular persons upon their desires and interposition: so that they were not so much out of countenance as they had been, and all men spoke with more freedom and detestation against the rebellion in England, and the barbarity thereof, than they had used to do.

There fell out at this time, and before the king left Holland, an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the king should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his majesty from that northern expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the king, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that people, as it shortly after proved to be. When the king had left Holland, the summer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his commission to the marquis of Mountrose, to gather such a force together, as by the help of the northern princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of success, sent several officers who had served in Germany, and promised very much, to draw such troops together as they should be enabled to do, and himself, with a great train of officers and servants, went for Hamburg; which he appointed for the rendezvous for all these troops, and from whence he could in the mean time visit such courts of the neighbour princes and states, as he should be encouraged to do; and keep such intelligence with his friends in Scotland, as should provide for his reception.

Besides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the ambassador Wolfelte, to expect good supplies in Denmark, there were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottish nation, who were grown rich, and lived in plenty in that kingdom. With the principal of them, the marquis had held correspondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themselves, "that if the marquis engaged himself in the king's service in the kingdom of Scotland, they would give him notable assistance in money, arms, and men." In a word, he sent, or went in person, to both those kingdoms; where he found the performance very disproportionable to their promises. Queen Christina had received an ambassador from England with wonderful civility and grace, and expressed a great esteem of the person of Cromwell, as a man of glorious achievements; and before she resigned the crown, which she shortly after did, she engaged it in a fast alliance with the new commonwealth, and disposed her successor to look upon it as a neces-

sary support to his crown. In Denmark, the marquis found good wishes enough, a hearty detestation of all the villanies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wishes for the advancement and prosperity of the king's affairs; but the kingdom itself was very poor, and full of discontent, the king not so much esteemed, because not so much feared, as his father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreasonable concessions to Holland, that he might have assistance from them, to protect him from those assaults and invasions which were threatened from Sweden. So that the marquis was obliged to return to Hamburg, with very small supplies, from either or both those kingdoms: and there he received no better account from those officers who had been sent into Germany. His design had always been to land in the Highlands of Scotland, before the winter season should be over, both for the safety of his embarkation, and that he might have time to draw those people together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it should be known at Edinburgh that he was landed in the kingdom. He had, by frequent messages, kept a constant correspondence with those principal heads of the clans who were most powerful in the Highlands, and were of known or unsuspected affection to the king, and advertised them of all his motions and designs. And by them advertised those of the Lowlands of all his resolutions; who had promised, upon the first notice of his arrival, to resort with all their friends and followers to him.

Whether these men did really believe, that their own strength would be sufficient to subdue their enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over troops of foreigners would lessen the numbers and affections of the natives, they did write very earnestly to the marquis, "to hasten his coming over with officers, arms, and ammunition; for which he should find hands enough;" and gave him notice, "that the committee of estates at Edinburgh had sent again to the king to come over to them; and that the people were so impatient for his presence, that Argyle was compelled to consent to the invitation." It is very probable that this made the greatest impression upon him. He knew very well how few persons there were about the king, who were like to continue firm in those principles, which could only confirm his majesty in his former resolutions against the persuasions and importunities of many others, who knew how to represent to him the desperateness of his condition any other way, than by repairing into Scotland upon any conditions. Mountrose knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, they were both equally his implacable enemies; so that which soever prevailed, he should be still in the same state, the whole kirk, of what temper soever, being alike malicious to him; and hearing likewise of the successive misfortunes in Ireland, he concluded, the king would not trust himself there. Therefore, upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from Germany and those northern princes would not increase the strength he had already, he caused, in the depth of the winter, those soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be embarked,

and sent officers with them, who knew the country, with directions that they should land in such a place in the Highlands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or sent them orders. And then in another vessel, manned by people well known to him, and commanded by a captain very faithful to the king, and who was well acquainted with that coast, he embarked himself, and near one hundred officers, and landed in another creek, not far from the other place, whither his soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other party were set safely on shore in the places they designed; from whence the marquis himself with some servants, and officers, repaired presently to the house of a gentleman of quality, with whom he had corresponded, who expected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himself to be in security till he might put his affairs in some method: and therefore ordered his other small troops to contain themselves in those uncouth quarters, in which they were, and where they were not like to be disturbed by the visitation of any enemy.

After he had stayed there a short time, it being in March about the end of the year 1649, [O. S.] he quickly possessed himself of an old castle; which, in respect of the situation in a country so impossible for any army to march in, he thought strong enough for his purpose: thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops, which he had brought with him. And then he published his declaration, "that he came with the king's commission, to assist those his good subjects, and to preserve them from oppression: that he did not intend to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard was entered into with his majesty; but, on the contrary, hoped that his being in the head of an army, how small soever, that was faithful to the king, might advance the same. However, he had given sufficient proof in his former actions, that if any agreement were made with the king, upon the first order from his majesty, he should lay down his arms, and dispose himself according to his majesty's good pleasure." These declarations he sent to his friends to be scattered by them, and dispersed amongst the people, as they could be able. He writ likewise to those of the nobility, and the heads of the several clans, "to draw such forces together, as they thought necessary to join with him;" and he received answers from many of them, by which they desired him "to advance more into the land," (for he was yet in the remotest parts of Cathness,) and assured him, "that they would meet him with good numbers:" and they did prepare so to do, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.

In this state stood the affair in the end of the year 1649: but because the unfortunate tragedy of that noble person succeeded so soon after, without the intervention of any notable circumstances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be resumed in the proper season; which quickly ensued, in the beginning of the next year. The marquis of Argyle was vigilant enough, to observe the motion of an enemy that was so formidable to him; and had present information of his arrival in the Highlands, and of the small forces which he had brought with him. The parliament was

then sitting at Edinburgh, their messenger being returned to them from Jersey, with an account, "that the king would treat with their commissioners at Breda;" for whom they were preparing their instructions.

The alarm of Mountrose's being landed startled them all, and gave them no leisure to think of any thing else than of sending forces to hinder the recourse of others to join with him. They immediately sent colonel Straghan, a diligent and active officer, with a choice party of the best horse they had, to make all possible haste towards him, and to prevent the insurrections, which they feared would be in several parts of the Highlands. And, within few days after, David Lesley followed with a stronger party of horse and foot. The encouragement the marquis of Mountrose received from his friends, and the unpleasantness of the quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with these few troops, more into the land. And the Highlanders flocking to him from all quarters, though ill armed, and worse disciplined, made him undervalue any enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made such haste, that the earl of Southerland, who at least pretended to have gathered together a body of fifteen hundred men to meet Mountrose, chose rather to join with Straghan: others did the like, who had made the same promises, or stayed at home to expect the event of the first encounter. The marquis was without any body of horse to discover the motion of an enemy, but depended upon all necessary intelligence from the affection of the people; which he believed to be the same it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the tyranny of Argyle, and his having caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of law or justice, who had been in arms with Mountrose, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity, had so broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a small distance of him, before he heard of his approach; and those Highlanders, who had seemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified or corrupted, left him on a sudden, or threw down their arms; so that he had none left, but a company of good officers, and five or six hundred foreigners, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with their officers. With these, he betook himself to a place of some advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the bushes and small shrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for some time with notable courage.

But the enemy being so much superior in number, the common soldiers, being all foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the place, threw down their arms; and the marquis, seeing all lost, threw away his ribbon and George, (for he was a knight of the garter,) and found means to change his clothes with a fellow of the country, and so after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a house of a gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: most of the other officers were shortly after taken prisoners, all the country desiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the house, or any other way, the marquis himself became their prisoner.

The strangers who were taken, were set at liberty, and transported themselves into their own countries; and the castle, in which there was a little garrison, presently rendered itself; so that there was no more fear of an enemy in those parts.

The marquis of Mountrose, and the rest of the prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to David Lesley; who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh; whither notice was quickly sent of their great victory; which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Lesley treated the marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same clothes, and habit, in which he was taken; but at last permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, such as became a great man; his countenance serene and cheerful, as one that was superior to all those reproaches, which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to pass.

When he came to one of the gates of Edinburgh, he was met by some of the magistrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them presently put into a new cart, purposely made, in which there was a high chair, or bench, upon which he sat, that the people might have a full view of him, being bound with a cord drawn over his breast and shoulders, and fastened through holes made in the cart. When he was in this posture, the hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken prisoners with him, walking two and two before the cart; the streets and windows being full of people to behold the triumph over a person whose name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, delivered the keys of that city. In this manner he was carried to the common gaol, where he was received and treated as a common malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the parliament, where the earl of Lowden, the chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent declamation against him: told him, "he had broken all the covenants by which that whole nation stood obliged; and had impiously rebelled against God, the king, and the kingdom; that he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which he was now brought to suffer condign punishment;" with all those insolent reproaches upon his person, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

Permission was then given to him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance, or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffered, he told them, "since the king had owned them so far as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bareheaded, which otherwise he would not have done: that he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent; that the first covenant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, which was now evident to all the world, that private and particular men designed to satisfy their own ambition and in-

terest, instead of considering the public benefit; and that, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, they resolved to abridge and take away the king's just power, and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that engagement: that for the league and covenant, he had never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was now too apparent to the whole Christian world, what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under colour of it, an army from Scotland had invaded England in assistance of the rebellion that was then against their lawful king, he had, by his majesty's command, received a commission from him to raise forces in Scotland, that he might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecution: that he had executed that commission with the obedience and duty he owed to the king; and, in all the circumstances of it, had proceeded like a gentleman; and had never suffered any blood to be shed but in the heat of the battle; and that he saw many persons there, whose lives he had saved: that when the king commanded him, he laid down his arms, and withdrew out of the kingdom; which they could not have compelled him to have done." He said, "he was now again entered into the kingdom by his majesty's command, and with his authority: and what success soever it might have pleased God to have given him, he would always have obeyed any commands he should have received from him." He advised them, "to consider well of the consequence before they proceeded against him, and that all his actions might be examined, and judged by the laws of the land, or those of nations."

As soon as he had ended his discourse, he was ordered to withdraw; and, after a short space, was again brought in; and told by the chancellor, "that he was, on the morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1650, to be carried to Edinburgh cross, and there to be hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a scaffold, and hanged on Edinburgh tollbooth; his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns of the kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place where he was to be executed, except the kirk should take off his excommunication; and then his body might be buried in the common place of burial." He desired, "that he might say somewhat to them;" but was not suffered, and so was carried back to the prison.

That he might not enjoy any ease or quiet during the short remainder of his life, their ministers came presently to insult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and assured him, "that the judgment he was the next day to undergo, was but an easy prologue to that which he was to undergo afterwards." After many such barbarities, they offered to intercede for him to the kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well understood the form of their common prayer, in those cases, to be only the most virulent and insolent imprecations against the persons of those they prayed against, ("Lord, vouchsafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible sinner, this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane person, who refuses to hearken to

"the voice of thy kirk," and the like charitable expressions,) and therefore he desired them "to spare their pains, and to leave him to his own devotions." He told them, "that they were a miserable, deluded, and deluding people; and would shortly bring that poor nation under the most insupportable servitude ever people had submitted to." He told them, "he was prouder to have his head set upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have had his picture hang in the king's bedchamber: that he was so far from being troubled that his four limbs were to be hanged in four cities of the kingdom, that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of the cause for which he suffered."

The next day, they executed every part and circumstance of that barbarous sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest. He magnified the virtue, courage, and religion of the last king, exceedingly commended the justice, and goodness, and understanding of the present king; and prayed, "that they might not betray him as they had done his father." When he had ended all he meant to say, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one scene more to act of their tyranny. The hangman brought the book that had been published of his truly heroic actions, whilst he had commanded in that kingdom, which book was tied in a small cord that was put about his neck. The marquis smiled at this new instance of their malice, and thanked them for it; and said, "he was pleased that it should be there; and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he had been of the garter;" and so renewing some devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the last act of the executioner.

Soon after, the officers who had been taken with him, sir William Urry, sir Francis Hay, and many others, of as good families as any in the kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in several quarters of the kingdom; many of them being suffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to save, one colonel Whitford; who, when he was brought to die, said, "he knew the reason why he was put to death; which was only because he had killed Dorislaus at the Hague;" who was one of those who had joined in the murder of the last king. One of the magistrates, who were present to see the execution, caused it to be suspended, till he presently informed the council what the man had said; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and so preserved the gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that action.

Thus died the gallant marquis of Mountrose, after he had given as great a testimony of loyalty and courage, as a subject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in several battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great disadvantages in respect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whose ancestors had exercised the highest charges under the king in that kingdom, and had been allied to the crown itself. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good

education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the marquis of Argyle, (as he was too apt to condemn those he did not love,) who wanted nothing but honesty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Mountrose was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself which other men were not acquainted with, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity,) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved, and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived.

The king received an account and information of all these particulars, before he embarked from Holland, without any other apology for the affront and indignity to himself, than that they assured him, "that the proceeding against the late marquis of Mountrose had been for his service." They who were most displeased with Argyle and his faction, were not sorry for this inhuman and monstrous prosecution; which at the same time must render him the more odious, and had rid them of an enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they persuaded the king, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the circumstances of it, "that he might sooner take revenge upon that people by a temporary complying with them, and going to them, than staying away, and absenting himself, which would invest them in an absolute dominion in that kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or destroy all those who yet remained faithful to him, and were ready to spend their lives in his service:" and so his majesty pursued his former resolution and embarked for Scotland.

In Ireland, after the massacre of that body of English at Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the towns in Munster, by the officers of the lord Inchiquin, there broke out so implacable a jealousy amongst the Irish against all the English, that no orders of the marquis of Ormond found any obedience, nor could he draw an army together. At the making of the peace, he had consented that the confederate Roman catholics should name a number of the commissioners, by whose orders and ministry all levies of men, and all collections of money, were to be made, according to the directions of the lord lieutenant. And such persons were named, in whose affections, for the most part, the lieutenant was well satisfied, and the rest were such as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain number of these were appointed to be always in the army, and near the person of the lord lieutenant, and the rest in their several stations, where they were most like to advance the service. Many of these commissioners were of the Roman catholic nobility, persons of honour, and very sensible of the weakness, wilfulness, and wickedness of that re-

bellion; and did manifest all possible zeal and affection to the king's service, engaging their persons in all enterprises of danger, and using all possible industry to raise men and money, whereby the lord lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the war in the spring. But many of the other, after those misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally desponded, and rather thought of providing for themselves than for the preservation of the public; or fomented the jealousies which were amongst the Irish, and incensed them against the English, who were still with the lord lieutenant; so that his orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their clergy and friars publicly incensed the people against the articles of the peace, and desired to have an army raised apart under a general of their own.

The lord lieutenant now discovered the reason why Owen O'Neile had refused to consent to the peace which the confederate Roman catholics had made with the king, and kept his army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the lord lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between him and Preston, and the animosity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the marquis of Ormond's transporting himself out of France, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between him and the lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the confederate catholics, the close committee at Westminster sent secret instructions to Monk, who commanded their forces in Ireland, "that he should endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neile, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish;" which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened unto by O'Neile; who presently sent a trusty messenger with such propositions to Monk, as he desired to have granted to him. He offered, "with his army, which should always consist of such a number of horse and foot, and artillery, as should be agreed between them, to serve the parliament; and not to separate from their interest;" and proposed, "that he, and all his party that should adhere to him, should enjoy the exercise of their religion, without any prejudice or disadvantage: that himself might be restored to those lands which his ancestors had been possessed of in Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; and that all those who had or would adhere to him, should be likewise restored to their estates; and that an act of oblivion might be granted." Monk received these propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, "that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, would shock and offend the parliament, and therefore desired they might be altered;" and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concerned the public exercise of their religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "that, if O'Neile would consent to those alterations, he would return the treaty signed by him; which he would immediately send over to the parliament for their confirmation; and that, in the mean time, there might be a cessation of arms between them for three months; in which time,

"and much less, he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the treaty from the parliament."

Owen O'Neile consented to the alterations, set his hand and seal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his consent likewise to the cessation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the confederate council at Kilkenny in the peace with the king. Monk sent it presently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done. But their affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for Ireland; besides, they had not authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the house was on fire; all men inveighed against "the presumption of Monk, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the king himself, to have treated, and made a peace with the Irish rebels: and what would the people think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the parliament? if they should ratify a treaty made by the most notorious of the rebels, and with that people under his command, who were the most notorious contrivers of that rebellion, and the most bloody executioners of it? for the most merciless massacres had been committed in Ulster, by that very people who now constituted that army of which Owen O'Neile was now general." After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, "that they had given no authority to Monk to enter into that treaty; and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the commonwealth, he should be excused; and no farther questioned thereupon." For they knew well, that he could produce such a warrant from those in authority, as would well justify his proceeding: and so the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it; for though the Scots in Ulster had not yet submitted to the peace, and had not received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the lord lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late king, they had used all acts of hostility against the parliament forces, and had besieged Londonderry; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the parliament; which was defended by sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the cessation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and assistance, Londonderry was relieved; and O'Neile, finding himself deluded by the parliament, sent then to offer his service and conjunction to the lord lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity and revenge.

Cromwell made notable use of this animosity between the Irish amongst themselves, and of the jealousy they all appeared to have of the marquis of Ormond, and of those who adhered to him;

and used all the endeavours he could, by some prisoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the marquis, to procure a conference with him. He used to ask in such company, "what the marquis of Ormond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obligations he had ever received from him?" And then would mention the hard measure his grandfather had received from king James, and the many years imprisonment he had sustained by him, for not submitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at last compelled to do. He said, "he was confident, if the marquis and he could meet together, upon conference, they should part very good friends." And many of those with whom he held these discourses, by his permission and license, informed the marquis of all he said; who endeavoured nothing but to put himself into such a posture, as to be able to meet him as he desired to do.

When Cromwell saw that he should be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, besides the army that yet remained under Owen O'Neile, so much disobliged and provoked, there were still vast bodies of the Irish, which might be drawn together into several armies, much greater and superior in number to all his forces, and that they had several great towns and strong holds in their power, he declared a full liberty and authority to all the officers with the Irish, and to all other persons whatsoever, to raise what men they would, and to transport them for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make the best conditions; and gave notice to the Spanish and French ministers, and agents at London, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many officers who had served the king, and remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions with don Alonzo de Cardinas, to raise regiments and transport them into Spain; and many officers, who were already in Spain, as well English as Irish, contracted with the ministers in that court to raise and transport several regiments into that kingdom from Ireland; for which they received very great sums of money in hand; many merchants joining with them in the contract, and undertaking the transportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the sea in the undertaking; insomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland about five and twenty thousand men for the kingdom of Spain; whereof not half were ever drawn into the field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the officers and masters of ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their men at such ports as were assigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the quarters which were appointed, according to the service to which they were designed, either for Catalonia or Portugal, (after they had been long at sea, by which the soldiers, who were crowded more together into one ship than was fit for so long voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown overboard,) as soon as they came upon the coast made all haste to land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their men; by which, in those places that could make resistance, they were not

suffered to land, and in others no provision was made for their reception or march, but very great numbers were starved or knocked in the head by the country people, and few ever came up to the armies, except officers; who flocked to Madrid for the remainder of their monies; where the ministers received them with reproaches for not observing their conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the masters of the ships, what remained to be paid by them. This was the case of too many: though the truth is, where the articles were punctually observed, and the ships arrived in the very ports assigned, by the defect in the orders sent from the court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor men were often kept from disembarking, till some officers went to Madrid, and returned with more positive orders, and afterwards so ill provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipped in Ireland, ever lived to do any service in Spain: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the ministers there should issue out such vast sums in money for the raising of soldiers, and bringing them into the kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the officers, and take so very little care to cherish and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the Irish for the service of Spain, than of France; yet the cardinal employed more active and dexterous instruments to make use of the liberty that was granted, and shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand men at the same time transported out of Ireland into the kingdom of France; of whose behaviour in the one kingdom and the other, there will be abundant argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the king's lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the confederate Roman catholics had made to and with him, could not draw together a body of five thousand men, (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of Cromwell's successes,) Cromwell himself found a way to send above forty thousand men out of that kingdom for service of foreign princes; which were enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restored it to the king's entire obedience.

In England, the spirits of all the loyal party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burdens which were laid upon them by imprisonments, compositions, and sequestrations. Whatever articles they had made in the war, and whatever promises had been made of pardon and indemnity, they were now called upon to finish their composition for their delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the professions and declarations of the army, when it seemed to have pity, and complained of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the king's party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desired might be moderated. But now the mask was off, they sequestered all their estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were

compelled to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their persons were to imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was raised of some plot and conspiracy against the state.

The parliament, which consisted only of those members who had sat in judgment, and had solemnly murdered the king, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approved and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own army which had contributed most to the grandeur and empire of which they were possessed, the levellers. That people had been countenanced by Cromwell to enter into cabals and confederacies to corrupt and dissolve the discipline of the army, and by his artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict union between the parliament and the Scots, and then took the king out of the hands of the parliament, and kept him in the army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his majesty, and his party, than the other did; by them the presbyterians had been affronted and trodden under foot, and the city of London exposed to disgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the treaty of the Isle of Wight; driven out of the parliament, by force of arms, all those who desired peace, and at last executed his barbarous malice upon the sacred person of the king: and when he had applied them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and deprived of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those changes and revolutions which are mentioned; not considering, that the superior officers of the army were now united with the parliament, and concurred entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renewed their former expostulations and demands from the parliament, they were cashiered, and imprisoned, and some of them put to death. Yet after Cromwell, who had persecuted them with great fury, was gone for Ireland, they recovered their courage, and resolved to obtain those concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: and so they mutinied in several parts, upon presumption that those of the army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the parliament no sooner commanded their general Fairfax to suppress them, than he drew troops together, and fell upon them at Banbury, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppressed that faction; and the orders of those at Westminster met with no more opposition.

This was the state and condition of the three

kingdoms when the king embarked himself in Holland for Scotland, and at the end of the year 1649. [Old Style.] And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate actions, we will end this discourse, according to the method

we have used, with this year: though hereafter we shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years, whilst the king rested in a patient expectation of God's blessing and deliverance, in less room.

END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII.

EXODUS ix. 16, 17.—*And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people?*

THE marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the king would ever have ventured into Scotland upon the conditions he had sent, was surprised with the account the commissioners had given him, "that his majesty resolved to "embark the next day; that he would leave all "his chaplains and his other servants behind "him, and only deferred to take the covenant "himself till he came thither, with a resolution "to satisfy the kirk if they pressed it." Thereupon he immediately despatched away another vessel with new propositions, which the commissioners were to insist upon, and not to consent to the king's coming into that kingdom, without he likewise consented to those. But that vessel met not with the king's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the parliament, which attended to intercept the king, had held its course more northward, where there is plenty of good harbours; and so had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer for his majesty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary passengers.

From thence notice was sent to the council of the king's arrival: the first welcome he received was a new demand "that he would sign the covenant himself, before he set his foot on shore;" which all about him pressed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haste thither upon very unskilful imaginations and presumptions: yet he consented unto what they so imperiously required, that he might have leave to put himself into the hands of those who resolved nothing less than to serve him. The lords of the other party, who had prevailed with him to submit to all that he had done, quickly found that they had deceived both him and themselves, and that nobody had any authority but those men who were their mortal enemies. So that they would not expose themselves to be imprisoned, or to be removed from the king; but, with his majesty's leave, and hav-

ing given him the best advice they could, what he should do for himself, and what he should do for them, they put themselves on shore before the king disembarked; and found means to go to those places where they might be some time concealed, and which were like to be at distance enough from the king. And shortly after duke Hamilton retired to the island of Arran, which belonged to himself; where he had a little house well enough accommodated, the island being for the most part inhabited with wild beasts: Lauderdale concealed himself amongst his friends, taking care both to be well informed of all that should pass about the king, and to receive their advice upon any occasions.

The king was received by the marquis of Argyle with all the outward respect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the English servants he had of any quality were removed from his person, the duke of Buckingham only excepted. The rest, for the most part, were received into the houses of some persons of honour, who lived at a distance from the court, and were themselves under a cloud for their known affections, and durst only attend the king to kiss his hand, and then retired to their houses, that they might give no occasion of jealousy; others of his servants were not suffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced presently to re-embark themselves for Holland; amongst which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the marquis of Ormond into Holland, just when his majesty was ready to embark, and so waited upon him; and was no sooner known to be with his majesty, (as he was a person very generally known,) but he was apprehended by order from the council, for being an Irishman, and having been in arms on the late king's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without some discourse of putting him to death; but they did immediately banish him the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a

paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.

They sent away likewise Mr. Robert Long, who was his principal, if not only, secretary of state, and had very much persuaded his going thither; and sir Edward Walker, who was clerk of the council, and had been secretary at war during the late war, and some others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other servants of all conditions about the king, but principally relied upon their clergy; who were in such a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of instructing him in religion: and so they obliged him to their constant hours of their long prayers, and made him observe the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews accustomed to do [their sabbath]; and reprehended him very sharply if he smiled on those days, and if his looks and gestures did not please them, whilst all their prayers and sermons, at which he was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity.

He was not present in their councils, nor were the results thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the least degree, communicated with, in any part of the government: yet they made great show of outward reverence to him, and even the chaplains, when they used rudeness and barbarity in their reprehensions and reproaches, approached him still with bended knees, and in the humblest postures. There was never a better courtier than Argyle: who made all possible address to make himself gracious to the king, entertained him with very pleasant discourses, with such insinuations, that the king did not only very well like his conversation, but often believed that he had a mind to please and gratify him: but then, when his majesty made any attempt to get some of his servants about him, or to reconcile the two factions, that the kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one proposition that was made to him by his majesty. In a word, the king's table was well served; there he sat in majesty, waited upon with decency: he had good horses to ride abroad to take the air, and was then well attended; and, in all public appearances, seemed to want nothing that was due to a great king. In all other respects, with reference to power to oblige or gratify any man, to dispose or order any thing, or himself to go to any other place than was assigned to him, he had nothing of a prince, but might very well be looked upon as a prisoner.

But that which was of state and lustre made most noise, and was industriously transmitted into all nations and states; the other of disrespect or restraint was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was considered only as a faction between particular great men, who contended to get the power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The king's condition seemed wonderfully advanced, and his being possessed of a kingdom without a rival, in which there was no appearance of an enemy, looked like an earnest for the recovery of the other two, and, for the present, as a

great addition of power to him in his kingdom of Ireland, by a conjunction and absolute submission of all the Scots in Ulster to the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there.

All men who had dissuaded his majesty's repair into Scotland were looked upon as very weak politicians, or as men who opposed the public good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design valued themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that service. The States of Holland thought they had merited much in suffering their ships to transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all countenance to the Scottish merchants and factors who lived in their dominions, and some secret credit, that they might send arms and ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the king's service, into that kingdom. France itself looked very cheerfully upon the change; congratulated the queen with much ceremony, and many professions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a share in the counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the king found in Scotland, by their influence upon Argyle and his party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a reputation this little dawning of power, how clouded soever, gave to the ambassadors in Spain, and had raised them from such a degree of disrespect, as was nearest to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that court that was due to the station in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the affection of that court, and indeed of the nation. As don Alonzo de Cardinas had used all the credit he had, to dispose that court to a good correspondence with the parliament, so he had employed as much care to incline those in England to have a confidence in the affection of his master, and assured them, "that if they would send an ambassador or other minister into Spain, he should find a very good reception." The parliament, in the infancy of their commonwealth, had more inclination to make a friendship with Spain than with France, having at that time a very great prejudice to the cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from don Alonzo, they resolved to send an envoy to Madrid; and made choice of one Ascham, a scholar, who had written a book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the allegiance which is due from subjects to their sovereigns, comes to be determined after a conquest; and that from that term it ought to be paid to those who had subdued them: a speculation they thought fit to cherish.

This man, unacquainted with business, and unskilled in language, attended by three others, the one a renegado Franciscan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well versed in the language; another, who was to serve in the condition of a secretary; and the third, an inferior fellow for any service, arrived all at Seville or Cadiz in an English merchant's ship: of which don Alonzo gave such timely notice, that he was received and entertained by the chief magistrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the court. The town was quickly full of the rumour, that an ambassador was landed from England, and would be

received there ; which nobody seemed to be well pleased with. And the ambassadors expostulated with don Lewis de Haro with some warmth, "that his catholic majesty should be the first Christian prince that would receive an ambassador from the odious and infamous murderers of a Christian king, his brother and ally ; which no other prince had yet done, out of the detestation of that horrible parricide." And therefore they desired him, "that Spain would not give so horrid an example to the other parts of the world." Don Lewis assured them, "that there was no such thing as an ambassador coming from England, nor had the king any purpose to receive any : that it was true, they were informed that there was an English gentleman landed at Cales, and come to Seville ; who said, he was sent from the parliament with letters for the king ; which was testified by a letter from don Alonzo de Cardinas to the duke of Medina Celi ; who thereupon had given order for his entertainment at Seville, till the king should give further order : that it was not possible for the king to refuse to receive the letter, or to see the man who brought it ; who pretended no kind of character : that having an ambassador residing in England to preserve the trade and commerce between the two nations, they did believe, that this messenger might be sent with some propositions from the English merchants for the advancement of that trade ; and if they should refuse to hear what he said, it might give a just offence, and destroy all the commerce ; which would be a great damage to both nations."

That this new agent might come securely to Madrid, an old officer of the army was sent from Seville to accompany him thither ; who came with him in the coach, and gave notice every night to don Lewis of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the English merchants, many officers and soldiers in Madrid, who had served in the Spanish armies, both in Catalonia and in Portugal ; and these men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an agent from the new republic of England ; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the town to meet him ; but, missing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way ; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next morning ; and finding, accidentally, one of the ambassadors' servants in the streets, they persuaded him to go with them, and so went to the house where Ascham lodged ; and, without asking any questions, walked directly up the stairs into his chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the house, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up drew their swords ; and besides their intentions, in disorder, killed the friar as well as the agent ; and so returned to their companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a justifiable service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the people were so little concerned to inquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and re-

taining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary : only he who was in the service of the ambassadors separated himself from the rest, and went into the house of the Venetian ambassador. By this time the people of the house where the man lay had gone up into the chamber ; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the bed ; and the magistrates and people were about the church, and talking with and examining the persons who were there : and the rumour was presently divulged about the town, "that one of the English ambassadors was killed."

They were at that time entering into their coach to take the air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had passed, and that Harry Progers, who was their servant, had been in the action, and was retired to the house of the Venetian ambassador, they were in trouble and perplexity ; dismissed their coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the action that was committed, they foresaw, the presence of one of their own servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used, in their expostulation with don Lewis, against the reception of such a messenger, as if "the king their master had too many subjects in that place, for such a fellow to appear there with any security," would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a letter to don Lewis de Haro, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash action ; "of which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any notice or suspicion, they would have prevented it, by exposing their own persons." Don Lewis returned them a very dry answer ; "That he could not imagine that they could have a hand in so foul an assassination in the court," (for all Madrid is called and looked upon as the court,) "of a person under the immediate protection of the king : however, that it was an action so unheard of, and so dishonourable to the king, that his majesty was resolved to have it examined to the bottom, and that exemplary justice should be done upon the offenders ; that his own ambassador in England might be in great danger upon this murder ; and that they would send an express presently thither, to satisfy the parliament how much his catholic majesty detested and was offended with it, and resolved to do justice upon it ; and if his ambassador underwent any inconvenience there, they were not to wonder if his majesty were severe here ;" and so left it to them to imagine that their own persons might not be safe.

But they knew the temper of the court too well, to have the least apprehension of that : yet they were a little surprised, when they first saw the multitude of people gathered together about their house, upon the first news of the action ; insomuch that the street before their house, which was the broadest in Madrid, (the Calle de Alcala,) was so thronged, that men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the English ambassadors had suffered violence had brought that multitude together ; which they found to be true ; for they no sooner shewed themselves in a

balcony to the people, but they saluted them with great kindness, prayed for the king their master, cursed and reviled the murderers of his father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the chapel were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal officer after examination, and sent to the prison: the other was not inquired after; but, having concealed himself for ten or twelve days, he went out of the town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into France.

Of all the courts in Christendom, Madrid is that where ambassadors and public ministers receive the greatest respect, which, besides the honour and punctuality of that people, bred up in the observation of distances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the ambassadors have of living with mutual respect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each other's honour and privileges: so that, if any ambassador, in himself or his servants, receive any affront or disrespect, all the other ambassadors repair to him, and offer their service and interposition; by which means they are not only preserved from any invasion by any private and particular insolence, but even from some acts of power, which the court itself hath sometime thought fit to exercise, upon an extraordinary occasion, towards a minister of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the character; and will not suffer that to be done towards one, which, by the consequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compassion all the ambassadors looked upon these unhappy gentlemen, who had involved themselves by their rashness in so much peril. They came to the English ambassadors to advise and consult what might be done to preserve them, every one offering his assistance. The action could in no degree be justified; all that could be urged and insisted upon in their behalf, was the privilege of sanctuary; "They had betaken themselves to the church; and the taking them from thence, by what authority soever, was a violation of the rights and immunities of the church, which, by the law of the kingdom, was ever defended with all tenderness." So that, before the guilt of the blood could be examined, the prisoners desired "that their privilege might be examined, and that they might have counsel assigned them to that purpose;" which was granted; and several arguments were made upon the matter of law before the judges; who were favourable enough to the prisoners. The king's counsel urged, "that in case of assassination the privilege of sanctuary was never allowed," (which is true,) and cited many precedents of late years in Madrid itself, where, for less crimes than of blood, men had been taken out of the sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The English ambassadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new republic should receive so much countenance from that court, as would have resulted from putting those gentlemen to death, as if they had killed a public minister. The pope's nuncio, Julio Rospigliosi, who was afterwards Clement IX, could not, according to the style of the Roman court, either give or receive visits from the English ambassadors; but they performed civilities to each other by messages, and passed mutual salutations, with all respect to each other, as they met abroad.

And the Venetian ambassador brought them frequent assurances, "that the nuncio had spoken very effectually to the king, and to don Lewis, for the redelivery of the prisoners to the church, and pressed it so hard upon the conscience of the king, that he had some promise that they should not suffer."

In the mean time, thundering letters came from the parliament, with great menaces what they would do, if exemplary justice was not inflicted upon those who had murdered their envoy; and don Alonzo urged it, as if "he thought himself in danger till full satisfaction should be given in that particular;" all which for the present made deep impression, so that they knew not what to do; the king often declaring, "that he would not infringe the privilege of the church, and so undergo the censure of the pope, for any advantage he could receive with reference to any of his dominions." In the end, (that the discourse of this affair may not be resumed again hereafter,) after a long imprisonment, (for during the ambassadors' stay they would not bring them to any trial, lest they might seem to do any thing upon their solicitation, (the prisoners were proceeded against as soon, or shortly after the ambassadors had left Madrid, and were all condemned to die; and as soon as the sentence was declared, all the prisoners were again delivered into the same church; where they remained many days, having provisions of victuals sent to them by many persons of quality, until they had all opportunity to make their escape, which was very successfully done by all but one; who, being the only protestant amongst them, was more maliciously looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three day's journey from Madrid, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the satisfaction the parliament could obtain in that affair; and is an instance how far that people was from any affection to those of England in their hearts, how much soever they complied with them out of the necessity of their fortune.

When some weeks were passed after that unlucky accident, the ambassadors went to confer with don Lewis upon some other occurrence, with no purpose of mentioning any thing of the prisoners. Don Lewis spoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one expression was, "*Yo tengo invidia de estos cavaleros, &c.* I envy those gentlemen for having done so noble an action, how penal soever it may prove to them, to revenge the blood of their king. Whereas," he said, "the king his master wanted such resolute subjects; otherwise he would never have lost a kingdom, as he had done Portugal, for want of one brave man; who, by taking away the life of the usurper, might at any time, during the first two years, have put an end to that rebellion."

Though the privileges of ambassadors were much greater in that court than in any other, and that they lived much better towards each other, than ambassadors used to do in any other court, yet they used to communicate those privileges more easily, and to admit men to usurp that title, who had no pretence to it. Not that the king permitted them to cover, which they never affected, nor could he ever have endured; but in all other respects they were treated as such; and the ambassadors were obliged to do so, except they were under some obligation to the contrary. There

were at that time two instances of that kind, though upon different negotiations. The one was in the count of Swaffenburgh, who came, as they said, ambassador from the archduke Leopold, who was only a prince by appellation, without any territory, and was then actually in the service of the king of Spain, as governor of the Low Countries, though under such a restrained commission, that the count of Fuenfaldagna, with two or three other Spanish counsellors, had authority in many cases to control his determinations. The count of Swaffenburgh was his chief servant and confident; and being a man of good parts and spirit, used to enter into sharp contests and disputes with those ministers in the right and behalf of his master; whereupon he was become suspected and disliked in the court at Madrid, and was now sent by the archduke, not only to insist upon the rights of his place, and to complain of the infringement of them, but to justify himself, and to wipe off those aspersions which had been cast upon him; and yet he was received under the title and style of ambassador, treated with *excellenza*, and waited upon by one of the king's coaches, and upon the day of his audience rode to the court attended by all the other ambassadors' coaches; and because they neither liked his person or his business, and resolved not to gratify him in any thing he came about, or desired, they used him with the more ceremony and respect; and there being a sudden accident one day, which looked like an affront to him, when, in a crowd of coaches upon one of those solemn days, when the king and all the court and all ambassadors use to take the air, in a little field that can hardly receive all the company, the count's coach stood, where the duke of Alberquerque had a mind to pass; and the other coachman refusing to yield the way, the duke alighted out of his coach, and with sword in the scabbard struck him over the head, the count being himself in the coach, which the duke protested not to have known, till after he had struck his coachman; when the count bade his coachman drive out of the field; and, as soon as he was retired out of the company, he sent a gentleman to the duke, to let him know that he expected to see him with his sword in his hand. But the business was taken notice of before, and the king had commanded the duke of Alberquerque to his house; and it being so unusual a thing, and unsuitable to the Spanish gravity, for a grandee to go out of his coach to strike a coachman, it was looked upon as a purposed and designed injury. All the ambassadors met the next morning at the count's lodging, to offer their service, and to consult what was to be done, to repair their character, but found the condé most inclined and resolved to do justice to himself; but the punctuality of the court prevented any further pursuit, by obliging the duke of Alberquerque first to write to the count, and to protest that he did not know that he was in the coach, nor had the least thought to affront him, and then to go to his lodgings, and ask his pardon; both which he performed: which was an imposition and condescension that the grandees looked upon as very extraordinary.

The other, who was received and countenanced as an ambassador, was the marquis of Lusignon, who was sent by the prince of Condé, and was commonly called the prince of Condé's ambassador, who was likewise attended by one of the king's

coaches. It is true, he had not so formal an audience as the count of Swaffenburgh had, but intimation was given to all the ambassadors, that the king expected that they should visit him; which all did, but the English ambassadors, who did not think fit, both in respect of their master or themselves, to give such umbrage to France, and so forebore to shew any respect or civility towards him. This unhappy gentleman, after a journey or two in that negotiation to Madrid, was taken in his return, and after some months of imprisonment, had his process made, and lost his head.

[To return now to the affairs of Scotland:] whether, when the marquis of Argyle first knew that the king would venture himself into Scotland, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his friend Cromwell to assist him; or whether it seemed more reasonable to the parliament, when it was assured of the king's being there, to visit him in that kingdom, than to expect a visitation from him, is not enough clear at this time. But as soon as the king was in Scotland, Cromwell, being sent for by the parliament, left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, (who had married his daughter,) and made him deputy; and transported himself into England; where the parliament, not without great opposition from all the presbyterian party, resolved to send an army into Scotland. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable war, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the power and authority of the army in England; which was already found to be very grievous.

This resolution produced another great alteration: Fairfax, who had hitherto worn the name of general, declared positively that he would not command the army against Scotland. The presbyterians said, "it was because he thought the war unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same religion;" but his friends would have it believed, that he would not fight against the king. Hereupon Cromwell was chosen general; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced and suppressed the presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by Fairfax. The independents had all credit about him; and the churches and pulpits were open to all kind of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in religion covered the whole kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the people, who, finding no ease from the burdens they had so long sustained, but an increase of the taxes and impositions every day, grew weary of their new government; and heartily prayed, that their general might never return from Scotland, but that, he being destroyed there, the king might return victorious into London. The bitterness and persecution against their brethren in England, and the old animosity they had long borne against the person of Cromwell, made those in authority in that kingdom resolve to defend themselves against his invasion, and to draw together a very numerous body of men well provided, and supplied with all things necessary but courage and conduct. They were so careful in the modelling this army, that they

suffered neither officers, or soldiers, who had been in the engagement of duke Harailton, or who gave the least occasion to be suspected to wish well to the king or to the Hamiltonian party, to be listed or received into their service. So that they had only some old discredited officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of command, had stuck close to Argyle and to the party of the kirk. The truth is, the whole army was under the government of a committee of the kirk and the state; in which the ministers exercised the sole authority, and prayed and preached against the vices of the court, and the impiety and tyranny of Cromwell, equally; and promised their army victory over the enemy as positively, and in as confident terms, as if God himself had directed them to declare it. The king desired that he might command this army, at least run the fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to see it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the observation that the common soldiers seemed to be much pleased to see him, they caused him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater distance from the army; declaring, "that they found the soldiers too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were most assured of victory by the prayers and piety of the kirk."

In [July] Cromwell entered Scotland, and marched without any opposition till he came within less than a day's journey of Edinburgh; where he found the Scottish army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with disadvantages enough. For the country was so destroyed behind him, and the passes so guarded before, that he was compelled to send for all his provision for horse and foot from England by sea; (and Cromwell being seized upon by a fever, which held him about six weeks, during which time the army lay still,) insomuch as the army was reduced to great straits; and the Scots really believed, that they had them all at their mercy, except such as would embark on board their ships. But as soon as Cromwell had recovered a little strength, his army begun to remove, and seemed to provide for their march. Whether that march was to retire out of so barren a country for want of provisions, (which no doubt were very scarce; and the season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary supplies by sea, for it was now the month of September,) or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the Scots had remained within their trenches, and sent parties of horse to have followed the English army closely, they must have so disordered them, that they would have left their cannon and all their heavy carriage behind them, besides the danger the foot must have been in. But the Scots did not intend to part with them so easily; they doubted not but to have the spoil of the whole army. And therefore they no sooner discerned that the English were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole body all the night following, and found themselves in the morning within a small distance of the enemy: for Cromwell was quickly advertised that

the Scottish army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his men in good order. The Scots found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagined, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a hill, as they believed the English would not have the courage to attack them there.

But Cromwell knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no trenches or fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their horse did not sustain one charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The foot depended much upon their ministers, who preached, and prayed, and assured them of the victory, till the English were upon them; and some of their preachers were knocked in the head, whilst they were promising the victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that Cromwell lost very few men by that day's service, yet the execution was very terrible upon the enemy; the whole body of the foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their ministers who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were entirely taken, and Cromwell with his victorious army marched directly to Edinburgh; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his army, which stood in need of it.

Never victory was attended with less lamentations: for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and destruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; so the king, who was then at St. Johnston's, was glad of it, as the greatest happiness that could befall him, in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies; who, if they should have prevailed, his majesty did believe that they would have shut him up in a prison the next day; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered already; for the lord Lorne, eldest son to the marquis of Argyle, being captain of his guard, had so strict a care of him both night and day, that his majesty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this defeat, they all looked upon the king as one they might stand in need of: they permitted his servants, who had been sequestered from him from his arrival in the kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a parliament, and of a time for the king's coronation; which had not hitherto been spoken of. Some ministers begun to preach obedience to the king; the officers, who had been cashiered for their malignity, talked aloud of "the miscarriages in the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed to the enemy for want of confidence in the king, who alone could preserve the nation." They of the council seemed not to have so absolute a dependence upon the marquis of

Argyle, but spoke more freely than they had used to do; and the marquis applied himself more to the king, and to those about him: so that the king did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as Cromwell, though his majesty's advantage was discerned by a few men only, and those reduced into an obscure quarter of the kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The destruction of the only army, and the possessing of Edinburgh, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conquest of the whole kingdom.

Don Alonzo made haste to send the news into Spain of "the total and irrecoverable defeat of the king; that he was driven into the Highlands; from whence he would be compelled to fly, as soon as he could get means to escape: that the republic was now settled, and no more fear or hope of the king:" the effect of all which the ambassadors quickly found at Madrid, by the carriage and countenance of that king and the council; though it cannot be denied that the common people appeared to have a much more generous sense of the alteration, than the others did. The ambassadors received shortly a full advertisement of the truth; and "that the king thought his condition much improved by the defeat;" and they used all the means they could, by several audiences, to inform the king of Spain and don Lewis of the truth; and "that they were misinformed, as if the army overthrown was the king's; whereas they were indeed as much his enemies, as Cromwell's was." But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wished they were gone; which they were resolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the secretary of state came to them from the king; and told them, "that they had been now above a year in that court, where they had been well treated, notwithstanding some miscarriages, which might very justly have incensed his catholic majesty," (mentioning the death of Ascham;) "that they were extraordinary ambassadors, and so needed not any letters of revocation; that they had received answers to all they had proposed, and were at liberty to depart; which his catholic majesty desired they would do, since their presence in the court would be very prejudicial to his affairs." This unexpected and unusual message, delivered ungracefully enough by an old man, who, notwithstanding his office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had mistaken his message, at least that he had delivered it with less courtly circumstances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other answer, than "that they would attend don Lewis de Haro, and understand from him the king's pleasure." The next day, they sent for an audience to don Lewis; whom they found with a less open countenance than he used to have; nor did he appear any thing more courtly than the secretary had done; but told them, that there were orders sent to such a person (whom he named) to prepare their present; which should be ready within very few days; and pressed them very plainly, and without any regard to the season of the year, it being then towards the end of January, to use all possible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that respect, did exceedingly concern the service of the

king. This made the ambassadors imagine, which was likewise reported, that there was a formal ambassador upon his way from England, and that the court would be no more liable to the like accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cause of all this haste was, that they might bring into the town as many pictures, and other choice and rich furniture, as did load eighteen mules; which, as was said before, don Alonzo had bought of the king's goods, and then sent to the Groyne, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the palace, whilst the ambassadors should continue and remain in the town.

This injunction to leave Madrid, in so unseasonable a time of the year, was very severe to the ambassadors, who knew not whither to go. The lord Cottington was at this time seventy-six years of age, once or twice in a year troubled with the gout, in other respects of great vigour of body and mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had resolved, when he first proposed this embassy to the king, and, it may be, it was the chief reason of proposing it, that, if there should be no door open to let him return into England, by the time that his embassy should expire, he would remain and die in Spain. But he did then believe that he should have found another kind of entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deserved very well from that nation, having always performed those offices towards them, which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that people, which, together with his constant opposition of the French, had rendered him very ungracious to the queen: yet there were some seasons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they desired, and expected; as when their fleet, under the command of Oquendo, about the year [1639], had been assaulted in the Downs, and defeated by the Dutch fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the king might have given to them. And it is probable their ambassadors, who were then in England, whereof don Alonzo was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do himself harm, and could do them no good. But these omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the king and the court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in Spain, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that court, (though he was willing the other ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in England,) which was then remembered in the discourse of the court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that kingdom to

the church of Rome, and had constantly gone to the mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in England to be of the religion of the church of England, he was apostatized from the other; which, in that country, is looked upon as such a brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reason of that king's so notable aversion from him. The truth is, he had never made any inquiry into religion to inform himself, but had conformed to that which the province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in England of being well affected to that church, and was always looked upon as most inclined to the Roman, yet he convinced those who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being present at prayers and sermons, and sometimes receiving the sacrament, as he did the very last Sunday he stayed in the Hague before he begun his journey towards Spain; and, even after his arrival there, was constant at the reading the common prayers both morning and evening, by their own chaplain, in their house, as long as the chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in England, he would have died in the communion of that church. But there is no doubt, he did resolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in Spain, that he would become a Roman catholic again, which he thought to be a much easier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any priest in as private a manner as he could desire. But when he consulted that affair with a Jesuit, who frequently came to the house, he found, that after an apostasy, it was not in the power of any priest to reconcile him, but that it was reserved to the pope himself; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own nuncios. This obliged him to resort thither; which he could not easily do without communicating it to the other ambassador; towards whom this was the only secret he reserved. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, several days, that the nuncio had sent him such and such messages by that Jesuit concerning those gentlemen who were in prison, the substance whereof did not differ from what the Venetian ambassador had formerly delivered from him: at last, he told him, "that he found the nuncio had somewhat to say in that affair which he would not communicate by message, but wished to speak with him in private; for publicly he must not be known to have any conference with him; and that hereupon he resolved to go *incognito* in sir Benjamin Wright's coach to him;" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home, making such a relation of their conference to his companion as he thought fit; and delivered the nuncio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the affair was: for, besides that the nuncio could not perform the office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other ambassador might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the president de la Hazienda, who carried them into his library, whilst the other ambassador was casting his eyes upon some books, (it being the best private library in Madrid,) the lord Cottington told the president, "that he was himself a catholic, but that his companion was an obstinate heretic:"

of which the president sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their departure from each other.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that country; for which he addressed himself to don Lewis: mentioned "his age; his infirmity of the gout; which would infallibly seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should provoke it by an extraordinary motion; in a word, that it was impossible for him to make the journey." Don Lewis told him, "he could answer him to part of what he said without speaking to the king; that he must not think of staying with the character of an ambassador, nor of residing in Madrid, in how private a condition soever: if he desired any thing with these two restraints, he would move the king in it." The other told him, "that he submitted to both these conditions; and only desired license to reside in Valladolid, where he had lived many years, when the court remained there, in the time of king Philip the Third."

This place was not disliked; and within few days don Lewis sent him word, "that the king approved it; and that he should have a letter to the chief magistrate there, to treat him with all respect; and that his majesty would take care that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply him as his necessities required." And, shortly after, a message was sent to the ambassadors to let them know, that the king had appointed such a day for to give them an audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; which was not at all grievous to the lord Cottington: who having obtained all he desired, was willing to be in his new habitation, which he had sent to be made ready for him; but the other much desired that the winter might be a little more over, which continued yet very sharp; and was resolved not to obey the summons, till the weather mended; and likewise, out of indignation for their treatment, he very heartily resolved to refuse the present for the smallness of it, it being less than had been used to be given to any single ordinary ambassador. But the lord Cottington, with great importunity, prevailed with him to decline both these contests, lest it might prove prejudicial to him; and so they performed their ceremonies; and about the beginning of March, after they had been in that court near fifteen months, they both left Madrid in the same hour: the lord Cottington taking his course for Valladolid; where he had the same house provided, and made ready for him by the care of the English Jesuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his agency, when the court resided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his age.

He was a very wise man, by the great and long experience he had in business of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any transport of anger, or any other passion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very steady in pursuing what he proposed to himself, and had a courage not to be frightened or

amazed with any opposition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any science; but by his perfectly understanding the Spanish, (which he spoke as a Spaniard,) the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be said to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary understanding in the nature of beasts and birds, and above all in all kind of plantations and arts of husbandry. He was born a gentleman both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire seat near Bruton in Somersetshire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had descended from father to son for many hundred years, and is still in the possession of his elder brother's children, the family having been always Roman catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to sir Edward Stafford; who was vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, and had been ambassador in France; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horse, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to sir Robert Cecil, then principal secretary of state; who preferred him to sir Charles Conwallis, when he went ambassador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of king James; where he remained, for the space of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of secretary or agent, without ever returning into England in all that time. He raised by his own virtue and industry a very fair estate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thousand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houses, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well served and attended in his house; had a better stable of horses, better provisions for sports, (especially of hawks, in which he took great delight,) than most of his quality, and lived always with great splendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the most of mirth, and caused more, than any man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserved compassion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts, than love to his person.

The other ambassador was dismissed with much more courtesy: for when they heard that his family remained at Antwerp in Flanders, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he received other orders from the king his master, they gave him all despatches thither which might be of use to him in those parts. The king of Spain himself used many gracious expressions to him at his last audience, and sent afterwards to him a letter for the archduke Leopold; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the ambassador; and commanded, "that, whilst he should

"choose to reside in those parts, under his command, he should receive all respect, and enjoy all privileges as an ambassador:" and don Lewis de Haro writ likewise to the archduke, and the count of Fuensaldagna, "to look upon him as his particular friend:" all which ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the ambassador: for besides the treatment he received from the archduke himself in Brussels, as ambassador, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the magistrates at Antwerp, that he enjoyed the privilege of his chapel, and all the English, who were numerous then in that city, repaired thither with all freedom for their devotion, and the exercise of their religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any man there, and which the English, and Irish priests, and the Roman catholics of those nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage through France he waited upon the queen mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which Cromwell had obtained in Scotland (though the king was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the court of France as it had in the court of Spain; it gave over all thoughts of the king, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled France very much, and no less pleased Spain; which was the death of the prince of Orange; a young prince of great hope and expectation, and of a spirit that desired to be in action. He had found, that the peace between Spain and the Low Countries, which his father had been so solicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the war. He complained loudly, that the court of Spain had not observed, nor performed, many of those conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adhered to that party in the States which were known most to favour the interest of France; which good inclination the cardinal, and the other ministers of that crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate; and Spain was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepared at Madrid to be sent to him, ten brave Spanish horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of plate, jewels, and perfumed leather, to the princess royal his wife; and a full assurance, "that they would forthwith begin to perform all the articles which were to be done by them, and finish all within a short time."

The express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions,

was to begin his journey within two days, when the news arrived, by an express from Brussels, who came in as short a time as could be imagined, that the prince of Orange was dead of the small-pox, and had left the princess with child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a son within few days after his decease. The court at Madrid could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the enemy whose influence they most apprehended was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, France owned a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their friends in Holland, might, in a short time, be much superior to that party in the States which adhered to the Spanish interest.

But nobody received so insupportable prejudice and damage, by this fatal blow, as the king of Great Britain did; towards whom that brave prince gave all the testimony and manifestation of the most entire, fast, and unshaken affection and friendship, that hath ever been performed towards any person under any signal misfortune. Besides the assisting him, upon several emergent occasions, with greater sums of money than were easy to his incumbered fortune, his reputation, and his declared resolution, "that he would venture all he had in that quarrel," disposed many to be more concerned for his majesty. Though he could not prevail over that faction in Holland, which were known to favour Cromwell, (and the more out of their aversion to him, and to his power and greatness,) to induce them to serve the king, yet he kept the States General from consenting to that infamous alliance and conjunction, which, shortly after his death, they entered into with the new republic; and which they would never have yielded to, if he had lived. And, no doubt, the respect both France and Spain had for him, and his interposition, had prevailed with both to be less impudent than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all consideration of the king, and rejecting all thoughts of his restoration. It contributed very much to the negligent farewell the ambassadors had received in Spain; for the news of the prince's death had arrived there some months before their departure: and it did not only extinguish all imaginations in France of any possible hope for our king, but very much lessened the respect and civility which that court had always shewed to the queen herself, as a daughter of France; towards whom they expressed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the queen more trouble than this; and of which her majesty made great complaint to the chancellor of the exchequer at his return from Spain. Upon the interview which had been between the king and the queen at Beauvais, when the king went for Holland, upon the foresight, if not the resolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own person into Scotland, he had left his brother the duke of York with the queen, with direction, "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the queen his mother, matters of religion only excepted." And there was the less doubt of his conformity to her commands, because, besides his piety and duty, which was very entire towards her, he was

to depend wholly upon her bounty for his support; the court of France not taking any notice of the change, nor paying her own narrow assignation with any punctuality; so that she was not able, besides the reservedness in her nature, so to supply him as to make his condition pleasant to him; but exercised the same austere carriage towards him, which she had done to the prince his brother, and as unsuccessfully. The duke was very young, with a numerous family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and consisting of persons who loved not one another, nor their master well enough to consider him before themselves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that credit with him, that, at such an age, some good men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reasonable providence and circumspection. For when he made his escape out of England, as is mentioned before, he had only one person attending him, (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his service,) whose merit might have been otherwise requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appeared to be so unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that such persons should have been placed about him, as might have both discovered such infirmities, as his nature might incline him to, and have infused those principles of piety and honour, as he was most capable of, and disposed to; and which had been as proper for his present misfortune, as for his highest dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the queen his mother by the late king, who was then in prison; and her majesty being then at Paris, when the duke landed in Holland, she could not deliberate so long upon it as such a subject required; and so was persuaded by others to consider them more than her son; and made haste to put such a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the offices which they were designed to serve in, as was above the greatness to which the younger son of the crown of England could pretend, by the usage and custom of that kingdom, when it was in the greatest splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the least revenue to support it, but that the whole charge and burden of it must inevitably fall upon her; of which her majesty was quickly sensible, and paid the penalty at least in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The duke was full of spirit and courage, and naturally loved designs, and desired to engage himself in some action that might improve and advance the low condition of the king his brother; towards whom he had an inviolable affection and fidelity, superior to any temptation. He was not pleased with the treatment he received in France, nor had confidence enough in any of his servants, to be advised by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reasonably dispose himself to, or to be dissuaded from any enterprise which his own passion might suggest to him; though too many had too much credit with him in contributing to his discontents, and in representing the uncomfortableness of his own condition to him; "the little regard the queen appeared to have of him, the lustre that some of her servants lived in, and those who depended upon them, whilst his royal highness wanted all that was necessary, and his servants were exposed

“to the most scandalous necessities and contempt;” and so endeavoured to abate that reverence in him to the queen his mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

There were at that time two persons, who, though without any relation to the court, very much frequented the duke’s lodgings, and had frequent discourses with him, sir Edward Herbert, the late king’s attorney general, (of whom much is said before,) and sir George Ratcliff, who had been designed by that king to attend upon the duke of York into Ireland, when he once thought of sending him thither. But that design being quickly laid aside, there was no more thought of using his service there. The duke looked upon them both as wise men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themselves to him with diligence and address, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to persuade him to dislike the condition he was in, and that he might spend his time more to his advantage in some other place than in France. They spoke often to him of the duke of Lorraine, “as a pattern and example for all unfortunate princes to follow: that he being, by the power and injustice of the king of France, driven out of his principality and dominions, had, by his own virtue and activity, put himself in the head of an army; by which he made himself so considerable, that he was courted by both the crowns of France and Spain, and might make his conditions with either according to his own election; and in the mean time lived with great reputation, and in great plenty, esteemed by all the world for his courage and conduct.” With these, and the like discourses, the duke was much pleased and amused, and wished in himself that he could be put into such a condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been proposed to him, whose condition was more unlike his, or whose fortune and manners he was less to wish to follow, or less able to imitate. For the duke of Lorraine had, for many years before his misfortunes, had a great name in war, and was looked upon as one of the greatest captains of Christendom; and had drawn the arms and power of France upon him, by his inconstancy, and adhering to Spain, contrary to his treaty and obligation with the other crown; and when he was driven out of his own country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good army, and possessed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into Flanders, both as his misfortune proceeded from his affection to their king, and as his forces were necessary for their defence. And so he made such conditions with them, as were most beneficial to himself, and yet, in the consequence, so unsuccessful, as might well terrify all other princes from treading in the same footsteps.

With the report of the defeat of that army by Cromwell in Scotland, (which was the first good fortune to the king,) or shortly after, some letters from England brought intelligence, without any ground, that the king was dangerously sick; and shortly after, that he was dead; which was believed in England, and from thence transmitted into France. This gave a new alarm to those two gentlemen mentioned before, who received this

information from such friends in England, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new king to be found in; and therefore that it would be necessary for him to remove from thence, before the report should be confirmed and believed.

Whether they imparted this nice consideration to the duke or not, his highness, without any preface of the motives, told the queen, “he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels;” who, being exceedingly surprised, asked him the reason; and “how he could be able to make such a journey?” which she in truth believed impossible for him, since she knew he had no money. His answer in short was, “that he would visit the duke of Lorraine, who had been always a friend to his father, and continued his affection to the king his brother; and he had some reason to believe, that duke would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his majesty’s service; and that he was resolved to begin his journey the next day;” from which neither the queen’s advice nor authority could divert him. Her majesty quickly discerned, that neither the lord Byron, nor sir John Berkley, nor Mr. Bennet, his secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore easily concluded who the counsellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and she had long done all she could to lessen the duke’s esteem of them. They well foresaw that the want of money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the journey would be rendered impossible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own store, procured as much as would defray the journey to Brussels; which, by the duke’s directions, was put into the hands of sir George Ratcliff, and to be managed by his providence and discretion. And then he publicly declared his resolution to begin his journey the next day for Brussels, leaving his servants to make what shift they could to attend, or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the queen thought it necessary that his chief servants should wait on him, that she might receive an advertisement what progress he made, and what his design could be: so the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet made themselves ready for the journey; sir John Berkley choosing to stay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exercised the supreme charge. And so, with the other two counsellors, and many of the inferior servants, the duke, according to his resolution, left the queen; and, when he came to Brussels, he lodged at the house of sir Henry de Vic, the king’s resident, without being taken notice of by any of that court. There the two counsellors begun to form his family, and to confer offices upon those who were most acceptable to them; presuming that they should shortly receive news from England, which would confirm all that they had done under other titles. In the mean time the government of the house, and ordering the expense, was committed wholly to sir George Ratcliff, whilst the other contented himself with presiding in the councils, and directing all the politic designs. The duke of Lorraine had visited the duke upon his first arrival, and, being informed of the straits his royal highness was in, presented him with one thousand pistoles. But now the secret ground of all their counsels

was found to be without any reality: the king was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face; which destroyed all the machine they had raised: yet, being too far embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the duke of Lorraine had shewed towards the duke, they had the presumption to propose that there might be a marriage between the duke of York and the daughter of the duke of Lorraine by the countess of Canteeroy; whom he had publicly married, but which marriage was declared at Rome to be void, by reason that his former wife was still alive.

When the duke of Lorraine saw how the affairs of this young prince were conducted, and that the lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who were men well bred, and able to have discoursed any business to him, one whereof was his governor and the other his secretary, who by their offices ought to be more trusted in an affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two persons, who were men of a very unusual mien, appeared in it, and that only sir George Ratcliff undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in Latin, which the duke cared not to speak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the king's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but, "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards approved by his majesty." Thus they were at the end of their projects: and there being no means to stay longer at Brussels, they persuaded the duke to visit his sister at the Hague, and there to consider and advise what was next to be done.

Of all these particulars the queen complained to the chancellor of the exchequer, with great bitterness against the folly and presumption of those two gentlemen, whose fidelity to the king she did not suspect; nor could she imagine the motive that had engaged them in such a bold undertaking; but she required him, "that, as soon as he should come into Flanders, he would make a journey to the Hague, and prevail with the duke" (to whom she writ to the same purpose) "to return again to Paris;" which the chancellor promised to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general discourse, which that sally had administered, as if there were a schism in the royal family in a season when so much unity was requisite.

There was another instance of the king's extreme low condition, and of the highest disrespect the court of France could express towards him, and of which all the protestant party of the queen's family complained very vehemently. From the time of the queen's being in France, the late king had appointed a chaplain of his own, Dr. Cosins, who was afterwards bishop of Durham, to attend upon her majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her protestant servants being much superior to those who were Roman catholics. And the queen had always punctually complied with the king's directions, and used the chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her servants. An under room in the Louvre, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their morning and evening devotions; the key whereof was committed to the chaplain; who

caused the room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his devotions all the week, but went Sundays still to the resident's house to hear sermons. At this time an order was sent from the queen regent, "that that room should be no more applied to that purpose, and that the French king would not permit the exercise of any other religion in any of his houses than the Roman catholic:" and the queen gave notice to the chaplain, "that she was no longer able to continue the payment of the exhibition she had formerly assigned to him." The protestants, whereof many were of the best quality, lamented this alteration to the chancellor of the exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into Spain, she had vouchsafed to promise him, (upon some rumours, of which he took notice,) "that the same privilege which had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by the protestants of her household; and that she would provide for the chaplain's subsistence." He presumed therefore to speak with her majesty upon it; and besought her to consider, "what ill impression this new order would make upon the protestants of all the king's dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to depend for his restoration; and how much prejudice it might be to herself, to be looked upon as a greater enemy to protestants, than she had been taken notice of to be; and likewise, whether this order, which had been given since the departure of the duke of York, might not be made use of as an excuse for his not returning, or indeed for his remove, since the precise time when it issued would not be generally understood." The queen heard him very graciously, and acknowledged, "that what he said had reason in it; but protested that she knew not what remedy to apply to it; that she had been herself surprised with that order, and was troubled at it; but that the queen regent was positive in it, and blamed her for want of zeal in her religion; and that she cared not to advance it, or to convert any of her children." She wished him "to confer with Mr. Montague upon it;" and implied, "that his bigotry in his new religion had contributed much to the procuring that order." He had newly taken orders, and was become priest in that church, and had great power with the queen regent, as well for his animosity against that religion he had professed, as for his vehement zeal for the church of which he now was. Upon this occasion, her majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sustained by the death of her old confessor, father Phillips; who, she said, "was a prudent and discreet man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate undertakings, under pretence of doing good for catholics; and always told her, that, as she ought to continue firm and constant to her own religion, so she was to live well towards the protestants, who deserved well from her, and to whom she was beholding." She said, "it would not be possible to have the same or any other room set aside, or allowed to be used as a chapel; but that she would take such course, that the family might meet for the exercise of their devotion in some private room

"that belonged to their lodgings : and that though her own exhibition was so ill paid, that she was indebted to all her servants, yet she would give order that Dr. Cosins (against whom she had some personal exceptions) should receive his salary, in proportion with the rest of her servants." She bid him "assure the duke of York, that he should have a free exercise of his religion, as he had before, though it must not be in the same place."

The chancellor conferred with Mr. Montague upon the subject ; and offered the same reasons which he had done to the queen ; which he looked upon as of no moment ; but said, "that the king of France was master in his own house, and he was resolved, though the king of England himself should come thither again, never to permit any solemn exercise of the protestant religion in any house of his." The consideration of what the protestants in England might think on this occasion was of least moment to him ; and it was indeed the common discourse there, "that the protestants of the church of England could never do the king service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman catholics, and the presbyterians ; and that he ought to give all satisfaction to both those parties."

When the chancellor of the exchequer came to Antwerp, with a purpose to make a journey speedily to the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much offended that the duke of York remained there ; and therefore that the princess royal" (who now more depended upon their favour than ever ; her own jointure, as well as the fortune of her son, being to be resolved in their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither the chancellor immediately went ; and found the duke there with a family in all the confusion imaginable, in present want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all censured and reproached the counsel by which they had been guided, and the counsellors as bitterly inveighed against each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurred in nothing else were equally severe against the attorney, as a madman, and of that intolerable pride, that it was not possible for any man to converse with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no understanding, nor learning, no principles, and no resolution, and was so just to them all, as to condemn every man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himself so grievous to them all, that there was no man who desired to be in his company ; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retained still too much credit with the duke ; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood ; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough ; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the queen's letter, which the chancellor delivered to him ; heard his advice very willingly, and resolved to begin his journey to Paris without any delay ; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable

redemption. The next day he went to Antwerp ; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to Paris, and was received by the queen his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected ; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him ; and they were not solicitous, by any apologies or confession, to recover her favour : for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could devise and suggest would have rendered them more inexcusable.

During this time, the king underwent all kind of mortifications in Scotland. But after the defeat of the Scottish army in September, with which the king and Cromwell were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the marquis of Argyle's empire seemed not to be so absolute. A new army was appointed to be raised ; the king himself interposed more than he had done ; and the noblemen and officers came to him with more confidence : and his majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like : yet the power was still in Argyle's hands ; who, under all the professions of humility, exercised still the same tyranny ; inasmuch as the king grew weary of his own patience, and resolved to make some attempt in his own vindication. Dr. Frazier, who had been the king's physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his person, and very much contributed to the king's journey into Scotland, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by Argyle ; who knew that he was a creature of the Hamiltonians, and found him to be of an unquiet and overactive spirit ; and thereupon sequestered him from his attendance. There were many officers who had served in duke Hamilton's engagement, as Middleton, and others, who had very entire affections for the king ; and many of them had corresponded with Mountrose, and resolved to have joined with him ; and finding themselves excluded, as of all them were, from any employment by the power of Argyle, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of some good season, in which they might avowedly appear. With some of these Dr. Frazier had held correspondence whilst he was in the court, and had often spoken to the king of their affection, and readiness to serve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his majesty's gracious acceptance of their service, and his resolution to employ them. And now, not being himself suffered to come to the court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them ; and held intelligence with the lord Lauderdale, who had always great confidence in him ; and the officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the doctor understanding them to undertake more than they did, (for his fidelity was never suspected,) he gave the king such an account of their numbers, as well as resolutions, that his majesty appointed a day for their rendezvous, and promised to be present with them, and then to publish a declaration (which was likewise prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and against the person of Argyle ; to whom the duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding all his former professions, gave himself wholly up, and imparted to him all this correspondence, having found some

of the letters which had passed, by the king's having left his cabinet open; for he was not at all trusted in it.

But Argyle did not think the time so near; so that the king did prosecute this purpose so far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty horse, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the marquis of Argyle, nor any body else, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great distraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared design, contrived and conducted by Dr. Frazier, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the king. It was afterwards called the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of wise men, very much to his majesty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumstance that seemed to have somewhat of force in it, (for as the company he looked for failed to appear, so there was a troop of horse, which he looked not for, sent by Argyle, who used very effectual instance with him to return,) yet notwithstanding, this declaration of his majesty's resentment, together with the observation of what the people generally spoke upon it, "that the king was not treated as he ought to be," made the marquis of Argyle change his counsels, and to be more solicitous to satisfy the king. A summons was sent out, in the king's name, to call a parliament; and great preparations were really made for the coronation; and the season of the year, (for whilst Cromwell was securing himself in Edinburgh, and making provisions for his army, the winter came on,) and the strong passes, which were easy then to be guarded, hindered the enemy's advance: so that the king resided, sometimes at Stirling, and sometimes at St. Johnston's, with commodity enough. The parliament met at Stirling, and shortly after brought all the lords of the other party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off those stains with which the engagement had defaced them, yet with submission to stand publicly in the stool of repentance, acknowledging their former transgressions; as they all did.

Duke Hamilton and Lautherdale were welcome to the king, and nearest his confidence; which neither the duke of Buckingham, who had cast off their friendship as unuseful, nor the marquis of Argyle, were pleased with. The king himself grew very popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgesses, got any thing passed in the parliament which he desired. He caused many infamous acts to be repealed, and provided for the raising an army, whereof himself was general; and no exceptions were taken to those officers who had formerly served the king his father.

The coronation was passed with great solemnity and magnificence, all men making show of joy, and of being united to serve his majesty: yet the marquis of Argyle preserved his greatness and interest so well, and was still so considerable, that it was thought very expedient to raise an imagination in him, that the king had a purpose to marry one of his daughters; which was carried so far, that the king could no otherwise defend himself from it, than by sending an express into France for the queen his mother's consent, (which seemed not to be doubted of,) and to that purpose captain Titus, a person grateful to Argyle, and to all the

presbyterian party, was sent; who, finding the queen less warm upon the proposition than was expected, made less haste back; so that the fate of Scotland was first determined.

The king's army was as well modelled, and in as good a condition as it was like to be whilst he stayed in Scotland. By that time that Cromwell was ready to take the field, his majesty was persuaded to make David Lesley his lieutenant general of the army; who had very long experience, and a very good name in war; and Middleton commanded the horse. The artillery was in very good order under the command of Wemmes, who had not the worse reputation there for having been ungrateful to the king's father. He was a confessed good officer; and there were, or could be, very few officers of any superior command, but such who had drawn their swords against his late majesty; all those who had served under the marquis of Mountrose having been put to death. Many of the greatest noblemen had raised regiments, or troops; and all the young gentlemen of the kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in commands, or volunteers: and, in all appearance, they seemed a body equal in any respect, and superior in number, to the enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifest that they desired nothing more than to come to battle; which was not thought counsellable for the king's army to engage in, except upon very notable advantages; which they had reason every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep river between them; and if they kept the passes, of which they were possessed, and could hardly choose but keep, Cromwell must in a very few days want provisions; and so be forced to retire, whilst the king had plenty of all things which he stood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the passes, be in his rear as soon as he thought fit.

In this posture both armies stood in view of each other near the two months of June and July, with some small attempts upon each other, with equal success. About the end of July, by the cowardice or treachery of major general [Brown], who had a body of four thousand men to keep it, Cromwell gained the pass, by which he got behind the king; and though he could not compel his majesty to fight, for there was still the great river between them, he was possessed, or might quickly be, of the most fruitful part of the country; and so would not only have sufficient provision for his own army, but in a short time would be able to cut off much of that which should supply the king's. This was a great surprise to the king, and put him into new counsels; and he did, with the unanimous advice of almost all the principal officers, and all those who were admitted to the council, take a resolution worthy of his courage; which, how unfortunate soever it proved, was evidence enough that the same misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The king was now, by Cromwell's putting himself behind him, much nearer to England than he: nor was it possible for him to overtake his majesty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to pass, till after the king had been many days' march before him: his majesty's fate depended upon the success of one battle: for a possible escape into the Highlands, after a defeat, there was no kingly prospect: all the northern

parts of England had given him cause to believe that they were very well affected to his service, and if he could reach those countries, he might presume to increase the number of his army, which was numerous enough, with an addition of such men as would make it much more considerable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforesaid, it was resolved that the army should immediately march, with as much expedition as was possible, into England, by the nearest ways, which led into Lancashire, whither the king sent expresses to give those, of whom he expected much, (by reason some of them had been in Scotland with him, with promise of large undertakings,) notice of his purpose, that they might get their soldiers together to receive him. His majesty sent likewise an express to the Isle of Man, where the earl of Derby had securely reposed himself from the end of the former war, "that he should meet his majesty in "Lancashire." The marquis of Argyle was the only man who dissuaded his majesty's march into England, with reasons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he stayed behind; and, when the king begun his march, retired to his house in the Highlands. Some were of opinion, that he should then have been made prisoner, and left so secured, that he might not be able to do mischief when the king was gone, which most men believed he would be inclined to. But his majesty would not consent to it, because he was confident "he would not attempt any thing "while the army was entire: if it prevailed, he "neither would nor could do any harm; and if it "were defeated, it would be no great matter what "he did."

Though Cromwell was not frequently without good intelligence what was done in the king's army and councils, yet this last resolution was consulted with so great secrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the king had marched a whole day without the people's comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the least advertisement of it. It was not a small surprise to him, nor was it easy for him to resolve what to do. If he should follow with his whole army, all the advantages he had got in Scotland would be presently lost, and the whole kingdom be again united in any new mischief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the king; whose army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than his could do. There were two considerations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible consternation he foresaw the parliament would be in, when they heard that the king with his army was nearer to them, than their own army was for their defence; and he knew that he had enemies enough to improve their fear, and to lessen his conduct: the other was, the apprehension, that, if the king had time given to rest in any place, he would infinitely increase and strengthen his army by the resort of the people, as well as the gentry and nobility, from all parts. And though he did so much undervalue the Scottish army, that he would have been glad to have found himself engaged with it, upon any inequality of numbers, and disadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with English, they might be made very considerable. He took a very quick resolution to provide for all the best he could: he despatched an express to the parlia-

ment, to prevent their being surprised with the news before they received it from him; and to assure them, "that he would himself overtake the "enemy before they should give them any trouble;" and gave such farther orders for drawing the auxiliary troops together in the several counties, as he thought fit.

He gave Lambert order, "immediately to follow "the king with seven or eight hundred horse, and "to draw as many others, as he could, from the "country militia; and to disturb his majesty's "march the most he could, by being near, and "obliging him to march close; not engaging his "own party in any sharp actions, without a very "notorious advantage; but to keep himself entire "till he should come up to him." With this order Lambert marched away the same day the advertisement came.

Cromwell resolved then to leave major general Monk, upon whom he looked with most confidence, as an excellent officer of foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a strong party of foot, and some troops of horse, strong enough to suppress any forces which should rise after his departure, "to "keep Edinburgh, and the harbour of Leith; to "surprise and apprehend as many of the nobility, "and considerable gentry, as he should find, and "keep them under custody; to use the highest "severity against all who opposed him; and, "above all, not to endure or permit the license of "the preachers in their pulpits; and to make "himself as formidable as was possible: in the "last place, that, as soon as there appeared no "visible force in the field, he should besiege "Stirling;" whither most persons of condition were retired with their goods of value, as to a place of strength, and capable of being defended; where the records of the kingdom, and many other things of most account were deposited; it being the place where the king had, for the most part, resided. He charged him, if at St. Johnston's, or any other "place, he found a stubborn resistance, and were "forced to spend much time, or to take it by "storm, that he should give no quarter, nor "exempt it from a general plunder;" all which rules Monk observed with the utmost rigour, and made himself as terrible as man could be.

When Cromwell had despatched all these orders and directions, with marvellous expedition, and seen most of them advanced in some degree of expedition, he begun his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the king was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulness, and assurance to the officers and soldiers, that he should obtain a full victory in England over those who fled from him out of Scotland.

The king had, from the time that he had recovered any authority in Scotland, granted a commission to the duke of Buckingham, to raise a regiment of horse which Massey was to command under him, and to raise another regiment of foot. And the English which should resort thither, of which they expected great numbers, were to list themselves in those regiments. And there were some who had listed themselves accordingly; but the discipline the Scots had used to the king, and their adhering to their old principles, even after they seemed united for his majesty, had kept the king's friends in England from repairing to them in Scotland. They who came from Holland with the king had disposed themselves as is said before,

and there was little doubt but that, as soon as the king should enter England, those two regiments would be immediately full. The duke of Buckingham had lost much ground (and the more because the king was not pleased with it) by his having broken off all manner of friendship with duke Hamilton, and the earl of Lautherdale, (to whom he had professed so much,) and had entered into so fast a conjunction with the marquis of Argyle, their declared irreconcilable enemy, and adhered so firmly to him, when he was less dutiful to the king than he ought to have been. Massey had got a great name by his defending Gloucester against the late king, and was looked upon as a martyr for the presbyterian interest, and so very dear to that party; and therefore, as soon as they came within the borders of England, he was sent with some troops before, and was always to march at least a day before the army, to the end that he might give notice of the king's coming, and draw the gentry of the counties through which he passed, to be ready to attend upon his majesty. Besides, he had particular acquaintance with most of the presbyterians of Lancashire; whom nobody imagined to be of the Scottish temper, or unwilling to unite and join with the royal party; nor indeed were they.

But it was fatal at that time to all Scottish armies, to have always in them a committee of ministers, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to choose such men for that service as had the reputation of being the most sober and moderate of that whole body, and who had shewed more affection, and advanced the king's service more than the rest; yet this moderate people no sooner heard that Massey was sent before to call upon their friends, and observed that, from the entrance into England, those about the king seemed to have less regard for the covenant than formerly, but they sent an express to him, without communicating it in the least degree with the king, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him "to publish that declaration, which signified the king's and the whole army's zeal for the covenant, and their resolution to prosecute the true intent of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any soldiers in his troops, but those who would subscribe that obligation." The king had shortly notice of this, and lost no time in sending to Massey "not to publish any such declaration, and to behave himself with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve his majesty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houses, or concealed themselves, who wished the king very well; and besides, his motion was so quick, that none of them could repair to him.

In Lancashire the earl of Derby met him; who, as soon as he received his summons, left the Isle of Man. When the king's army came about Warrington in Cheshire, they found, that there was a body of the enemy drawn up in a fair field, which did not appear considerable enough to stop their march. This was Lambert; who had made so much haste, that he had that day fallen upon some of their troops, and beaten them into the army; but when the army came up, Lambert, according to his order and purpose, retired, and, being pursued by the king's horse with a greater party,

made more disorderly haste than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no considerable loss. This success made a great noise, as if Lambert had been defeated.

At Warrington it was thought counsellable, very unfortunately, that the earl of Derby, with the lord Withrington, and several other officers of good name, should return into Lancashire, in order to raise the well affected in those two counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; who could not come in upon so quick a march, as the king had made: and yet it being out of the road that Cromwell was to follow, who was entered into Yorkshire, the remaining of those persons there was thought a good expedient to gather a body of English, which the king extremely desired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the army. In order to which, the earl had a body of near two hundred horse, consisting, for the most part, of officers and gentlemen; which deprived the army of a strength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a counsel too suddenly entered upon.

Upon appearance of that body of Lambert's, the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The king having observed David Lesley, throughout the whole march, sad and melancholy, and, at that time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made, slow in giving orders, and riding by himself, his majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, "how he could be sad when he was in the head of so brave an army?" (which he said looked well that day,) and demanded of him, "How he liked them?" To which David Lesley answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, "that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight:" which the king imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any man, till, some years after, upon another occasion which will be remembered in its place, he told the chancellor of the exchequer of it.

It was not thought fit to pursue Lambert; who, being known to be a man of courage and conduct, and his troops to be of the best, was suspected, by so disorderly a retreat, to have only designed to have drawn the army another way, to disorder and disturb their march; which they resolved to continue with the same expedition they had hitherto used, which was incredible; until they should come to such a post as they might securely rest themselves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to London; which would have produced wonderful effects. But they quickly found that to be impossible, and that both horse and foot grew so weary, that they must have rest: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of August, which is the warmest season of the year; so that if they had not some rest before an enemy approached them, how willing soever they might be, they could not be able to fight.

There was a small garrison in Shrewsbury commanded by a gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevailed with to give it up to the king; but his majesty sending to him, he returned a rude denial: so that his majesty's eye was upon Worcester; that was so little out of his way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the

march, if they found the army able to continue it. Worcester had always been a place very well affected in itself, and most of the gentlemen of that county had been engaged for the king in the former war, and the city was the last that had surrendered to the parliament, of all those which had been garrisoned for his majesty; when all the works were thrown down, and no garrison from that time had been kept there; the sheriff, and justices, and committees, having had power enough to defend it against any malignity of the town, or county; and at this time all the principal gentry of that county had been seized upon, and were now prisoners there. Thither the king marched with his army even as soon as they had heard that he was in England: whereupon the committee, and all those who were employed by the parliament, fled in all the confusion imaginable, leaving their prisoners behind them, lest they themselves should become prisoners to them; and the city opened their gates, and received the king, with all the demonstration of affection and duty that could be expressed; and made such provision for the army, that it wanted nothing it could desire; the mayor taking care for the present provision of shoes and stockings, the want whereof, in so long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal persons of the country found themselves at liberty; and they, and the mayor and aldermen, with all the solemnity they could prepare, attended the herald, who proclaimed the king, as he had done, in more haste, and with less formality, in all those considerable towns through which his majesty had passed.

The army liked their quarters here so well, that neither officer nor soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they should be thoroughly refreshed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even insupportable; never had so many hundred miles been marched in so few days, and with so little rest; nor did it in truth appear reasonable to any that they should remove from thence, since it was not possible that they should be able to reach London, though it had been better prepared for the king's reception than it appeared to be, before Cromwell would be there: who, having with great haste continued his march in a direct line, was now as near to it as the king's army was, and stood only at a gaze to be informed what his majesty meant to do. Worcester was a very good post, seated almost in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it; a good city, served by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of stout men: it was a place whither the king's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himself, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompass him on all sides: and then the king might choose on which side to fight, since the enemy must be on both sides the river, and could not come suddenly to relieve each other, and this pressure would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several insurrections in the kingdom, if they were so weary of the present tyranny, and so solicitous to be restored to the king's

government, as they were conceived to be: for nobody could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their loyalty, than when the king was in the heart of the kingdom, with a formed army of near twenty thousand men, horse and foot, (for so they might be accounted to be,) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful party. These considerations produced a resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect Cromwell there; and a hope that he might be exercised by other diversions: and there was like to be time enough to cast up such works upon the hill before the town, as might keep the enemy at a distance, and their own quarters from being suddenly straitened: all which were recommended to general Lesley to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time required it.

The first ill omen that happened was the news of the defeat of the earl of Derby, and the total destruction of those gallant persons who accompanied him. The earl of Derby, within two or three days after he had left the king, with a body of near two hundred horse, all gallant men, employed his servants and tenants to give the country notice of his staying behind the king, to head and command those persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his majesty made through the country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the people, he went to a little market-town, called Wigan, in the duchy of Lancaster, where he stayed that night; when in the morning a regiment of the militia of the neighbour counties, commanded by a man of courage, whom Cromwell had sent to follow in the track of the king's march, to gather up the stragglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the army, having received some advertisement that a troop of the king's horse were behind the army in that town, fell very early into it, before the persons in the town were out of their beds, having assurance, upon all the inquiry they could make, that there was no enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of this regiment, which consisted of the several troops of the several counties, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their horses, presently mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on foot, and all endeavoured to keep the enemy from entering into the town; and the few who were got on horseback charged them with great courage. But the number of the enemy was too great, and the town too open, to put a stop to them in any one place, when they could enter at so many, and encompass those who opposed them. The earl of Derby, after his horse had been killed under him, made a shift on foot, to get into some enclosed grounds, and to conceal himself all that day, but was soon betrayed, and apprehended, and committed to prison.

The lord Withrington, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon those who assaulted him, was killed upon the place; and so was sir Thomas Tildesley, and many other gallant gentlemen, very few escaping to carry news of the defeat. Sir William Throgmorton, who had been formerly major general of the marquis of Newcastle's army, and was left to com-

mand in the same function, received so many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the prisoners; and so fell into such charitable and generous hands in the town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards so well recovered, though with great maims and loss of limbs, that he at last got himself transported into Holland; where he was, at first appearance, taken for a ghost, all men believing him to have been buried long before. Most of those who were taken prisoners, of any quality, were afterwards sacrificed as a spectacle to the people, and barbarously put to death in several places; some, with the earl of Derby; and others, near the same time, in other places.

The lord Withrington was one of the most goodly persons of that age, being near the head higher than most tall men, and a gentleman of the best and most ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the last king made choice of to be about the person of his son the prince as gentleman of his privy chamber, when he first erected his family. His affection to the king was always notorious; and serving in the house of commons as knight of the shire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongst the most malignant. As soon as the war broke out, he was of the first who raised both horse and foot at his own charge, and served eminently with them under the marquis of Newcastle; with whom he had a very particular and entire friendship. He was very nearly allied to the marquis; and by his testimony that he had performed many signal services, he was, about the middle of the war, made a peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, and choler, by the last of which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an insolence of nature, which no man was farther from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in business, or conversation. But having sat long in the house of commons, and observed the disingenuity of the proceedings there, and the gross cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted so hearty an indignation against them, and all who were cozened by them, and against all who had not his zeal to oppose and destroy them, that he often said things to slow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask pardon of those who would not question him for it. He transported himself into the parts beyond the sea at the same time with the marquis of Newcastle, to accompany him, and remained still with him till the king went into Scotland; and then waited upon his majesty, and endured the same affronts which others did, during the time of his residence there. And, it may be, the observation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the disdain of their treatment, produced that aversion from their conversation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too soon from their company, in hope that the earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to serve, and he himself, might quickly draw together such a body of the royal party, as might give some check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that, in respect of his brave person and behaviour, they

did offer him quarter; which he refused; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the animosity the parliament had against him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have used him better than they did the earl of Derby; who had not more enemies.

Sir Thomas Tildesley was a gentleman of a good family, and a good fortune, who had raised men at his own charge at the beginning of the war, and had served in the command of them till the very end of it, with great courage; and refusing to make any composition after the murder of the king, he found means to transport himself into Ireland to the marquis of Ormond; with whom he stayed, till he was, with the rest of the English officers, dismissed, to satisfy the barbarous jealousy of the Irish; and then got over into Scotland a little before the king marched from thence, and was desired by the earl of Derby to remain with him. The names of the other persons of quality who were killed in that encounter, and those who were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discovered, and mentioned honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate those transactions to the view of posterity.

When the news of this defeat came to Worcester, as it did even almost as soon as the king came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general rising of the people on his behalf. His army was very little increased by the access of any English; and though he had passed near the habitation of many persons of honour and quality, whose affections and loyalty had been notorious, not a man of them repaired to him. The sense of their former sufferings remained, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in Worcester for so many days add any resort to his court. The gentlemen of the country whom his coming thither had redeemed from imprisonment, remained still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their houses in the country, though as well affected, remained there, and came not to him; and though letters from London had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appeared, except some common men who had formerly served the last king, and repaired again to Worcester.

There were some other accidents and observations which administered matter of mortification to the king. The duke of Buckingham had a mind very restless, and thought he had not credit enough with the king, if it were not made manifest that he had more than any body else: and therefore, as soon as the king had entered England, though he had reason to believe that his majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in Scotland, he came to the king, and told him, "the business was now to reduce England to his obedience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and popular in the eyes of the nation; and nothing could be less so, than that the army should be under the command of a Scottish general: that David Lesley was only lieutenant general; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remained in Scotland, to have put any other to have commanded

“over him; but that it would be as unreasonable, “now they were in England, and had hope to “increase the army by the access of the English, “upon whom his principal dependence must be, “to expect that they would be willing to serve “under Lesley: that it would not consist with “the honour of any peer of England to receive “his orders; and, he believed, that very few of “that rank would repair to his majesty, till they “were secure from that apprehension;” and used much more discourse to that purpose. The king was so much surprised with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, “who it was that he “thought fit his majesty should give that command to?” when, to his astonishment, the duke told him, “he hoped his majesty would confer it “upon himself.” At which the king was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon somebody who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions, declined the former argument. The duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the king, “that, he was confident, what he had “proposed to him was so evidently for his service, “that David Lesley himself would willingly consent to it.” The king, angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, “he could hardly “believe that he was in earnest, or that he could “in truth believe that he could be fit for such a “charge;” which the duke seemed to wonder at, and asked, “wherein his unfitness lay?” To which the king replied, “that he was too young:” and he as readily alleged, “that Harry the Fourth “of France commanded an army, and won a battle, when he was younger than he:” so that, in the end, the king was compelled to tell him, “that “he would have no generalissimo but himself:” upon which the duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the council, scarce spoke to the king, neglected every body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he never put on clean linen, nor conversed with any body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the army stayed at Worcester.

There was another worse accident fell out soon after the king’s coming thither: major general Massey, who thought himself now in his own territory, and that all between Worcester and Gloucester would be quickly his own conquest, knowing every step of the land and the river, went out with a party to secure a pass, which the enemy might make over the river; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the country, and possess a house which was of small importance, and in which there were men to defend it; where he received a very dangerous wound, that tore his arm and hand in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his bed, in a time when his activity and industry was most wanted. By this means, the pass he had secured was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

There was no good understanding between the officers of the army: David Lesley appeared dispirited, and confounded; gave and revoked his orders, and sometimes contradicted them. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the spirits

of the rest, who had no esteem of Lesley. In this very unhappy distemper was the court and the army, in a season when they were ready to be swallowed by the malice and multitude of the enemy, and when nothing could preserve them, but the most sincere unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their counsels and endeavours; in all which they were miserably divided.

The king had been several days in Worcester, when Cromwell was known to be within less than half a day’s march, with an addition of very many regiments of horse and foot to those which he had brought with him from Scotland; and many other regiments were drawing towards him of the militia of the several counties, under the command of the principal gentlemen of the country: so that he was already very much superior, if not double in number to the army the king had with him. However, if those rules had been observed, those works cast up, and that order in quartering their men, as were resolved upon when the king came thither, there must have been a good defence made, and the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city, would have preserved them from being presently overrun. But, alas! the army was in amazement and confusion. Cromwell, without troubling himself with the formality of a siege, marched directly on as to a prey, and possessed the hill and all other places of advantage, with very little opposition. It was upon the third of September, when the king having been upon his horse most part of the night, and having taken a full view of the enemy, and every body being upon the post they should be, and the enemy making such a stand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt that night, and if he should, he might be repelled with ease; his majesty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat, and refresh himself: where he had not been near an hour, when the alarm came, “that both armies were engaged;” and though his majesty’s own horse was ready at the door, and he presently mounted, before or as soon as he came out of the city, he met the whole body of his horse running in so great fear, that he could not stop them, though he used all the means he could, and called to many officers by their names; and hardly preserved himself, by letting them pass by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

Cromwell had used none of the delay, nor circumspection which was imagined; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once; and had caused a strong party to go over the river at the pass, which Massey had formerly secured, at a good distance from the town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that side the river, till they were even ready to charge the king’s troops. On that part where Middleton was, and with whom duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave resistance; and they charged the enemy so vigorously, that they beat the body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many gentlemen being killed, and Middleton hurt, and duke Hamilton’s leg broke short off with a shot, the rest were forced to retire and shift for themselves. In no other part was there resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the

foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the king came back into the town, he found a good body of horse, which had been persuaded to make a stand, though much the major part passed through upon the spur without making any pause. The king desired those who stayed, "that they would follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, who, he believed, did not pursue them." But when his majesty had gone a little way, he found most of the horse were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few servants of his own about him. Then he sent to have the gates of the town shut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confusion; there were few to command, and none to obey: so that the king stayed till very many of the enemy's horse were entered the town, and then he was persuaded to withdraw himself.

Duke Hamilton fell into the enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a spectacle, as his brother had been; which the pride and animosity of his enemies would no doubt have done, having the same pretence for it by his being a peer of England, as the other was. He was in all respects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man: for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage, in which the other did not abound: he was in truth a very accomplished person, of an excellent judgment, and clear and ready expressions: and though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very article of his death, he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness, "that he had the honour to lose his life in the king's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions;" which he always professed were odious to himself.

As the victory cost the enemy no blood, so after it there was not much cruelty used to the prisoners who were taken upon the spot. But very many of those who run away were every day knocked in the head by the country people, and used with barbarity. Towards the king's menial servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but within few days they were all discharged, and set at liberty.

Though the king could not get a body of horse to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from Worcester, when he found about him near, if not above, four thousand of his horse. There was David Lesley with all his own equipage, as if he had not fled upon the sudden; so that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a hopeful retreat even into Scotland itself. But there was paleness in every man's looks, and jealousy and confusion in their faces; and nothing could worse befall the king, than a safe return into Scotland; which yet he could not reasonably promise to himself in that company. But when the night covered them, he found means to withdraw himself with one or two of his own servants; whom he likewise discharged, when it begun to be light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent

wood, and relied only upon Him for deliverance who alone could, and did miraculously deliver him.

When it was morning, and the troops, which had marched all night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the king was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and all who were English separated themselves, and went into other roads; and wherever twenty horse appeared of the country, which was now awake, and upon their guard to stop and arrest the runaways, the whole body of the Scottish horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves prisoners to two country fellows: however, David Lesley reached Yorkshire with above fifteen hundred horse in a body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by Cromwell; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; sir William Armorer asked him, "which way he thought best?" which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he swore, he had betrayed the king and the army all the time;" and so left him.

They were all soon after taken. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous body of horse (for there can be no imagination that any of the foot escaped) returned into Scotland. Upon all the inquiry that was made, when a discovery was made of most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed by most men, there appeared no cause to suspect that David Lesley had been unfaithful in his charge: though he never recovered any reputation with those of his own country who wedded the king's interest. And yet it was some vindication to him, that, from the time of his imprisonment, he never received any favour from the parliament, whom he had served so long; nor from Cromwell, in whose company he had served; but underwent all the severities, and long imprisonment, the rest of his countrymen underwent. The king did not believe him false; and did always think him an excellent officer of horse, to distribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. And without doubt he was so amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the office of a general, or of any competent officer.

They who fled out of Worcester, and were not killed, but made prisoners, were treated best and found great humanity; but all the foot, and others who were taken in the town, except some few officers and persons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour; and many perished for want of food; and being enclosed in little room, till they were sold to the plantations for slaves, they died of all diseases. Cromwell returned in triumph; was received with universal joy and acclamation, as if he had destroyed the enemy of the nation, and for ever secured the liberty and happiness of the people: a price was set upon the king's head,

whose escape was thought to be impossible; and order taken for the trial of the earl of Derby, and such other notorious prisoners as they had voted to destruction.

The earl of Derby was a man of unquestionable loyalty to the late king, and gave clear testimony of it before he received any obligations from the court, and when he thought himself disobliged by it. This king, in his first year, sent him the garter; which, in many respects, he had expected from the last. And the sense of that honour made him so readily comply with the king's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depressed the crown, to be made instruments of repairing and restoring it. He was a man of great honour and clear courage; and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived so little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors; which was the source of all the ill that befell him, having thereby drawn such prejudice against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be contemned, that they pursued him to death. The king's army was no sooner defeated at Worcester, but the parliament renewed their old method of murdering in cold blood, and sent a commission to erect a high court of justice in Lancashire to persons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen, and all notoriously his enemies, to try the earl of Derby for his treason and rebellion; which they easily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a town of his own, against which he had expressed a severe displeasure for their obstinate rebellion against the king, with all the circumstances of rudeness and barbarity they could invent. The same night, one of those who was amongst his judges sent a trumpet to the Isle of Man with a letter directed to the countess dowager of Derby, by which he required her "to deliver up the castle and island to the parliament:" nor did their malice abate, till they had reduced that lady, a woman of very high and princely extraction, being the daughter of the duke de Tremouille in France, and of the most exemplary virtue and piety of her time, and that whole illustrious family, to the lowest penury and want, by disposing, giving, and selling, all the fortune and estate that should support it.

They of the king's friends in Flanders, France, and Holland, who had not been permitted to attend upon his majesty in Scotland, were much exalted with the news of his being entered England with a powerful army, and being possessed of Worcester, which made all men prepare to make haste thither. But they were confounded with the assurance of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the person of the king, "of his being found amongst the dead; of his being prisoner;" and all those imaginations which naturally attend upon such unprosperous events. Many who had made escapes arrived every day in France, Flanders, and Holland, but knew no more what was become of the king, than they did who had not been in England. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongst those that fled, and some of them had seen him that evening after the battle, many miles out of Wor-

cester. These unsteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; sometimes they heard he was at the Hague with his sister, which was occasioned by the arrival of the duke of Buckingham in Holland; and it was thought good policy to publish that the king himself was landed, that the search after him in England might be discontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that side the sea. And this anxiety of mind disquieted the hearts of all honest men during the whole months of September and October, and part of November; in which month his majesty was known to be at Rouen; where he made himself known, and stayed some days to provide clothes; and from thence gave notice to the queen of his arrival.

It is great pity that there was never a journal made of that miraculous deliverance, in which there might be seen so many visible impressions of the immediate hand of God. When the darkness of the night was over, after the king had cast himself into that wood, he discerned another man, who had gotten upon an oak in the same wood, near the place where the king had rested himself, and had slept soundly. The man upon the tree had first seen the king, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the king, being a gentleman of the neighbour county of Staffordshire, who had served his late majesty during the war, and had now been one of the few who resorted to the king after his coming to Worcester. His name was Careless, who had had a command of foot, above the degree of a captain, under the lord Loughborough. He persuaded the king, since it could not be safe for him to go out of the wood, and that, as soon as it should be fully light, the wood itself would probably be visited by those of the country, who would be searching to find those whom they might make prisoners, that he would get up into that tree, where he had been; where the boughs were so thick with leaves, that a man would not be discovered there without a narrower inquiry than people usually make in places which they do not suspect. The king thought it good counsel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the tree; and then helped his companion to ascend after him; where they sat all that day, and securely saw many who came purposely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their discourse, how they would use the king himself if they could take him. This wood was either in or upon the borders of Staffordshire; and though there was a highway near one side of it, where the king had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other sides of it opened amongst enclosures, and it pleased God that Careless was not unacquainted with the neighbour villages; and it was part of the king's good fortune, that this gentleman, by being a Roman catholic, was acquainted with those of that profession of all degrees, who had the best opportunities of concealing him: for it must never be denied, that some of that faith had a very great share in his majesty's preservation.

The day being spent in the tree, it was not in the king's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little sleep; so that, when the night came, he was willing to make some provision for both: and he resolved, with the advice and assistance of his companion, to leave his blessed tree; and,

when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into those enclosures which were farthest from any highway, and making a shift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at least eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the king by the weight of his boots, (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of shoes,) before morning they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman catholic was known to Careless. He was called up, and as soon as he knew one of them, he easily concluded in what condition they both were; and presently carried them into a little barn, full of hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himself. But when they were there, and had conferred with their host of the news and temper of the country, it was resolved, that the danger would be the greater if they stayed together; and therefore that Careless should presently be gone; and should, within two days, send an honest man to the king, to guide him to some other place of security; and in the mean time his majesty should stay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promised him good buttermilk the next morning; and so he was once more left alone, his companion, how weary soever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the house knowing no more, than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of those who had escaped from Worcester. The king slept very well in his lodging, till the time that his host brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the best food he ever had eaten. The poor man spoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the king, and of the great fear and terror, that possessed the hearts of those who were best affected. He told him, "that he himself lived by his daily labour, and that what he had brought him was the fare he and his wife had; and that he feared, if he should endeavour to procure better, it might draw suspicion upon him, and people might be apt to think he had somebody with him that was not of his own family. However, if he would have him get some meat, he would do it; but if he could bear this hard diet, he should have enough of the milk, and some of the butter that was made with it." The king was satisfied with his reason, and would not run the hazard for a change of diet; desired only the man, "that he might have his company as often, and as much as he could give it him;" there being the same reason against the poor man's discontinuing his labour, as the alteration of his fare.

After he had rested upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his host, came to the house, sent from Careless, to conduct the king to another house, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was above twelve miles that he was to go, and was to use the same caution he had done the first night, not to go in any common road; which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dressed himself, changing clothes with his landlord and putting on those which he usually wore: he had a great mind to have kept his own shirt; but he considered, that men are not sooner discovered by

any mark in disguises, than by having fine linen in ill clothes; and so he parted with his shirt too, and took the same his poor host had then on. Though he had foreseen that he must leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the best care he could to provide an old pair of shoes, yet they were not easy to him when he first put them on, and, in a short time after, grew very grievous to him. In this equipage he set out from his first lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of this comrade; who guided him the nearest way, crossing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in least danger of meeting passengers. This was so grievous a march, and he was so tired, that he was even ready to despair, and to prefer being taken and suffered to rest, before purchasing his safety at that price. His shoes had, after the walking a few miles, hurt him so much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the rest of the way in his ill stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the stones in other places, were so hurt and wounded, that he many times cast himself upon the ground, with a desperate and obstinate resolution to rest there till the morning, that he might shift with less torment, what hazard soever he run. But his stout guide still prevailed with him to make a new attempt, sometimes promising that the way should be better, and sometimes assuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this distress and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the house designed; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was still in the barn, upon straw instead of hay, a place being made as easy in it, as the expectation of a guest could dispose it. Here he had such meat and porridge as such people use to have; with which, but especially with the butter and the cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, shoes and stockings: and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor house, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was designed was only, by shifting from one house to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman catholics than most other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that persuasion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then observed that he was never carried to any gentleman's house, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houses of poor men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better houses, in regard of the resort, and the many servants; or whether the owners of great estates were the owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Within few days, a very honest and discreet person, one Mr. Hudleston, a Benedictine monk, who attended the service of the Roman catholics in those parts, came to him, sent by Careless; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a horse, and more proper habit than

the rags he wore. This man told him, "that the lord Wilmot lay concealed likewise in a friend's house of his; which his majesty was very glad of; and wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak together;" which the other easily did; and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. Wilmot told the king, "that he had by very good fortune fallen into the house of an honest gentleman, one Mr. Lane, a person of an excellent reputation for his fidelity to the king, but of so universal and general a good name, that, though he had a son, who had been a colonel in the king's service, during the late war, and was then upon his way with men to Worcester the very day of the defeat, men of all affections in the country, and of all opinions, paid the old man a very great respect: that he had been very civilly treated there, and that the old gentleman had used some diligence to find out where the king was, that he might get him to his house; where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might contrive a full deliverance." He told him, "he had withdrawn from that house, and put himself amongst the catholics, in hope that he might discover where his majesty was, and having now happily found him, advised him to repair to that house, which stood not near any other."

The king inquired of the monk of the reputation of this gentleman; who told him, "that he had a fair estate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldest justice of peace of that county of Stafford; and though he was a very zealous protestant, yet he lived with so much civility and candour towards the catholics, that they would all trust him, as much as they would do any of their own profession; and that he could not think of any place of so good repose and security for his majesty's repair to." The king, who by this time had as good a mind to eat well as to sleep, liked the proposition, yet thought not fit to surprise the gentleman; but sent Wilmot thither again, to assure himself that he might be received there; and was willing that he should know what guest he received; which hitherto was so much concealed, that none of the houses, where he had yet been, knew, or seemed to suspect more than that he was one of the king's party that fled from Worcester. The monk carried him to a house at a reasonable distance, where he was to expect an account from the lord Wilmot; who returned very punctually, with as much assurance of welcome as he could wish. And so they two went together to Mr. Lane's house; where the king found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in such places, as in a large house had been provided to conceal the persons of malignants, or to preserve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in present safety. Wilmot returned under the care of the monk, and expected summons, when any farther motion should be thought to be necessary.

In this station the king remained in quiet and blessed security many days, receiving every day information of the general consternation the kingdom was in, out of the apprehension that his person might fall into the hands of his enemies, and of the great diligence they used to inquire for

him. He saw the proclamation that was issued out and printed; in which a thousand pounds were promised to any man who would deliver and discover the person of Charles Stuart, and the penalty of high treason declared against those who presumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he saw how much he was beholding to all those who were faithful to him. It was now time to consider how he might find himself near the sea, from whence he might find some means to transport himself: and he was now near the middle of the kingdom, saving that it was a little more northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the ports, and with that coast. In the west he was best acquainted, and that coast was most proper to transport him into France; to which he was most inclined. Upon this matter he communicated with those of this family to whom he was known, that is, with the old gentleman the father, a very grave and venerable person; the colonel his eldest son, a very plain man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless courage, and an integrity superior to any temptation; and a daughter of the house, of a very good wit and discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the affections of all men were almost as well known as their faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad seasons, in many trials and persecutions: so that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their friends, could choose fit houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the kingdom to another, without trusting the hospitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon such occasions, but the persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another house of the same affection.

Mr. Lane had a niece, or very near kinswoman, who was married to a gentleman, one Mr. Norton, a person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Bristol, which was at least four or five days' journey from the place where the king then was, but a place most to be wished for the king to be in, because he did not only know all that country very well, but knew many persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolved, that Mrs. Lane should visit this cousin, who was known to be of good affections; and that she should ride behind the king, who was fitted with clothes and boots for such a service; and that a servant of her father's, in his livery, should wait upon her. A good house was easily pitched upon for the first night's lodging; where Wilmot had notice given him to meet. And in this equipage the king begun his journey; the colonel keeping him company at a distance, with a hawk upon his fist, and two or three spaniels; which, where there were any fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his company still in his eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first night's lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journey's end about the close of the evening, for it was in the month of October far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be de-

spatched sooner. Here the lord Wilmot found them; and their journeys being then adjusted, he was instructed where he should be every night: so they were seldom seen together in the journey, and rarely lodged in the same house at night. In this manner the colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within less than a day's journey of Mr. Norton's house; and then he gave his hawk to the lord Wilmot; who continued the journey in the same exercise.

There was great care taken when they came to any house, that the king might be presently carried into some chamber; Mrs. Lane declaring, "that he was a neighbour's son, whom his father had lent her to ride before her, in hope that he would the sooner recover from a quartan ague, with which he had been miserably afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this artifice she caused a good bed to be still provided for him, and the best meat to be sent; which she often carried herself, to hinder others from doing it. There was no resting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, save that they met many people every day in the way, who were very well known to the king; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were necessarily to ride quite through the city of Bristol; a place, and people, the king had been so well acquainted with, that he could not but send his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great fort had stood, he could not forbear putting his horse out of the way, and rode with his mistress behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. Norton's house sooner than usual, and it being on a holyday, they saw many people about a bowling green that was before the door; and the first man the king saw was a chaplain of his own, who was allied to the gentleman of the house, and was sitting upon the rails to see how the bowlers played. William, by which name the king went, walked with his horse into the stable, until his mistress could provide for his retreat. Mrs. Lane was very welcome to her cousin, and was presently conducted to her chamber; where she no sooner was, than she lamented the condition of "a good youth, who came with her, and whom she had borrowed of his father to ride before her, who was very sick, being newly recovered of an ague;" and desired her cousin, "that a chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire made: for that he would go early to bed, and was not fit to be below stairs." A pretty little chamber was presently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a boy sent into the stable to call William, and to shew him his chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from so much company as was below. Mrs. Lane was put to find some excuse for making a visit at that time of the year, and so many days' journey from her father, and where she had never been before, though the mistress of the house and she had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended, "that she was, after a little rest, to go into Dorsetshire to another friend." When it was supper-time, there being broth brought to the table, Mrs. Lane filled a little dish, and desired the butler, who waited at the table, "to carry that dish of porridge to Wil-

liam, and to tell him that he should have some meat sent to him presently." The butler carried the porridge into the chamber, with a napkin, and spoon, and bread, and spoke kindly to the young man; who was willing to be eating.

The butler, looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his majesty." The king was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the man, and to ask him, "what he meant?" The man had been falconer to sir Thomas Jermyn, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the king had not forgot. Whereupon the king conjured him "not to speak of what he knew, so much as to his master, though he believed him a very honest man." The fellow promised, and faithfully kept his word; and the king was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr. Gorges, the king's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them; and, being a man of a cheerful conversation, asked Mrs. Lane many questions concerning William, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up meat to him, "how long his ague had been gone? and whether he had purged since it left him?" and the like; to which she gave such answers as occurred. The doctor, from the final prevalence of the parliament, had, as many others of that function had done, declined his profession, and pretended to study physic. As soon as supper was done, out of good nature, and without telling any body, he went to see William. The king saw him coming into the chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the bed, that he might be farthest from the candle; and the doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his pulse, and asked him many questions, which he answered in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his bed; to which the doctor left him, and went to Mrs. Lane, and told her, "that he had been with William, and that he would do well;" and advised her what she should do if his ague returned. The next morning the doctor went away, so that the king saw him no more, of which he was right glad. The next day the lord Wilmot came to the house with his hawk, to see Mrs. Lane, and so conferred with William; who was to consider what he was to do. They thought it necessary to rest some days, till they were informed what port lay most convenient for them, and what person lived nearest to it, upon whose fidelity they might rely: and the king gave him directions to inquire after some persons, and some other particulars, of which when he should be fully instructed, he should return again to him. In the mean time Wilmot lodged at a house not far from Mr. Norton's, to which he had been recommended.

After some days' stay here, and communication between the king and the lord Wilmot by letters, the king came to know that colonel Francis Windham lived within little more than a day's journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for besides the inclination he had to his eldest brother, whose wife had been his nurse, this gentleman had behaved himself very well during the war, and had been governor of Dunstar castle, where the king had lodged when he was in the

west. After the end of the war, and when all other places were surrendered in that county, he likewise surrendered that, upon fair conditions, and made his peace, and afterwards married a wife with a competent fortune, and lived quietly, without any suspicion of having lessened his affection towards the king.

The king sent Wilmot to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly speak with him." It was not hard for him to choose a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the king had taken his leave of Mrs. Lane, who remained with her cousin Norton, the king, and the lord Wilmot, met the colonel; and, in the way, he encountered in a town, through which they passed, Mr. Kirton, a servant of the king's, who well knew the lord Wilmot, who had no other disguise than the hawk, but took no notice of him, nor suspected the king to be there; yet that day made the king more wary of having him in his company upon the way. At the place of meeting they rested only one night, and then the king went to the colonel's house; where he rested many days, whilst the colonel projected at what place the king might embark, and how they might procure a vessel to be ready there; which was not easy to find; there being so great a caution in all the ports, and so great a fear possessing those who were honest, that it was hard to procure any vessel that was outward bound to take in any passenger.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Ellison, who lived near Lyme in Dorsetshire, and was well known to colonel Windham, having been a captain in the king's army, and was still looked upon as a very honest man. With him the colonel consulted, how they might get a vessel to be ready to take in a couple of gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arrested, and transport them into France. Though no man would ask who the persons were, yet every man suspected who they were; at least they concluded, that it was some of Worcester party. Lyme was generally as malicious and disaffected a town to the king's interest, as any town in England could be: yet there was in it a master of a bark, of whose honesty this captain was very confident. This man was lately returned from France, and had unladen his vessel, when Ellison asked him, "when he would make another voyage?" And he answered, "as soon as he could get lading for his ship." The other asked, "whether he would undertake to carry over a couple of gentlemen, and land them in France, if he might be as well paid for his voyage as he used to be when he was freighted by the merchants." In conclusion, he told him, "he should receive fifty pounds for his fare." The large recompense had that effect, that the man undertook it; though he said "he must make his provision very secretly; for that he might be well suspected for going to sea again without being freighted, after he was so newly returned." Colonel Windham, being advertised of this, came together with the lord Wilmot to the captain's house, from whence the lord and the captain rid to a house near Lyme; where the master of the bark met them; and the lord Wilmot being satisfied with the discourse of the man, and his wariness in foreseeing suspicions which would arise, it was resolved, that on such a night, which, upon consideration of the tides, was agreed upon, the man

should draw out his vessel from the pier, and, being at sea, should come to such a point about a mile from the town, where his ship should remain upon the beach when the water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a small inn, kept by a man who was reputed honest, to which the cavaliers of the country often resorted; and London road passed that way; so that it was seldom without resort. Into that inn the two gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the night, that they might put themselves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earnest given to the master, the lord Wilmot and the colonel returned to the colonel's house, above a day's journey from the place, the captain undertaking every day to look that the master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the king should be the day before he was to embark.

The king, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that house where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the captain; who found that the man had honestly put his provisions on board, and had his company ready, which were but four men; and that the vessel should be drawn out that night: so that it was fit for the two persons to come to the aforesaid inn, and the captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own house, not distant a mile from it; the colonel remaining still at the house where they had lodged the night before, till he might hear the news of their being embarked.

They found many passengers in the inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, Wilmot went out to discover the bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the sun arose, and nothing like a ship in view. They sent to the captain, who was as much amazed; and he sent to the town; and his servant could not find the master of the bark, which was still in the pier. They suspected the captain, and the captain suspected the master. However, it being past ten of the clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their horses again to return to the house where they had left the colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the night he was to go out with his vessel, he had stayed in his own house, and slept two or three hours; and the time of the tide being come, that it was necessary to be on board, he took out of a cupboard some linen, and other things, which he used to carry with him to sea. His wife had observed, that he had been for some days fuller of thoughts than he used to be, and that he had been speaking with seamen, who used to go with him, and that some of them had carried provisions on board the bark; of which she had asked her husband the reason; who had told her, "that he was promised freight speedily, and therefore he would make all things ready." She was sure that there was yet no lading in the ship, and therefore, when she saw her husband

take all those materials with him, which was a sure sign that he meant to go to sea, and it being late in the night, she shut the door, and swore he should not go out of his house. He told her, "he must go, and was engaged to go to sea that night; for which he should be well paid." His wife told him, "she was sure he was doing something that would undo him, and she was resolved he should not go out of his house; and if he should persist in it, she would tell the neighbours, and carry him before the mayor to be examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor man, thus mastered by the passion and violence of his wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the king's jealousy hastened him from that inn. It was the solemn fast day, which was observed in those times principally to inflame the people against the king, and all those who were loyal to him; and there was a chapel in that village over against that inn, where a weaver, who had been a soldier, used to preach, and utter all the villainy imaginable against the old order of government: and he was then in the chapel preaching to his congregation, when the king went from thence, and telling the people, "that Charles Stuart was lurking somewhere in that country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, if they could find him out." The passengers, who had lodged in the inn that night, had, as soon as they were up, sent for a smith to visit their horses, it being a hard frost. The smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that people, examined the feet of the other two horses to find more work. When he had observed them, he told the host of the house, "that one of those horses had travelled far; and that he was sure that his four shoes had been made in four several countries;" which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The smith going to the sermon told this story to some of his neighbours; and so it came to the ears of the preacher, when his sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an officer, and searched the inn, and inquired for those horses; and being informed that they were gone, he caused horses to be sent to follow them, and to make inquiry after the two men who rid those horses, and positively declared, "that one of them was Charles Stuart."

When they came again to the colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a ship upon that coast; and, without any farther delay, they rode back to the colonel's house; where they arrived in the night. Then they resolved to make their next attempt more southward, in Hampshire and Sussex, where colonel Windham had no interest. They must pass through all Wiltshire before they came thither; which would require many days' journey: and they were first to consider what honest houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous for the king to ride through any great town, as Salisbury, or Winchester, which might probably lie in their way.

There was between that and Salisbury a very honest gentleman, colonel Robert Philips, a younger brother of a very good family, which had always

been very loyal; and he had served the king during the war. The king was resolved to trust him; and so sent the lord Wilmot to a place from whence he might send to Mr. Philips to come to him, and when he had spoken with him, Mr. Philips should come to the king, and Wilmot was to stay in such a place as they two should agree. Mr. Philips accordingly came to the colonel's house; which he could do without suspicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of soldiers; which were sent now from the army to their quarters, and many regiments of horse and foot were assigned for the west; of which division Desborough was major general. These marches were like to last for many days, and it would not be fit for the king to stay so long in that place. Thereupon, he resorted to his old security of taking a woman behind him, a kinswoman of colonel Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from Salisbury; to which colonel Philips conducted him. In this journey he passed through the middle of a regiment of horse; and, presently after, met Desborough walking down a hill with three or four men with him; who had lodged in Salisbury the night before; all that road being full of soldiers.

The next day, upon the plains, Dr. Hinchman, one of the prebends of Salisbury, met the king, the lord Wilmot and Philips then leaving him to go to the sea-coast to find a vessel, the doctor conducting the king to a place called Heale, three miles from Salisbury, belonging then to sergeant Hyde, who was afterwards chief justice of the King's Bench, and then in the possession of the widow of his elder brother; a house that stood alone from neighbours, and from any highway; where coming in late in the evening, he supped with some gentlemen who accidentally were in the house; which could not well be avoided. But, the next morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his journey; and the widow, being trusted with the knowledge of her guest, sent her servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little room, which had been made since the beginning of the troubles for the concealment of delinquents, the seat always belonging to a malignant family.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of some gentlemen, who lived in the house, and of others who daily resorted thither, for many days, the widow herself only attending him with such things as were necessary, and bringing him such letters as the doctor received from the lord Wilmot and colonel Philips. A vessel being at last provided upon the coast of Sussex, and notice thereof sent to Dr. Hinchman, he sent to the king to meet him at Stonehenge upon the plains three miles from Heale; whither the widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where colonel Philips received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the lord Wilmot; who went with him to a house in Sussex, recommended by colonel Gunter, a gentleman of that country, who had served the king in the war; who met him there; and had provided a little bark at Brighthelmstone, a small fisher-town; where he went early on board, and, by God's blessing, arrived safely in Normandy.

The earl of Southampton, who was then at his house at Titchfield in Hampshire, had been adver-

tised of the king's being in the west, and of his missing his passage at Lyme, and sent a trusty gentleman to those faithful persons in the country, who, he thought, were most like to be employed for his escape if he came into those parts, to let them know, "that he had a ship ready, and if the king came to him, he should be safe;" which advertisement came to the king the night before he embarked, and when his vessel was ready. But his majesty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindness, he being the only person of that condition, who had the courage to solicit such danger, though all good men heartily wished his deliverance. It was about the end of November, that the king landed in Normandy, in a small creek; from whence he got to Rouen, and then gave notice to the queen of his arrival, and freed his subjects in all places from their dismal apprehensions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preservation of the person of the king was an argument of general joy and comfort to all his good subjects, and a new seed of hope for future blessings, yet his present condition was very deplorable. France was not at all pleased with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The queen his mother was very glad of his escape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his support; they who had interest with her finding all she had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expense. Besides, the distraction that court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her pension to be paid with less punctuality than it had used to be; so that she was forced to be in debt both to her servants, and for the very provisions of her house; nor had the king one shilling towards the support of himself and his family.

As soon as his majesty came to Paris, and knew that the chancellor of the exchequer was at Antwerp, he commanded Seymour, who was of his bedchamber, to send to him to repair thither; which whilst he was providing to do, Mr. Long, the king's secretary, who was at Amsterdam, and had been removed from his attendance in Scotland by the marquis of Argyle, writ to the chancellor, "that he had received a letter from the king, by which he was required to let all his majesty's servants who were in those parts, know, it was his pleasure that none of them should repair to him to Paris, until they should receive farther order, since his majesty could not yet resolve how long he should stay there: of which," Mr. Long said, "he thought it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the lord Colepepper and himself, who had resolved to have made haste thither, had in obedience to this command laid aside that purpose." The chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not him, since he had received a command from the king to wait upon him. Besides, he had still the character of ambassador upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kissed his majesty's hand. So he pursued his former purpose, and came to Paris in the Christmas, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured by the queen, with an eye principally upon the chancellor, who she had no mind should be with the king; though, when there was no remedy, the queen received him graciously. But the king was very well pleased with his being come; and, for the first four or five

days, he spent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the barbarous treatment he had received in Scotland, the reason of his march into England, the confusion at Worcester, and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For besides all those particulars which the king himself was pleased to communicate to him, so soon after the transactions of them, when they had made so lively an impression in his memory, and of which the chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial; he had, at the same time, the daily conversation of the lord Wilmot; who informed him of all he could remember: and sometimes the king and he recollected many particulars in the discourse together, in which the king's memory was much better than the other's. And after the king's blessed return into England, he had frequent conferences with many of those who had acted several parts towards the escape; whereof many were of the chancellor's nearest alliance, and others his most intimate friends; towards whom his majesty always made many gracious expressions of his acknowledgment: so that there is nothing in this short relation the verity whereof can justly be suspected, though, as is said before, it is great pity, that there could be no diary made, indeed no exact account of every hour's adventure from the coming out of Worcester, in that dismal confusion, to the hour of his embarkation at Brighthelmstone; in which there was such a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generosity, in persons of the meanest and lowest extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious jewel that was in their custody, yet all knew him to be escaped from such an action as would make the discovery and delivery of him to those who governed over and amongst them, of great benefit, and present advantage to them; and in those who did know him, of such courage, loyalty, and activity, that all may reasonably look upon the whole, as the inspiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifestation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of that whole nation, which had sinned so grievously; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcusable.

As the greatest brunt of the danger was diverted by these poor people, in his night-marches on foot, with so much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his life, before he fell into the hands of persons of better quality, and places of more conveniency, so he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of some ecclesiastical persons of the Romish persuasion; especially to those of the order of St. Bennet; which was the reason that he expressed more favours, after his restoration, to that order than to any other, and granted them some extraordinary privileges about the service of the queen, not concealing the reason why he did so; which ought to have satisfied all men, that his majesty's indulgence towards all of that profession, by restraining the severity and rigour of the laws which had been formerly made against them, had its rise from a fountain of princely justice and gratitude, and of royal bounty and clemency.

Whilst the counsels and enterprises in Scotland and England had this woful issue, Ireland had no

better success in its undertakings. Cromwell had made so great a progress in his conquests, before he left that kingdom that he might visit Scotland, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely possessed of the two most valuable and best inhabited provinces, Lemster and Munster; and plainly discerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterously conducted, would be with most ease brought to pass by the folly and perfidiousness of the Irish themselves; who would save their enemies a labour, in contributing to and hastening their own destruction. He had made the bridge fair, easy, and safe for them to pass over into foreign countries, by levies and transportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been said before, with all imaginable greediness: and he had entertained agents, and spies, as well friars as others amongst the Irish, who did not only give him timely advertisements of what was concluded to be done, but had interest and power enough to interrupt and disturb the consultations, and to obstruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more use of the halter than the sword, he committed the managing of the rest, and the government of the kingdom, to his son-in-law Ireton; whom he made deputy under him of Ireland: a man, who knew the bottom of all his counsels and purposes, and was of the same, or a greater pride and fierceness in his nature, and most inclined to pursue those rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And he, without fighting a battle, though he lived not many months after, reduced most of the rest that Cromwell left unfinished.

The marquis of Ormond knew and understood well the desperate condition and state he was in, when he had no other strength and power to depend upon, than that of the Irish, for the support of the king's authority; yet there were many of the nobility and principal gentry of the Irish, in whose loyalty towards the king, and affection and friendship towards his own person, he had justly all confidence; and there were amongst the [Romish] clergy some moderate men, who did detest the savage ignorance of the rest: so that he entertained still some hope, that the wiser would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all understand how inseparable their own preservation and interest was from the support of the king's dignity and authority, and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day executed by Ireton upon the principal and most obstinate contrivers of their odious rebellion, and who perversely and peevishly opposed their return to their obedience to the king, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their sottish lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their nation. For there was scarce a man, whose bloody and brutish behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whose barbarous violation of the peace that had been consented to, had exempted them from the king's mercy, and left them only subjects of his justice, as soon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by Ireton, and hanged with all the circumstances of severity that was due to their wickedness; of which innumerable examples might be given.

There yet remained free from Cromwell's yoke, the two large provinces of Connaught and of Ulster, and the two strong cities of Limerick and

of Galloway, both garrisoned with Irish, and excellently supplied with all things necessary for their defence, and many other good port towns, and other strong places; all which pretended and professed to be for the king, and to yield obedience to the marquis of Ormond, his majesty's lieutenant. And there were still many good regiments of horse and foot together under Preston, who seemed to be ready to perform any service the marquis should require: so that he did reasonably hope, that by complying with some of their humours, by sacrificing somewhat of his honour, and much of his authority, to their jealousy and peevishness, he should be able to draw such a strength together, as would give a stop to Ireton's career. O'Neile at this time, after he had been so baffled and affronted by the parliament, and after he had seen his bosom friend, and sole counsellor, the bishop of Clogher, (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken prisoner upon the defeat of a party of horse,) carried before Ireton, and by his order hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, sent "to offer his service to the marquis of Ormond with the army under his command, upon such conditions as the marquis thought fit to send to him;" and it was reasonably believed that he did intend very sincerely, and would have done very good service; for he was the best soldier of the nation, and had the most command over his men, and was best obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the lord lieutenant, he fell sick; and, in a few days, died: so that that treaty produced no effect; for though many of his army prosecuted his resolution, and joined with the marquis of Ormond, yet their officers had little power over their soldiers; who, being all of the old Irish Septs of Ulster, were entirely governed by the friars, and were shortly after prevailed upon, either to transport themselves, or to retire to their bogs, and prey for themselves upon all they met, without distinction of persons or interest.

The marquis's orders for drawing the troops together to any rendezvous were totally neglected and disobeyed; and the commissioners' orders for the collection of money, and contribution in such proportions as had been settled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: so that such regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as soon dissolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or else dispersed by the power of the friars; as in the city of Limerick, when the marquis was there, and had appointed several companies to be drawn into the market-place, to be employed upon a present expedition, an officer of good affections, and thought to have much credit with his soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely soldiers well armed, and disciplined, and having received his orders from the marquis, who was upon the place, begun to march; when a Franciscan friar in his habit, and with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that they should not march:" upon which they all threw down their arms, and did as the friar directed them; who put the whole city into a mutiny: insomuch as the lord lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the magistrates of the city did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the people

to obedience; and some of them were killed, and many wounded in the attempt. As an instance of those judgments from heaven which we lately mentioned in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that sedition, the very next night after Ireton was without a blow possessed of that strong city, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the commissioners who adhered firmly to the lord lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the king's service, and to reduce their miserable countrymen from effecting and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their warrants and summons neglected; when the others, who declined the service, and desired to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

They who appeared, after the first misfortune before Dublin, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the people, were the friars, and some of their inferior clergy. But now the titular bishops, who had been all made at Rome since the beginning of the rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an assembly of the bishops, (every one of which had signed the articles of the peace,) and chosen clergy as a representative of their church to meet with all formality at [James Town]; where, under the pretence of providing for the security of religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the war, and how the monies which had been collected had been issued out. They called the giving up the towns in Munster by the lord Inchiquin's officers, "the conspiracy and treachery of all the English, out of their malice to catholic religion;" and thereupon pressed the lord lieutenant to dismiss all the English gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unprosperous accident that had fallen out, "a foul miscarriage;" and published a declaration full of libellous invectives against the English, without sparing the person of the lord lieutenant; who, they said, "being of a contrary religion, and a known inveterate enemy to the catholic, was not fit to be intrusted with the conduct of a war that was raised for the support and preservation of it;" and shortly after sent an address to the lord lieutenant himself, in which they told him, "that the people were so far unsatisfied with his conduct, especially for his aversion from the catholic religion, and his favouring heretics, that they were unanimously resolved, as one man, not to submit any longer to his command, nor to raise any more money, or men, to be applied to the king's service under his authority." But, on the other side, they assured him, "that their duty and zeal was so entire and real for the king, and their resolution so absolute never to withdraw themselves from his obedience, that, if he would depart the kingdom, and commit the command thereof into the hands of any person of honour of the catholic religion, he would thereby unite the whole nation to the king; and they would immediately raise an army that should drive Ireton quickly again into Dublin;" and, that the lord lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they published soon after an excommunication against all persons who should obey any of the lieutenant's orders, or raise money or men by virtue of his authority.

During all these agitations, many of the Roman catholic nobility, and other persons of the best

quality, remained very faithful to the lord lieutenant; and cordially interposed with the bishops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to persuade or restrain them. The lord lieutenant had no reason to be delighted with his empty title to command a people who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Ireton, or being assassinated in his own quarters. And though he did not believe that the Irish would behave themselves with more fidelity and courage for the king's interest, when he should be gone; well knowing that their bishops and clergy designed nothing but to put themselves under the government of some popish prince, and had at that time sent agents into foreign parts for that purpose; yet he knew likewise that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all provisions for the carrying on the war, who, if they were united, and heartily resolved to preserve themselves, would be much superior in number to any power Ireton could bring against them. He knew likewise, that he could safely deposit the king's authority in the hands of a person of unquestionable fidelity, whom the king would, without any scruple, trust, and whom the Irish could not except against, being of their own nation, of the greatest fortune and interest amongst them, and of the most eminent constancy to the Roman catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms; and that was the marquis of Clanrickard. And therefore, since it was to no purpose to stay longer there himself, and it was in his power safely to make the experiment, whether the Irish would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they so solemnly promised to do, he thought he should be inexcusable to the king, if he should not consent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to persuade the marquis of Clanrickard to accept the trust, who was a man, though of an unquestionable courage, yet, of an infirm health; and loved and enjoyed great ease throughout his whole life; and of a constitution not equal to the fatigue and distresses, that the conducting such a war must subject him to. He knew well, and monstrously detested, the levity, inconstancy, and infidelity of his countrymen: nor did he in any degree like the presumption of the popish bishops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had assumed, and usurped to themselves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himself in such a command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the marquis of Ormond, with whom he had preserved a fast and unshaken friendship, and his pressing him to preserve Ireland to the king, without which it would throw itself into the arms of a foreigner; and then the same importunity from all the Irish nobility, bishops, and clergy, (after the lord lieutenant had informed them of his purpose,) "that he would preserve his nation, which, without his acceptance of their protection, would infallibly be extirpated," and their joint promise, "that they would absolutely submit to all his commands, and hold no assembly or meeting amongst themselves, without his permission and commission," together with his unquestionable desire to do any thing, how contrary soever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the king, and might possibly bring some advantage to his majesty's service, he was in the end prevailed

upon to receive a commission from the lord lieutenant to be deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.

How well they complied afterwards with their promises and protestations, and how much better subjects they proved to be under their catholic governor, than they had been under their protestant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the marquis of Ormond would not receive a pass from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the English officers that desired it; but embarked himself, with some few gentlemen besides his own servants, in a small frigate, and arrived safely in Normandy; and so went to Caen; where his wife and family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the king's defeat at Worcester, and, as soon as his majesty arrived at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was most welcome to him.

Scotland being thus subdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the king's advantage. From the time that Cromwell was chosen general in the place of Fairfax, he took all occasions to discountenance the presbyterians, and to put them out of all trust and employment, as well in the country as in the army; and, whilst he was in Scotland, he had intercepted some letters from one Love, a presbyterian minister in London, (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the treaty was at Uxbridge, for preaching against peace,) to a leading preacher in Scotland; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive instances that justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spite of all the opposition which the presbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmost power, the man was condemned and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to shew their impartiality, at the same time and place they executed Brown Bushel, who had formerly served the parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and shortly after served the king to the end of the war, and had lived some years in England after the war expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, and to accompany this preacher, was enviously discovered, and put to death.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this presbyterian spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor man Love, who had been guilty of as much treason against the king, from the beginning of the rebellion, as the pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his affection to the king. And therefore, when he was upon the scaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedness, he seemed so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late king, and against the bishops, that he was even then transported to speak with animosity and bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a martyr, and to give testimony for the covenant; "whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of "the ends," he said, "of that sanctified obliga-

tion, to which he was in and by his conscience "engaged." And in this raving fit, without so much as praying for the king, otherwise than that he might propagate the covenant, he laid his head upon the block with as much courage as the bravest and honestest man could do in the most pious occasion.

When Cromwell returned to London, he caused several high courts of justice to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned, and executed in many parts of the kingdom, as well as in London, who had been taken prisoners at Worcester, or discovered to have been there. And, that the terror might be universal, some were put to death for loose discourses in taverns, what they would do towards restoring the king, and others for having blank commissions found in their hands signed by the king, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under these desolate apprehensions all the royal and loyal party lay grovelling, and prostrate, after the defeat of Worcester.

There was at this time with the king the marquis of Ormond; who came thither before the chancellor of the exchequer. Though his majesty was now in unquestionable safety, the straits and necessities he was in were as unquestionable; which exposed him to all the troubles and uneasiness that the masters of very indigent families are subjected to; and the more, because all men considered only his quality, and not his fortune: so that men had the same emulations and ambitions, as if the king had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good argument for them to ask, because he had nothing to give; and asked very improper reversions, because he could not grant the possession; and were solicitous for honours, which he had power to grant, because he had no fortunes which he could give them.

There had been a great acquaintance between the marquis of Ormond, when he was lord Thurles, in the life of his grandfather, and the chancellor of the exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correspondence, when they both came to have shares in the public business, the one in Ireland, and the other in England: so that when they now met at Paris, they met as old friends, and quickly understood each other so well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between men. The marquis consulted with him in his nearest concerns, and the chancellor esteemed and cultivated the friendship with all possible industry and application. The king was abundantly satisfied in the friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by persons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the king remained beyond the seas; whereby the king's perplexed affairs were carried on with the less trouble. And the chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this friendship was so great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the king's business which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the trust.

Besides the wants and necessities which the king was pressed with in respect of himself, who had nothing, but was obliged to provide himself by credit in clothes, and all other necessities for

his person, and of his family, which he saw reduced to all extremities; he was much disquieted by the necessities in his brother the duke of York's family, (which the queen did not provide for in the least degree,) and by the disorder and faction in it. The queen complained heavily of sir George Ratcliff, and the attorney; and more of the first, because that he pretended to some right of being of the duke's family by a grant of the late king; which his present majesty determined against him; and reprehended his activity in the last summer. Sir John Berkley had most of the queen's favour; and, though he had at that time no interest in the duke's affection, he found a way to ingratiate himself with his royal highness, by insinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foresaw advantage to himself. Though no man acted the governor's part more imperiously than he had done whilst the lord Byron was absent, finding that he himself was liable in some degree to be governed upon that lord's return, he had used all the ways he could, that the duke might be exempted from any subjection to a governor, presuming, that, when that title should be extinguished, he should be possessed of some such office and relation, as should not be under the control of any but the duke himself. But he had not yet been able to bring that to pass; which was the reason that he stayed at Paris when his highness visited Flanders and Holland. Now he took advantage of the activity of the duke's spirit, and infused into him, "that it would be for his honour to put himself into action, and not to be learning his exercises in Paris whilst the army was in the field:" a proposition first intimated by the cardinal, "that the duke was now of years to learn his *métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve himself, by being in the care of a general reputed equal to any captain in Christendom, with whom he might learn that experience, and make those observations, as might enable him to serve the king his brother, who must hope to recover his right only by the sword." This the cardinal had said both to the queen and to the lord Jermyn, whilst the king was in Scotland, when no man had the hardiness to advise it in that conjuncture. But, after the king's return from England, there wanted nothing but the approbation of his majesty; and no man more desired it than the lord Byron, who had had good command, and preferred that kind of life before that which he was obliged to live in at Paris. There was no need of spurs to be employed to incite the duke; who was most impatient to be in the army. And therefore sir John Berkley could not any other way make himself so grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the duke, "that whosoever opposed it, and dissuaded the king from giving his consent, was an enemy to his highness's glory, and desired that he should live always in pupilage;" not omitting to put him in mind, "that his very entrance into the army set him at liberty, and put him into his own disposal; since no man went into the field under the direction of a governor;" still endeavouring to improve his prejudice against those who should either dissuade him from pursuing that resolution, or endeavour to persuade the king not to approve it; "which," he told him, "could proceed from nothing but want of affection to his person." By this means he

hoped to raise a notable dislike in him of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the design, because he having spoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an argument that pleased him.

The duke pressed it with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not; and found the queen, as well as the king, very reserved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderness towards him, and lest they might be thought to be less tender of his safety than they ought to be. His highness then conferred with those, who, he thought, were most like to be consulted with by the king, amongst whom he knew the chancellor was one; and finding him to speak with less warmth than the rest, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his highness was confirmed in the jealousy which sir John Berkley had kindled in him, that he was the principal person who obstructed the king's condescension. There was at that time no man with the king who had been a counsellor to his father, or sworn to himself, but the chancellor of the exchequer. The marquis of Ormond, though he had administered the affairs in Ireland, was never sworn a counsellor in England; yet his majesty looked upon him in all respects most fit to advise him; and thought it necessary to form such a body, as should be esteemed by all men as his privy council, without whose advice he would take no resolutions. The king knew the queen would not be well pleased, if the lord Jermyn were not one; who in all other respects was necessary to that trust, in respect all addresses to the court of France were to be made by him: and the lord Wilmot, who had cultivated the king's affection during the time of their peregrination, and drawn many promises from him, and was full of projects for his service, could not be left out. The king therefore called the marquis of Ormond, the lord Jermyn, and the lord Wilmot, to the council board; and declared, "that they three, together with the chancellor of the exchequer, should be consulted with in all his affairs." The queen very earnestly pressed the king, "that sir John Berkley might likewise be made a counsellor;" which his majesty would not consent to; and thought he could not refuse the same honour to the lord Wentworth, the lord Byron, or any other person of honour who should wait upon him, if he granted it to sir John Berkley, who had no manner of pretence.

Berkley took this refusal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the services he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough distinguish him from other men. But, because he would not be thought without some just pretence which others had not, he very confidently insisted upon a right he had, by a promise of the late king, to be master of the wards; and that officer had usually been of the privy council. The evidence he had of that promise was an intercepted letter from the late king to the queen, which the parliament had caused to be printed. In that letter the king answered a letter he had received from her majesty, in which she put him in mind, "that he had promised her to make Jack Berkley" (which was the style in the letter) "master of the wards;" which, the king said, "he wondered at, since he could not remember that she had ever spoken to him to that purpose;" implying likewise "that he was not

"fit for it." He pressed the chancellor of the exchequer "to urge this matter of right to the king," (and said, "the queen would declare the king had promised it to her,) and to prevail with his majesty to make him presently master of the wards; which would give him such a title to the board, that others could not take his being called thither as a prejudice to them."

The chancellor had at that time much kindness for him, and did really desire to oblige him, but he durst not urge that for a reason to the king, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For besides that he very well knew the late king had not so good an opinion of sir John Berkley, as he himself did at that time heartily wish, and endeavour to infuse into him, the king had, after that promise was pretended to be made, granted that office at Oxford to the lord Cottington; who executed it as long as offices were executed under the grant of the crown, and was possessed of the title to his death. The chancellor did therefore very earnestly endeavour to dissuade him from making that pretence and demand to the king; and told him, "the king could not at this time do a more ungracious thing, and that would lose him more the hearts and affections of the nobility and gentry of England, than in making a master of the wards, in a time when it would not be the least advantage to his majesty or the officer, to declare that he resolved to insist upon that part of his prerogative which his father had consented to part with; the resuming whereof in the full rigour, which he might lawfully do, would ruin most of the estates of England, as well of his friends as enemies, in regard of the vast arrears incurred in so many years; and therefore whatever his majesty might think to resolve hereafter, when it should please God to restore him, for the present there must be no thought of such an officer."

Sir John Berkley was not satisfied at all with the reason that was alleged; and very unsatisfied with the unkindness (as he called it) of the refusal to interpose in it; and said, "since his friends would not, he would himself require justice of the king;" and immediately, hearing that the king was in the next room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the chancellor's contradiction, pressed his majesty "to make good the promise his father had made;" and magnified the services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the custom of making frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earnest to think he had done many things which nobody else ever heard of. The king, who knew him very well, and believed little of his history, and less of his father's promise, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a positive denial, (which in his nature his majesty affected not,) lest it might indispose his mother or his brother: and so, to every part of his request concerning the being of the council, and concerning the office, gave him such reasons against the gratifying him for the present, that he could not but plainly discern that his majesty was very averse from it. But that consideration prevailed not with him; he used so great importunity, notwithstanding all the reasons which had been alleged, that at the last the king prevailed with himself, which he

used not to do in such cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once; and so left him.

All this he imputed to the chancellor of the exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have spoken with the king from the time they had spoken together, before himself had that audience from his majesty, he declared, "that he knew all that indisposition had been infused by him; because many of the reasons, which his majesty had given against his doing what he desired, were the very same that the chancellor had urged to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reasonable man, who had been called to consult upon that subject. This passion prevailed so far upon him, that, notwithstanding the advice of some of his best friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk into the long gallery of the Louvre with the chancellor shortly after: and in, a very calm, though a very confused discourse, told him, "that, since he was resolved to break all friendship with him, which had continued now near twenty years, he thought it but just to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might not expect any friendship from him, but that they might live towards each other with that civility only that strangers use to do." The chancellor told him, "that the same justice that disposed him to give this notice, should likewise oblige him to declare the reason of this resolution;" and asked him, "whether he had ever broken his word to him? or promised to do what he had not done?" He answered, "his exception was, that he could not be brought to make any promise; and that their judgments were so different, that he would no more depend upon him:" and so they parted, without ever after having conversation with each other whilst they remained in France.

The spring was now advanced, and the duke of York continued his importunity with the king, "that he might have his leave to repair to the army." And thereupon his majesty called his council together, the queen his mother and his brother being likewise present. There his majesty declared "what his brother had long desired of him; to which he had hitherto given no other answer, than that he would think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought it necessary to receive their advice:" nor did his majesty in the least discover what he himself was inclined to. The duke then repeated what he had desired of the king; and said, "he thought he asked nothing but what became him; if he did not, he hoped the king would not deny it to him, and that nobody would advise he should." The queen spoke not a word; and the king required the lords to deliver their opinion; who all sat silent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the board, but sometimes, according to the nature of the business, he who was first in place begun, at other times he who was last in quality; and when it required some debate before any opinion should be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long silence, the king commanded the chancellor of the exchequer to speak first. He said, "it could not be expected, that he would deliver his opinion in a matter that was so much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; at least, till the question was other-wise stated than it yet seemed to him to be."

He said, "he thought the council would not be willing to take it upon them to advise that the duke of York, the next heir to the crown, should go a volunteer into the French army, and that the exposing himself to so much danger, should be the effect of their counsel who ought to have all possible tenderness for the safety of every branch of the royal family; but if the duke of York, out of his own princely courage, and to attain experience in the art of war, of which there was like to be so great use, had taken a resolution to visit the army, and to spend that campaign in it, and that the question only was, whether the king should restrain him from that expedition, he was ready to declare his opinion, that his majesty should not; there being great difference between the king's advising him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely suffering him to do what his own genius inclined him to." The king and queen liked the stating of the question, as suiting best with the tenderness they ought to have; and the duke was as well pleased with it, since it left him at the liberty he desired; and the lords thought it safest for them: and so all were pleased; and much of the prejudice which the duke had entertained towards the chancellor was abated: and his royal highness, with the good liking of the French court, went to the army; where he was received by the marshal of Turenne, with all possible demonstration of respect; where, in a short time, he got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The insupportable necessities of the king were now grown so notorious, that the French court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with some dry compliments for the smallness of the assignation in respect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good posture, they settled an assignation of six thousand livres by the month upon the king, payable out of such a gabel; which, beginning six months after the king came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be easily satisfied out of such a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The queen, at his majesty's first arrival, had declared, "that she was not able to bear the charge of the king's diet, but that he must pay one half of the expense of her table, where both their majesties eat, with the duke of York, and the princess Henrietta," (which two were at the queen's charge till the king came thither, but from that time, the duke of York was upon the king's account,) and the very first night's supper which the king eat with the queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the king: so that the first money that was received for the king upon his grant, was entirely stopped by sir Harry Wood, the queen's treasurer, for the discharge of his majesty's part of the queen's table, (which expense was first satisfied, as often as money could be procured,) and the rest for the payment of other debts contracted, at his first coming, for clothes and other necessities, there being great care taken that nothing should be left to be distributed amongst his servants; the marquis of Ormond himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with the chancellor and some other gentlemen with a poor English woman, the wife of one of the king's

servants, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris; whilst the lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for those who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the most full fortune; and if the king had the most urgent occasion for the use but of twenty pistoles, as sometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the supply assigned by the king of France, his necessities would not have been so extraordinary. For when the king went to Jersey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the same time that he sent the chancellor of the exchequer into Spain, he sent likewise the lord Colepepper into Moscow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he sent Mr. Crofts upon the same errand. The former returned whilst the king was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his majesty made his escape from Worcester. And both of them succeeded so well in their journey, that he who received least for his majesty's service had above ten thousand pounds over and above the expense of their journeys.

But, as if the king had been out of all possible danger to want money, the lord Jermyn had sent an express into Scotland, as soon as he knew what success the lord Colepepper had at Moscow, and found there were no less hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the king (who could with more ease grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both those ambassadors, to pay the monies they had received to several persons; whereof a considerable sum was made a present to the queen, more to the lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminished by that receipt, and all disposed of according to the modesty of the askers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for services he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the oratory: so that, when the king returned in all that distress to Paris, he never received five hundred pistoles from the proceed of both those embassies; nor did any of those who were supplied by his bounty seem sensible of the obligation, or the more disposed to do him any service upon their own expense; of which the king was sensible enough, but resolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any expostulation with those who were faulty, to give any trouble to the queen.

The lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of some faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the presbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privacy. And now, upon the king's return into France, he had a great design to persuade his majesty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his interest in the presbyterian party; which he had no reason to believe would ever be able to do the king service, or willing, if they were able, without such odious conditions as they had hitherto insisted upon in all their overtures. The queen did not, in the least degree, oppose this, but rather seemed to countenance it, as the best expedient that might incline him, by

degrees, to prefer the religion of the church of Rome. For though the queen had never, to this time, by herself, or by others with her advice, used the least means to persuade the king to change his religion, as well out of observation of the injunction laid upon her by the deceased king, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but persuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England desperate; yet it is as true, that, from the king's return from Worcester, she did really despair of his being restored by the affections of his own subjects; and believed that it could never be brought to pass without a conjunction of catholic princes on his behalf, and by an united force to restore him; and that such a conjunction would never be entered into, except the king himself became Roman catholic. Therefore from this time she was very well content that any attempts should be made upon him to that purpose; and, in that regard, wished that he would go to Charenton; which she well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little discountenance to the church in which he had been bred; and from which as soon as he could be persuaded in any degree to swerve, he would be more exposed to any other temptation. The king had not positively refused to gratify the ministers of that congregation; who, with great professions of duty, had besought him to do them that honour, before the chancellor of the exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward; for whose judgment in matters of religion the king had reverence, by the earnest recommendation of his father: and he died after the king's return within fourteen days, with some trouble upon the importunity and artifice he saw used to prevail with the king to go to Charenton, though he saw no disposition in his majesty to yield to it.

The lord Jermyn still pressed it, "as a thing that ought in policy and discretion to be done, to reconcile that people, which was a great body in France, to the king's service, which would draw to him all the foreign churches, and thereby he might receive considerable assistance." He wondered, he said, "why it should be opposed by any man; since he did not wish that his majesty would discontinue his own devotions, according to the course he had always observed; nor propose that he should often repair thither, but only sometimes, at least once, to shew that he did look upon them as of the same religion with him; which the church of England had always acknowledged; and that it had been an instruction to the English ambassadors, that they should keep a good correspondence with those of the religion, and frequently resort to divine service at Charenton; where they had always a pew kept for them."

The chancellor of the exchequer dissuaded his majesty from going thither with equal passion; told him, "that, whatever countenance or favour the crown or church of England had heretofore shewed to those congregations, it was in a time when they carried themselves with modesty and duty towards both, and when they professed great duty to the king, and much reverence to that church; lamenting themselves, that it was not in their power, by the opposition of the state, to make their reformation so perfect as it was in

England. And by this kind of behaviour they had indeed received the protection and countenance from England as if they were of the same religion, though, it may be, the original of that countenance and protection proceeded from another less warrantable foundation; which he was sure would never find credit from his majesty. But, whatever it was, that people now had underserved it from the king; for, as soon as the troubles begun, the Hugonots of France had generally expressed great malice to the late king, and very many of their preachers and ministers had publicly and industriously justified the rebellion, and prayed for the good success of it; and their synod itself had in such a manner inveighed against the church of England, that they, upon the matter, professed themselves to be of another religion; and inveighed against episcopacy, as if it were inconsistent with the protestant religion. That their great professor at their university of Saumur, monsieur Amiran, who was looked upon as a man of the most moderate spirit amongst their ministers, had published an apology for the general inclination of that party to the proceedings of the parliament of England, lest it might give some jealousy to their own king of their inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against their prince; which, he said, could not be done in France without manifest rebellion, and incurring the displeasure of God for the manifest breach of his commandments; because the king of France is an absolute king, independent upon any other authority. But that the constitution of the kingdom of England was of another nature; because the king there is subordinate to the parliament, which hath authority to raise arms for the reformation of religion, or for the executing the public justice of the kingdom against all those who violate the laws of the nation, so that the war might be just there, which in no case could be warrantable in France."

The chancellor told the king, "that, after such an indignity offered to him, and to his crown, and since they had now made such a distinction between the episcopal and the presbyterian government, that they thought the professors were not of the same religion, his going to Charenton could not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every where, that his majesty had renounced the church of England, and betaken himself to that of Charenton, at least that he thought the one and the other to be indifferent; which would be one of the most deadly wounds to the church of England that it had yet ever suffered." These reasons prevailed so far with the king's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, "he would never go to Charenton;" which determination eased him from any farther application of that people. The reproach of this resolution was wholly charged upon the chancellor of the exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all presbyterians, and as the only man who diverted the king from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the king himself of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their religion; and he was

the more grievous to those of that profession, because they could not, as they used to do to all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being popishly affected, and governed by the papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindering the king from going to Charenton.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the chancellor of the exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and did never, in the least degree, dispose his majesty to deny any thing to her which she owned the desire of. Lieutenant general Middleton, who had been taken prisoner after Worcester fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was sent prisoner to the Tower of London; where were likewise many noble persons of that nation, as the earl of Crawford, the earl of Lautherdale, and many others. But as they of the parliament had a greater reverence for Middleton than for any other of that nation, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the best officer the Scots had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, served them; and though he had quitted their service at the same time when they cashiered the earl of Essex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolved to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new high court of justice, for the trial of some persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially Middleton and Massey.

This last, after he had escaped from Worcester, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the seat of the earl of Stamford, whose lieutenant colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he chose to commit himself to her rather than to her husband; hoping, that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his person; and such advertisements were given of him, that, as soon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewise sent to the Tower, and destined to be sacrificed by the high court of justice together with Middleton, for the future security of the commonwealth.

But now the presbyterian interest shewed itself, and doubtless, in enterprises of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places persons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were sure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him so good and particular advertisement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his escape; and having friends enough to shelter him in London, after he had concealed himself there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the first examination and in-

quiry was over, he was safely transported into France. And within few days after, Massey had the same good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very soul of Cromwell; who thirsted for the blood of those two persons.

When Middleton came to the king to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottish vicar, who was known to the king, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his majesty, and some propositions from his friends in Scotland, and other despatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had escaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was struck into the hearts of that whole nation by the severe proceedings of general Monk, to whose care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where persons of all degrees and qualities were put to the sword for many hours after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the marquis of Argyle, who prosecuted the king's friends with the utmost malice, and protected and preserved the rest according to his desire. He gave the king assurance from the most considerable persons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would never swerve from their duty; and that they would be able, during the winter, to infest the enemy by incursions into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be sent to them with some supply of arms, they would have an army ready against the spring, strong enough to meet with Monk." He said, "he was addressed from Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not then know that Middleton had arrived in safety with the king; and therefore they had commanded him, if neither Middleton nor the lord Newburgh were about his majesty, that then he should repair to the marquis of Ormond, and desire him to present him to the king; but that, having found both those lords there, he had made no farther application than to them, who had brought him to his majesty." He told the king, "that both those in Scotland, and those in the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a condition to his majesty; that, except it were granted, they would no more think of serving his majesty: the condition was, that whatever should have relation to his service in Scotland, and to their persons who were to venture their lives in it, might not be communicated to the queen, the duke of Buckingham, the lord Jermyn, or the lord Wilmot. They professed all duty to the queen, but they knew she had too good an opinion of the marquis of Argyle; who would infallibly come to know whatever was known to either of the other."

The king did not expect that any notable service could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his advantage, or their own redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the professions and overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of affection and duty to him; and therefore resolved to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present despatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next

day they attended his majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to Scotland might be consulted by his majesty with the marquis of Ormond, the lord Newburgh, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and that all the despatches might be made by the chancellor;" which the king consented to; and bid the lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let him know his majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer believed that the king had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and that all his activity was to consist in carefully avoiding to do any thing, that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptance. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes: besides that the chancellor was not without some natural prejudice to the ingenuity and sincerity of that nation, and therefore he went presently to the king, and besought him with earnestness, "that he would not lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the counsels of that people." He put his majesty in mind of "the continued avowed jealousy and displeasure which that whole party in that nation had ever had against him; and that his majesty very well knew, that those noble persons who served him best when he was in Scotland, and in whose affection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had all imaginable prejudice against him, and would be troubled when they should hear that all their secrets were committed to him." He told his majesty, "this trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the queen's favour; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the Scottish Levite to him," (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him,) "that there was some secret affair in hand which was kept from her; and she would as easily discover, that the chancellor was privy to it, by his reading papers to his majesty, and his signing them; and would from thence conclude, that he had persuaded him to exclude her majesty from that trust; which she would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, "that he might be excused from this confidence."

The king heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, "that he had reason not to be solicitous for that employment; but he wished him to consider withal, that he must either undertake it, or that his majesty must in plain terms reject the correspondence, and by it declare that he would no further consider Scotland as his kingdom, and the people as his subjects; which, he said, he thought he would

"not advise him to do. If his majesty entertained it, it could not be imagined that all those transactions could pass through his own hand, or, if they could, his being shut up so long alone would make the same discovery. Whom then should he trust? The lord Newburgh, it was very true, was a very honest man, and worthy of any trust; but he was not a counselor, and nothing could be so much wondered at, as his frequent being shut up with him; and more, his bringing any papers to him to be signed. As to the general prejudice which he conceived was against him by that nation," his majesty told him, "the nation was much altered since he had to do with them, and that no men were better loved by them now than they who had from the beginning been faithful to his father and himself." To which he added, "that Middleton had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to that nation, that he knew: and that he would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity, with whom he would be well pleased." His majesty said, "he would frankly declare to his mother, that he had received some intelligence out of Scotland, and that he was obliged, and had given his word to those whose lives would be forfeited if known, that he would not communicate it with any but those who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could not be offended with his reservation:" and concluded with a gracious conjuration and command to the chancellor, "that he should cheerfully submit, and undergo that employment; which, he assured him, should never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to him." In this manner he submitted himself to the king's disposal, and was trusted throughout that affair; which had several stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniences he had foreseen, and rendered him so unacceptable to the queen, that she easily entertained those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardships.

This uncomfortable condition of the king was rendered yet more desperate, by the straits and necessities into which the French court was about this time plunged: so that they who hitherto had shewed no very good will to assist the king, were now become really unable to do it. The parliament of Paris had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their king's commands, pressed so importunately for the liberty of the princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the cardinal, that the cardinal was at last compelled to persuade the queen to consent to both: and so himself rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the queen's warrant to set them at liberty, and after a short conference with the prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and passed in disguise, with two or three servants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a house belonging to that elector.

When the princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the parliament and the city; and instead of closing with the court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation; so that the king and queen regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire and sword denounced against the cardinal; his goods sold at

an outcry; and a price set upon his head; and all persons who professed any duty to their king, found themselves very unsafe in Paris. During all this time the queen of England and the king, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to stay there; the assignments, which had been made for their subsistence, not being paid them: and the loose people of the town begun to talk of the duke of York's being in arms against them. But the duke of Orleans, under whose name all the disorders were committed, and the prince of Condé, visited our king and queen with many professions of civility; but those were shortly abated likewise, when the French king's army came upon one side of the town, and the Spanish, with the duke of Lorraine's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and desired to have a battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the court had an underhand treaty with the duke of Lorraine; and, upon a day appointed, the French king sent to the king of England, to desire him to confer with the duke of Lorraine; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reason visible for that desire, nor could it be conceived, that his majesty's interposition could be of moment: yet his majesty knew not how to refuse it; but immediately went to the place assigned; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon shot of each other. Upon his majesty's coming to the duke of Lorraine, the treaty was again received, and messages sent between the duke and marshal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his majesty returned to the Louvre; and before the next morning, the treaty was finished between the court and the duke of Lorraine; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to support the parliament against the power of the French army; which advanced upon them with that resolution, that, though they defended themselves very bravely, and the prince of Condé did the office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant persons of both sides were slain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to suffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the king's army retired to their old post, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the king having a very great party in the parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bowels.

This retreat of the duke of Lorraine broke the neck of the prince of Condé's design. He knew well he should not be long able to retain the duke of Orleans from treating with the court, or keep the Parisians at his devotion; and that the duke de Beaufort, whom they had made governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the present, they were all incensed against the duke of Lorraine; and were well enough contented that the people should believe, that this defection in the duke was wrought by the activity and interposition of the king of England; and they who did know that his interest could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his majesty's journey to speak with the duke in so unreasonable a conjuncture: so that, as the people

expressed, and used all the insolent reproaches against the English court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, so neither the duke of Orleans, nor the prince of Condé, made any visit there, or expressed the least civility towards it. In truth, our king and queen did not think themselves out of danger, nor stirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French court thought themselves obliged to provide for their security, by advising the king and queen to remove, and assigned St. Germain's to them for their retreat. Then his majesty sent to the duke of Orleans, and prince of Condé, "that their purpose was to leave the town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readiness till then; and they were shortly after met by some troops of horse sent by the French king, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any disturbance, till Paris was reduced to that king's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing something which they ought not to do; and the king might well hope that, since he had nothing else left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repose; and that a court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilst every man had composed himself to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for conscience sake, which every man pretended to be his case, with submission and content, till it should please God to buoy up the king from the lowness he was in; who in truth suffered much more than any body else. But whilst there are courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inseparable from them; and kings who have nothing to give, shall be pressed to promise; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and mischievous than any present gifts could be, because they always draw on more of the same title and presence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more satisfied, so they who are not paid in the same kind, or who, out of modesty and discretion, forbear to make such suits, are grieved and offended to see the vanity and presumption of bold men so unseasonably gratified and encouraged.

The king found no benefit [of this kind] in being stripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been said before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken possession of them as soon as they had been granted, though but by promise: and men who would not have had the presumption to have asked the same thing, if the king had been in England, thought it very justifiable to demand it, because he was not there; since there were so many hazards that they should never live to enjoy what he promised. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expressed; and whosoever succeeded not in his unreasonable desires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the chancellor of the exchequer; and concluded, that he alone obstructed it, because they always received very gracious answers from his majesty: so that though his wants were as visible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himself, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and interest he was thought to have with his master.

The lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late conversation with the king in his escape, drawn many kind expressions from his majesty; and he thought he could not be too solicitous to procure such a testimony of his grace and favour, as might distinguish him from other men, and publish the esteem the king had of him. Therefore he importuned his majesty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his majesty's own choice: and the modesty of this reference prevailed; the king well knowing, that the same honour would be desired on the behalf of another, by one whom he should be unwilling to deny. But since it was not asked for the present, he promised to do it in a time that should appear to be convenient for his service.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troublesome; in which the projectors still considered themselves in the first place, and what their condition might prove to be by the success. The duke of York was so well pleased with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his servants did not like that course of life so well, at least desired so far to improve it, that they might reap some advantages to themselves out of his overplus. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the lord Byron, by which the duke was deprived of a very good servant, become the superior of his family, and called himself, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de son altesse royale*; had the management of all his receipts and disbursements; and all the rest depended upon him. He desired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his master, than the small pension he received from France; and thought no expedient so proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he presumed he should have the managing of.

There was then a lady in the town, mademoiselle de Longueville, the daughter of the duke de Longueville by his first wife, by whom she was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very considerable sum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: so that she was looked upon as one of the greatest and richest marriages in France, in respect of her fortune; in respect of her person not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low stature, and that stature no degree straight. This lady sir John designed for the duke; and treated with those ladies who were nearest to her, and had been trusted with the education of her, before he mentioned it to his royal highness. Then he persuaded him, "that all hopes in England were desperate: that the government was so settled there, that it could never be shaken; so that his highness must think of no other fortune than what he should make by his sword: that he was now upon the stage where he must act out his life, and that he should do well to think of providing a civil fortune for himself, as well as a martial; which could only be by marriage:" and then spoke of mademoiselle de Longueville, and made her fortune at least equal to what it was; "which," he said, "when once his highness was possessed of, he might sell; and thereby raise money to pay an army to invade England, and so might become the restorer of the king his brother: this he thought very practicable, if his highness seriously and heartily would endeavour it." The duke was not so far broken with age as to have

an aversion from marriage, and the consideration of the fortune, and the circumstances which might attend it, made it not the less acceptable; yet he made no other answer to it, "than that he must first know the king's and queen's judgment of it, before he could take any resolution what to do." Upon which sir John undertook, with his highness's approbation, to propose it to their majesties himself, and accordingly first spoke with the queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was generally believed, that the first overture and attempt had not been made without her majesty's privity and approbation; for the lord Jermyn had been no less active in the contrivance than sir John Berkley: yet her majesty refused to deliver any opinion in it, till she knew the king's: and so at last, after the young lady herself had been spoken to, his majesty was informed of it, and his approbation desired; with which he was not well pleased; and yet was unwilling to use his authority to obstruct what was looked upon as so great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not dissemble his opinion of their presumption who undertook to enter upon treaties of that nature, with the same liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reserved in saying what he thought of it. Whilst his majesty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to discover what the chancellor of the exchequer's judgment was; and the lord Jermyn spoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the king's part, otherwise than from the difficulty of bringing it to pass, in regard the lady's friends would not without great difficulty be induced to give their consent. But the chancellor could not be drawn to make any other answer, than, "that it was a subject so much above his comprehension, and the consequences might be such, that he had not the ambition to desire to be consulted with upon it; and that less than the king's command should not induce him to enter upon the discourse of it."

It was not long before the queen sent for him; and seeming to complain of the importunity, which was used towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, asked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he answered, "that he did not understand the convenience of it so well, as to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the duke of York: but he thought, that neither the king, nor her majesty, should be willing that the heir apparent of the crown should be married before the king himself; or that it should be in any woman's power to say, that, if there were but one person dead, she should be a queen:" with which her majesty, who no doubt did love the king with all possible tenderness, seemed to be moved, as if it had been a consideration she had not thought of before; and said, with some warmth, "that she would never give her consent that it should be so." However, this argument was quickly made known to the duke of York, and several glosses made upon it, to the reproach of the chancellor: yet it made such an impression, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the king himself, and mademoiselle, the daughter of the duke of Orleans, by his first wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already possessed of the

fair inheritance of the duchy of Mompensier, was thought of. To this the queen was much inclined, and the king himself not averse; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his present necessities, and the convenience of having a place to repose in, as long as the storm should continue. The chancellor of the exchequer had no thought, by the conclusion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this proposition; and the marquis of Ormond and he were no less troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

They represented to the king, "that, as it could administer only some competency towards his present subsistence, so it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alienate the affections of his friends in England: that the lady was elder than he by some years; which was an exception amongst private persons; and had been observed not to be prosperous to kings: that his majesty must expect to be pressed to those things in point of religion which he could never consent to; and yet he should undergo the same disadvantage as if he had consented, by many men's believing he had done so." They besought him "to set his heart entirely upon the recovery of England, and to indulge to nothing that might reasonably obstruct that, either by making him less intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in the pursuing it." His majesty assured them, "that his heart was set upon nothing else; and, if he had inclination to this marriage, it was because he believed it might much facilitate the other: that he looked not upon her fortune, which was very great, as an annual support to him, but as a stock that should be at his disposal; by sale whereof he might raise money enough to raise a good army to attempt the recovery of his kingdoms: and that he would be well assured, that it should be in his power to make that use of it, before he would be engaged in the treaty: that he had no apprehension of the pressures which would be made in matters of religion; because, if the lady did once consent to the marriage, she would affect nothing but what might advance the recovery of his dominions; which she would quickly understand any unreasonable concessions in religion could never do." In a word, his majesty discovered enough to let them see that he stood very well inclined to the overture itself; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many respects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehension. The lady carried herself in that manner, on the behalf of the prince of Condé, and so offensively to the French court, having given fire herself to the cannon in the Bastile upon the king at the port St. Antoine, and done so many reproof-full things against the French king and queen, that they no sooner heard of this discourse, but they quickly put an end to it; the cardinal having long resolved, that our king should never owe any part of his restitution to any countenance or assistance he should receive from France; and, from the same conclusion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the duke of York and the other lady.

There was, shortly after, an unexpected accident, that seemed to make some alteration in the affairs of Christendom; which many very reasonably

believed, might have proved advantageous to the king. The parliament, as soon as they had settled their commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had sent ambassadors to their sister republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a stricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one commonwealth, and to have one interest. They were received in Holland with all imaginable respect, and as great expressions made, as could be, of an equal desire that a firm union might be established between the two commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, persons were appointed to treat with the ambassadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would easily succeed, since the prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obstructions in such cases, was now dead, and all those who adhered to him discountenanced, and removed from places of trust and power in all the provinces, and his son, an infant, born after the death of his father, at the mercy of the States even for his support; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the estate, and the rest being liable to the payment of vast debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole trust of the embassy, being very powerful in the parliament, and the known confidant of Cromwell, pressed such a kind of union as must disunite them from all their other allies: so that, for the friendship of England, they must lose the friendship of all other princes, and yet lose many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they saw the younger and more powerful commonwealth would in a short time deprive them of. This the States could not digest, and used all the ways they could to divert them from insisting upon so unreasonable conditions; and made many large overtures and concessions, which had never been granted by them to the greatest kings, and were willing to quit some advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the crown of England, and to yield other considerable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not satisfy, nor would the ambassadors recede from any particular they had proposed: so that, after some months' stay, during which time they received many affronts from some English, and from others, they returned with great presents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John; which he manifested as soon as he returned to the parliament; who, disdaining likewise to find themselves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all the world besides,) presently entered upon counsels how they might discountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increase their own.

Hereupon they made that ordinance, that "inhibits all foreign ships from bringing in any merchandise or commodities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships." This indeed concerned all other countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world; wine from France and Spain, spices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries;

which they must now do no more. The Dutch ambassador expostulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of commerce and amity, which could not consist with the peace between the two nations; and that his masters could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war." The parliament answered him superciliously, "that his masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but they knew what was best for their own state, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours;" and caused the act to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The United Provinces now discerned, that they had raised an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the crown had been. However, they could not believe it possible, that in the infancy of their republic, and when their government was manifestly odious to all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impositions upon the nation for the support of their land-armies, the parliament would venture to increase those taxes and impositions proportionably to maintain a new war at sea, at so vast an expense, as could not be avoided; and therefore that they only made show of this courage to amuse and terrify them. However, at the spring, they set out a fleet stronger than of course they used to do; which made no impression upon the English; who never suspected that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them. Besides that they were confident no such counsel and resolution could be taken on a sudden, and without their having first notice of it, they having several of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increased not their expense, but sent out their usual fleet for the guard of the coast at their season, and with no other instructions than they had been accustomed to.

The council of the admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their instructions to the admiral Van Trump, "that when he met any of the English ships of war, he should not strike to them, nor shew them any other respect than what they received from them; and if the English expostulated the matter, they should answer frankly, that the respect they had formerly shewed upon those encounters, was because the ships were the king's, and for the good intelligence they had with the crown; but they had no reason to continue the same in this alteration of government, except there were some stipulation between them to that purpose: and if this answer did not satisfy, but that force was used towards them, they should defend themselves with their utmost vigour." These instructions were very secret, and never suspected by the English commanders; who had their old instructions to oblige all foreign vessels to strike sail to them; which had never been refused by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, consisting of above forty sail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in Dover road, being driven by a strong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coast, when the English fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much less number, appeared in

view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to sea, without striking their flag; which Blake observing, caused three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then observed, that there was an express ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that express, received more positive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that express, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the English fleet; and the three guns were no sooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertisement, he discharged one single gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the English admiral, and gave him a broadside; with which he killed many of his men, and hurt his ship. With which though Blake was surprised, as not expecting such an assault, he deferred not to give him the same rude salutation; and so both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the space of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loss of much blood on both sides. On the part of the Dutch, they lost two ships, whereof one was sunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred prisoners. On the English side there were many slain, and more wounded, but no ship lost, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coast. And thus the war was entered into, before it was suspected in England.

With what consideration soever the Dutch had embarked themselves in this sudden enterprise, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill measures of the people's affections. For the news of this conflict no sooner arrived in Holland, but there was the most general consternation, amongst all sorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themselves were so much troubled at it, that, with marvellous expedition, they despatched two extraordinary ambassadors into England; by whom they protested, "that the late unhappy engagement between the fleets of the two commonwealths had happened without their knowledge, and contrary to the desire of the lords the States General: that they had received the fatal tidings of so rash an attempt and action, with amazement and astonishment; and that they had immediately entered into consultation, how they might best close this fresh bleeding wound, and to avoid the farther effusion of Christian blood, so much desired by the enemies of both states; and therefore they most earnestly desired them, by their mutual concurrence in religion, and by their mutual love of liberty, that nothing might be done with passion and heat; which might widen the breach; but that they might speedily receive such an answer, that there might be no farther obstruction to the trade of both commonwealths."

To which this answer was presently returned to them, "that the civility which they had always shewed towards the States of the United Provinces was so notorious, that nothing was more strange than the ill return they had made to them: that the extraordinary preparations which they had made, of a hundred and fifty ships, without any apparent necessity, and the instructions which had been given to their seamen, had administered too much cause to believe, that the lords the States General of the United Provinces had a purpose to usurp the known

"right which the English have to the seas, and
 "to destroy their fleets; which, under the protection of the Almighty, are their walls and
 "bulwarks; that so they might be exposed to the
 "invasion of any powerful enemy: therefore they
 "thought themselves obliged to endeavour, by
 "God's assistance, to seek reparation for the injuries and damage they had already received,
 "and to prevent the like for the future: however,
 "they should never be without an intention and
 "desire, that some effectual means might be found
 "to establish a good peace, union, and right understanding between the two nations."

With this haughty answer they vigorously prosecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake presently to sail to the northward; it being then the season of the year for the great fisheries of the Dutch upon the coasts of Scotland, and the isles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe;) where he now found their multitude of fishing boats, guarded by twelve ships of war; all which, with the fish they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

When Blake was sent to the north, sir George Ayscue, [being just returned from the West Indies,] was sent with another part of the fleet to the south; who, at his very going out, met with thirty sail of their merchants between Dover and Calais; a good part whereof he took or sunk; and forced the rest to run on shore upon the French coast; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he stood westward; and near Plymouth, in the middle of August, with thirty sail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, consisting of sixty ships of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to engage, so that the night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the Holland ships of war were sunk, and most of the men lost; the Dutch in that action applying themselves most to spoil the tackling and sails of the English; in which they had so good success, that the next morning they were not able to give them farther chase, till their sails and rigging could be repaired. But no day passed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ships into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making haste home without any fear of their security: so that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambassadors, who could not prevail in any thing they proposed, they returned; and the war was proclaimed on either side, as well as prosecuted.

The king thought he might very reasonably hope to reap some benefit and advantage from this war, so briskly entered upon on both sides; and when he had sat still till the return of the Dutch ambassadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made such propositions upon the place as he might be advised to: but when his majesty imparted this design to his friends there, who did really desire to serve him, he was very warmly dissuaded from coming thither; and assured, "that it was so far from being yet seasonable,
 "that it would more advance a peace than any
 "thing else that could be proposed; and would,

"for the present, bring the greatest prejudice to
 "his sister, and to the affairs of his nephew the
 "prince of Orange, that could be imagined."

The king hereupon took a resolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassador then resident at Paris, monsieur Borrel, who had been pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the king's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the chancellor of the exchequer; who visited him constantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The king, upon conference only with the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor, and enjoining them secrecy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very
 "good reason to believe, that there were many
 "officers and seamen engaged in the service of
 "the English fleet, who undertook that service in
 "hope to find a good opportunity to serve his
 "majesty; and that, if the Dutch were willing to
 "receive him, he would immediately put himself
 "on board their fleet, without requiring any command, except of such ships only, as, upon their
 "notice of his being there, should repair to him
 "out of the rebels' fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be able much to weaken their
 "naval power, and to raise divisions in the kingdom, by which the Dutch would receive benefit
 "and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it enclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the king, and for his dependence upon the house of Orange. In the end, he desired "the king would
 "enclose it in a letter to him, and oblige him to
 "send it to the States General:" which was done accordingly; and he sent it by the post to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States less united than they had been, and the party that was known to be inclined to the prince of Orange recovered courage, and joined with those who were no friends to the war; and, when this message from the king was read, magnified the king's spirit in making this overture, and wished that an answer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his majesty. They said, "no means ought to be neglected that
 "might abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and as soon as the people heard of it, they thought it reasonable to accept the king's offer. De Wit, who was pensioner of Holland, and had the greatest influence upon their counsels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the king; which, he foresaw, must necessarily introduce the pretences of the prince of Orange, to which he was an avowed and declared enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous offer of the king;
 "but if they should accept it, they could never
 "recede from his interest; which, instead of
 "putting an end to the war, of which they were
 "already weary, would make it without end, and

"would be the ruin of their state: that, whilst they were free from being engaged in any interest but their own, they might reasonably hope that both sides would be equally weary of the war, and then a peace would easily ensue; which they should otherwise put out of their own power;" so that thanks were returned to the king for his good will; and they pursued their own method in their counsels, and were much superior to those who were of another opinion, desiring nothing so much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch made show of so much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the same time, so humbled by the spirit of the English, that, though they took their ships every day, and made them prize, and had now seized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then closely besieged by the Spaniard, and, by the taking that fleet, was delivered into their hands,) yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to express any inclination to the king; but sent an ambassador, which they had not before done, to expostulate very civilly with the parliament for having been so unneighbourly, but in truth to desire their friendship upon what terms they pleased; the cardinal fearing nothing so much, as that the Spaniard would make such a conjunction with the new commonwealth, as should disappoint and break all his designs.

The insupportable losses which the Dutch every day sustained by the taking their merchants' ships, and their ships of war, and the total obstruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increased their factions and divisions at home. All the seas were covered with the English fleets; which made no distinctions of seasons, but were as active in the winter as the summer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. [The Dutch having been beaten in the month of October, and Blake having received a brush from them in the month of December,] in the month of February, the most dangerous season of the year, they having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty merchantmen, sent a fleet of above one hundred sail of men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the English had attended them so close, that they were engaged again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the English, that they might make their flight the more securely.

This last loss made them send again to the parliament to desire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable peace,) the address being made only by the States of Holland and West-Friesland, the States General being at that time not assembled. It was generally believed, that this address from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction of Cromwell; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were natu-

rally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inseparable from him in all his other counsels, and was incensed by the Dutch,) than approved the resolution. And now he found, by the charge of the engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable charge that war must be attended with. Besides, he well discerned that all parties, friends and foes, presbyterians, independents, levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expense might make it necessary to disband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no use) to support the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the parliament: so that when this address was made by the Dutch, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the parliament with a witness, and by a way they least thought of.

Though Cromwell was exercised with these contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the parliament, he found not the least opposition from abroad. He was more absolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any king had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the crown owned no other subjection than to the commonwealth of England. The isles of Guernsey, and Jersey, were reduced; the former presently after the battle of Worcester; and the other, after the king's return to Paris; sir George Carteret having well defended Jersey as long as he could, and being so overpowered that he could no longer defend the island, he retired into castle Elizabeth; which he had well fortified, and provided with all things necessary for a siege; presuming that, by the care and diligence of the lord Jermyn, who was governor thereof, he should receive supplies of men and provisions, as he should stand in need of them; as he might easily have done in spite of any power of the parliament by sea or land. But it had been the principal reason that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the cardinal, lest the bait of those two islands, which the king could have put into his hands when he would, should tempt him to give his majesty any assistance. But the king was so strict and punctual in his care of the interest of England, when he seemed to be abandoned by it, that he chose rather to suffer those places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to deposit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never restore them to the just owner, what obligations soever they entered into.

When that castle had been besieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at least, half an English mile, the sea encompassing it round more than so far from any land, and it not being possible for any of their ships to come within such a distance, they brought notwithstanding mortar pieces of such an incredible greatness, and such as had never been before seen in this part of the world, that from the highest point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they shot granadoes of a vast bigness

into the castle, and beat down many houses; and, at last, blowed up a great magazine, where most of the provision of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which sir George Carteret sent an express to give the king an account of the condition he was in, and to desire a supply of men and provisions; which it being impossible for his majesty to procure, he sent him orders to make the best conditions he could; which he shortly after did; and came himself to Paris, to give the king a larger information of all that had passed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of Cromwell, till the king's happy restoration.

All the foreign plantations had submitted to the yoke without a blow; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior persons put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been intrusted by the king in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the king; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation,) they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the parliament, as well as by being governor there by the king's commission,) and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in sir William Berkley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the war, had transported themselves, with all the estate they had been able to preserve; with which the honest governor, for no man meant better, was so confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the king almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the parliament had nothing else to do, that plantation in a short time was more improved in people and stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been employed in the making the best advantage of their particular

plantations, without assigning time or men to provide for the public security in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no sooner appeared two or three ships from the parliament, than all thoughts of resistance were laid aside. Sir William Berkley, the governor, was suffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noise and fame of the king's restoration, he did as quietly resume the exercise of his former commission, and found as ready an obedience.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book,) where Monk for the present governed with a rod of iron, and found no contradiction or opposition to his good will and pleasure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for destruction, there had happened an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the nation to have united themselves under their new deputy, whom they had themselves desired, under all the solemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was so much weakened by it, and there were so great factions and divisions among the officers after his sudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleasure was farther known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other; but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, so that there remained jealousy and discontent enough still between the council and the officers to have shaken a government that was yet no better established.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counsel and credit, have prevented those tyrannical excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and

left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all that learning which had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

What influence soever his life might have had upon the future transactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the state of Ireland to the king's advantage. The marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength and power of the Irish nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the king's government. He sent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raise money: but few men could be got together, and when they were assembled, they could not stay together for want of money to pay them: so that he could never get a body together to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had only made those ample vows and protestations, that they might be rid of the marquis of Ormond, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the popish clergy, and all the Irish of Ulster, had no mind to have any relation to the English nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the crown. They blamed each other for having deserted the nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get some foreign prince to take them into his protection. They first chose a committee, Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the lord deputy, to send these gentlemen into Flanders, "to invite the duke of Lorrain to assist them with arms, money, and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelligence from thence, that the duke (who was known to wish well to the king) was well prepared to receive their desire, and resolved, out of his affection to the king, to engage himself cordially in the defence of that catholic kingdom, his zeal to that religion being known to be very great."

The marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, and less that the duke would engage himself on the behalf of a people who had so little reputation in the world, and therefore refused to give any commission to those gentlemen, or to any other to that purpose, without first receiving the king's order, or at least the advice of the marquis of Ormond, who was known to be safely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and scandals, and declarations, which had been published against

the marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, against the marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would never bless his withered hand, which had always concurred with Ormond in the prosecution and persecution of the catholics confederates from the beginning of their engagement for the defence of their religion; and that he had still had more conversation with heretics, than with catholics: that he had refused always to submit to the pope's authority; and had treated his nuncio with less respect than was due from any good catholic; and that all the catholics who were cherished or countenanced by him, were of the same faction." In the end, he could not longer resist the importunity of the assembly of the confederate catholics, (which was again brought together,) and of the bishops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his consent to send the same persons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the duke of Lorrain; but required them "punctually to observe his own instructions, and not to presume to depart from them in the least degree." Their instructions were, "to give the marquis of Ormond notice of their arrival; and to shew him their instructions; and to conclude nothing without his positive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the queen; and that likewise, "when they came into Flanders, they should advise with such of the king's council as should be there, and proceed in all things as they should direct."

What instructions soever the lord deputy prescribed to them, the commissioners received others from the council and assembly of their clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the queen, or to the marquis of Ormond; but prosecuted their journey to Brussels, and made their address, with all secrecy, to the duke of Lorrain. There were, at the same time, at Antwerp, the marquis of Newcastle, the chancellor of the exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embassy in Spain,) and secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the king's council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the duke of York, during this time, passed through Brussels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negotiations to his highness.

The duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was sure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commissioners very frankly offered "to deliver up Galloway, and all the places which were in their possession, into his hands, with the remainder of the kingdom, as soon as it could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their prince." But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, discoursed much of his affection to the king, and his resolution "not to accept any thing that was proposed, without his majesty's privity

“and full approbation.” But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the abbot of St. Catharine’s, a Lorrainer, and a person principally trusted by him, as his ambassador into Ireland, to be informed of the true state of that kingdom, and what real strength the confederate catholics were possessed of, and at what unity among themselves. With him he sent about three or four thousand pistoles, to supply their present necessities, and some arms and ammunition. The duke writ to the lord deputy the marquis of Clanrickard, as the king’s governor, and the person by whose authority all those propositions had been made to him by the commissioners.

The abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the marquis knew nothing of what the commissioners had proposed or offered; and would by no means so much as enter upon any treaty with him; but disavowed all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a protestation, “that he would cause their heads to be cut off, if they returned, or came into his hands.” And the marquis did, at the same time, write very large letters both to the king, and the marquis of Ormond, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, “that they might be imprisoned, and kept till they might undergo a just trial.”

As the marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the catholic nobility, and even some of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the crown of England, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the Irish nation, but those of Ulster, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be delivered presently up into the possession of a foreign prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the king. It was now time for the popish bishops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commissioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the lord deputy, “to confirm what had been offered, as the only visible means to preserve the nation, and a root out of which the king’s right might again spring and grow up:” and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambassador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own house and castle at Portumny, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commissioners had propounded, “as done by their order, who could make it good;” and desired the ambassador “to enter into a treaty with them;” and declared, “that they would sign such articles, with which the duke of Lorrain should be well satisfied.” They undervalued the power of the marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppose any agreement they should make, nor able to make good any thing he should promise himself, without their assistance.

The ambassador was a wise man, and of phlegm enough; and though he heard all they would say,

and received any propositions they would give him in writing, yet he quickly discerned, that they were so unskilful as to the managery of any great design, and so disjointed among themselves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpose; and excused himself from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commission to treat but with the lord deputy. But he told them, “he would deliver all that they had, or would propose to him, to the duke his master; who, he presumed, would speedily return his answer, and proceed with their commissioners in such a manner as would be grateful to them.” So he returned in the same ship that brought him, and gave the duke such an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negociation; which had been entered into, and prosecuted, with less wariness, circumspection, and good husbandry, than that prince was accustomed to use.

When the ambassador was gone, they prosecuted the deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had several designs upon his person, and communicated whatever attempt was resolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his person from any violence they intended against him, but could not secure him against their acts of treachery, nor keep his counsels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worcester was known and published, they less considered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own security that way that seemed most probable to him; and whosoever was most intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the deputy, and loudly urged “the necessity of uniting themselves for the public safety, which was desperate any other way:” whilst in truth every man was negotiating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the English,) or for leave to transport regiments; which kept the soldiers together, as if they had been the deputy’s army.

The deputy had a suspicion of a fellow, who was observed every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of trust, with some horse, to watch him, and search him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches against the marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the messenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly discovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciscan friar in Galloway; where the deputy then was; but much of the intelligence was such as could not be known by him, but must come from some who were in the most private consultations. The deputy caused the friar to be imprisoned, and resolved to proceed exemplarily against him, after he had first discovered his complices. The friar confessed the letter to be of his writing, but refused to answer to any other question; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the deputy’s order. The conclusion was, the popish bishops caused him to be taken out of the prison; and sent to the deputy, “that if he would send to them his evidence against the friar, who was an ecclesiastical person, they would take care that justice should be done.”

This proceeding convinced the deputy, that he should not be able to do the king any service in that company; nor durst he stay longer in that

town, lest they should make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no scruple to have done. From that time he removed from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the same place together, lest he should be betrayed; and sometimes without any accommodations: so that, not having been accustomed to those hardships, he contracted those diseases which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the king. For as soon as he had advertisement of the king's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Irish, that they would be no more applied to the king's service under his command than under the marquis of Ormond's, he sent the earl of Castlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate catholics, and remained with great constancy with the marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the king, with so particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had passed, from the time that he had received his commission from the marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almost a diurnal, in which he made so lively a description of the proceedings of the Irish, of their overtures to the duke of Lorrain, and of their several tergiversations and treacheries towards him, that any man might discern, especially they who knew the generosity of the marquis, his nature, and his custom of living, that he had submitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and desired his majesty's leave that he might retire, and procure a pass to go into England; where he had some estate of his own, and many friends, who

would not suffer him to starve; which his majesty made haste to send to him, with as great a testimony of his gracious acceptance of his service and affection, as his singular merit deserved.

Thereupon the marquis sent to Ludlow for a pass to go into England, and render himself to the parliament; which he presently sent him; and so the marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those unnatural fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the king, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year [1652], and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very extraordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the king as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIV.

IF God had not reserved the deliverance and restoration of the king to himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the king of a speedy change of government. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the parliament so supple to observe his orders, as he expected they would have been. The presbyterian party, which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his army of the independent party, were bold in contradicting him in

the house, and crossing all his designs in the city, and exceedingly inveighed against the license that was practised in religion, by the several factions of independents, anabaptists, quakers, and the several species of these; who contemned all magistrates, and the laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, Cromwell cherished and protected, that he might not be overrun by the presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to shew much respect to some principal preachers of that party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that so there might be no proposition made for the disbanding any part of his army, which otherwise could not be prevented,

yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the parliament so fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to any reasonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared most solicitous to make upon any conditions. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of independents had contracted against him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved Vane, thought his power and authority to be too great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or submission to, the parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old friends very frankly united themselves with his and their old enemies, the presbyterians, for the prosecution of the war with Holland, and obstructing all the overtures towards peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the kingdom.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another council of officers, who, under the style, first, of petitions, and then of remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the army; used great importunity for "the arrears of their pay; that they might not be compelled to take free quarter upon their fellow subjects, who already paid so great contributions and taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the charges of the war, and of the government." The sharp answers the parliament gave to their addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, "that they would be glad to be eased of the burden of their employment; and that there might be successive parliaments to undergo the same trouble they had done." They therefore desired them, "that they would remember how many years they had sat; and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the service of their country, by their engrossing the whole power into their hands; and thereupon besought them, that they would settle a council for the administration of the government during the interval, and then dissolve themselves, and summon a new parliament; which," they told them, "would be the most popular action they could perform."

These addresses in the name of the army, being confidently delivered by some officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were members of the house, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when the parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all addresses of that kind.

There were many members of the house, who, either from the justice and reason of the request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the

army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great envy, which was confessedly against the parliament throughout the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end the people might make a new election of such persons as they thought fit to trust with their liberty and property, and whatsoever was dearest to them. But Mr. Martyn told them, "that he thought they might find the best advice from the scripture, what they were to do in this particular: that when Moses was found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that the mother might be found out, to whose care he might be committed to be nursed; which succeeded very happily." He said, "their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution; and therefore his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it, as the mother who brought it forth; and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands, until it had obtained more years and vigour." To which he added, "that they had another infant too under their hands, the war with Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under their conduct; but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it were taken out of their care who had hitherto governed it."

These reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a committee speedily to prepare an act of parliament by which it should be declared to be high treason, for any man to propose or contrive the dissolution of this parliament, or to change the present government settled and established."

This bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So Cromwell clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the army declared they were not satisfied with the determination, and continued their applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the house; and did all they could to infuse the same spirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleased that the parliament should express as much prejudice against the army.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose these enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he well knew, was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their contributions, and other impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the house of parliament in a morning when it was sitting, attended with the officers, who were likewise members of the house, and told

them, "that he came thither to put an end to their power and authority; which they had managed so ill, that the nation could be no otherwise preserved than by their dissolution; which he advised them, without farther debate, quietly to submit unto."

Thereupon another officer, with some files of musketeers, entered into the house, and stayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the house, with their vices and corruptions; and amongst the rest, sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be safely kept, he caused the doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or precedent in the Christian world that could raise his ambition to such a presumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendship of one man, who had any other interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus prosperously passed this Rubicon, he lost no time in publishing a declaration of the grounds and reasons of his proceeding, for the satisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculously God had appeared for them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to so great a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet: whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and those great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made so little progress towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land, who had thereupon applied themselves to the army, expecting redress by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that some officers, who were members of the parliament, should move and desire the parliament to proceed vigorously in reforming what was amiss in the commonwealth, and in settling it upon a foundation of justice and righteousness: that they found this, and some other endeavours they had used, produced no good effect, but rather an averseness to the things themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them: insomuch as the godly party in the army was now become of no other use, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, that desired to perpetuate themselves in the supreme government of the nation: that, for the obviating those evils, the officers of the army had obtained several meetings with some members of the parliament, to consider what remedies might properly be applied; but that it appeared very evident unto them, that the parliament, by want of attendance of many of their members, and want of integrity in others who did attend, would never answer those ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation, expected from them; but that this cause, which God had so

greatly blessed, must needs languish under their hands, and by degrees be lost, and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people, be delivered into their enemies' hands. All which being seriously and sadly considered by the honest people of the nation, as well as by the army, it seemed a duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish righteousness and peace in these nations: that, after much debate, it had been judged necessary, that the supreme government should be, by the parliament, devolved for a time upon known persons, fearing God, and of approved integrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God's people, preserve the law, and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby, that people might forget monarchy, and understand their true interest in the election of successive parliaments, and so the government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessity to keep up armies for the defence thereof: that being resolved, if possible, to decline all extraordinary courses, they had prevailed with about twenty members of the parliament to give them a conference; with whom they debated the justice and necessity of that proposition; but found them of so contrary an opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance of the present parliament, as it was then constituted, as the only way to bring those good things to pass which they seemed to desire: that they insisted upon this with so much vehemence, and were so much transported with passion, that they caused a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this parliament, and investing the supreme power in themselves. And for the preventing the consummation of this act, and all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon the grounds thereof, must have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, they had been necessitated (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the parliament."

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that body of men, who had reigned so long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how wonderful soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this declaration, which was not only subscribed by Cromwell and his council of officers, but was owned by the admirals at sea, and all the captains of ships, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the government of the council of state, which should be nominated by the general, until such a time as a parliament, consisting of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the government of these nations, found an equal submission and obedience.

The method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men so

well chosen, that they should shortly after delegate the power legally to him for the preservation of the nation, was not less admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca said of Pompey, "that he had brought the people of Rome to that pass, by magnifying their power and authority, *ut salvus esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis*." And if Cromwell had not now made himself a tyrant, all bonds being broken, and the universal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the king's obedience, they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a prey to foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation; there being no man that durst mention the king, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twenty-fourth [twentieth] of April that the parliament had been dissolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were satisfied in it, and the declaration published thereupon, yet he knew it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the government, than the council of officers; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England should be brought to. A parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other assembly of men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

He resolved therefore to choose them himself, that he might with the more justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the advice of his council of officers, for he made yet no other council of state, he made choice of a number of men, consisting of above one hundred and forty persons, who should meet as a parliament to settle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a notion should fall into any man's imagination, that such a people should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet, upon the view and consideration of the persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and though he communicated it with no man, concluded it the most natural way to ripen and produce the effects it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to himself."

There were amongst them some few of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barebone, a leatherseller in Fleet-street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was

afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's parliament. In a word, they were a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliaments lower than it was yet.

It was fit these new men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the necessity of dissolving the late parliament, and of an equal necessity, that the peace, safety, and good government of the commonwealth should be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the advice of his council of officers, nominated divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs was to be committed, and that having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, and the interest of his cause, and the good people of this commonwealth;" he concluded in these words, "I, Oliver Cromwell, captain general and commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, within this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to be and appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth day of July next, then and there to take upon you the said trust. And you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member of the county of" &c. Upon this wild summons, the persons so nominated appeared at the council-chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the dissolution of the former parliament.

Cromwell, with his council of officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "the fear of God, and the honour due to his name," full of texts of scripture; and remembered "the wonderful mercies of God to this nation, and the continued series of providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his cause, and bringing affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble actions of the army in the famous victory of Worcester, of the applications they had made to the parliament, for a good settlement of all the affairs of the commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it." He assured them by many arguments, some of which were urged out of scripture, "that they had a very lawful call to take upon them the supreme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earnest desire, "that great tenderness might be used towards all conscientious persons, of what judgment soever they appeared to be."

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an instrument, engrossed in parchment under his hand and seal, whereby, with the advice of his council of officers, he did devolve and intrust the supreme authority of this commonwealth into the hands of those persons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, to which all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection to the third day of the month of November, which should be in the year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he spoke to them; and three months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, whose

power and authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide and take care for a like succession in the government. Being thus invested with this authority, they repaired to the parliament house, and made choice of one Rouse to be their speaker, an old gentleman of Devonshire, who had been a member of the former parliament, and in that time been preferred and made provost of the college of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the style and title of a parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that title, and to consider themselves as the supreme authority in the nation. These men thus brought together continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow.

There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest beggary. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tithes, and respect from their neighbours. They resolved the function itself to be Antichristian, and the persons to be burdensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolished altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they thought fit, "that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such debates, as soon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to the burden that was laid upon them, and therefore that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their authority into their hands from whom they had received it;" which being presently consented to, their speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and redelivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the commonwealth.

By this frank donation he and his council of officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his council were too modest to share with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the government of the commonwealth should reside in a single person; that that person should be Oliver Cromwell, captain general of

"all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his title should be lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging; and that he should have a council of one and twenty persons to be assistant to him in the government."

Most men did now conclude, that the folly and sottishness of this last assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their dissolution. For the method that succeeded could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the small parliament was dissolved, when many of the members, who came to the house as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day, the commissioners of the great seal, with the lord mayor and aldermen, were sent for to attend Cromwell and his council to Westminster hall; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the commissioners sitting upon their usual seat, and not knowing why they were sent for, the declaration of the council of officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made protector; who stood in the court uncovered, whilst what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *instrument of government*; whereby it was ordained, "that the protector should call a parliament once in every three years; that the first parliament should be convened upon the third day of September following, which would be in the year 1654; and that he should not dissolve any parliament once met, till they had sat five months; that such bills as should be presented to him by the parliament, if they should not be confirmed by him within twenty days, should pass without him, and be looked upon as laws: that he should have a select council to assist him, which should not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen: that immediately after his death the council should choose another protector before they rose: that no protector after him should be general of the army: that the protector should have power to make peace and war: that, with the consent of his council, he should make laws, which should be binding to the subjects during the intervals of parliament."

Whilst this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, "that he would not violate any thing that was contained in that instrument of government; but would observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, according to the best of his understanding, govern the nation according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."

This new invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and Lambert, who was then the second person in the army, carried the sword before his highness (which was the style he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it sitting bare; and so he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald, in the palace-yard at Westmin-

ster, "that the late parliament having dissolved themselves, and resigned their whole power and authority, the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a lord protector, and successive triennial parliaments, was now established: and whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain general of all the forces of the commonwealth, is declared lord protector of the said nations, and had accepted thereof, publication was now made of the same; and all persons, of what quality or condition soever, in any of the said three nations, were strictly charged and commanded to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the government so established; and all sheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to publish this proclamation, to the end that none might have cause to pretend ignorance therein." Which proclamation was at the same time published in Cheapside by the lord mayor of London; and, with all possible expedition, by the sheriffs, and other officers, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. And a few days after, the city of London invited their new protector to a very splendid entertainment at Grocers' hall, the streets being railed, and the solemnity of his reception such as had been at any time performed to the king: and he, as like a king, graciously conferred the honour of knighthood upon the lord mayor at his departure.

In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all noble persons or men of quality, or three men, who, in the beginning of the troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds lands by the year, mounted himself into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of king, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exercised or claimed by any king; and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect and esteem from all the kings and princes in Christendom, than had ever been shewed to any monarch of those nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendship.

Though, during this last year's unsettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ships in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of trade during that confusion, and suspension of power; and had sent out their fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with security; so that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in England would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their spirits again. But Cromwell was no sooner invested in his new dignity, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong fleet to be made ready against the spring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle seas

over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that Dean, one of the English admirals, was killed by a cannon shot from the rear-admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the small wind that was, the English charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the sail they could for their own coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewise the number of the prisoners, as well officers as soldiers. The loss of the English was greatest in their general Dean: there was, besides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common seamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coast of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the English for some time blocked them up in their own harbours, taking all such ships as came bound for those ports.

This great defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four commissioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a cessation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no cessation; which being known in Holland, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another fleet, strong enough to remove the English from their coasts; which they believed was the best expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater instance of the opulency of that people, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great defeat, in so short a time to gather a strong fleet enough together to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them within their ports.

Their admiral Trump had, with some of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a distance from the other ports for the English fleet to divide itself. He had, with a marvellous industry, caused his hurt ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And the States published so great and ample rewards to all officers and seamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their service, that by the end of July, within less than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as soon as the English had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind rising, they were forced to stand more to sea, for fear of the sands and shelves upon that coast. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, stood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of

their best ships; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty sail, he faced the English; who kept still to the sea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both sides, from six of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilst he very signally performed the office of a brave and bold commander, was shot with a musket bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without speaking word. This blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many of their companions burnt and sunk, after having endured very hot service, before the evening, fled, and made all the sail they could towards the Texel: the English were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn ships, and refresh their wounded men.

This battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking their ships. On the Hollander's part, between twenty and thirty of their ships of war were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand prisoners taken. The victory cost the English dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were slain outright, and above seven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they lost only one ship, which was burned: and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther service. The most sensible part of the loss to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in respect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent commanders at sea of that age, and to whose memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last engagement at sea between the two commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this last defeat, and loss of their brave admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their commissioners at London order to prosecute the peace upon any conditions, so Cromwell was weary enough of so chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to settle the government at home, and that he might choose more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they should not suffer any of the king's party, or any enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reside within their dominions:" and another, which was contained in a secret article, to which the great seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves "never to admit the prince of Orange to be their stateholder, general, or admiral; and likewise to deliver up the island of Polerone in the East Indies" (which they had taken from the English in the time of king James, and usurped it ever since) "into the hands of the East India English company again;" and to pay a good sum of money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for

which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to send an ambassador to beg peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great sum of money; and brought the two crowns of France and Spain to sue for his alliance. He suspended for a time to choose a new enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad; and, in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the king's party with the utmost rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons; enjoined others not to stir from their own houses, and banished all who had ever been in arms for the king, from the cities of London and Westminster; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compositions.

The discontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all sorts of people, of what party soever. The presbyterians preached boldly against the liberty of conscience, and the monstrous license that sprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that license were as unsatisfied with the government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the person of Cromwell more than any. But into these distempers Cromwell was not inquisitive; nor would give those men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly spirits at the charge of the king's party, and with the spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general license of discourse, any man, who was suspected to wish well to the king, let fall any light word against the government, he was sure to be cast in prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable men, who had, in themselves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the person of Cromwell; wine, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted person of the party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompense, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new plot was discovered against the commonwealth and the person of the protector, and a high court of justice was presently erected to try the criminals; which rarely absolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never exposed any man but those of the king's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to suffer them to be brought

before such a tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the king himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been against the king (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but such were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better establishment of Cromwell's empire, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of persons accused of "holding correspondence with Charles Stuart," (which was the style they allowed the king,) "and for having a design against the life of the protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the king." The chief persons they accused of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an ensign in the king's army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of age, without any interest or fortune: the other, one Mr. Vowel; who kept a school, and taught many boys about Islington. Mr. Gerard was charged with "having been at Paris, and having there spoken with the king;" which he confessed; and declared, "that he went to Paris upon a business that concerned himself," (which he named,) "and when he had despatched it, and was to return for England, he desired the lord Gerard, his kinsman, to present him to the king, that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large room, where were many present; and that, when he asked his majesty, whether he would command him any service into England? his majesty bid him to commend him to his friends there, and to charge them that they should be quiet, and not engage themselves in any plots; which must prove ruinous to them, and could do the king no good:" which was very true: for his majesty had observed so much of the temper of the people at his being at Worcester, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this high court of justice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been present with some other gentlemen in a tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it was to kill the protector, and at the same time to seize upon the Tower of London, and that, if at the same time the king were proclaimed, the city of London would presently declare for his majesty, and nobody would oppose him."

Upon this evidence, these two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in prison, a gallows was erected at Charing-cross; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a person utterly unknown to the king, and to any person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preserved in the list of those who shewed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their lives for the crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he suffered without having committed any fault." He professed his duty to the king, and his reverence for the church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at last be compelled to do after all

their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the ambition of an unworthy tyrant;" and conjured them to forsake him, and to serve the king; which, he was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the king, and the kingdom, and himself, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Christian resolution, as can be expected from the most composed conscience.

The protector was prevailed with to shew more respect to Mr. Gerard in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the same day to a scaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of him who suffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the people, but pressed him to discover all the secrets of the plot and conspiracy. He told them, "that if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the king any service; and was now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charged against him; that he had not entered into or consented to any plot or conspiracy, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose;" and offered again to speak to the people, and to magnify the king; upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The ambassador of Portugal had a very splendid equipage, and in his company his brother don Pantaleon Sa, a knight of Malta, and a man eminent in many great actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his brother in this embassy, that he might see England. This gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new exchange, upon a sudden accident and mistake, had a quarrel with that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the rhodomontadoes of the Portuguese, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the don repaired thither again the next day, with many servants, better armed, and provided for any encounter, imagining he should there find his former adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the Portuguese not distinguishing persons, and finding many gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and entered into a new quarrel; in which a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the people rising from all the neighbour places, don Pantaleon thought fit to make his retreat to his brother's house; which he did, and caused the gates to be locked, and put all the servants in arms to defend the house against the people; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude multitude; and took care to defend his

house till the justice should allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an officer with soldiers to demand and seize upon all the persons who had been engaged in the action: and so the ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The officer demanded the person of his brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the house, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambassador demanded the privilege that was due to his house by the law of nations, and which he would defend against any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family; but finding the officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the injury that was done him, and desired an audience. Cromwell sent him word, "that a gentleman had been murdered, and many others hurt; and that justice must be satisfied; and therefore required that all the persons engaged might be delivered into the hands of his officer; without which, if he should withdraw the soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the people would pull down the house, and execute justice themselves; of which he would not answer for the effect. When this was done, he should have an audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambassador desired, "that his brother, and the rest, might remain in his house, and he would be responsible, and produce them before the justice as the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the persons, and the people increased their cry, "that they would pull down the house." Whereupon the ambassador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the rest of the persons; who were all sent prisoners to Newgate. The ambassador used all the instances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other answer but "that justice must be done;" and justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the sessions at Newgate, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and don Pantaleon himself was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, as soon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his antagonist had done.

Though the protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble submission, Denmark being contented with such an alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the severe government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was sent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the English laws, and their kirk, and kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the state without reference to assemblies, or synods; Ireland being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the protector's commands; so that com-

missions were sent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Irish, or to those English who had adhered to the king, amongst those adventurers who had supplied money for the war, and the soldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal assignations in lands; one whole province being reserved for a demesne for the protector; and all these divisions made under the government of his younger son, Harry Cromwell, whom he sent thither as his lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithstanding all this, England proved not yet so towardsly as he expected. Vane, and the most considerable men of the independent party, from the time he had turned them out of the parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their houses in the country; poisoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and lost nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate party, which were the levellers; many whereof had been the most active agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and designs in incensing the army against the parliament, and had been at that time his sole confidants and bed-fellows; who, from the time that he assumed the title of protector, which to them was as odious as that of king, professed a mortal hatred to his person; and he well knew both these people had too much credit in his army, and with some principal officers of it. Of these men he stood in more fear than of all the king's party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he coloured many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the instrument of government, and upon his oath, to call a parliament; which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the people to an entire submission to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses, (in which there is so great an inequality, that some single counties send more members to the parliament, than six other counties do,) he seemed to take a more equal way by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places; and such persons, for the most part, chosen and returned, as were believed to be the least affected to the present government, and to those who had any authority in it; there being strict order given, "that no person who had ever been against the parliament during the time of the civil war, or the sons of any such persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that parliament;" nor were any such persons made choice of.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within less than a year after he had been declared protector; when, after they had been at a sermon in the Abbey at Westminster, they all came into the painted chamber; where his highness made them a large discourse; and told them, "that that parliament was such a congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet persons, that England had scarce seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the series of God's providence all along to that time, because it was well known to them; and only declare to them, that the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to the rest, by shewing what a condition these nations were in at its erection: that then every man's heart was against another's, every man's interest divided against another's, and almost every thing grown arbitrary: that there was grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the grace of God turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a cloak for all wickedness and profaneness; nay, that the axe was even laid to the root of the ministry, and swarms of Jesuits were continually wafted over hither to consume and destroy the welfare of England: that the nation was then likewise engaged in a deep war with Portugal, Holland, and France; so that the whole nation was one heap of confusion: but that this present government was calculated for the people's interest, let malignant spirits say what they would; and that, with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards them, he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the government. First, it had endeavoured to reform the law; it had put into the seat of justice men of known integrity and ability; it had settled a way for probation of ministers to preach the gospel: and besides all this, it had called a free parliament: that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free parliament: then as to wars, that a peace was made with Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, and was likewise near concluding with France: that these things were but entrances, and doors of hopes; but now he made no question to enable them to lay the top stone of the work, recommending to them that maxim, that peace, though it were made, was not to be trusted farther than it consisted with interest: that the great work which now lay upon this parliament, was, that the government of England might be settled upon terms of honour: that they would avoid confusions, lest foreign states should take advantage of them: that, as for himself, he did not speak like one that would be a lord over them, but as one that would be a fellow-servant in that great affair:" and concluded, "that they should go to their house, and there make choice of a speaker:" which they presently did, and seemed very unanimous in their first act, which was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their speaker; which agreement was upon very disagreeing principles. Cromwell having designed him, for luck's sake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in this, as well as he had been in the long parliament, when he always complied with that party that was most powerful. And the other persons who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleased, out of hope that the same man's being in the chair might facilitate

the renewing and reviving the former house; which they looked upon as the true legitimate parliament, strangled by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

Lenthall was no sooner in his chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by what authority they came thither, and whether that which had convened them had a lawful power to that purpose." From which subject the protector's creatures, and those of the army, endeavoured to divert them by all the arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the house insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their counsels must be built: and as many of the members positively enough declared against that power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they might easily discern the snares which were laid to entrap the privileges of the people; and for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, whose right to the government could not be measured otherwise than by the length of his sword, which alone had emboldened him to command his commanders." This spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days together, those of the council of officers, and others, (who were called the court party,) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the government should be by a protector and a parliament," any other way than by lengthening the debate, and then adjourning the house when the question was ready to be put, because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the house, in which the protector's own person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his sovereign presence would produce towards a better composure. So he came again to the painted chamber, and sent for his parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great God of heaven and earth knew what grief and sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling into heats and divisions; that he would have them take notice of this, that the same government made him a protector, that made them a parliament: that as they were intrusted in some things, so was he in others: that in the government were certain fundamentals, which could not be altered, to wit, that the government should be in a single person and a parliament; that parliaments should not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the militia should not be trusted into one hand, or power, but so as the parliament might have a check on the protector, and the protector on the parliament; that in matters of religion there ought to be a liberty of conscience, and that persecution in the church was not to be tolerated. These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals. As for other things in the government, they were examinable and alterable as the state of affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with grief, to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to the trust they had received from the people; which could not but bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and the nation." When he

had made this frank declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to attend at the door of the parliament house, and there to restrain all men from entering into the house who refused to subscribe this following engagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of this indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in parliament) propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one person and a parliament."

This engagement the major part of the members utterly refused to sign; and called it a violation of the privilege of parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrained from entering into the house: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any proposition that might settle him in the government in the manner he desired it, that, after the five months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses, (during which he durst not attempt the dissolution of them, by his instrument of government,) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, with some reproaches, he let them know he could do the business without them; and so dismissed them with much evidence of his displeasure: and they again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his usurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable instances, which happened about that time, in the case of two persons, whose names were then much taken notice of upon the stage of affairs, John Wildman and John Lilburn.

The former had been bred a scholar in the university of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his fortune in the war; and chose to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting jealousies and discontents, and so dexterous in composing or improving any disgusts, and so inspired with the spirit of praying and preaching, when those gifts came into request, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the king was taken from Holmby, and it was necessary that the army should enter into contests with the parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal agitators, and was most relied upon by Cromwell to infuse those things into the minds of the soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their discontents, as might most advance those designs he then had; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts; and, having a smooth pen, drew many of the papers which first kindled the fire between the parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of both. His reputa-

tion in those faculties made him quit the army; where he was become a major; and where he kept still a great interest, and betook himself to civil affairs, in the solicitation of suits depending in the parliament, or before committees; where he had much credit with those who had most power to do right or wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such protection from the tyranny of the time. By these arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increased his credit there, by the interest he had in other places. When Cromwell declined the ways of establishing the commonwealth, Wildman, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last parliament, having less of phlegm, and so less patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a schism in the army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged persons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant a public prosecution; but appointed some trusty spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conspiracy of his. Shortly after the dissolution of that parliament, these instruments of Cromwell's surprised him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and seized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige us to take up arms against Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have exposed any man to the severest judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against him, or any man whom he most desired to destroy. The issue was, the man was straitly imprisoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to justice, or were fit to be discovered, (as many men believed,) or that Wildman obliged himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a spy for him upon others, (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards,) after a short time of imprisonment, the man was restored to his liberty; and resorted, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of life; in which he thrived very notably.

The case of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder; and, for procuring some seditious pamphlets against the church and state to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the star chamber, and received a sharp castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to

suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all those libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written against the church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their style; and, by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that license broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the government most to the sense of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himself into the army; and was taken prisoner by the king's forces in that engagement at Brentford, shortly after the battle of Edge-hill; and being then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities above mentioned, he was not so well treated in prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the chief justice, to be tried for treason by a commission of oyer and terminer, (in which method the king intended then to have proceeded against the rebels which should be taken,) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his friends at London, (and the parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the prisoners they had of the king's party, in the same manner as Lilburn and the rest should suffer at Oxford,") so he did find means to corrupt the marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the parliament quarters; where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the king in his own court.

From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a spirit, and to make those advances in religion against the presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reside in London, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the parliament was so much offended with his seditious humour, and the pamphlets he published every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to have proceeded against him with great rigour, (towards which the assembly of divines, which he had likewise provoked, contributed their desire and demand,) Cromwell writ a very passionate letter to the parliament, "that they would not so much discourage their army, that was fighting for them, as to censure an officer of it for his opinion in point of conscience; for the liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the shackles in which the bishops would enslave them, that army had been principally raised." Upon which, all farther prosecution against Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had dispersed that parliament, and made himself protector, and was, in effect, in possession of the

sovereign power, Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in pamphlets and invectives, loaded him with all the aspersions of hypocrisy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjured person could be.

The protector could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance and concernment, than any person in authority had ever done: yet the persecution this man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his dignity, or to have any security in the government, whilst his license continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with his council at law, was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old established laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty of high treason, and had forfeited his life, if he were prosecuted in any court of justice," he caused him to be sent to Newgate, and at the next sessions to be indicted of high treason; all the judges being present, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a jury as might be fit for the importance of the case. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the judges, he shewed that he had no reverence for their persons, nor any submission to their authority. The whole day was spent in his trial; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled so much law in his discourse to invalidate the authority of Cromwell, and to make it appear so tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor estates, were in any degree secure, whilst that usurpation was exercised; and answered all the matters objected against him with such an assurance, making them "to contain nothing of high treason, and Cromwell to be a person against whom high treason could not be committed;" and telling them "that all true-born Englishmen were obliged to oppose this tyranny, as he had done purely for their sakes, and that he had done it only for their sakes, and to preserve them from being slaves, contrary to his own profit and worldly interest:" he told them "how much he had been in Cromwell's friendship: that he might have received any benefit or preferment from him, if he would have sat still, and seen his country enslaved; which because he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life taken from him by their judgment; which he apprehended not:" he defended himself with that vigour, and charmed the jury so powerfully, that, against all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who assured them, "that the words and actions fully proved against the prisoner, were high treason by the law; and that they were bound, by all the obligation of conscience, to find him guilty,") after no long consultation between themselves, they returned with their verdict, "that he was

"not guilty:" nor could they be persuaded by the judges to change or recede from their judgment: which infinitely enraged and perplexed the protector; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loss of a battle would have been; and would never suffer him to be set at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but sent him from prison to prison, and kept him enclosed there till he himself died. These two instances of persons not otherwise considerable are thought pertinent to be inserted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the spirits of that time were from paying a submission to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands against it.

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the king found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendship or the indignation of other princes; they had all the same terrible apprehension of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of their dominions, and looked upon the king's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the cardinal. The ships and prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the taking whereof Dunkirk had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of aversion from the king and his interest, made it very manifest to his majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance should be published with Cromwell; which was not yet perfected, by the cardinal's blushing to consent to some propositions, without which the other's fast friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the king was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had shewed other princes and states, what conditions they must submit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The king of Spain was at the same time contending with France for Cromwell's friendship, and thought he had some advantage with him by the residence his majesty had in France: so there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to stay there. The protestants, in all places, expressed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman catholics looked upon him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a short time be necessitated to throw himself into their arms by changing his religion, without which they all declared, "they would never give him the least assistance." In this distress, his majesty resumed the considerations he had formerly entered upon, of sending to the diet; which was summoned by the emperor to meet shortly at Ratisbon, to make choice of a king of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the emperor made little doubt

of finding a concurrence in the choice of the king of Hungary his eldest son to be made king of the Romans, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the empire. Our king had long designed to send the lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the emperor, and princes of Germany, would do, in such a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other princes with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to restore a prince so injured and oppressed by so odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of Germany, for the king to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the king's condition, that this affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an ambassador in such an equipage, as, at such an illustrious convention of all the princes of the empire, was necessary. Wilmot pressed very much for that character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the king's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the king, "that this was a proper season, "and very much for the advancement of his service: but, that if he had the title of an earl, "which would be looked upon as a high qualification, he would not assume the character of ambassador, though he would carry such a commission with him, but make all his negotiations as a private envoy;" of which he promised the king wonderful effects, and pretended to have great assurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition. The king, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him earl of Rochester; and gave him all such commissions and credentials, as were necessary for the employment; and sent him from Paris in the Christmas time, that he might be at Ratisbon at the meeting of the diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure so much money as was necessary for that journey, out of the assignment that had been made to the king for his support: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the cardinal caused at this time to be supplied, because he looked upon this sending to Ratisbon as a preparatory for the king's own remove.

Though Scotland was vanquished, and subdued, to that degree, that there was no place nor person who made the least show of opposing Cromwell; who, by the administration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit license; and, more for the affront that was offered to presbytery, than the conscience of what was due to majesty, many of them presumed to pray for the king; and generally, though secretly, exasperated the minds of the people against the present government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their situation, and the hardness of that people, made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more

of their horses : and where there was most appearance of peace and subjection, if the soldiers straggled in the night, or went single in the day, they were always knocked on the head ; and no inquiry could discover the malefactors.

Many expresses were sent to the king, as well from those who were prisoners in England, as from some lords who were at liberty in Scotland, " that Middleton might be sent into the Highlands " with his majesty's commission ;" and in the mean time the earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the king, to draw a body of horse and foot together in the Highlands, and infest the enemy, and be ready to submit to Middleton, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the king had sent a commission to the earl of Glencarne ; who behaved himself very worthily, and gave Monk some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly, that Middleton might be sent over to compose some animosities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could succeed, his majesty, about the time that the earl of Rochester was despatched for Ratisbon, sent likewise Middleton into Scotland, with some few officers of that nation, and such a poor supply of arms and ammunition, as, by the activity and industry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the slavery it was in. With this very slender assistance he transported himself in the winter into the Highlands ; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongst themselves than by the enemy ; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin unarmed troops to Middleton, and condescended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raised by him, though he had exceedingly pressed Middleton's being sent over to that purpose, or whether convinced with the impossibility of the attempt, he retired first to his own house, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained still his affection and fidelity to the king ; which he made manifest afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture : and at the same time he excused himself to the king, for giving over an enterprise which he was not able to prosecute, though Middleton sustained it a full year afterwards.

The truth is, the two persons who were most concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any success ; the king, and Middleton ; who had both seen an army of that people, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got ? But his majesty could not refuse to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with ; and Middleton, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be

enabled to carry over with him two thousand men, and good store of arms, thought himself obliged to venture his life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned ; and by his behaviour there, notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deserves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the king a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very beautiful person, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the parliament service against the king ; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all ; but so much in the friendship of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the murder of the king he was so much improved in age and understanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of sober men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him : and in order thereunto, as soon as the marquis of Ormond resumed the government of Ireland again for the king, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his majesty,) captain Wogan repaired thither to him through Scotland ; and behaved himself with such signal valour, that the marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the testimony of deserving it. He came over with the marquis into France ; and, being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland, than he resolved to find himself with him : and immediately asked the king's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the court as he could persuade to go with him ; declaring to his majesty, " that he resolved " to pass through England." The king, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his majesty, nor the marquis of Ormond, could divert him ; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations : and there was no news so much talked of in the court, as that captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to general Middleton ; and many young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, listed themselves with him for the expedition. He went then to the chancellor of the exchequer ; who, during the time of the king's stay in France, executed the office of secretary of state, to desire the despatch of such passes, letters, and commissions, as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The chancellor had much kindness for him, and having heard of his design by the common talk of the court, and from the loose discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, represented " the danger of the enterprise to " himself, and the dishonour that would reflect " upon the king, for suffering men under his

"pass, and with his commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the discourse of the town, and would without doubt be known in England and to Cromwell, before he and his friends could get thither, so that they would be apprehended the first minute they set their foot on shore; and how much his own particular person was more liable to danger than other men's he knew well;" and, upon the whole matter, very positively dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the chancellor expressly refused to make his despatches, till he could speak with the king; "with whom," he said, "he would do the best he could to persuade his majesty to hinder his journey;" with which the captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the king; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the king, that he caused all his despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took post for Calais.

They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; stayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horses, which they quartered at common inns, and listed men enough of their friends and acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's soldiers, and from Barnet were full fourscore horse well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched safely into Scotland; beat up some quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party an ordinary flesh wound; which, for want of a good surgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the king.

In the distress which the king suffered during his abode in France, the chancellor of the exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the king in all his counsels which were reserved from others; yet the marquis's quality, and the great services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their devices to make marriages, and to traffic in religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the queen's displeasure grew so notorious against the chancellor, that after he found that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence;

and for many months did not see her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the same house, the palace royal, where both their majesties kept their courts; which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her majesty, to express a great prejudice to the chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the king; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his majesty had in his fidelity.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a conspiracy of an odd nature, and a union between two very irreconcilable factions, the papists and the presbyterians: which was discovered to the king by a false brother, before the chancellor had any intimation of it. The lord Balcarris, with Dr. Frazier, and some other Scots about the court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the presbyterians; and caused a petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the presbyterian party had great affections to serve his majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many propositions and advices to offer to his majesty for the advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and hindered from offering the same, by reason that his majesty intrusted his whole affairs to the chancellor of the exchequer; who was an old known and declared enemy to all their party; in whom they could repose no trust: and therefore they besought his majesty, that he might be removed from his council, at least not be suffered to be privy to any thing that should be proposed by them; and they should then make it appear how ready and how able they were in a very short time to advance his majesty's affairs."

Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman catholic subjects; which said, "that all his majesty's party which had adhered to him were now totally suppressed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his enemies, and submitted to their government: that the churchlands were all sold, and the bishops dead, except very few, who durst not exercise their function: so that he could expect no more aid from any who were concerned to support the government of the church as it had been formerly established: that by the defeat of duke Hamilton's army first, and then by his majesty's ill success at Worcester, and the total reduction of the kingdom of Scotland afterwards by Cromwell, his majesty might conclude what greater aid he was to expect from the presbyterian party. Nothing therefore remained to him of hope for his restoration, but from the affection of his Roman catholic subjects; who, as they would never be wanting as to their persons, and their estates which were left, so they had hope to draw from the catholic princes, and the pope himself, such considerable assistance both in men and money, that his majesty should owe his restitution, under the blessing of God, to the sole power and assistance of the catholics. But they had great reason to fear, that all these hopes would be obstructed and rendered of no use, not only by there being no person about his majesty in whom the catholics could have any

“confidence, but by reason that the person most trusted by him, and through whose hands all letters and despatches must pass, is a known enemy to all catholics; and therefore they besought his majesty, that that person, the chancellor of the exchequer, might be removed from him; whereupon he should find great benefit to accrue to his service.” They concluded, that when these two petitions should be weighed and considered, the queen would easily convince his majesty, that a person who was so odious to all the Roman catholics, from whose affections his majesty had most reason to promise himself relief, and to all the protestants who could contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not be fit to be continued in any trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the longer in preparation, because the persons concerned could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by persons mutually employed, one Mr. Walsingham, a person very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the king, and, whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery would be grateful to his majesty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the king; who shewed them to the marquis of Ormond, and the chancellor of the exchequer; and informed them of the whole intrigue. And from this time his majesty made himself very merry with the design, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the queen was present; and asked pleasantly, “when the two petitions would be brought against the chancellor of the exchequer?” which being quickly known to some of the persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both factions continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the king remained in France; the queen taking all occasions to complain to the queen regent of the king’s unkindness, that she might impute all that she disliked to the chancellor; and the queen mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any man should dare to interpose between the mother and the son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those complaints appear more reasonable. The cardinal de Retz had always expressed great civilities towards the king, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the cardinal asked the king, “whether he had made any attempt to draw any assistance from the pope, and whether he thought that nothing might be done that way to his advantage?” The king told him, “nothing had been attempted that way; and that he was better able to judge, whether the pope was like to do any thing for a man of his faith.” The cardinal smiling, said, “he had no thought of speaking of his faith;” yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest man; “that if any overtures were made him of the change of his religion, he must tell his majesty, it became him as a cardinal to wish his majesty a catholic for the saving his soul; but he must declare too,

“that if he did change his religion, he would never be restored to his kingdoms.” But he said, “he did believe,” (though the pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity; for Innocent the Tenth was then living,) “that if some proper application was made to the princes of Italy, and to the pope himself, though there would not be gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain armies, there might be somewhat considerable obtained for his more pleasant support, wherever he should choose to reside.” He said, “he had himself some alliance with the great duke, and interest in other courts, and in Rome itself; and if his majesty would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write in such a manner in his own name to some of his friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his majesty, if it brought him no convenience.” The king had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the cardinal asked his majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which he could not answer; but told him, “he would give a punctual information of it the next day in a letter:” which the cardinal desired might be as soon as his majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it, make his despatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the king’s memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the chancellor of the exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his majesty writ a letter the next day to the cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to see the queen mother, he was arrested by the captain of the guard, and sent prisoner to the Bastille; and in one of his pockets, which they searched, that letter the king had sent to him was found, and delivered to the queen regent; who presently imparted it to the queen of England; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the French, the king having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the pope, and to other catholic princes; and that his majesty should enter upon any such counsel, without first consulting with the queen his mother, could proceed only from the instigation of the chancellor of the exchequer.

Her majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the king for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The king was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the queen mother had shewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his mother’s complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the queen mother, who was in truth a very worthy lady, shewed much more kindness to the king. And a little time after, there being a masque at the court that the king liked very well, he persuaded the chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the seat where all their majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the queen regent asked, “who that fat man was who sat by the marquis of Ormond?” The king told her aloud, “that was the naughty man who did all the mischief, and set him against

"his mother:" at which the queen herself was little less disordered than the chancellor was, who blushed very much. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deserve the reproach.

At this time the king was informed by the French court, "that prince Rupert, who had been so long absent, having gone with the fleet from Holland before the murder of the late king, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the coast of France, and soon after at Nantes, in the province of Bretagne, with the *Swallow*, a ship of the king's, and with three or four other ships: and that the *Constant Reformation*, another ship of the king's, in which prince Maurice had been, was cast away in the Indies near two years before; and that prince Rupert himself was returned with very ill health." The king sent presently to welcome him, and to invite him to Paris to attend his health; and his majesty presumed that, by the arrival of this fleet, which he thought must be very rich, he should receive some money, that would enable him to remove out of France; of which he was as weary as it was of him.

Great expectation was raised in the English court, that there would be some notable change upon the arrival of this prince; and though he had professed much kindness to the chancellor of the exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with some declared unkindness towards the marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the attorney general, who was unsatisfied with every body, would have most influence upon that prince; and that his highness could not be without credit enough with the king to introduce him into business; which they thought would at least lessen the chancellor. In order to which, it was no sooner known that prince Rupert was landed in France, but the lord Jermyn visited and made great court to sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater show of animosity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the seas, they having for some years seldom spoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that he would have no friendship with any man who believed the other to be an honest man." Between these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the attorney is every day with the queen, who had shewed a greater aversion from him than from any man, not only upon the business of the duke of York, but upon many other occasions. But now she commended him to the king, "as a wise man, of great experience, and of great interest in England."

From the death of sir Richard Lane, who had been keeper of the great seal under his late majesty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worcester, the king had been without any great seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a great seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the queen pressed the king very earnestly, to make the attorney general lord keeper of the great seal; which was a promo-

tion very natural, men ordinarily rising from the one office to the other. The king knew the man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when prince Rupert came to him, he should be pressed both by his mother and him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the man himself were in good humour, he would be of great use in composing any ill humour that should arise in the prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his majesty thought it best (since nobody dissuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the prince came; and so called him to his council, and made him lord keeper of the great seal; with which he seemed wonderfully delighted; and for some time lived well towards every body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present state of affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Before the prince came to Paris he gave the king such an account, as made it evident that his majesty was to expect no money: "that what treasure had been gotten together, which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been all lost in the ship in which himself was," (that sprung a plank in the Indies, when his highness was miraculously preserved,) "and, in the boat, carried to another ship, when that the *Antelope*, with all the men, and all that had been gotten, sunk in the sea; and that much of the other purchase had been likewise cast away in the ship in which his brother perished; which was after his own misfortune:" so that all that was brought into Nantes would scarce pay off the seamen, and discharge some debts at Toulon, which the prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the king had been in Holland: and, "that the ships were all so eaten with worms, even the *Swallow* itself, that there was no possibility of setting them out again to sea." This was all the account the king could receive of that whole affair, when the prince himself came to Paris; with which though the king was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the prince taking it very ill that any account should be required of him; and the keeper quickly persuaded his highness, that it was only the chancellor of the exchequer's influence, that disposed the king with so much strictness to examine his account.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his master. When the king went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned before, was secretary of state; who, having been always a creature of the queen's, and dependent upon the lord Jermyn, had so behaved himself towards them, during his short stay in Scotland, (for he was one of those who was removed from the king there, and sent out of that kingdom,) that when his majesty returned from Worcester to Paris, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his majesty; and

accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty, and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any man to serve the king honestly, and to preserve the good opinion of the queen, and keep the lord Jermyn's favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the king did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reason that the chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the lord Jermyn and the keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveighed against Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the chancellor's credit, than by restoring Long to the execution of the secretary's function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a petition to the king, "that he might be again restored to his office and attendance, or that he might be charged with his crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear himself, and appear innocent." This petition was presented to the king, when he was in council, by the queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the king was surprised, having not in the least received any notice of it; and said, "that her majesty was the principal cause that induced his majesty to remove him from his place, and that she then believed that he was not fit for the trust." She said, "she had now a better opinion of him, and that she had been misinformed." The king thought it unfit to receive a person into so near a trust, against whose fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and his majesty knew that few of his friends in England would correspond with him; and therefore would not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the chancellor's account, and the influence he had upon the king.

Thereupon Mr. Long accused the chancellor of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the chancellor pressed, "that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof:" and at that day the queen came again to the council, that she might be present at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Massonet, a man who had served him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commissions, during the time of the king's being in Scotland, and had been taken prisoner at Worcester; and, being released with the rest of the king's servants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the same service under the chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the king, and the duke of York, and the rest of the king's children to write, being indeed the best writer, in Latin as well as English, for the fairness of the hand, of any man in that time.

Massonet said, "that after his release from his imprisonment, and whilst he stayed in London, he spoke with a maid, who had formerly served

him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again." And Mr. Long desired time, that he might send over for this woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the chancellor said, "he would make no other defence, than that there were persons then in the town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had seen him once every day, from the time he returned from Spain to the day on which he attended his majesty at Paris;" as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him to do. But he told his majesty, "that it was the course; and that he ought not to be present at the debate that was to concern himself;" and the keeper, with some warmth, said, "it was true;" and so he retired to his own chamber. The lord Jermyn, as soon as he was gone, said, "he never thought the accusation had any thing of probability in it; and that he believed the chancellor a very honest man: but the use that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewise been; and therefore they ought both to be cleared." The keeper said, "he saw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he saw no cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one witness which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook also to produce the witness herself, if he might have time; which in justice could not be denied; and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and that in the mean time the chancellor might not repair to the council:" with which proposition the king was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "he discerned well the design; and that it was so false and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception against Mr. Long than this foul and foolish accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him." And therefore he presently sent for the chancellor, and, as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more justice than to declare him innocent;" which he did do, and commanded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his majesty himself would sign.

The keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "if what he heard from a person of honour, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the chancellor had aspersed the king in such a manner, and so much [reviled] his majesty in point of his honour, that he was not fit to sit there." The chancellor was wonderfully surprised with the charge; and humbly besought his majesty, "that the lord keeper might produce his author, or be looked upon as the contriver of the scandal." The keeper answered, "that if his majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the council to meet, he would produce the person, who, he was confident, would justify all he had said."

The next day, the king being sat in council, the keeper desired that the lord Gerard might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, "whether he had at any time heard the chancellor of the exchequer speak ill of the king?" he answered, "Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the chancellor and him a year before, when the king lay at Chantilly; "that one day, after dinner, the king took the air, and being in the field his majesty alighted out of his coach, and took his horse, with other of the lords, to ride into the next field to see a dog set partridge; and that he, the lord Gerard, and the chancellor remained in the coach, when he entered into discourse of the king's condition; and said, that he thought his majesty was not active enough, nor did think of his business; and, that the chancellor, who was known to have credit with him, ought to advise him to be active, for his honour and his interest; otherwise, his friends would fall from him. But, that it was generally believed, that he, the chancellor, had no mind that his majesty should put himself into action, but was rather for sitting still; and therefore it concerned him, for his own justification, to persuade the king to be active, and to leave France, where he could not but observe that every body was weary of him. To all which the chancellor took great pains to purge himself from being in the fault; and said, that nobody could think that he could take delight to stay in a place where he was so ill used; but laid all the fault upon the king; who, he said, was indisposed to business, and took too much delight in pleasures, and did not love to take pains; for which he was heartily sorry, but could not help it; which," Gerard said, "he thought was a great reproach and scandal upon the king, from a man so obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse his master in that manner."

The chancellor was a little out of countenance; and said, "he did not expect that accusation from any body, less that the lord Gerard should discover any private discourse that had passed a year before between them two, and which appeared by his relation to have been introduced by himself, and by his own freedom: that whosoever believed that he had a mind to traduce the king, would never believe that he would have chosen the lord Gerard, who was known to be none of his friend, to have communicated it to." He said, "he did very well remember, that the lord Gerard did, at that time when they two remained alone in the coach, very passionately censure the king's not being active, and blamed him, the chancellor, for not persuading his majesty to put himself into action; and that he was generally believed to be in the fault. Upon which he had asked him, what he did intend by being active, and what that action was, and where, to which he wished the king should be persuaded? He answered, with an increase of passion, and addition of oaths, that rather than sit still in France, his majesty ought to go to every court in Christendom; that, instead of sending an ambassador who was not fit for any business, he should have gone himself to the diet at Ratisbon, and solicited his own business; which would have been more effectual: and that, if he could not find any other way to put

himself into action, he ought to go into the Highlands of Scotland to Middleton, and there try his fortune." To all which the chancellor said, he did remember that he replied, "he believed the king was indisposed to any of that action he proposed: and though he did not believe that he had used those expressions, of the king's delighting in pleasures, and not loving business so well as he ought to do, if the lord Gerard would positively affirm he had, he would rather confess it, and submit himself to his majesty's judgment, if he thought such words proceeded from any malice in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the debate:" and then he offered to retire; which the king forbid him to do; upon which the keeper was very angry; and said, "the words amounted to an offence of a high nature; and that he was sorry his majesty was no more sensible of them: that for any man, especially a counsellor, and a man in so near trust, to accuse his master of not loving his business, and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he could to persuade all men to forsake him;" and proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness, the king interrupted him; and said, "he did really believe the chancellor had used those very words, because he had often said that, and much more, to himself; which he had never taken ill: that he did really believe that he was himself in fault, and did not enough delight in his business; which was not very pleasant; but he did not know that such putting himself into action, which was the common word, as the lord Gerard advised, was like to be attended with those benefits, which, he was confident, he wished." In fine, he declared, "he was very well satisfied in the chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had said;" and directed the clerk of the council to enter such his majesty's declaration in his book; with which both the keeper and the lord Gerard were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the chancellor, during the time of his majesty's abode in France. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the king's return into England, there came the woman to the chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Massonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to testify that she had seen the chancellor with Cromwell; for which she should have a present liberal reward in money from him, and a good service at Paris; which when the woman refused to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and so she returned: of which the chancellor informed the king. But Mr. Long himself coming at the same time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the chancellor frankly remitted the injury, and would make no more words of it; which Mr. Long seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The king, wearied with these domestic vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the French court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes should be sold, and all the seamen discharged, and prince Rupert satisfied his demands, which

were very large, there would be still left the ships, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good sum of money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the ship itself, fifty good brass guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His majesty therefore writ to prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to discharge some seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the prizes,) "that he should find some good chapmen to buy the ships, and ordnance, and tackle, at the value they were worth:" which was no sooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough; besides the marshal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money still by him to lay out on such occasions. And the prince writ the king word, "that he had then a good chapman, who would pay well for the brass cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates." But he writ again the next week, "that, when he had even finished the contract for the brass cannon, there came an order from the court, that no man should presume to buy the brass cannon, and to marshal Melleray to take care that they were not carried out of that port."

The prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from Cromwell; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* itself, if not to the other ships; and the marshal contributed to and cherished this jealousy, that the better markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his highness first came into that port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good-will and trust, "that he should use all expedition in the sale of the prizes, lest either Cromwell should demand the whole, (which he much doubted,) or that the merchants, owners of the goods, should, upon the hearing where they were, send and arrest the said ships and goods, and demand restitution to be made of them in a course of justice; in either of which cases," he said, "he did not know, considering how things stood with England, what the court would determine:" though, he promised, "he would extend his authority to serve the prince, as far as he could with his own safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any orders he should receive, till the prince might facilitate the despatch;" and by this kind advice very good bargains had been made for those goods which had been sold; of which the marshal had an account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertisement, the king made his address to the cardinal to revoke this order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the money, which should be raised upon the sale of those cannon, was the only means he had to remove himself out of France, which he intended shortly to do, and to go to the hither parts of Germany, and that his sister, the princess of Orange, and he, had some thoughts of finding themselves together, in the beginning of the summer, at the Spa:" which indeed had newly entered into the king's consideration, and had been entertained by

the princess royal; the cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his majesty, "that this order was not newly made, but had been very ancient, that no merchants or any private subjects should buy any brass ordnance in any port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that the order was not now revived with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his majesty; who should be no loser by the restraint; for that himself would buy the ordnance, and give as much for them as they were worth; in order to which, he would forthwith send an agent to Nantes to see the cannon; and, upon conference with a person employed by the king, they two should agree upon the price, and then the money should be all paid together to his majesty in Paris:" intimating "that he would dispute the matter afterwards with Cromwell;" as if he knew, or foresaw, that he would make some demand.

It was well for the king that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris; for of all the money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ships, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the king's hands, or to his use, but what he received at Paris from the cardinal for the brass guns which were upon the *Swallow*; for the valuing whereof the king sent one thither to treat with the officer of the cardinal. All the rest was disposed, as well as received, by prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his majesty a confused account; and averred, "that the expenses had been so great, that there was not only no money remaining in his hands, but that there was a debt still due to a merchant;" which he desired his majesty to promise to satisfy.

The king's resolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of France, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his majesty, who needed no spurs for that journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his friends in England; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the king, did really apprehend that his majesty's person might be given up; and thereupon they sent Harry Seymour, who, being of his majesty's bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the king, and being addressed only to the marquis of Ormond and the chancellor of the exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the king privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and all messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton, with the privity of those few who were trusted by them, "to be very importunate with the king, that he would remove out of France; and to communicate to his majesty all which they received from persons who were admitted into many of the secret resolutions and purposes of Cromwell." And because they well knew in what straits the king was for money, they found some means at that time to send him a supply of about three thousand pounds; which the king received,

and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word likewise, "that wherever he should choose to reside out of France, they were confident his servants in England, under what persecution soever they lay, would send him some supply: but whilst he remained in France, nobody would be prevailed with to send to him." The king was glad to be confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they had in some degree enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his debts were so great in Paris, and the servants who were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the king did not desire to receive till the last,) did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the assignment they had made to him, he should not be able to make his journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for when the cardinal was satisfied that his majesty had a full resolution to be gone, which he still doubted, till he heard from Holland that the princess royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the king know, "that, against the time that his majesty appointed his remove, his arrears should be either entirely paid, or so much of his debts secured to his creditors, as should well satisfy them; and the rest should be paid to his receiver for the charge of the journey;" and likewise assured his majesty, "that, for the future, the monthly assignation should be punctually paid to whomsoever his majesty would appoint to receive it." This promise was better complied with than any other that had been made, till, some years after, the king thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remembered in its place.

All things being in this state, the king declared his resolution to begin his journey, as soon as he could put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the family to be ready to wait upon his majesty, and for the better regulating and governing it, when the king should be out of France; there having never been any order put in it whilst he remained there, nor could be, because his majesty had always eaten with the queen, and her officers had governed the expense; so that by the failing of receiving money that was promised, and by the queen's officers receiving all that was paid, to carry on the expense of their majesties' table, which the king's servants durst not inquire into, very few of his majesty's servants had received any wages from the time of his coming from Worcester to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave Paris. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the king met with an obstruction, that he least expected, from the wonderful narrowness of the cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The agent he had sent to Nantes to view the cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last offered

much less than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The king knew not what to propose in this. The cardinal said, "he understood not the price of cannon himself, and therefore he had employed a man that did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by his conduct; who assured him, that he offered as much as they could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the king's behalf, "that he would permit others to buy them; which," he said, "he could not do, because of the king his master's restraint; and if any merchant, or other person, should agree for them, Cromwell would demand them wherever they should be found; and there were not many that would dispute the right with him." In conclusion, the king was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, as allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest merchant, than by a member of the sacred college, who would be esteemed a prince of the church.

Whilst the king was preparing for his journey, he received news that pleased him very well, and looked like some addition of strength to him. After the duke of York had made his escape from St. James's, where he, and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the earl of Northumberland; the parliament would not suffer, nor did the earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government. But the other three, two princesses and the duke of Gloucester, were committed to the countess of Leicester; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury, as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the king their father lived. But as soon as the king was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the earl of Leicester's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the same countess, who observed the order of the parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them.

There, by an act of providence, [Mr. Lovel,] an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the house of Leicester, became likewise tutor to the duke of Gloucester; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the king his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the king his father had, with much fervour,

given him before his death. One of the princesses died at Penshurst, and shortly after the other princess and the duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the countess of Leicester, and sent into the Isle of Wight to Carisbrook castle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, "that no person should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that they should not be otherwise treated than as the children of a gentleman;" which Mildmay observed very exactly; and the duke of Gloucester was not called by any other style than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three years. The princess died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the duke of Gloucester, who was now about fourteen years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would shew the contempt he had of the royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to his council, "that he was well content that the son of the late king, who was then in Carisbrook castle, should have liberty to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas, as he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order, and warrant, as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the council that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expenses of the voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the duke to go on shore in any other part of England.

[This happened in the latter end of the year 1652;] and was so well prosecuted, that, at the time when the king was making his preparations ready to leave France, he received advertisement from his sister in Holland, "that the duke of Gloucester was arrived there; and would be the next day with her;" which was no sooner known than the queen very earnestly desired, that

he might be presently sent for to Paris, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was born, the troubles were so far advanced, that her majesty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never seen him. The king could not refuse to satisfy his mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did then suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a messenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all possible haste to Paris; his majesty having nothing more in his resolution, than that his brother should not make any stay in France, but that he should return again with him into Germany; and with this determination of the king's he was presently sent for, and came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

All expedition was used to provide for the king's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expenses of the family, and of payment of the wages of the servants, and indeed of issuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the court resided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the severe discipline of the lord Peircy, now lord chamberlain of the king's household. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkship, honesty, and discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a trust; and indeed his great industry, modesty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for so many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his majesty, in the pinching straits of his condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left Paris.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding that he should receive none of the money the cardinal was to pay for the brass ordnance, and being every day more indisposed by the chagrin humour of the keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him against the king, as well as against most other men, and thought his highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendship for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry,) resolved to leave the king; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other man, by the despair that seemed to attend the king's fortune; and told his majesty, "that he was resolved to look after his own affairs in Germany; and first to visit his brother in the palatinate, and require what was due from him for his appanage; and then to go to the emperor, to receive the money that was due to him upon the treaty of Munster;" which was to be all paid by the emperor: from the prosecution of which purpose his majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the prince expected; which raised his natural passion; inso-much, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the king, he told his majesty, "that, if he pleased, he might dispose of the place of master of the horse;" in which he had been settled by the late king, and his present majesty had, to preserve that office for him, and to take

away the pretence the lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the prince of Wales, recompensed him with the place of lord chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the king bore this resignation likewise from the prince with the same countenance as he had done his first resolution; and so, towards the end of April, or the beginning of May, his highness left the king, and begun his journey for the palatinate.

Shortly after the prince was gone, the king begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a list of his servants he intended should wait upon him. He foresaw that the only end of his journey was to find some place where he might securely attend such a conjuncture, as God Almighty should give him, that might invite him to new activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the lord keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the list of those who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the king, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him?" His majesty told him, "No; for that he resolved to make no use of his great seal; and therefore that he should stay at Paris, and not put himself to the trouble of such a journey, which he himself intended to make without the ease and benefit of a coach:" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horses in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in some years after. The keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the great seal, and delivered it to him; and desired, "that he would sign a paper, in which his majesty acknowledged, that he had received again his great seal from him;" which the king very willingly signed; and he immediately removed his lodging, and left the court; and never after saw his majesty; which did not at all please the queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the king.

The queen prevailed with the king, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the duke of Gloucester with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobligeing her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred, without learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a court, or good company; and being now in a place, and at an age, that he might be instructed in all these, to carry him away from all these advantages to live in Germany, would be interpreted by all the world, not only to be want of kindness towards his brother, but want of all manner of respect to her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the king's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the queen

had assured the king "was not in her thought, and that she would not permit any such attempt to be made," his majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his majesty to begin his journey, the king desired that the chancellor of the exchequer might likewise part in the queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, which had been so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it. But the day before the king was to be gone, the lord Peircy, who was directed by his majesty to speak in the affair, and who in truth had kindness for the chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her majesty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the chancellor told her majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him." The queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the king's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all men; and that all men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her roof," (for the house was hers,) "and that she thought she had not seen him in six months before; which she looked upon as so high an affront, that only her respect towards the king prevailed with her to endure it."

When her majesty made a pause, the chancellor said, "that her majesty had only mentioned his punishment, and nothing of his fault: that how great soever his infirmities were in defect of understanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam; which he had deserved to be, if he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her: that he had no kind of apprehension that they who thought worst of him, would ever believe him to be such a fool, as to provoke the wife of his dead master, the greatness of whose affections to her was well known to him, and the mother of the king, who subsisted by her favour, and all this in France, where himself was a banished person, and she at home, where she might oblige or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was well assured, that nobody would think him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her grace and protection: that it was very true, he

“ had been long without the presumption of being
 “ in her majesty’s presence, after he had under-
 “ gone many sharp instances of her displeasure,
 “ and after he had observed some alteration and
 “ aversion in her majesty’s looks and counte-
 “ nance, upon his coming into the room where
 “ she was, and during the time he stayed there;
 “ which others likewise observed so much, that
 “ they withdrew from holding any conversation
 “ with him in those places, out of fear to offend
 “ her majesty: that he had often desired, by
 “ several persons, to know the cause of her ma-
 “ jesty’s displeasure, and that he might be ad-
 “ mitted to clear himself from any unworthy
 “ suggestions which had been made of him to
 “ her majesty; but could never obtain that ho-
 “ nour; and therefore he had conceived, that he
 “ was obliged, in good manners, to remove so
 “ unacceptable an object from the eyes of her
 “ majesty, by not coming into her presence;
 “ which all who knew him, could not but know
 “ to be the greatest mortification that could be
 “ inflicted upon him; and therefore he most
 “ humbly besought her majesty at this audience,
 “ which might be the last he should receive of
 “ her, she would dismiss him with the knowledge
 “ of what he had done amiss, that he might be
 “ able to make his innocence and integrity ap-
 “ pear: which he knew had been blasted by the
 “ malice of some persons; and thereby misun-
 “ derstood and misinterpreted by her majesty.”
 But all this prevailed not with her majesty; who,
 after she had, with her former passion, objected
 his credit with the king, and his endeavours to
 lessen that credit which she ought to have, con-
 cluded, “ that she should be glad to see reason to
 “ change her opinion;” and so, carelessly, ex-
 tended her hand towards him; which he kissing,
 her majesty departed to her chamber.

It was about the beginning of June in the year
 1654, that the king left Paris; and because he
 made a private journey the first night, and did
 not join his family till the next day, which admi-
 nistered much occasion of discourse, and gave
 occasion to a bold person to publish, amongst the
 amours of the French court, a particular that re-
 flected upon the person of the king, with less
 license than he used towards his own sovereign,
 it will not be amiss in this place to mention a
 preservation God then wrought for the king,
 little inferior to the greatest that is contained in
 the bundle of his mercies vouchsafed to him; and
 which shews the wonderful liberty that was then
 taken to promote their own designs and projects,
 at the price of their master’s honour, and the in-
 terest of their country, or the sense they had of
 that honour and interest.

There was at that time in the court of France,
 or rather in the jealousy of that court, a lady of
 great beauty, of a presence very graceful and
 alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated
 those who were admitted into her presence; her
 extraction was very noble, and her alliance the
 best under the crown, her fortune rather compe-
 tent, than abounding, for her degree; being the
 widow of a duke of an illustrious name, who had
 been killed fighting for the king in the late trou-
 bles, and left his wife childless, and in her full
 beauty. The king had often seen this lady with
 that esteem and inclination, which few were with-
 out, both her beauty and her wit deserving the

homage that was paid to her. The earl of Bris-
 tol, who was then a lieutenant general in the
 French army, and always amorously inclined,
 and the more inclined by the difficulty of the
 attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this
 lady; and, to have the more power with her, com-
 municated those secrets of state which concerned
 her safety, and more the prince of Condé, whose
 cousin german she was; the communication
 whereof was of benefit or convenience to both:
 yet though he made many romantic attempts to
 ingratiate himself with her, and such as would
 neither have become, or been safe to any other
 man than himself, who was accustomed to extra-
 ordinary flights in the air, he could not arrive at
 the high success he proposed. At the same time,
 the lord Crofts was transported with the same
 ambition; and though his parts were very differ-
 ent from the other’s, yet he wanted not art and
 address to encourage him in those attempts, and
 could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind,
 and acquiescence, than the other could. When
 these two lords had lamented to each other their
 mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit
 their mistress’s favour by doing her a service that
 should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the
 marriage of the king; who, they both knew, had
 no dislike of her person: and they pursued it with
 his majesty with all their artifices. They added
 the reputation of her wisdom and virtue to that of
 her beauty, and “ that she might be instrumental
 “ to the procuring more friends towards his resto-
 “ ration, than any other expedient then in view;”
 and at last prevailed so far with the king, who no
 doubt had a perfect esteem of her, that he made
 the overture to her of marriage; which she re-
 ceived with her natural modesty and address, de-
 claring herself “ to be much unworthy of that
 “ grace;” and beseeching and advising him “ to
 “ preserve that affection and inclination for a sub-
 “ ject more equal to him, and more capable to
 “ contribute to his service;” using all those ar-
 guments for refusal, which might prevail with and
 inflame him to new importunities.

Though these lords made themselves, upon this
 advance, sure to go through with their design, yet
 they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The
 queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and
 the French court would obstruct it, as they had
 done that of mademoiselle; nor could they per-
 suade the lady herself to depart from her dignity,
 and to use any of those arts which might expedite
 the design. The earl of Bristol therefore, that the
 news might not come to his friend the chancellor
 of the exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted
 it to him, only as a passion of the king’s that had
 exceedingly transported him; and then magnified
 the lady, “ as a person that would exceedingly
 “ cultivate the king’s nature, and render him
 “ much more dexterous to advance his fortune:”
 and therefore he professed, “ that he could not
 “ dissuade his majesty from gratifying so noble
 “ an affection;” and used many arguments to
 persuade the chancellor too to think very well of
 the choice. But when he found that he was so
 far from concurring with him, that he reproached
 his great presumption for interposing in an affair
 of so delicate a nature, as by his conduct might
 prove the ruin of the king, he seemed resolved to
 prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to
 the king’s own inclination; who, upon serious

reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her house; where those lords made their last effort; and his majesty, with great esteem of the lady's virtue and wisdom, the next day joined his family, and prosecuted his journey towards Flanders; his small step out of the way having raised a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

Though the king had received a pass from the archduke for his passing through Flanders, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his journey; yet he found the gates of Cambray shut when he came thither, and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason that they understood the enemy was at hand, and intended to sit down before that city;" of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himself, a terrible apprehension. But, upon recollection, his majesty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his house; who was the better composed by his majesty's assuring him, "that the French army was at a great distance from him, and that his majesty had passed through it the day before," (when marshal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his majesty; the duke of York having there likewise taken his leave of the king,) "and, by the march that they then appeared to make, there was great reason to conclude that they had no design upon Cambray;" which good information made the king's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that supper, and lodging that night, his majesty had not the least address from the archduke, who was within four or five leagues with his army, but passed, without the least notice taken of him, through those provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the Spaniard, lest their shewing any respect to the king in his passage through their country, should incense Cromwell against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

His majesty intended to have made no stay, having received letters from the Hague, that his sister was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and instructions from those of his friends there who retained their old affections; and recovered new courage from the general discontent which possessed the kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual oppressions and tyranny they sustained. The taxes and impositions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his council, did greater acts of sovereignty than ever king and parliament had attempted. All gaols were full of such persons as contradicted their commands, and were suspected to wish well to the king; and there appeared such a rend among the officers of the army, that the pro-

tector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his security, so it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the license of the common soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures, and reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his service,) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were soldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whose officers he knew well hated him, and who had their soldiers so much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious spirit possessed many of the principal officers both of horse and foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic and undiscerned spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends,) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own stars, he cashiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the highest command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only lose all their credit with the soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with those who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some war in his purpose; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increase his stores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ships than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who should have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongst these made great professions of duty to the king; and made tender of their service to his majesty by these gentlemen. It was thought necessary to make a day's stay at Mons, to despatch those gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such commissions were prepared for them, and such instructions, as were desired by those who em-

ployed them. And his majesty gave nothing so much in charge to the messengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correspondence, as, "that they should live quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those who watched them, to put them into prison, and to ruin their estates and families." He told them, "the vanity of imagining that any insurrection could give any trouble to so well a formed and disciplined army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash and uncounsellable attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own person with them in any reasonable and well formed undertaking; so he would with patience attend God's own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very necessary that such commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a schism in the army, as might divide it upon contrary interests into open contests, and declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal schism in the parliament: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conspired by the levellers, under several combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular design of any single person, but that the parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme government.

Lambert, who was unquestionably the second person in the command of the army, and was thought to be the first in their affections, had had no less hand than Cromwell himself in the odious dissolution of that parliament, and was principal in raising him to be protector under the instrument of government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute command of an army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their masters. Then Monk, who had the absolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own presumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himself so popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greatest enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in England who were the most wary and averse from any rash attempt, that they all wished that commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the king, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reason to despair.

The king having in this manner despatched those messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleasant passage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the Spa,

the next day after the princess royal, his beloved sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the joy of being out of France, where his majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his sister to stay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required, so the Spa was a place that nobody could stay longer in than the season for the waters continued; which ended with the summer.

The king no sooner arrived at the Spa, than the earl of Rochester returned thither to him from his negociation at Ratisbon; where he had wisely remained during the diet, without owning the character he might have assumed; yet performed all the offices with the emperor, and the other princes, with less noise and expense, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a king of the Romans was of vast expense to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think of any business but what concerned themselves: yet in the close of the diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the elector of Mentz, who was esteemed the wisest and most practical prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the king, that assembly was prevailed with to grant a subsidy of four romer months; which is the measure of all taxes and impositions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their subjects in their own method. This money was to be paid towards the better support of the king of Great Britain. And the elector of Mentz, by his own example, persuaded as many of the princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the earl of Rochester, who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable sum upon so important an occasion. But the emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the princes, amongst whom were the elector [palatine], and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, who had both received great obligations from king James, and the last king his son: so that the whole that was ever paid to the king did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling; a great part whereof was spent in the negociation of the earl, and in the many journeys he made to the princes, being extremely possessed with the spirit of being the king's general, which he thought he should not be, except he made levies of men; for which he was very solicitous to make contracts with old German officers, when there was neither port in view, where he might embark them, nor a possibility of procuring ships to transport them, though Cromwell had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind men are, whose passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the money that was paid to his

majesty's use was managed with very good husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered family, which with his own expenses for his table, and his stable, and the board-wages, with which all his servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left France, amounted not to above six hundred pistoles a month; which expense was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into Holland in order to his return into England. And as this method in the managery gave the king great ease; so it contented, and kept the family in better order and humour than could reasonably have been expected; all which was then imputed to the care and industry of the chancellor, and was the more satisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the king had made in France.

The king stayed not so long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the smallpox breaking out there; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the princess royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his majesty, and his sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquisgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magistrates; where the king of the Romans ought to receive his first iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the prescription which the physicians had made to the princess, after she should have finished her course in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those baths, the courts removed now thither; but in truth with a design that the king might make his residence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the journeys in those countries are measured by hours) of Maestricht, the most pleasant seat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magistrates received the king so civilly, that his majesty, who knew no other place where he was sure to be admitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient house, which belonged to one who was called a baron; whither he resolved to remove, as soon as his sister, who had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the king's accommodation, should return into Holland.

Here the good old secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the king had transported himself into Scotland, presented himself to his majesty; who received him very graciously, as a person of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely trusted by the king his father. And now to him the king gave his signet; which for three years had been kept by the chancellor of the exchequer, out of friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in France to be admitted into the secretary's office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to Aken, desired the king to declare him to be his secretary; which was done;

by which he had a fast friend added to the council, and of general reputation.

Whilst the king remained at Aken, he received many expresses out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animosity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's council, upon particular interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the king's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the king, to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The king renewed his commands to them, "not to flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to give too easy credit to appearances of factions and divisions; which would always be counterfeited, that they might the more easily discover the agitations and transactions of those upon whom they looked as inveterate and irreconcilable enemies to the government."

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had some successes in the Highlands; and the Scottish lords who were prisoners in England assured the king, "that there was now so entire a union in that nation for his service, that they wished his majesty himself would venture thither:" and the lord Balcarris, who was with the king, and intrusted by that people, used much instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the advice seemed to be, men knew not how to contradict by proposing anything that seemed more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, his majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his sovereignty.

The chancellor of the exchequer one day representing to the king the misery of his condition, and the general discourses of men, and, "that it was his majesty's misfortune to be thought by many not to be active enough towards his own redemption, and to love his ease too much, in respect both of his age and his fortune," desired him "to consider upon this news, and importunity from Scotland, whether in those Highlands there might not be such a safe retreat and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the affections of that people, which had been always firm both to his father and himself, he might preserve himself in safety, though he could not hope to make any advance, or recover the lower part of that kingdom possessed by the enemy; and if so, whether he might not expect the good hand of Providence, by some revolution, more honourably there, than in such corners of other princes' dominions, as he might be forced to put himself into." His majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, part whereof he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the people, and their course of life; and how "impossible it was for him to live there with security or with health; that, if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason to expect from the ill accommoda-

“tion he must be there contented with, he should
“in a short time be betrayed and given up.”
And in this debate, he told him that melancholic
conclusion, which David Lesley made at War-
rington-bridge, which is mentioned before, when
he told the king, “that those men would never
“fight;” which his majesty had never, he said,
told to any body before. However, he said, “if
“his friends would advise him to that expedition,
“he would transport himself into the Highlands;
“though he knew not what would come of it, and
“that they would be sorry for it:” which stopped
the chancellor from ever saying more to that pur-
pose. And it was not long after that news came,
of Middleton’s having been like to be given up to
the enemy by the treachery of that people, and of
the defeat his troops had received, and that he
should be at last forced to quit that miserable
country; which, however, he resolved to endure,
as long as should be possible.

The season of the year now begun to approach
that would oblige the princess royal to return to
the Hague, lest the jealous States, from her long
absence, might be induced to contrive some act
prejudicial to her and her son; which she was the
more liable to, from the unkind differences be-
tween her and the princess dowager, mother of
the deceased prince of Orange, a lady of great
cunning and dexterity to promote her own in-
terest. The air of Aken, and the ill smell of the
baths, made that place less agreeable to the king
than at first he believed it to be; and he wished
to find a better town to reside in, which he might
be put to endure long. The city of Cologne was
distant from Aken two short days’ journey, and
had the fame of an excellent situation. But the
people were reported to be of a proud and muti-
nous nature, always in rebellion against their
bishop and prince, and of so much bigotry in
religion that they had expelled all protestants out
of their city, and would suffer no exercise of reli-
gion, but of the Roman catholic. So that there
seemed little hope that they would permit the
king to reside there; the rather, because it was
the staple for the wines of that country, and
maintained a good intelligence and trade with
England. If the king should send thither to
provide a house, and declare a purpose to stay
there, and they should refuse to receive him, it
might be of very ill consequence, and fright any
other places, and Aken itself, from permitting him
to return thither; and therefore that adventure was
to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that
the princess royal should make Cologne her way
into Holland, which was reasonable enough, by
the convenience of the river for the commodious
transportation of her goods and family: and the
king, accompanying her so far, might make a
judgment, upon his observation, whether it would
be best for him to stay there, or to return to
Aken; where he would leave his family, as the
place where he had taken a house, and to which
he meant in few days to return. With this
resolution they left Aken, about the middle of
September; and lodging one night at Juliers, a
little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have
made a quarrel between so many of the princes of
Europe, nor of the fame it got by the siege, they
came the next day to Cologne; where they were
received with all the respect, pomp, and magnifi-
cence, that could be expected, or the city could

perform. The house, which the harbingers of the
princess had taken for her reception, served like-
wise to accommodate the king; and the magis-
trates performed their respects to both with all
possible demonstration of civility.

Cologne is a city most pleasantly situated upon
the banks of the Rhine; of a large extent, and
fair and substantial buildings; and encompassed
with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which
are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches
may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not
inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather supe-
rior, because this goes round the town. The
government is under the senate and consuls; of
whom there was one then consul, who “was de-
“scended from father to son of a patrician Roman
“family, that had continued from the time the
“colony was first planted there.” It had never
been otherwise subject to the bishops, than in
some points which refer to their ecclesiastical
jurisdiction; which they sometimes endeavouring
to enlarge, the magistrates always oppose: and
that gives the subject of the discourse of jea-
lousies, and contests, between their prince and
them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that
moment, as they are reported to be. The elector
never resides there, but keeps his court at his
castle of Bonne, near four miles from thence.
And that elector, who was of the house of Bava-
ria, and a melancholic and peevish man, had not
then been in the city in very many years. The
number of churches and religious houses is in-
credible; insomuch as it was then averred, “that
“the religious persons and churchmen made up
“a full moiety of the inhabitants of the town;”
and their interest and authority so far prevailed,
that, some few years before the king came thither,
they expelled all those of the protestant religion,
contrary to the advice of the wisest of the magis-
trates; who confessed “that the trade of the town
“was much decayed thereby, and the poverty
“thereof much increased.” And it is very pos-
sible, that the vast number and unskilful zeal of
the ecclesiastical and religious persons may at
some time expose that noble city to the surprise
of some powerful prince, who would quickly de-
prive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And
there was, in that very time of the king’s stay
there, a design by the French to have surprised
it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to
have performed that service; which was very
hardly prevented. The people are so much more
civil than they were reported to be, that they seem
to be the most conversible, and to understand the
laws of society and conversation better than any
other people of Germany. To the king they were
so devoted, that when they understood he was not
so fixed to the resolution of residing at Aken, but
that he might be diverted from it, they very hand-
somerly made tender to him of any accommodation
that city could yield him, and of all the affection
and duty they could pay him; which his majesty
most willingly accepted; and giving order for the
payment of the rent of the house he had taken at
Aken, which he had not at all used, and other
disbursements, which the master of the house had
made to make it the more convenient for his ma-
jesty, and likewise sending very gracious letters
to the magistrates of that town, for the civility
they had expressed towards him, he sent for that
part of his family which remained there, to attend

him at Cologne; where he declared he would spend that winter.

As soon as the king came to Cologne, he sent to the neighbour princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that money, which by the grant of the diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his majesty; which though it amounted to no great sum, yet was of great conveniency to his support. The duke of Newburgh, whose court was at Dusseldorp, a small day's journey from Cologne, and by which the princess royal was to pass if she made use of the river, sent his proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the king and his sister in his palace, as she returned." However he forebore to make any solemn invitation, without which they could not make the visit, till some ceremonies were first adjusted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obstinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his majesty's and her royal highness's arrival in those parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the rest were formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "that the king, at their first meeting, should at least once treat the duke with *altesse*;" the other, "that the duke might salute the princess royal;" and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the king and his sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights and festivities; and the king thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the German princes: and among them, there were few more considerable in their dominions, and none in their persons, than the duke of Newburgh; who reckoned himself upon the same level with the electors. And the king was informed, "that the emperor himself always treated him with *altesse*;" and therefore his majesty made no scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the princess royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old prince of Orange, father of her husband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the custom of countries, (and every marshal of France having the privilege in that kingdom to salute the daughters of the king,) and the duke of Newburgh being a sovereign prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambassador always covering before the emperor, the king thought fit, and her royal highness consented, that the duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any noise, the king, about the middle of October, accompanied his sister by water to Dusseldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the duke and his duchess waiting for them on the side of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the king, and the princess royal, and the duke and the duchess of Newburgh, went into the duke's coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the castle, that was very near; where his majesty was conducted into his quarter, and the princess into her's, the duke and

the duchess immediately retiring into their own quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the king again till above half an hour before supper, and after the king and princess had performed their devotion.

The castle is a very princely house, having been the seat of the duke of Cleve; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the elector of Brandenburg, and duke of Newburgh, were two,) when all the pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of Dusseldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained still to Newburgh; whose father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the house of Brandenburg too strong for him, by having the prince of Orange and the States his fast friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong support from the emperor and king of Spain, became Roman catholic, and thereby had the assistance he expected. At the same time he put his son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which education, the present duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough restrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished prince, and became himself very well, having a good person and graceful motion, which that nation seldom attain to. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the sister of the former, and the then king of Poland; who leaving only a daughter, he was now newly married to the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who upon her marriage became Roman catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment; so that she was rather a spectator of the festivity, than a part of it, and confirmed the king in his aversion from ever marrying a German lady. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his majesty and his sister and the duke and the duchess only sat: the meals, according to the custom of Germany, very long, with several sorts of music, both of instruments and voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his majesty was accustomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man so much as wished to drink, if he called not for it; and the duke himself an enemy to all excesses.

After two days spent in this manner, in which time the king made a great friendship with the duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the river, distant another short day's journey, a handsome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was assigned to the elector of Brandenburg, the king resolved to accompany his sister thither; where having spent that night, the next morning her royal highness, after an unwilling farewell, prosecuted her journey to Holland, and his majesty returned by horse to Cologne; where the same house was prepared for him in which he and his sister had inhabited, whilst she

stayed there. And by this time the end of October was come; which, in those parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magistrates of the city renewed their civilities, and professions of respect to the king; which they always made good; nor could his majesty have chosen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreshed with the divertisements he had enjoyed, betook himself with great cheerfulness to compose his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedness, prescribed so many hours in the day to his retirement in his closet; which he employed in reading and studying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is said before, he had no coach, nor would suffer his sister to leave him one,) and sometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The nuncio of the pope resided in that city, and performed all respects to his majesty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian bishop, who never made the least scruple at his majesty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exercise of his religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his majesty was not without any respect that could be shewed to him in those parts, save that the elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the sullenness and moroseness of his nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small quota, which had been granted to the king by the diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the elector [palatine], so nearly allied to the crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the king's being so near him, or to send a messenger to salute him.

Within a short time after his majesty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his majesty heard, that the queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the duke of Gloucester; who remained at Paris, upon her majesty's desire, that he might learn his exercises. The queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, in respect of
"the king his brother's fortune, and the little
"hope that appeared that his majesty could ever
"be restored, at least if he did not himself become
"Roman catholic; whereby the pope, and other
"princes of that religion, might be united in his
"quarrel; which they would never undertake
"upon any other obligation: that it was therefore
"fit that the duke, who had nothing to support
"him, nor could expect any thing from the king,
"should be instructed in the Roman catholic
"religion; that so, becoming a good catholic, he
"might be capable of those advantages which her
"majesty should be able to procure for him: that
"the queen of France would hereupon confer ab-
"beys and benefices upon him to such a value,

"as would maintain him in that splendour as was
"suitable to his birth; that, in a little time, the
"pope would make him a cardinal; by which he
"might be able to do the king his brother much
"service, and contribute to his recovery; whereas,
"without this, he must be exposed to great neces-
"sity and misery, for that she was not able any
"longer to give him maintenance." She found the duke more obstinate than she expected from his age; he was so well instructed in his religion, that he disputed against the change; urged the precepts he had received from the king his father, and his dying in the faith he had prescribed to him; put her majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the king his brother at parting; and acknowledged, "that he had obliged himself to
"his majesty, that he would never change his
"religion; and therefore besought her majesty,
"that she would not farther press him, at least
"till he should inform the king of it." The queen well enough knew the king's mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him; and committed the duke to the care of abbot Montague her almoner; who, having the pleasant abbey of Pontoise, entertained his highness there, sequestered from all resort of such persons as might confirm him in his averseness from being converted.

As soon as the king received this advertisement, which both the duke and his tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his religion; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his majesty was in truth a papist: and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the marquis of Ormond with all possible expedition into France; who, he very well knew, would steadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her "to discon-
"tinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his
"brother the duke of Gloucester to repair with
"the marquis of Ormond to his presence." He commanded the duke "not to consent to any pro-
"positions which should be made to him for the
"change of his religion; and that he should fol-
"low the advice of the marquis of Ormond, and
"accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the marquis of Ormond "to let Mr. Montague,
"and whosoever of the English should join with
"him, know, that they should expect such a re-
"signment from his majesty, if they did not com-
"ply with his commands, as should be suitable

"to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him."

The marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the king made with her, and imputed all the king's sharpness and resolution to the counsel he received from the marquis and the chancellor of the exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the duke, both against the king's and his own will; and the duke, upon the receipt of the king's letter, declared, "that he would obey his majesty;" and the abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the king, if he persisted in advising the queen not to comply with his majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days' deliberation, the queen expressing very much displeasure at the king's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a mother, told the marquis, "that the duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she would not concern herself farther, nor see him any more." And thereupon the duke put himself into the hands of the marquis; who immediately removed him from Pontoise to the house of [the Lord Hatton,] an English lord, who lived then in Paris; where he remained for some days, until the marquis could borrow money (which was no easy matter) to defray the journey to the king. And then they quickly left Paris; and shortly after came to the king; who was infinitely delighted with the marquis's negotiation and success; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

Innocent the Tenth was now dead; who had outlived the understanding and judgment he had been formerly master of, and lost all the reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being desired*. He had fomented the rebellion in England by cherishing that in Ireland; whither he had sent a light-headed nuncio, who did much mischief to his majesty's service, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who should succeed him, when, one day, the duke of Newburgh sent a gentleman to the king to bring him the news that cardinal Chigi was chosen pope; "of which," the duke said, "his majesty had great cause to be glad;" which the king understood not. But, the next day, the duke himself came to the king, and told him, "that he came to congratulate with his majesty for the election of the new pope, who called himself Alexander the Seventh; and who," he said, "he was confident, would do him great service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between him and the new pope, when he was nuncio at Cologne, some years before: when they two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was great confidence and friendship between them") of the rebellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the late king, the nuncio broke out into great passion, even with tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing that the two crowns should weary and spend each other's strength and spirits in so unjust and groundless a war, when they had so noble an occasion to unite their power to revenge that impious murder, in which the honour and the lives of all kings were concerned; and," he said, "the

pope was concerned never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian kings and states, without consideration of any difference in religion, to join together for the restoration of the king; which would be the greatest honour the pope could obtain in this world. All which," he said, "the nuncio spoke with so much warmth and concernment, that he could not doubt, but that, now God had raised him to that chair, he hoped, for that end, he would remember his former opinion, and execute it himself; being," he said, "a man of the most public heart, and the most superior to all private designs, that the world had:" the duke taking great delight to remember many of his discourses, and describing him to be such a man, as he was generally believed to be for the first two years of his reign, till he manifested his affections with more ingenuity. The duke desired his majesty to consider, "whether there might not be somewhat he might reasonably wish from the pope; and if it were not fit to be proposed as from his majesty, he would be willing to promote it in his own name, having, he thought, some interest in his holiness. And," he said, "he was resolved to send a person purposely to Rome with his congratulation, and to tender his obedience to the pope; and that he would instruct that person in whatsoever his majesty should wish: and though he could not hope, that any greater matter would be done towards his majesty's restoration, till the peace should be effected between the two crowns, (which he knew the pope would labour in till he had brought it to pass,) yet he could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of his holiness, his majesty would receive some supply towards his better support; which, for the present, was all that could be expected: that the person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit, who was at that present in Newburgh; but he had, or would send for him: that though he was a religious man, yet he was a person of that experience, temper, and wisdom, that he had intrusted him in affairs not only of the greatest secrecy, but in negotiations of the greatest importance; in which he had always behaved himself with singular prudence and judgment: and he assured his majesty he was equal to any trust; and if, upon what he had said and offered, his majesty thought he might be of use to him in his journey, he would send him to Cologne as soon as he came, that he might attend upon his majesty, and receive any commands he would vouchsafe to impose upon him."

Though the king had in truth very little hope that the new pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had answered those who would have disposed him to supply the king with some money, "that he could not, with a good conscience, apply the patrimony of the church to the assistance and support of heretics," would be as current divinity with Alexander, and all his successors, yet he could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness of the duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interposition might prevail upon a temper and constitution so refined, and without those dregs which others had used to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments

which were due for the overtures, his majesty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his wisdom, to do those offices with the new pope which he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but upon that account; and that he would do any thing on his part which was fit for him to do, and which should be thought of moment to facilitate the other pretences." Whereupon the duke told him, "that the bloody laws in England against the Roman catholic religion made a very great noise in the world; and that his majesty was generally understood to be a prince of a tender and merciful nature, which would not take delight in the executing so much cruelty; and therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should please God to restore his majesty to his government, he would never suffer those laws to be executed, but would cause them to be repealed; which generous and pious resolution made known to the pope, would work very much upon him, and dispose him to make an answerable return to his majesty." The king answered, "that his highness might very safely undertake on his behalf, that if it should be in his power, it should never be in his will, to execute those severe laws: but that it was not in his power absolutely to repeal them; and it would be less in his power to do it, if he declared that he had a purpose to do it: therefore, that must be left to time; and it might reasonably be presumed, that he would not be backward to do all of that kind which he should find himself able to do; and the declaration which he then made, his majesty said, that he would be ready to make to the person the duke meant to send, if he came to him:" which was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

Germany is the only part of the world, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the ascendant over all other men in the deepest mysteries of state and policy, insomuch as there is not a prince's court of the Roman catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a wise man, who hath not a Jesuit to his confessor; which may be one of the reasons, that the policy of that nation is so different from, and so much undervalued by the other politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the less to be wondered at that this duke, who had himself extraordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for those who had taught him when he was young, that he believed them to grow, and to be improved as fast as he, and so to be still abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jesuit to be a very wise man; and, it may be, knew, that he would think so to whom he was sent: and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the king to be instructed and informed of his majesty's pleasure. The man had a very good aspect, and less vanity and presumption than that society use to have, and seemed desirous to merit from the king by doing him service; but had not the same confidence he should do it, as his master had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the pope but general good wishes for the king's restoration, and sharp complaints against cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to serve his majesty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any supply

of money, he told the duke, that the pope had used the same adage that his predecessor had done; and so that intrigue was determined.

The rest and quiet that the king proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithstanding all his majesty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to his service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their enemies, and the uneasiness of their own condition and fortune, that they could not rest. They sent expresses every day to Cologne for more commissions and instructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own strength and power, and concluded that all who hated the present government would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the king, "that they had made sufficient provision of arms and ammunition, and had so many persons engaged to appear upon any day that should be assigned, that they only desired his majesty would appoint that day; and that they were so united, that even the discovery before the day, and the clapping up many persons in prison, which they expected, should not break the design." The king knew well enough they would be deceived; and that, though the persons who sent those expresses were very honest men, and had served well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them; for, as many of his party were too restless and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the king's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his majesty, and those he assigned to that office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honesty; and so men were cast into prison, and kept there, upon general jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the king; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate were by the others reproached with being less affectionate, and to want loyalty as much as courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same account, were oppressed and torn in pieces by one and the same enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the same remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the king reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the king himself, and to the chancellor of the exchequer, and were so carefully

concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such,) proposed to the king, as they had formerly done, "that when they were in arms, and had provided a place where his majesty might land safely, he would then be with them, that there might be no dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, "that the day was appointed, the eighteenth of April, when the rising would be general, and many places seized upon, and some declare for the king, which were in the hands of the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of the army would declare against Cromwell at least, though not for the king: that Kent was united to a man; Dover-castle would be possessed, and the whole county in arms upon that day; and therefore, that his majesty would vouchsafe to be in some place, concealed, upon the sea-coast, which it was very easy for him to be on that day; from whence, upon all being made good that was undertaken, and full notice given to his majesty that it was so, he might then, and not before, transport himself to that part which he thought to be in the best posture to receive him, and might give such other directions to the rest as he found necessary:" and even all these particulars were communicated in confidence by the messengers to their friends who were near the king, and who again thought it but reasonable to raise the spirits of their friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the king's affairs were in England; and "that his friends were in so good a posture throughout the kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery might be made to Cromwell, being ready to own and justify their counsels with their swords:" so that all this quickly became more than whispered throughout the court; and, "that the king was only expected to be nearer England, how disguised soever, that he might quickly put himself into the head of the army that would be ready to receive him, whereby all emulations about command might be prevented, or immediately taken away; and if his majesty should now neglect this opportunity, it might easily be concluded, that either he was betrayed, or that his counsels were conducted by men of very shallow capacities and understanding."

How weakly and improbably soever these preparations were adjusted, the day was positively appointed, and was so near, at the time when his majesty had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to send orders to contradict it: and he foresaw, that if any thing should be attempted without success, it would be imputed to his not

being at a distance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult nor hazardous to his majesty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cause, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with so little noise, that his absence should scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the messenger returned with the king's approbation of the day, and direction, "that, as soon as the day should be past, an express should be directed to Flushing at the sign of the city of Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) "to inquire for an Englishman," (whose name was given him,) "who should be able to inform him, whither he should repair to speak with the king."

Before the messenger's departure, or the king's resolution was taken, the earl of Rochester, who was always jealous that somebody would be general before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in arms, desired the king, "that he would permit him to go over in disguise, to the end, that finding his way to London, which was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in command, assist them in their enterprise, and make the best of that force which they could bring together: and if he found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his advice and authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all insperate attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his majesty."

With this errand the earl left Cologne, under pretence of pursuing his business with the German princes, upon the donative of the diet; for which he used to make many journeys; and nobody suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reserved; but in the hours of good fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding sir Joseph Wagstaff, who had served the king in the last war very honestly, and was then watching at the sea-coast to take the first opportunity to transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general insurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter resolved on,) Rochester frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at London: but many of those who should have been in arms were seized upon, and secured in several prisons.

The messenger being despatched, the king, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horses: nor was it known to any body, but to the chancellor and the secretary Nicholas, whither the king was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the king went, sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldest son to the secretary, were sent into Zealand, to stay there till they should receive farther orders; the former of them being the person designed to be

at the sign of the Rouen in Flushing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the king's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the ciphers; both of them persons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the best families and the best fortune there, who had married an English lady, who had been brought up in the court of the queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The king had made this Dutchman a baronet; and some, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his majesty might secretly repose himself in his house, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his majesty being first assured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that house, he gave present notice to sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the messenger who had been despatched from Cologne, met with cross winds and accidents in his return, which had been his misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so that he came not so soon to London as was expected; whereupon some conceived that the king did not approve the day, and therefore excused themselves from appearing at the time; others were well content with the excuse, having discerned, with the approach of the day, that they had embarked themselves in a design of more difficulty than was at first apprehended; and some were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by which they were incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the king in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a post where he might securely rest, to expect what the earl of Rochester's presence, of whose being in London he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the chancellor of the exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the king.

There cannot be a greater manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be so many designs and conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many men, and that such signal and notorious persons could resort to London, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose trade it was for great wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The earl of Rochester consulted with great freedom in London with the king's friends; and found that the persons imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same spirit still possessed those who were at liberty. The design in Kent appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin

upon; but he was persuaded, (and he was very credulous,) that in the north there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of York; nor had the army many troops in those parts. In the west likewise there appeared to be a strong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whose agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that sir Joseph Wagstaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The earl of Rochester liked the countenance of the north better; and sent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman, and nobly allied in those parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that sir Joseph Wagstaff should go into the west; who, upon conference with those of that country, likewise appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Salisbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their assizes in that city, and where the sheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the earl of Rochester, who knew where the king was, took care to advertise his majesty: who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy transport himself into England; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

Sir Joseph Wagstaff had been formerly major general of the foot in the king's western army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those, who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left London, and went to some of his friends' houses in the country, near the place, that he might assist the preparations as much as was possible. Those of Hampshire were not so punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be present at that near Salisbury at the hour; however, Wagstaff, and they of Wiltshire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, Hugh Grove, and other persons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horse well armed, which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the western association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit Salisbury in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their numbers both in foot and horse; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of the clock in the morning: they appointed some officers, of which they had plenty,

to cause all the stables to be locked up, that all the horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horse upon the market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the sheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their several commissions, not caring to seize upon the persons of any others.

All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commissions, and the sheriff likewise, Wagstaff resolved, after he had caused the king to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already,) having well considered, with the policy which men in such actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, choosing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their scrupulous consciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor Penruddock was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the major general durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the judges, and, having taken their commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the king; which being otherwise done, they likewise prevailed with him rather to keep the sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest man out of the hands of their enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the commands of their general; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their commander in chief; and as it would have been a seasonable act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their swords.

The noise of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness, it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the army; which was known to be so great, that Cromwell durst not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a body brought together as might oblige

Cromwell to make the army, or a considerable part of it, to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Salisbury for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their numbers would have much increased, and their friends farther west must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the army's marching against them. Cromwell himself was amazed; he knew well the distemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when he saw such a body gathered together without any noise, that durst in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power of that county was in it, and take them prisoners, and proclaim the king in a time of full peace, and when no man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprise could be undertaken without a universal conspiracy; in which his own army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first action; and were in such disorder and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their friends out of Hampshire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horse, upon their way, and would have been at Salisbury that night,) upon pretence that they were expected in Dorsetshire, they left the town, and took the sheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon: but were so weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march westward. They from Hampshire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Salisbury, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left Wiltshire, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their journey into Devonshire, without meeting any who would join with them, horse and men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single troop of horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those Wagstaff, quitted their horses, and found shelter in some honest men's houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to transport them into the parts beyond the seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and most of the rest, were taken prisoners, upon promise given by the officer that their lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no sooner heard of his cheap victory, than he sent judges away with a new commission of oyer

and terminer, and order to proceed with the utmost severity against the offenders. But Roles, his chief justice, who had so luckily escaped at Salisbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those men in the face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, shortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove lost their heads at Exeter; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their duty and loyalty to the king: many were sent to Salisbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were fathers, and sons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent slaves to the Barbadoes; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the west; and Cromwell secured without the help of his army; which he saw, by the countenance it then shewed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The design of the north, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less noise, and expired more peaceably. The earl of Rochester, who saw danger at a distance with great courage, and looked upon it less resolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkshire at the time appointed; and found such an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deserved his patience. It appeared there had been some mistake in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were absent, that, if he would appoint another short day for a rendezvous, he should be well attended. Marmaduke Darcy had spent his time very well amongst them, and found them well disposed, and there could be no danger in staying the time proposed, many of them having houses, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wished well to the king, and to those who concerned themselves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they had gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill success at Salisbury; yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any opposition, sufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: so he resolved to stay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to each other, the earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the king notice of the hopelessness of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in disguises,

he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any strangers he met, or joined with.

When he returned from the north, he lodged at Aylesbury; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the town, of which he seemed to take some survey, and had asked many questions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife,) the next justice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the king, and the news of Salisbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himself to the inn where the earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at supper, (for sir Nicholas Armorer was likewise with the earl, and had accompanied him in that journey,) he went into the stable; and upon view of the horses found they were the same which had been observed in the ground. The justice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, besides that he was a person notoriously affected to the government, was likewise an officer, "that he should not suffer those horses, nor the persons to whom they belonged, to go out of the house, till he, the said justice, came thither in the morning; when he would examine the gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came." The earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the master of the house, and nobody being present but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good will of many friends, who might be able to do him good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a man of a very good understanding, and might consider the changes which followed after, and in which this service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their escape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the justice for their horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty servant in another stable; who, about midnight, conducted them into London-way; which put them in safety. The innkeeper was visited in the morning by the justice; whom he carried into the stable, where the horses still stood, he having still kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the persons whilst he kept their horses; but the innkeeper confessed they were escaped out of his house in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The justice threatened loud; but the innkeeper was of that unquestionable fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more suspected

the connivance of the justice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the persons till the morning,) than the integrity of a man so well known as the innkeeper was. The earl remained in London whilst the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for Flanders ; and so returned to Cologne.

As soon as the king received advertisement of the ill successes in England, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left Zealand, and, returning by Breda, stayed in a dorp near the town, till the chancellor of the exchequer attended him ; and then returned with all speed to Cologne ; where his little court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest gentlemen in England, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his majesty's judgment : and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his friends from thence advertised, "that all his counsels were discovered ; and that Cromwell had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his majesty resolved to do, and of all he said himself ; so that it would not be safe for any body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his affairs or concerns : that his coming into Zealand, and his continuance there, was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars of his motion ; that many persons of condition were seized upon, and imprisoned for having a design to possess themselves of some towns, and places of strength ; which intelligence could not be given but from Cologne ;" implying, "that the miscarriage in all the last designs proceeded wholly from the treason of some persons near his majesty." The king did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at Cologne ; but that any men who were really devoted to his service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

Whilst he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a discovery was made of a villainy, that made him excuse his friends in England for their jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an imposture of such a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman catholic in the family of the marquis of Worcester, whose page he had been. His father, of that religion likewise, had been a colonel in the king's army ; and was slain at the battle of Alresford ; where this young man, being then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and shoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne shortly after the king came thither first, and pretended, "that he had sold the incumbered fortune his father had left him ; upon which, he had enough to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the king, till his majesty should be able to raise an army ; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to revenge his father's blood ;" with many discourses of that nature ; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to

his conversation. He was a handsome man, had store of good clothes, and plenty of money ; which, with the memory of his father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew most of the king's party in England, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them ; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which seldom else came so far as Cologne. He associated himself most with the good fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the earl of Rochester, and told him, "that all the king's party looked upon him as the general who must govern and command them ; for which they were very impatient : that he himself would be ready to run his fortune, and attend him into England ; and that he had two hundred good men listed, who would appear well mounted and armed, whenever he should require them ; and that he knew where good sums of money lay ready to be applied to that service." The earl was ravished with this discourse, and looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to advance his designs ; and asked him, "whether he had been with the chancellor of the exchequer, and communicated all this to him?" He said, "he had, at his first coming to town, waited upon the chancellor ; and intended to have spoken of this, and much more than he had yet spoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear : but he seemed to him too reserved ; which he imputed then to some business that possessed him, and therefore made him a second visit ; when he found him with the same wariness, and without a desire to be informed by him concerning the affairs of that kingdom ; so that he resolved to visit him no more."

In the end, he told the earl, "that he would impart a secret to him of the last importance, and which he had not yet had opportunity to inform the king of, and, he did believe, it would be the same thing to impart it to his lordship as to his majesty himself : the sum was, that he was trusted by the young earl of Pembroke, whose affections were entire for his majesty, to assure the king of the same ; and that though it would not be safe for him to appear in the head and beginning of an insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he were there in person ; and because he knew the west was better prepared to begin the work than any other part of the kingdom, he had caused three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at Wilton, which should be delivered to any man, who, in the king's name, should require it of such a man," (naming a person, who was known to be much trusted by that earl,) "upon delivery of a private token he produced out of his pocket," (which was a clean piece of paper, sealed with three impressions of an antique head in hard wax,) "which," he said, "the earl required him to present to the king when he thought it might be seasonable." He added, "that he would be glad to be himself in that first engagement, and so to be present when that token should be delivered ; yet he considered, that he was not enough known to have such a secret imparted to him, as the time of such an action ought to be ; and therefore, if it pleased the king, he would presently deliver that token into his

"lordship's hands; who, he was confident, would be the first that would have opportunity to employ it."

The earl had the journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a treasure as this would much advance the service. He made haste to inform the king of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpose, he brought the man to the king; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the king of what the earl of Pembroke had commanded him to say, and presented the token to his majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the king had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. As soon as he left the king, the earl brought him to the chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his father, and most of his family, and was glad to see him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman catholic; and the young man had seemed much pleased with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the king, the chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the chancellor was much reproached for not treating a person of so much merit, who had lost his father, and been himself maimed in the king's service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the chancellor's knowledge of the earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time master of much money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a person who was most trusted by the earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the king, "that he doubted Manning had made that part of the story to make himself the more welcome;" which his majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The chancellor had no farther suspicion of him, nor the least apprehension that he was a spy.

When it was discovered that the king was absent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the earl of Rochester being departed from thence some time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, "that he being intrusted by all the king's friends, who would not credit any orders but such as should pass through his hands, the king was now gone without imparting it to him; which would be the ruin of his design." He went to the chancellor, and lamented himself, "that there should be

any sword drawn in England before his; his father's blood boiled within him, and kept him from sleep." He desired him therefore, "that he would so far communicate the design to him, that he might only know to what part of England to transport himself, that he might be in action as soon as might be possible." He could draw nothing from the chancellor; who told him, "that he knew of no probability of any action; and therefore could give no advice." Upon which he complained much of the chancellor's want of kindness to him: but he lost no time in following the king; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much trusted by the earl of Rochester, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greatest secrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the king was, at least that they might be ready on the sea-coast, to transport themselves into England upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the earl of Rochester had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came; and seeing sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewise be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquisitive nature, watched so narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the king in an evening, when he used to walk to take a little air after the day's confinement. The king, since he was discovered, thought it best to trust him; and charged him, "not only to make no discovery, but to remove out of the island, lest his being seen there might raise suspicion in other men." He did very importunately desire the king that he might bring Manning to speak with him, as not only an honest man, (as no doubt he thought him to be,) but a man of that importance and trust, as might contribute much to his present service. But the king would by no means admit him, nor did he see him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his majesty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price's fidelity; which was not suspected, though his presumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the king's return to Cologne, Manning likewise came thither with his accustomed confidence. And in this time the chancellor received advertisement from England, "that he had no kind of trust from the earl of Pembroke, but, on the contrary, had been turned out of his service upon matter of dishonesty; and that he was a loose person, of no reputation:" and his majesty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every post brought many letters for him, which were taken up there, and transmitted to Cologne; and that he had letters of credit upon a merchant of Antwerp for good sums of money." All this raised a suspicion in the king; who gave direction to a trusty person, who was purposely sent to take up all those letters at Antwerp, which were sent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from Cologne by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the party returned with many great packets both from and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There

were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary and principal minister, containing the satisfaction the protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with short instructions how he should behave himself. The person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three posts, all full of the most particular things done at Cologne; and the particular words said by the king, and others, that must needs affect those who should receive the intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from Zealand, and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at Cologne, of which he could not be informed, if he had money enough;" and therefore desired the bill for the thousand crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the letter of the subsequent post was likewise seized upon; and by his method, which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an overture or design for the surprise and taking of Plymouth; in which there was a very exact and true description of the town, and fort, and island, and the present strength and force that was there. Then a proposition, that a vessel with five hundred men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place, (a creek described,) and, upon a sign then given, such a place in the town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the fort and the island. The names of the persons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all men known to be well affected to the king, who, with the assistance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that sir Hugh Pollard, and other persons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the king's service, should be ready from the Devonshire side, as colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to second and support what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the king delivered that paper to the council," (which, he said, "he had received from a very good hand, it was read twice;" and then the marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterprise, all which the chancellor answered very clearly, and the king himself said very much of the easiness of the undertaking,) "there was one difficulty urged, that the king himself appeared to be startled at, and looked upon the chancellor; who arose from his place, and went to the king's chair, and whispered somewhat in his ear. Whereupon his majesty told the lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the chancellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should refer the care of it to him, who would take it upon him; and so the matter was resolved, and the earl of Rochester undertook for the five hundred men, and their trans-

portation." Manning concluded, "that if he had money, they should know constantly how this design should be advanced, or any other set on foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his letter many vain insinuations of his interest, as if he were never out of the king's company. Two of the king's servants were sent to seize upon his person and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cipher and papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many posts to come, with information and intelligence of the same nature as the former.

The secretary of state and one of the lords of the council were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "that the necessity of his fortune had exposed him to that base condition of life; and, to make himself fit for it, he had dissembled his religion; for," he said, "he remained still a catholic: that he was sent over by Thurlow to be a spy wherever the king should be, and had constantly sent him intelligence, for which he had received good sums of money; yet, that he had been so troubled in mind for the vileness of the life he led, that he was resolved, by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good sum of money from them; and then to renounce farther correspondence, and to procure the king's pardon, and faithfully to serve him." Being asked, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, "that if he had come to the knowledge of any thing which in truth had concerned the king, he would never have discovered it; but he thought it would do no prejudice to the king, if he got money from the rebels by sending them lies, which could neither do them good, nor hurt his majesty; and therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars, which he knew would please them; and so when he was alone he always prepared letters containing such things as occurred to his invention, to be sent by the succeeding posts, and that he had never written any thing that was true, but of his majesty's being in Zealand; which, he believed, could produce no prejudice to him."

The king now discerned from whence all the apprehensions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealousies; for though none of his counsels had been discovered, they who had received those letters might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the king did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the king's friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their loyalty. His majesty took care to publish the transactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewise discovered what current ware they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured

to have it believed that he was not a man sent over by them, but a secretary in great trust about some person employed, whom they had corrupted: in which men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the court.

As the king's hopes were much eclipsed in England by the late unseasonable attempt, and the loss of so many gallant persons, as perished, or were undone in it; so Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was infinitely enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising plots himself, that the commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the king's party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an attempt in the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The success and triumph of a few desperate persons at Salisbury, that had produced such a consternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole west, if there had not happened some accidental confusion amongst the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force sufficient to provide for the safety of the kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt: and the charge that this necessary defence would cause should in justice be borne by those who were the occasion of the expense.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his council, an order, "that all those who had ever borne arms for the king, or had declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that estate which they had left, to support the charge which the commonwealth was put to, by the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered." And that the public might lose nothing of what he had so frankly given to it, commissioners were appointed in every county, to value what that tenth part of every such estate did amount to; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as those commissioners judged fit; and till he paid it, besides imprisonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there was no consideration taken of former compositions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great seal, without inquiry into their actions, or so much as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correspondence with the king or any body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this order might be submitted to, and executed, he published a declaration to make the justice as well as the necessity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only set down the

grounds of his present proceeding against the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed against any other party that should provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digested with much more asperity against all who had served the king, than had ever been before published. Great caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more had been desired than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common interest, and as if a resolution had been taken to have abolished all marks of disunion and distinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition soever, (except those who had been always excepted by name,) who would submit to the government, should be admitted to have shares, and to act parts in the administration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of "such an inherent malignity, and irreconcilableness in all those who from the beginning had adhered to the king, and opposed the proceedings of the parliament, towards all those who had served their country, and vindicated the interest of the people and nation, that they declined the common rules of civility, and would have no conversation with them; and, that the same malice and animosity might descend to their posterity, they would not make marriages, or any friendship or alliance, with those who had been separated, or divided from them in those public contentions; and therefore they were not hereafter to wonder, or complain, if they were looked upon as a common enemy, which must be kept from being able to do mischief; since they would always be willing to do all they could; and that they were not to expect to be prosecuted, like other men, by the ordinary forms of justice, and to have their crimes to be proved by witnesses, before they should be concluded to be guilty. If any desperate attempts were undertaken by any of that party to disturb the public peace, that it would be reasonable to conclude that they all wished well to it, though they appeared not to own it: that all conspiracies of that nature were acted in secret, and were deeds of darkness, and men might justly be suspected and proceeded against as privy to them, by their common discourses, by the company they usually kept, and by their very looks;" with many other expressions, of such an unusual nature in the disquisition of justice, and legal proceedings, that the king's party might reasonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but must expect a total extirpation, either by massacre, or transplantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewise of "the factions in the army, that would not acquiesce in the government established; but would have another found out, and formed according to their levelling humours; all which distractions, to what other ends soever directed, must so weaken the commonwealth, if not wisely prevented, as it must in the end be exposed as a prey to their inveterate enemies; and therefore, that the same remedies must be applied to them, as to the others;" with intimation clear enough, "that the connivance they had formerly received, and even the pardons that had been granted for their former mutinies and transgressions, were of no more validity than the articles, promises, and acts of indemnity, which

“had been granted to the royal party: all which were declared to be void and null, upon any succeeding delinquency:” so that all discontented people who liked not the present government, what part soever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether presbyterian, independent, or leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the king’s party underwent that insupportable burden of decimation; which brought a vast incredible sum of money into Cromwell’s coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the king the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his party because they had not assisted

the rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party; or such who had sheltered themselves in some of the king’s garrisons for their own conveniency.

This declaration was quickly sent to Cologne; where the king caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next parliament that he called; which was not long after.

END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XV.

THE king remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable tyranny over those nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his majesty’s father’s peaceable and mild government: so that he might have enjoyed some of that comfort and pleasure, which Velleius Paterculus says that Marius and Carthage had, when his banishment reduced him to end his life in the ruins of that city, as he did; *Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio*: whilst he refreshed himself with the memory of his greatness, when he overthrew that great and famous city; and she again, delighted to behold her destroyer, expelled from his country, which he had served so eminently, and forced, forsaken of all men, to end his life and to be buried in her ashes. If the king’s nature could have been delighted with such reflections, he might have had argument abundant in seeing Scotland, which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those to whom they had taught the science of

rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to subdue and destroy their own natural prince, and dissolve the government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a people: in seeing the pride and insolence of that nation, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their king, suppressed, contemned, and subdued by those who had been instructed by them how to use their arms, and exposed to slavery under the discipline and castigation of men who were not born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and professions of common men. These men governed in their houses, and prescribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and estates; whilst their adored idol, presbytery, which had pulled off the crown from the head of the king, was trod underfoot, and laughed at and contemned; and their preachers, who had threatened their princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a corporal; and all this subjection supported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own estates.

He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman massacres, and butcheries of their

peaceable and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was suppressed, or so compounded, that the blessing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this sottish people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; so that though Scotland blew the first trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries, which afterwards befell the king, and his dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy people, when they saw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the king, and put themselves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themselves to the sovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had seen their natural king murdered by his other rebels, for want of that assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the usurper, driving from them the governor and government of the king: I say, his majesty saw now this miserable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the highest desolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and savagely spilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in streams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilst those persons who first contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the king, and they who caused every peace to be broken which had been made with his majesty, with all the possible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices against the royal power, to reconcile themselves to their new masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by their authority who usurped the government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of foreign princes, under whom they perished for want of bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in history of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery and contempt than the Irish were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Lastly, England, that seemed to glory in the conquest of those two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the king's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the usurper exercised over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first authors of the public calamity, now so much sharers in it, that they were no more masters of their estates, than they were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon

those scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made so odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation was become at the disposal of a single person; and that those lords, without whose monstrous assistance the sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the king, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the king had of the three kingdoms which had revolted from him during his residence at Cologne; but with those manifestations of God's vengeance upon those ingrateful nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompense, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humours of his own people, which vexed him exceedingly, more obsequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his stubborn parliament, sent two very great fleets to sea; the one under Pen, consisting of about thirty ships of war, with which there was likewise embarked a land army, consisting of four or five thousand foot, and two troops of horse, under the command of general Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire; who had served long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to serve in this expedition.

Both these superior officers were well affected to the king's service, and were not fond of the enterprise they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in,) send to the king, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or secure of possessing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his majesty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horse was small, would at the same time erect the king's standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the king could not presume upon any port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable attempt, after the miscarriage of so many, as to embark his friends in. So he wished them to reserve their affections for his majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident Cromwell meant to

make some enemy, which probably might give his majesty some friend.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval strength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a point; where they were to open their commissions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many months after they were both at sea, nobody new to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between Cromwell and the cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, "to give his friend-ship to that crown that should best deserve it:" and, without doubt, both crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had so many years resided there as ambassador to the late king, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to Cromwell, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him; and therefore they sent the marquis of Leyda with a splendid train, as extraordinary ambassador, to congratulate all his successes, and to offer him the entire friendship of the catholic king. The marquis, who was a wise and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reservation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his master; and so, after a month spent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as soon as any news came of the fleets, they should hear of some acts of hostility upon the subjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the ministers of that king to the same apprehension and expectation.

The two fleets set out from the coast of England about the same time; that under Blake, made its course directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the first place to suppress the insolence of those of Algiers and Tunis, who had infested the English merchants, and were grown powerful in those seas. When he should have performed that service, he was to open another commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commissions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the island of Hispaniola. The governor had orders to supply new men for the expedition; and there were ships ready for their transportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of those Leeward islands, which were oppressed with inhabitants, to seek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a shorter stay at the Barbadoes than they had reason to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters,) and making prize of about forty Dutch ships, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation,) about the end of March they set sail, with an addition of

four or five thousand foot for the land army, towards St. Christopher's; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: so that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thousand men, with one troop of horse more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a prosperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the island of Hispaniola.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war; and it was there resolved that general Venables should land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was,) and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a less distance from the town, in a bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the woods and uneasy passages, and in the terrible heat of that country's sun, where they found no water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill presage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the first appearance of such a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a march as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their spirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found some fresh water to refresh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themselves charged by a party of horse armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were easily routed, and routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main body; upon sight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loss, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place. The English retired back in great discomfort to the bay, and the fresh water river they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the general thought his men not only enough refreshed, but enough confirmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they should not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infested. The common opinion that the negroes, natives of those parts, are such enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the English to give credit to those guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuscade in the woods discharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then

in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole army; which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loss of above six hundred men, whereof their major general was one.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbarc themselves on board the fleet, with a thousand men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a neighbour island, called Jamaica; where they made another descent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, consisting of three or four thousand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this island, a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the Spaniard; who received infinite damage from thence; they who were so easily frightened, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other island, making afterwards frequent incursions, with small numbers, into it from Jamaica; sacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this island into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to submit to such conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he sailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that king returned a very rude answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refusing to return either ship or prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilst he sent out several long boats manned with stout mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their harbours, and set fire to all the ships there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five and twenty of the English, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the men, returning safe to the ships. This was indeed an action of the highest conduct and courage, and made the name of the English very terrible and formidable in those seas.

The success of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He had never such distempers, (for he had usually a great command over his passions,) as upon the miscarriage at Hispaniola. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good squadron of ships, and

a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent orders to Blake, "that he should watch the return of the Plate-fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the coast of Spain;" and gave directions to his ships in the Downs to infest those of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent Lockhart his ambassador into France; who was received with great solemnity; and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal. He made an alliance with France. Cromwell undertook "to send over an army of six thousand foot, to be commanded by their own superior officer, who was to receive orders only from marshal Turenne:" and when Dunkirk and Mardike should be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more secret articles, which will be mentioned.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and don Alonzo remained still in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell sent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into Flanders to increase the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The prince of Condé, whose troops and vigour were the preservation and life of that country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and phlegm of the archduke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the conte of Fuensaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

The archduke was weary of the title of governor of the Low Countries and general of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuensaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his dismissal, and Fuensaldagna himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders consisted most in preserving the army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterprises and restless spirit of the prince of Condé; which spent their men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the archduke was not recompensed by any benefit from his service, besides the irreconcilableness with the archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of the king, to dismiss the count of Swassenburgh; whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from Madrid.

The council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the archduke and the conde; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in Germany, and to

bring don Juan of Austria, the natural son of the king of Spain, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time general in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with such restrictions as the king of Spain thought fit; and at the same time, that the conde of Fuensaldagna should immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exercised for the last six years by the marquis of Carracena; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under don Juan; and that the marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill blood in don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. This counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no command.

The king was yet at Cologne; and no sooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore sent privately to the archduke, and to Fuensaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewise there; and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he still held, made his judgment in those affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disoblged both the late and the present king, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the king's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his majesty would draw off the Irish from the service of France; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some regiments from Spain, whilst he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the king should authorize to treat with them; which when the king knew, he resolved to go to them himself; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three servants; and when he came near Brussels, sent to advertise the archduke at what distance he was; and "that he would see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit."

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the king was come in person; and desired, that he would by no means come to Brussels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Brussels; where he was vilely accommodated. Thither the conde of Fuensaldagna and don Alonzo came to his majesty; and the archduke met him privately at another place. The king quickly discovered that don Alonzo had a private intrigue with some officers of the English army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whose interest he more depended than the king's, and offered it as great merit to his majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the king. This correspondence between don Alonzo and those levellers, was managed by an Irish Jesuit, who, by speaking Spanish, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The king pressed them "that he might remove his family

"to Brussels, or to some place in Flanders, that it might be notorious that he was in alliance with his catholic majesty; and then they should quickly see he had another kind of interest in England, than what those men pretended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly find, if his majesty resided in that country, his influence upon the Irish who were in France."

They would by no means consent that his majesty should remain in Brussels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the state to be there, "which," they said, "the king of Spain's honour would not permit, without shewing those respects to him that he might live in that grandeur as became a great king; which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his majesty would choose to remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any public expensive reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the inhabitants of that city." The king desired that some treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the king was permitted to reside in Bruges, and nothing on the king of Spain's part undertaken but "that whenever the king could cause a good port town in England to declare for him, his catholic majesty would assist him with a body of six thousand foot, and with such a proportion of ammunition, and so many ships to transport that body thither;" which was the proposition the levellers had made; and don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the king, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The king discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident propositions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in those provinces, which remained under Spain, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the king of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a just distance from England, to expect other alterations. So his majesty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by don Alonzo; and signed it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at Bruges. Whereupon, after seven or eight days' stay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engrossed and signed by the king, the archduke, and don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the despatch of the treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the archduke and the conde of Fuensaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the signing of it: don Juan and the marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

The treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an express into Spain, for the approbation and signature of his catholic majesty. The king with his

small train went to Bruges, and lodged in the house of a subject of his own, the lord Tarah, an Irishman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an estate by his mother. There the king stayed, till a handsome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having sent to his brother the duke of Gloucester, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family should all come from thence. So that by the time his majesty had returned again to Brussels, to congratulate don Juan's arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne; where, when his family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his economy.

As, upon the dissolution of the unruly parliament, Cromwell had sent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that, by the conquest which the one would make in the West Indies, he should have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he should raise his reputation in Christendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the king's party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an army against him; yet he discerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and estates, he had not at all broken their spirits; and that, by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined who were no kinder to the other than himself.

But that which troubled him most, was the distemper in his army; where he knew there were many troops more at the disposal of that party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a regiment of Swiss, upon pretence of sending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them as a guard to his own person; and to that purpose he had sent a person to treat with colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the protestant cantons; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an expedient, which should provide for all inconveniences, as well amongst the people, as in the army. He constituted, out of the persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a body of major generals; that is, he assigned to such a single person so many counties, to be under his command as their major general: so that all England was put under the absolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the jurisdiction of another, but every man, in those counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before scattered among committee-men, justices of peace, and several other officers.

The major general committed to prison what persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the protector and his council to be collected for the pub-

lic; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the protector himself. They had likewise a martial power, which was to list a body of horse and foot, who were to have such a salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their major general. A horseman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a second army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many bassas with their bands of janizaries, towards the people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect such an authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When admiral Blake had subdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himself to the coast of Spain, and by the attempt of Hispaniola and the possession of Jamaica, the war was sufficiently declared against the catholic king, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and served under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was sent with an addition of ships to join with Blake, and joined in commission of admiral and general with him; Blake having found himself much indisposed in his health, and having desired that another might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in expectation of the [Spanish West] India fleet, and to keep in all ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After some months' attendance, they were at last compelled to remove their station, that they might get fresh water, and some other provisions which they wanted; and so drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a squadron of ships to watch the Spanish fleet; which, within a very short time after the remove of the English fleet, came upon the coast; and before they were discovered to be commander of the squadron, who was to the leeward, made their way so fast, that when he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number,) they rather thought of saving their wealth by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the Spanish admiral run on shore in the bay; and the vice-admiral, in which was the vice-king of Mexico with his wife, and sons, and daughters, was fired by themselves to prevent being taken; in which the poor gentleman himself, his wife, and his eldest daughter, perished: his other daughters, and his two sons, and near one hundred others, were saved by the English; who took the rear-admiral, and two other ships, very richly laden; which together with the prisoners, were sent into England, the rest escaped into Gibraltar.

The ships which were sent for England arrived at Portsmouth; and though they might with less

charge have continued their voyage by sea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noise, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portsmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the Spaniard was prodigious; though most of what was in the admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the English fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress or compose those refractory spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such sheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his writs to call a parliament to meet at Westminster, upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of persons from entering into the house, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was established under a protector;" which being tendered, many members utterly refused, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their privileges, and freedom of parliament.

The major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the protector began to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they passed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for so they had long called the king) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made high treason to attempt any thing against the life of the protector. Then they passed several acts for raising money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted tonnage and poundage to the protector for his life; and passed several other acts for the raising of monies; amongst them, one for obliging all persons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vast sums of money were to

be, and afterwards were, exacted and raised. All these acts they presented solemnly to his highness, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

But after all this he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his personal authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for aught appeared, remove him from being both protector and general. There had been for some time jealousies between him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those major generals; and being one of them himself, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he desired to improve their authority, and to have it settled by authority of parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But hitherto, neither that design in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any king ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the house of commons." In matter of religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be king; which was the more confirmed, when many of those who had nearest relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the parliament had despatched those acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the major generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several interests of the nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, "that they might invest Cromwell with the title, rights, and dignity of a king; and then he would know, what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied."

This proposition found a marvellous concurrence; and very many, who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in this, and would presently vote him king. And it was observed that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than some men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the king, and to wish his restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the king's party were so deceived in

their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell king for the present, was the best expedient for the restoration of his majesty; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false sovereign, whose hypocrisy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober persons of the king's party, who made less noise, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the king, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They saw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present government; that very many, who had sustained the king's quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present king, by his long absence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the king, was more directed to the monarchy than to the person; and that if Cromwell were once made king, and so the government run again in the old channel, though those who were in love with a republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the access of those who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most men of estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and so enemies irreconcilable to the present government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a king, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an act of parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of king Harry the Seventh, which seemed to provide absolute indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their lawful sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollections, used all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such vote in the house.

On the other side, Lambert, who was the second man in the army, and many other officers of account and interest, besides the country members, opposed this overture with great bitterness and indignation: some of them said directly, "that if, contrary to their oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last return and submit to the old government, and live again under a king, they would choose much rather to obey the true and lawful heir to the crown, who was descended from a long succession of kings who had managed the sceptre over the nation, than to submit to a person who, at best, was but their equal, and, raised by themselves from the same degree of which they all were, and, by the trust they had reposed in him, had raised himself above them." That which put an end to the present debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing,) that some of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Desborough, Fleetwood,

Whaley, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know, "that himself would never consent to it; and therefore that it was very strange that any men should importune the putting such a question, before they knew that he would accept it, unless they took this way to destroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the first debate was put off, till farther consideration.

The debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the officers of the army, as well as they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as passionately opposed the making him king, as Lambert and the rest did, who looked to be successive protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it, (which had especially made the pause at that time,) urged that argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his privy council, and others nearest his trust, were as violent and as positive for the declaring him king, and much the major part of the house concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a committee of six or seven of the most eminent members of the house to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the house, that he would take upon him the title of king; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons, which had been offered in the house, and which had swayed the house to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same influence upon his highness."

He gave them audience in the painted chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the desire of his parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, nor him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such ambition in him, and that his conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the parliament had desired upon so long and mature deliberation; that they knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest titles than to wear them; that they were appointed to offer many reasons, which had induced the house to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon him, that had been made upon them in the house." He was too desirous to give the parliament all the satisfaction he could with a good conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long harangues, setting out "the nature of the English people, and the nature of the government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they

“had flourished from the time they had been a people: that though the extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt ministers, under negligent and tyrannical kings, had transported them to throw off the government itself, as well as to inflict justice upon the persons of the offenders; yet they found by experience, that no other government would so well fit the nation, as that to which it had been accustomed: that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his highness had taken, and which had been crowned, even with miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all his counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet spirit in men, that threatened the public peace and quiet; and that it was most apparent, by the daily combinations and conspiracies against the present government, how just and gentle and mild soever, that the heart of the nation was devoted to the old form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was the love of that, not the affection to the young man who pretended a title to it, and was known to nobody, which disposed so many to wish for the return of it: that the name and title of a protector was never known to this kingdom, but in the hands of a subject, during the reign of an infant sovereign; and therefore, that the laws gave little respect to him, but were always executed in the name of the king, how young soever, and how unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned the rights of any family, or any personal pretence, was well and safely over; the nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of it; but nobody could say, that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old form of government; to which they were still most addicted: therefore, they besought him, out of his love and tenderness to the commonwealth, and for the preservation of the nation, which had got so much renown and glory under his conduct, that he would take that name and title which had ever presided over it, and by which as he could establish a firm peace at home, so he would find his fame and honour more improved abroad; and that those very princes and kings, who, out of admiration of his virtue and noble actions, had contracted a reverence for his person, and an impatient desire of his friendship, would look upon him with much more veneration, when they saw him clothed with the same majesty, and as much their equal in title as in merit; and would with much more alacrity renew the old alliances with England, when they were renewed in the old form, and under the old title, which would make them durable; since no foreign prince could presume to take upon him to judge of right of succession; which had been frequently changed in all kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line, but upon deprivation and deposition; in such manner as was most for the good and benefit of the people; of which there was a fresh instance in their own eyes, in the kingdom of Portugal; where the duke of Braganza, without any other title than the election of the people, assumed the crown, and title of king, from the king of Spain; who had enjoyed it quietly, and without interruption, during three descents; and he was acknowledged as sovereign of that kingdom by

“the late king; who received his ambassadors accordingly.”

Cromwell heard these and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not his approbation to have concurred with them; he thanked them “for the pains they had taken,”) “to which he would not take upon him to give a present answer; that he would consider of all they had said to him, and resort to God for counsel; and then he would send for them, and acquaint them with his resolution:” and so they parted, all men standing at gaze, and in terrible suspense, according to their several hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the dispute was now within his own chamber. There is no question the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily desire to be king, and thought it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently believed, that upon some addresses he had formerly made to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations he had by himself, or some friend, with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was, “that if he would make himself king, they should easily know what they had to do, but they knew nothing of the submission and obedience which they were to pay to a protector;” and that these returns first disposed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that Lambert gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other officers of the army, who in the house concurred with Lambert, whose interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as Lambert should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his brother Desborough, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatness, and who did not wish his power and authority less absolute than it was. And that these men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, “that they could do him no good, if they should adhere to him; and therefore they were resolved for their own interest to leave him, and do the utmost they could against him, from the time he assumed that title.”

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *eclaircissement* upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, “that if ever he took the title of king upon him, he would kill him.” Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, “that there were a number of men, who bound themselves by oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that title.” They who were very near him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation;

and that he then observed, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest man in England, "and should be near to be king;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a wonderful distraction of mind, which was manifest in his countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the committee of parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were marvellously discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he "could not, with a good conscience, accept the "government under the title of a king."

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the king's spirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greatest factions in religion rather promised themselves protection from a single person, than from a parliament, or a new numerous council; that the first motion for the making him king was made by one of the most wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who served then for the city in parliament; which was an argument that that potent body stood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present assassination, and desperate attempt upon his person, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular man had interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself probably, for some time, from such an assault by not going abroad; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conspiracies against his life.

His interest and power over the army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those officers who had the greatest names in the factions of religion, as Harrison, Rich, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have so quartered and modelled his troops, as to have secured him in any enterprise he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men scandalized at his usurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his assumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the king's restoration; and many of the soberest men in the nation confessed, after the king's return, that their dejected spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, in the refusing that supreme title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had

most signally opposed it were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble petition and advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the banqueting house; where their speaker Withrington presented, and read the petition and advice of his parliament, and desired his assent to it.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his "highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title "of protector, be pleased to execute the office of "chief magistrate over England, Scotland, and "Ireland, and the territories and dominions there- "unto belonging, &c. and to govern according to "all things in that petition and advice: and also, "that he would in his lifetime appoint the person "that should succeed him in the government: "that he would call a parliament consisting of two "houses, once in a year at farthest: that those "persons who are legally chosen by a free election "of the people to serve in parliament, may not be "excluded from doing their duties, but by consent "of that house whereof they are members: that "none but those under the qualifications therein "mentioned, should be capable to serve as mem- "bers in parliament: that the power of the other "house be limited, as therein is prescribed: that "the laws and statutes of the land be observed and "kept; no laws altered, suspended, abrogated, or "repealed, but by new laws made by act of parlia- "ment: that the yearly sum of a million of pounds "sterling be settled for the maintenance of the "navy and army; and three hundred thousand "pounds for the support of the government; "besides other temporary supplies, as the com- "mons in parliament shall see the necessities of "the nation to require: that the number of the "protector's council shall not exceed one and "twenty; whereof seven shall be a *quorum*: the "chief officers of state, as chancellors, keepers of "the great seal, &c. to be approved by parlia- "ment: that his highness would encourage a "godly ministry in these nations; and that such "as do revile and disturb them in the worship of "God, may be punished according to law; and "where laws are defective, new ones to be made: "that the protestant Christian religion, as it is "contained in the Old and New Testament, be "asserted, and held forth for the public profes- "sion of these nations, and no other; and that

"a confession of faith be agreed upon, and recommended to the people of these nations; and none to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile or reproach the said confession of faith."

After this petition and advice was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his eyes, and other gestures of perplexity, he signed it; and told them, "that he came not thither that day as to a day of triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burdens that ever was laid upon the back of any human creature; so that, without the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the nation committed to his charge: therefore he desired the help of the parliament, and the help of all those who feared God, that by their help he might receive help and assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but his presence could enable him to discharge so great a trust." He told them, "that this was but an introduction to the carrying on of the government of the three nations; and therefore he recommended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the wisdom of the parliament;" and said, "he could not doubt, but the same spirit that had led the parliament to this, would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing should have induced him to have undertaken this intolerable burden to flesh and blood, but that he saw it was the parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were engaged;" calling God to witness, "that he would not have undergone it, but that the parliament had determined that it made clearly for the liberty and interest of the nation, and preservation of such as fear God; and if the nation were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a sin on their heads." He concluded with recommending some things to them, "which," he said, "would tend to reformation, by discountenancing vice and encouraging virtue;" and so dismissed them to return to their house.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of kingship should not pass away in the silence of this address, but that this exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a message to the parliament, "that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his inauguration should be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the sixth and twentieth of June; and in the mean time assigned the care to several persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a work.

On the day appointed, Westminster hall was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of state under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much state (and the sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his chair of state, and after a short speech, which was but the prologue of that by the speaker of the parlia-

ment Withrington, that this promotion might not seem to be without any vote from the nobility, the speaker, with the earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, vested him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the speaker enlarging upon the majesty and the integrity of that robe. Then the speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a sword about him; and lastly presented him a sceptre of gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those emblems of government and authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal coronation, but a crown and an archbishop, he took his oath, administered to him by the speaker, in these words: "I do, in the presence, and by the name of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as chief magistrate of these three nations, the maintenance and preserving of the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges of the people thereof; and shall in all things, according to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the people of these three nations according to law."

After this there remained nothing but festivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his domestic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other house with members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his parliament till January next, as having done as much as was necessary for one session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the officers of his army, and all commanders at sea, to subscribe and approve all that the parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He sent now for his eldest son Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampshire; and brought him now to the court, and made him a privy counselor, and caused him to be chosen chancellor of the university of Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a successor, as was in all respects equal to the office;" and so men guessed this or that man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second son Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had sent into Ireland, and made him his lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of

those he gave to the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick, a man of a great estate, and thoroughly engaged in the war from the beginning; the other was married to the lord viscount Falconbridge, the owner likewise of a very fair estate in Yorkshire, and descended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reasons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and lustre; and it was observed, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

These domestic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the success of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply those forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and so march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own use; in which the six thousand English under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themselves eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his ambassador Lockhart made such lively instances with the cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces, "that his master knew where to find a "more punctual friend;" that as soon as they had taken Montmedy, [and St. Venant,] the army marched into Flanders; and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would besiege "Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first "attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and crowned his successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter storms before Cales and the coast of Portugal, after they had sent home those former ships which they had taken of the West Indian fleet, and understood by the prisoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at sea, and would be on the coast by the beginning of the spring, if they received not advertisement of the presence of the English fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the Canaries. The admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thi-

ther, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this resolution the fleet stood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller ships, being ten in number, lay in a semicircle, moored along the shore; and the six great galleons, (the fleet consisting of sixteen good ships,) which could not come so near the shore, lay with their broadsides towards the offing. Besides this good posture in which all the ships lay, they were covered with a strong castle well furnished with guns; and there were six or seven small forts, raised in the most advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furnished with six good pieces of cannon; so that they were without the least apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the English fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the general saw in what posture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the galleons; however, he resolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impossible,) and sent captain Stayner with a squadron of the best ships to fall upon the galleons; which he did very resolutely; whilst other frigates entertained the forts, and lesser breastworks, with continual broadsides to hinder their firing. Then the general coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the ships, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the cannon from the shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broadsides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every ship, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loss of one ship out of the bay, and put them safe to sea again.

The whole action was so miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any sober men, with what courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the Spaniards comforted themselves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small loss the English sustained in this unparalleled action; no one ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the slaughter on board the Spanish ships, and on the shore, was incredible.

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by Blake; who sickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet

into the sound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell causing him to be brought up by land to London in all the state that could be; and then, according to the method of that time, to encourage his officers to be killed, that they might be pompously buried, he was, with all the solemnity possible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the Seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the kings. He was a man of an ordinary extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the university of Oxford; where he took the degree of a master of arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness, and a freedom he used in inveighing against the license of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the king; and having some command in Bristol, when it was first taken by prince Rupert and the marquis of Hertford, being trusted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refused to give it up, after the governor had signed the articles of surrender, and kept it some hours after the prince was in the town, and killed some of the soldiers; for which the prince resolved to hang him, if some friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. He then betook himself wholly to the sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ship and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

After all this lustre and glory, in which the protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. January brought the parliament again together. They did not reassemble with the same temper and resignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new institutions of government are; and when the contrivers of

them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their destruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the commons, by having called the other house; which by the petition and advice was to be done; and having filled it, for the most part, with the officers of the army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the parliament used to attend him in the painted chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the house of lords; where his new creations were; then he sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to call the commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that house, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of state, begun his speech in the old style, "My lords, and you, the knights, "citizens, and burgesses, of the house of commons:" and then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair correspondence the last session;" and assured them, "if they would continue to "prosecute his designs, they should be called the "blessed of the Lord, and generations to come "should bless them."

But as soon as the commons came to their house, they caused the third article of the petition and advice to be read; by which it was provided, that no members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by consent of that house of which they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their house, and readmitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that recognition of the protector; and by this means, near two hundred of the most inveterate enemies the protector had, came and sat in the house; among whom were sir Harry Vane, Haslerig, and many other signal men; who had much the more credit and interest in the house, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be readmitted.

As soon as these men came into the house, they begun to question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house; "that it was true, the petition "and advice had admitted there should be such "an house; but that it should be a house of "peers, that they should be called *my lords*, there "was no provision; nor did it appear what jurisdiction it should have: that it would be a very "ridiculous thing, if they should suffer those who "were created by themselves, and sat only by "their vote, to be better men than they, and to "have a negative voice to control their masters." When they had enough vilified them, they questioned the protector's authority to send writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority "to make peers? that it had been the proper "business of that house to have provided for all "this; which it is probable they would have "done at this meeting, if he had not presumptuously taken that sovereign power upon him." Cromwell was exceedingly surprised and per-

plexed with this new spirit; and found that he had been shortsighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his house of commons, when he erected his other of peers: for he had taken away those out of that house, who were the boldest speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other house, without supplying those other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both houses before him; and very magisterially, and in a dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his authority. "The 'other house,'" he said, "were lords, and should 'be lords;'" and commanded them "to enter 'upon such business, as might be for the benefit, 'not the distraction of the commonwealth; which 'he would with God's help prevent.'" And when he found this animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his house of lords upon the fourth of February; and sending for the commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that 'it concerned his interest, as much as the peace 'and tranquillity of the nation, to dissolve that 'parliament; and therefore he did put an end 'to their sitting.'" So that cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a storm.

The parliament being dissolved, Cromwell found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the English in the service of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a visit, was, together with some other officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the parliament, Lockhart, who was the protector's ambassador in France, was designed to take that charge upon him; and all things, which were to be transported from England, for the prosecution of the business in Flanders the next spring, were executed with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the cardinal to imagine, that the protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the parliament.

As soon as he was rid of that, he thought it as necessary to give some instances at home, how little he feared those men who were thought to be so much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after some sharp expostulations with Lambert, who was as positive in his own humour, he sent to him for his commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being major general in the north, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the protector, that he was entire master of his army.

He had observed, throughout the parliament, that the major generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his party were prosecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of king conferred upon him, Lambert was as solicitous to have the major generals confirmed by parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of listing men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might still be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himself.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the people with the apprehension of plots at home to facilitate an invasion from abroad; and sending for the lord mayor and aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surprised; "that there was a design to 'seize upon the Tower; and at the same time 'that there should be a general insurrection in 'the city of the cavaliers, and discontented party, 'whilst the city remained so secure, that they had 'put their militia into no posture to be ready to 'preserve themselves in such an attempt; but 'on the contrary, that they were so negligent in 'their discipline, that the marquis of Ormond 'had lain securely in the city full three weeks 'without being discovered; who was sent over 'by the king to countenance a general insurrection, whilst the king himself," he said, "had 'ten thousand men ready at Bruges, with two 'and twenty ships, with which he meant to invade some other more northern part of the kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in 'putting their militia into a good posture, and 'to make very strict searches to discover what 'strangers were harboured within the walls of 'the city, and to keep good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary occasion for all this, he caused very many persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the king's party, to be surprised in the night in their beds, (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious,) and, after some short examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other prisons; for there was, at the same time, the same severity used in the several counties; for the better explanation and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that we return to Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the king's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been signed by the archduke with the king, was sent ratified from Madrid by the king of Spain, with many great compliments; which the king was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuses for the lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those services which are due from and to a great king, they let his majesty know, "that the catholic king had 'assigned so many crowns as amounted to six 'thousand gilders, to be paid every month towards a royal aid; and half so much more, for

"the support of the duke of Gloucester; that though the sum was very small, it was as much as their necessities would bear; and the smallness should be recompensed by the punctuality of the payment;" the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the king had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the least present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the king should raise four regiments of foot, which should march with their army, until the king should find the season ripe to make an invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raising those four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muster, the common allowance of bread. However, the king was glad of the opportunity to employ and dispose of many officers and soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into Flanders. He resolved to raise one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his person. The marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Irish might be tempted to come over. The earl of Rochester would have a regiment, that such officers and soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his command: and because the Scots had many officers about the court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the king gave the fourth regiment to the lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had served his father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

As soon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his majesty came into Flanders, and that he resolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the king of France, that he would no longer receive that pension, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The Spanish army was at this time before Condé; a place garrisoned by the French between Valenciennes and Cambray; which was invested now by don Juan; who finding that the greatest part of the garrison consisted of Irish, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muskery, a nephew of the marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the Irish had upon the king; and therefore writ to his majesty at Bruges, and desired that he would send the marquis to the camp; which his majesty could not refuse; and the marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the chancellor of the exchequer was sent to Brussels (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first months, which were assigned to the king) to confer with don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the winter

upon England; don Juan and the marquis of Carracena referring all things which related to England to don Alonzo, and being very glad that the chancellor went to Brussels, at the same time that the marquis went to the camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

Condé was reduced to straits by the time the marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by don Juan, at least by the marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the king, or indeed than the king himself. The thing they desired of him was, that when the garrison should be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with those of the Irish nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spanish service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own king: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; especially they desired that his nephew Muskery, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was signed, the marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the several regiments. When he had informed them of the king's pleasure, and that the entering into the service of the Spaniard was, for the present, necessary in order to the king's service, the other regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

Only Muskery expressly refused that either himself, or any of his men, should leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they should march into France. He said, "it was not consistent with his honour to do otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he should come into France, he would leave his regiment in their quarters; and would himself ride to the court, and demand his pass; which, by his contract with the cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his own king should demand his service; and his regiment should likewise be permitted to march with him." It was urged to him, "that it was now in his own power to dispose of himself; which he might lawfully do; but that, when he was found in France, he would no more have it in his power." He said, "he was bound to ask his dismissal, and the cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had done his part, he was very confident the cardinal would not break his word with him; but if he should, he would get nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired his uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure the king and don Juan, that he would, within six weeks, return; and if he might have quarters assigned him, his regiment should be there within few days after him." It was in vain to press him farther, and the marquis telling don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better esteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muskery marched away with the rest of the garrison; and as soon as he was in France, rode to Paris; where the cardinal then was; who re-

ceived him with extraordinary grace; but when he asked his dismissal, and urged his capitulation, the cardinal, by all imaginable caresses, and promises of a pension, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, "that this was only to serve the Spaniard, and not his own king; who had no employment for him: that if he would stay in their service till the king had need of him, he would take care to send him and his regiment in a better condition to his majesty, than they were now in." When he could neither by promises nor reproaches divert him from quitting their service, he gave him a pass only for himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the regiment; averring, "that he was not bound to it, because there could be no pretence that they could serve the king; who had no use of them, nor wherewithal to pay them."

Muskery took what he could get, his own pass; and made haste to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three servants to Brussels; and desired don Juan to assign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole regiment, officers and soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that regiment, as of any that was in their service.

When the marquis proposed any thing that concerned the king, during the time he was in the army, don Juan still writ to don Alonzo to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer about it; who found don Alonzo in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the Irish Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the levellers, that, after he had received the money that was assigned to the king, he returned to Bruges, as the marquis did from the army, when the business of Condé was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between Cromwell and the cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambassador, that the cardinal had not only promised, "that the king should receive no assistance from thence; but that nobody who related to his service, or against whom any exception should be taken, should be permitted to reside in France;" and that, as the king had already been driven thence; so, when the time should be ripe, the duke of York would be likewise necessitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the king's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the six thousand English for the service of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much desire to keep that article secret which provided against the king's residing in that kingdom, and for the exclusion of the duke of York, and many other persons, by name, who attended upon the king, and some who had charges in the army. And the cardinal, and the queen, with some seeming regret, communicated it to the duke, as a thing

they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

Amongst those who by that secret article were to leave the French service, the earl of Bristol was one; whose name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the earl, having received very great obligations from the cardinal, thought his interest greater in the queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural custom of deceiving himself,) and so, in the cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had shewed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before, (which the earl took for pure friendship,) until the time came for the publishing this treaty, when the earl was lieutenant general of the army in Italy. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which obliged them to receive commands from Cromwell, which were very uneasy to them;" then told him, "that he could stay no longer in their service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the duke of York himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part with him, as with a man that had done them great service." The earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of money from them as he could, and the cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome equipage in servants and horses. So he came directly for Bruges to the king; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his majesty left Paris. But his business there was only to present his duty to his majesty; where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his service to don Juan, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the king.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the earl, both for the little kindness he had shewed towards them in England, whilst he was secretary of state, of which don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the French service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in Spain. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and detested in all the rhymes and songs of the country, for the savage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incursion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waste than ever the French themselves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends dissuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spanish army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "that all the time he was in

France, he was out of his sphere; and that his "own genius always disposed him to Spain; where he was now resolved to make his fortune." And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception such, both from don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

He was present when don Juan eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of scholastic points, if his confessor, or any other learned person, was present. The earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the Spanish language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and don Juan begun to be very much pleased with his company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in astrology; in which he found the earl so much more conversant than any man he had met with, that, within a week after he had first seen him, he desired the earl to compute his nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to don Juan; which when the marquis of Carracena discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the earl having been lieutenant general of the French army under prince Thomas, in conjunction with the duke of Modena, against Milan, the very year before, when the marquis of Carracena was governor there, he could both discourse the several transactions there with the marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his conduct in signal actions; which the marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And don Alonzo being sent for to the army to consult some affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in don Juan and the marquis, when he found him in so much favour with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the affairs of England; which he desired don Juan and the marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the court, and to the army; and suppressed and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and don Juan invited him to spend the winter with him at Brussels.

There was another accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own stars. The French had yet a garrison at a place called St. Ghislain; which, being within four leagues of Brussels, infested the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny against the court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the garrison were Irish, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the first rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to sir George Lane, who was secretary to the marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the giving up that place would be a service to the king? and if it would, they would undertake it." The marquis sent his secretary to inform the earl of Bristol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from heaven to raise his fortune with the Spaniard. He

communicated it to don Juan, as a matter in his own disposal, and to be conducted by persons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a service to the king. So now he became intrusted between the king and don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; don Juan being very glad to find he had so much interest in the king, and the king well pleased that he had such credit with don Juan, of whose assistance in the next winter he thought he should have much use; for all attempts upon England must be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghislain was very acceptable to the Spaniards; their campaign being ended without any other considerable action than the taking of Condé. They foresaw a very sad year would succeed, if they should enter into the field, where they were sure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghislain behind them; and they should run more hazard if they begun with the siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the earl to promise great rewards in money, and pensions, to those officers and soldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that don Juan assembling his army together a little before Christmas, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though Schomberg discovered the conspiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the soldiers, which were upon the guards in some outforts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This service was of infinite importance to the Spaniard, and of no less detriment to the French, and consequently gave great reputation to the earl; who then came to the king at Bruges; and said all that he thought fit of don Juan to the king, and, amongst the rest, "that don Juan advised his majesty to send some discreet person to Madrid, to solicit his affairs there; but that he did not think the person he had designed to send thither" (who was sir Harry de Vic, that had been long resident in Brussels) "would be acceptable there." This was only to introduce another person, who was dear to him, sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly his servant when he was secretary of state, and bred by him; and was now secretary to the duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was so uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other post; and was about this time come to the king, as a forerunner to inform him of the duke of York's purpose to be speedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the court of France. Bennet had been long a person very acceptable to the king; and therefore his majesty readily consented, that he should go to Madrid instead of De Vic: so he returned with the earl to Brussels, that he might be presented, and made known to don Juan; from whom the earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

The time was now come that the duke of York found it necessary to leave Paris, and so came to the king to Bruges; where there were then all the visible hopes of the crown of England together, and all the royal issue of the late king, the princess Henrietta only excepted; for, besides the king and his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the princess royal of Orange made that her

way from Paris into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her brothers.

It was at this time that the king made the chancellor of the exchequer lord chancellor of England, sir Edward Herbert, who was the last lord keeper of the great seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the king put the seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the king first employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majesty knew he had an entire friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an officer, or indeed any use of the great seal till the king should come into England; and, "that his majesty found some ease in being without such an officer, that he was not troubled with those suits, which he would be, if the seal were in the hands of a proper officer to be used, since every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours, and lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and he would undergo as great mischief by granting." The which when the marquis told the king,) his majesty himself went to the chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alleged against receiving the seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of several reversions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the queen's house and lands of Oatlands, to the same man who had purchased it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good sum of money to that person who was to procure such a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the seal presently put to it; which being in the king's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the secret. His majesty told him also of many other importunities, with which he was every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other remedy to give himself ease, than to put the seal out of his own keeping, into such hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny." And thereupon he conjured the chancellor to receive that trust, with many gracious promises of his favour and protection. Whereupon the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, using likewise their persuasions, he submitted to the king's pleasure; who delivered the seal to him in the council, in the Christmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, because many great affairs, and some alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in Cologne, the king's very coming into Flanders raised the spirits of his friends in England. And when they were assured that there was a treaty signed between his majesty and the king of Spain, they made no doubt of an army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finish it. The king, who had hitherto restrained his friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him

when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several messengers were sent from England to assure him, "that there was so universal a readiness there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay to expect the king, but they would begin the work themselves:" yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the king, and they again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, "that they would ruin themselves, and all people who should join with them."

The king was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable engagement; and therefore he sent to them, and conjured them "to attempt nothing, till he sent a person to them, who, if they were ready, should have authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction with them, and should himself be fit to conduct them in any reasonable enterprise."

The marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the king, "that he would privately go into England, and confer with those who were most forward; and if he found, that their counsels were discreetly laid, he would encourage them, and unite all the rest to them; and if matters were not ripe, he would compose them to be quiet;" and there was no man in England affected to the king's service, who would not be readily advised by him. The chancellor would by no means consent to his journey, as an unreasonable adventure upon an improbable design, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what security all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealousy and vigilance, to go into England, and to stay a month in London, and return again. The king consenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the marquis's absence from Bruges might not create jealousy, and discourse, "whither he should be gone." Therefore it was for some time discoursed, "that the marquis of Ormond was to go into Germany to the duke of Newburgh," (who was known to have affection for the king,) and, "that he should from thence bring with him two regiments for the service of his majesty."

These discourses being generally made and believed, the marquis took his leave publicly of the king, with his servants fit for such a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; so that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the marquis of Ormond's being there; whilst he himself, with one only servant, and O'Neile, (who had inflamed him very much to that undertaking,) took the way of Holland; and hired a bark at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were safely landed in Essex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilst the parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found opportunity to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose advice and interest the king most depended, and against whose positive advice his majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him

most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an animosity between many of those who equally wished the king's restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in meetings or correspondencies before, complained very much of "the rashness of the other, who believed any officer of the army that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them to communicate with such persons; which because they refused, (as they had reason,) the others loaded them with reproaches, as having lost all affection and zeal for his majesty's service:" they protested, "that they could not discover or believe that there was any such preparations in readiness, that it could be counsellable to appear in arms against a government so fortified and established, as the protector's seemed to be: that it was probable the parliament might not comply with Cromwell's desires; and then there was such a discovery of malice between several persons of potent condition, that many advantages might be offered to the king's party: if they would have the patience to attend the event, and till those factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the king's interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before such a time, in any insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant town, all dissenting parties would be reconciled, till the king's friends should all be ruined, though they might afterwards return to their old animosities." In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the king's pleasure, "that, if the marquis were satisfied, upon his conference with other men, that the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they would presently receive his orders; and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever."

On the other side, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the king. And those men, being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late king's army, who saw many of their old soldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the king, as soon as they should see his colours flying. These men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two troops of horse, to beat up such a quarter, or seize such a guard; and then those men consulted how to get those troops, and found men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these meetings some citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's sons as apprentices into the city, since the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honest men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which pass-

ing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the king was even ready to land with such an army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent expresses into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the king, yet found some friends and acquaintance about the court, or in their way, who thought they did the king good service in making his majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those people with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they should be infallibly sure of the king's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he thought it time to return. And so about the time that the parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the king's physician, through Sussex; and there embarked, and safely transported into France; from whence he came into Flanders.

This gave the occasion to Cromwell to make that discourse before mentioned to the mayor and aldermen of London, of the lord marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could easily have done; of which more shall be said hereafter. But when the protector was well assured that the marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused all persons, who he knew had, or he thought might have, spoken with him, to be apprehended. All prisons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with those who had been of the king's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a necessary season to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with spectacles which might mortify them.

In the preparations which had been made towards an insurrection, many persons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commissions for regiments of horse and foot; and, amongst the rest, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Sussex; whose mother had been sister to the earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackest offenders, and one of the king's judges. This son of his, who now possessed his estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the company of those who were known to have affection for the king; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his majesty's restoration; and not only his fortune, but his interest was considerable in that maritime county: so that many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that estate, which the treason of his father had forfeited.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger son, and brother, of the earls of Peter-

borough; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal spirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the king, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence to take the same resolution; and being allied to the marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the marquis's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had represented his affections to the king, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in Sussex, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a letter to the king under Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt desired, that his majesty would send a commission for the command of a regiment of horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his vows and protestations, and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by Cromwell, his father's fast old friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his commission from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this discovery Mr. Mordaunt had been sent for by Cromwell, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own lodging. But upon this discovery by Stapley, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close prisoner to the Tower; and new men were every day sent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within some time after, a high court of justice was erected for the trial of the prisoners, the crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation.

Before this high court of justice, of which John Lisle, who gave his vote in the king's blood, and continued an entire confident and instrument of Cromwell's, was president; there were first brought to be tried, John Mordaunt; sir Harry Slingsby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkshire; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whose church those of the king's party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself,

they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the jurisdiction of the court, and desire to have counsel assigned to argue against it in point of law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The first that was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commission to Stapley would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead not-guilty; but insisted, "that by the law of the land he ought not to be tried by that court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that his council might have liberty to argue the point in law;" which of course used to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told, "that he was better to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in the legality of their court, and would not suffer the jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the law of England had provided a sentence for such obstinate persons as refused to be tried by it; which was, that they should be condemned as mutes; which would be his case, if he continued refractory:" so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingsby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded not-guilty; and so was sent to the prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whose greatest crime was collecting and sending money to the king, besides having given money to some officers, refused to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counsel might be heard; and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to prison.

Those courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty judges; amongst whom there were usually some, who, out of generosity, or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her husband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her husband to plead; then his friends might do him some service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of law, he would infallibly suffer, and no man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the commission to Stapley; and that there was to that point, besides Stapley, one colonel Mallory, whose testimony was more valued than the other's." This Mallory had the reputation of an honest man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of Sussex, and had been apprehended about the same time that Stapley

was; and finding, upon his first examination, by the questions administered to him by Thurlow, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himself the person principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in custody from the Tower, to give in evidence against Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of jurisdiction in the court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a friend of hers disposed the money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little note she writ concerning the other advice, put into her husband's hand, as he passed to the bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the president, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his trial; and behaved himself with courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the king, with notable address. That of the commission of Stapley was reserved to the last; and the commission being produced, and both the hand and the signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worcester, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the counsel that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the questions Mr. Mordaunt asked him with that confusion, that his evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their sentence. And it so fell out, [by one of the judges withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the stone,] that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single vote of the president; who made some excuses for the justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for aught appeared to the court. There was not in Cromwell's time the like

instance; and scarce any other man escaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some months after in the Tower, (whereas he ought to have been released the same moment,) and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a Frenchman, who had long served him, and was the only servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the case so unheard of, that any man, discharged upon a public trial, should be again proceeded against upon new evidence for the same offence, that Cromwell himself thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the king's service as before, and with better success.

Sir Harry Slingsby and poor Dr. Hewet had worse fortune; and their blood was the more thirsted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in prison in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new plot, to make so many formidable examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him evidence enough, (besides his incorrigible fidelity to the crown from the first assaulting it,) that he had contrived, and contracted with some officers of Hull, about the time that the earl of Rochester had been in Yorkshire two years before, for the delivery of one of the block-houses to him for the king's service: nor did he care to defend himself against the accusation; but rather acknowledged and justified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the king, with very little compliment or ceremony to the present power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly resolved upon, (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, nobody being suffered to speak with him,) and being brought to the bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian courage.

Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned to serve as a member in the parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never

concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the king. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad."

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a scholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little church in London; where, by the affection of the parish, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of malignity. When the lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the church; which engaged both that lord and lady to use their utmost credit with the protector to preserve his life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the king at Cologne or Bruges; with which he was charged in his impeachment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, colonel Ashton, Stacy, and Betteley, condemned by the same court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigour, in several great streets in the city, to make the deeper impression upon the people, the two last being citizens. But all men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable spectacles, that Cromwell thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom Mallory was one; who was not at liberty till the king's return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than they were against whom he had trespassed.

Though the king, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not seem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the king's party was the more dispirited; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him, even almost the whole body of sectaries, anabaptists, independents, quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with

him, they likewise entered into several conspiracies to assassinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an address to the king by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the king; who gave such an answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favour, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute or trouble any men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the king, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody,) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address, in the very words in which it was presented to his majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the king's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the king in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the king, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

To his most excellent majesty, Charles the Second, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

"The humble address of the subscribers, in
"the behalf of themselves, and many thou-
"sands more, your majesty's most humble
"and faithful subjects.

"May it please your majesty,

"When we sit down and recount the wonderful
"and unheard of dispensations of God amongst
"us, when we call to our remembrances the tra-
"gical actions and transactions of these late times,
"when we seriously consider the dark and myste-
"rious effects of Providence, the unexpected dis-
"appointment of counsels, the strange and strong
"convulsions of state, the various and violent
"motions and commotions of the people, the
"many changings, turnings, and overturnings of
"governors and governments, which, in the re-
"volutions of a few years, have been produced in
"this land of miracles, we cannot but be even
"swallowed up in astonishment, and are con-
"strained to command an unwilling silence upon
"our sometimes mutinous and over-inquiring
"hearts, resolving all into the good-will and
"pleasure of that all-disposing One, whose wis-
"dom is unsearchable, and whose ways are past
"finding out.

"But although it is, and we hope ever will be,
"far from us, either peevishly or presumptuously

“to kick against the irresistible decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm designs of ours, to give an interruption to that overruling divine hand, which steers and guides, governs and determines the affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear country. And, since it is our lot (we may say our unhappiness) to be embarked in a shipwrecked commonwealth, (which, like a poor weatherbeaten pinnace, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon the waves and billows of faction, split upon the rocks of violence, and is now almost quite devoured in the quicksands of ambition,) what can we do more worthy of Englishmen, as we are by nation, or of Christians, as we are by profession, than every one of us to put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our God, that such weak instruments as we, may be, in any measure, helpful to bring it at last into the safe and quiet harbour of justice and righteousness?

“To this undertaking, though too great for us, we are apt to think ourselves so much the more strongly engaged, by how much the more we are sensible, that as our sins have been the greatest causes, so our many follies and imprudences have not been the least means of giving both birth and growth to those many miseries and calamities, which we, together with three once most flourishing kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

“It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your majesty, that we should recur to the beginnings, rise, and root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your royal father and the parliament. In such a discourse as this, we may seem, perhaps, rather to go about to make the wounds bleed afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet forasmuch as we do profess, that we come not with corrosives but with balsams, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your majesty will give us leave to open them gently, that we may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past errors the more clearly.

“In what posture the affairs of these nations stood, before the noise of drums and trumpets disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst us, is not unknown to your majesty: that we were blest with a long peace, and, together with it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things, the lovely companions and beautiful products of peace, must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of those princes, your father and grandfather, by the propitious influence of whose care and wisdom we thus flourished. But, as it is observed in natural bodies, idleness and fulness of diet do for the most part lay the foundation of those maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expelled by the assistance of the most skilful physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous trial of the most dangerous experiments; so did we find it, by sad experience, to be in this great

body politic. It cannot be denied, but the whole commonwealth was faint, the whole nation sick, the whole body out of order, every member thereof feeble, and every part thereof languishing. And in this so general and universal a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the head, cannot well be imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; but, in general, we may say, and we think it will gain the easy assent of all men, that there were many errors, many defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and eccentric proceedings, (some of which were in matters of the highest and greatest concernments,) manifestly appearing as blots and stains upon the otherwise good government of the late king. That these proceeded from the pravity of his own disposition, or from principles of tyranny radicated and implanted in his own nature, we do not see how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth; it being confessed, even by his most peevish enemies, that he was a gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect intellectuals, so of the best and purest morals, of any prince that ever swayed the English sceptre. This the then parliament being sensible of, and desirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their sovereign, to disperse and dispel those black clouds that were contracted about him, that he might shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own lustre, thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour to redeem and rescue him from the violent and strong impulses of his evil counsellors; who did captivate him at their pleasures to their own corrupt lusts, and did every day thrust him into actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the common good and safety of the people.

“Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, were we at first invited to take up arms; and though we have too great cause to conclude from what we have since seen acted, that, under those plausible and gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were secretly managed the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious persons, (whom though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Providence, and the series of things, have since discovered to us,) yet we bless God, that we went out in the simplicity of our souls, aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned in the face of the sun; and that we were so far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our allegiance to his majesty, or extirpating his family, that we had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of any of his just prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses of government for the future, which were nothing but the excrescences of a wanton power, and were more truly to be accounted the burdens, than ornaments, of his royal diadem.

“These things, sir, we are bold to make recital of to your majesty; not that we suppose your majesty to be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive the pedigree of our own and the nation's misfortunes; but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we have lost our way, we are necessitated, though with tired and irksome steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that we may discover where it was that

“ we first turned aside, and may institute a more
 “ prosperous course in the progress of our jour-
 “ ney. Thus far we can say we have gone right,
 “ keeping the road of honesty and sincerity, and
 “ having as yet done nothing but what we think
 “ we are able to justify, not by those weak and
 “ beggarly arguments, drawn either from success,
 “ which is the same to the just and to the unjust,
 “ or from the silence and satisfaction of a be-
 “ calmed conscience, which is more often the
 “ effect of blindness than virtue, but from the
 “ sure, safe, sound, and unerring maxims of law,
 “ justice, reason, and righteousness.

“ In all the rest of our motions ever since to
 “ this very day, we must confess, we have been
 “ wandering, deviating, and roving up and down,
 “ this way and that way, through all the dan-
 “ gerous, uncouth, and untrodden paths of fanatic
 “ and enthusiastic notions, till now at last, but
 “ too late, we find ourselves intricately and in-
 “ volved in so many windings, labyrinths, and
 “ meanders of knavery, that nothing but a divine
 “ clue of thread handed to us from heaven, can
 “ be sufficient to extricate us, and restore us. We
 “ know not, we know not, whether we have juster
 “ matter of shame or sorrow administered to us,
 “ when we take a reflex view of our past actions,
 “ and consider into the commission of what
 “ crimes, impieties, wickednesses, and unheard
 “ of villanies, we have been led, cheated, cozened,
 “ and betrayed, by that grand impostor, that
 “ loathsome hypocrite, that detestable traitor,
 “ that prodigy of nature, that *opprobrium* of
 “ mankind, that landscape of iniquity, that sink
 “ of sin, and that compendium of baseness, who
 “ now calls himself our protector. What have
 “ we done, nay, what have we not done, which
 “ either hellish policy was able to contrive, or
 “ brutish power to execute? We have trampled
 “ underfoot all authorities; we have laid violent
 “ hands upon our own sovereign; we have ra-
 “ vished our parliaments; we have deflowered the
 “ virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a
 “ yoke, an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of
 “ our own countrymen; we have thrown down
 “ the walls and bulwarks of the people’s safety;
 “ we have broken often-repeated oaths, vows,
 “ engagements, covenants, protestations; we have
 “ betrayed our trusts; we have violated our faiths;
 “ we have lifted up our hands to heaven deceit-
 “ fully; and that these our sins might want no
 “ aggravation to make them exceeding sinful, we
 “ have added hypocrisy to them all; and have
 “ not only, like the audacious strumpet, wiped
 “ our mouths, and boasted *that we have done no*
 “ *evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations
 “ (such as are too bad to be named amongst the
 “ worst of heathens) we have not wanted impu-
 “ dence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified:
 “ let Jesus Christ be exalted: let his kingdom be
 “ advanced: let the gospel be propagated: let the
 “ saints be dignified: let righteousness be esta-
 “ blished: *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis aut dici*
 “ *potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

“ Will not the holy One of Israel visit? will not
 “ the righteous One punish? will not he, who is
 “ the true and faithful One, be avenged for such
 “ things as these? will he not, nay has he not
 “ already, come forth as a swift witness against
 “ us? has he not whet his sword? has he not bent
 “ his bow? has he not prepared his quiver? has

“ he not already begun to shoot his arrows at us?
 “ Who is so blind as not to see that the hand of
 “ the Almighty is upon us, and that his anger
 “ waxes hotter and hotter against us? How have
 “ our hopes been blasted! how have our expecta-
 “ tions been disappointed! how have our ends
 “ been frustrated! All those pleasant gourds,
 “ under which we were sometimes solacing and
 “ caressing ourselves, how are they perished in a
 “ moment! how are they withered in a night!
 “ how are they vanished, and come to nothing!
 “ Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are all his
 “ judgments. We have sown the wind, and we
 “ have reaped a whirlwind; we have sown faction,
 “ and we have reaped confusion; we have sown
 “ folly, and we have reaped deceit: when we looked
 “ for liberty, behold slavery; when we expected
 “ righteousness, behold oppression; when we
 “ sought for justice, behold a cry, a great and
 “ a lamentable cry throughout the whole nation.

“ Every man’s hand is upon his loins, every one
 “ complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and
 “ saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and an-
 “ guish, and sorrow, and perplexity of spirit, has
 “ taken hold upon me, like the pains of a woman
 “ in travail. Surely we may take up the lamenta-
 “ tion of the prophet concerning this the land of
 “ our nativity. How does England sit solitary!
 “ how is she become as a widow! she, that was
 “ great amongst the nations, and princess among
 “ the provinces, how is she now become tributary!
 “ She weepeth sore in the night; her tears are on
 “ her cheeks; amongst all her lovers she hath
 “ none to comfort her; all her friends have dealt
 “ treacherously with her, they are become her
 “ enemies; she lifteth up her voice in the streets,
 “ she crieth aloud in the gates of the city, in the
 “ places of chief concourse, she sitteth, and thus
 “ we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condi-
 “ tion: Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?
 “ behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto
 “ my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith
 “ the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce
 “ anger. The yoke of my transgressions is bound
 “ by his hands, they are wreathed, and come up
 “ upon my neck; he hath made my strength to
 “ fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands
 “ from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord
 “ hath trodden underfoot all my mighty men in
 “ the midst of me; he hath called an assembly to
 “ crush my young men; he hath trodden me as in
 “ a winepress; all that pass by clap their hands
 “ at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, say-
 “ ing, Is this the nation that men call the perfec-
 “ tion of beauty? the joy of the whole earth? All
 “ mine enemies have opened their mouths against
 “ me; they hiss and gnash their teeth; they say,
 “ We have swallowed her up; certainly this is the
 “ day that we looked for, we have found, we have
 “ seen it.

“ How are our bowels troubled! how are our
 “ hearts saddened! how are our souls afflicted,
 “ whilst we hear the groans, whilst we see the
 “ desolation of our dear country! It pitieth us,
 “ it pitieth us, that Sion should lie any longer in
 “ the dust. But, alas! what shall we do for her
 “ in this day of her great calamity? We were
 “ sometimes wise to pull down, but we now want
 “ art to build; we were ingenious to pluck up,
 “ but we have no skill to plant; we were strong
 “ to destroy, but we are weak to restore: whither

" shall we go for help? or to whom shall we address ourselves for relief? If we say, We will have recourse to parliaments, and they shall save us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds shaken with the wind. They cannot save themselves. If we turn to the army, and say, They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh, it may be they will at last have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are become as a rod of iron to bruise us, rather than a staff of strength to support us. If we go to him who had treacherously usurped, and does tyrannically exercise an unjust power over us, and say to him, Free us from this yoke, for it oppresses us, and from these burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our fathers ever were, able to bear; behold, in the pride and haughtiness of his spirit, he answers us, You are factious, you are factious; if your burdens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; if I have hitherto chastised you with whips, I will henceforward chastise you with scorpions.

" Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find no rest; we look this way, and that way, but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only, among ourselves, saying one to another, Why should we not return to our first husband? Surely it will be better with us then, than it is now. At the first starting of this question amongst us, many doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspicions did arise within us. We were conscious to ourselves, that we had dealt unkindly with him, that we had treacherously forsaken him, that we had defiled ourselves with other lovers, and that our filthiness was still upon our skirts: therefore were we apt to conclude, if we do return unto him, how can he receive us? or if he does receive us, how can he love us? how can he pardon the injuries we have done unto him? how can he forget the unkindness we have shewn unto him in the day of his distress?

" We must confess (for we come not to deceive your majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cowardly apprehensions did, for a while, make some strong impressions upon us; and had almost frightened us out of our newly conceived thoughts of duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they vanished, and gave place to the more noble and heroic considerations of common good, public safety, the honour, peace, welfare, and prosperity of these nations; all which we are persuaded, and do find, though by too late experience, are as inseparably and as naturally bound up in your majesty, as heat in fire, or light in the sun. Contemning therefore and disdaining the mean and low thoughts of our own private safety, (which we have no cause to despair of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a prince,) we durst not allow of any longer debate about matters of personal concernment; but did think ourselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this our humble address unto your majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet of your mercy: yet, lest we should seem to be altogether negligent of that first good, though since dishonoured, cause, which God has so eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of the security of those, who,

" together with ourselves, being carried away with the delusive and hypocritical pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concurrence with those actions which may render them justly obnoxious to your majesty's indignation, we have presumed in all humility to offer unto your majesty these few propositions hereunto annexed; to which if your majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, we do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, before whose tribunal we know we must one day appear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto us, for the restoring and reestablishing your majesty in the throne of your father; and that we will never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to your majesty's commands to approve ourselves

" Your majesty's

" most humble, most faithful,

" and most devoted subjects and servants,

" *W. Howard.* *John Wildman.*

" *Ralph Jennings.* *John Aumigeu.*

" *Edw. Penkaruan.* *Randolph Hedworth.*

" *John Hedworth.* *Thomas*

" *John Sturgion.* *Rich. Reynolds.*

" The earnest desires of the subscribers, in all humility presented to your majesty in these following proposals, in order to an happy, speedy, and well grounded peace in these your majesty's dominions.

1. " Forasmuch as the parliament, called and convened by the authority of his late majesty your royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally dissolved, but did continue their sitting until the year 1648, at which time the army, violently and treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever since given a continued interruption to their session, by taking away the whole house of lords, and secluding the greatest part of the house of commons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the end we may be established upon the ancient basis and foundation of law) your majesty would be pleased, by public proclamations, as soon as it shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those persons, as well lords as commons, who were then sitting, to return to their places; and that your majesty would own them (so convened and met together) to be the true and lawful parliament of England.

2. " That your majesty would concur with the parliament in the ratification and confirmation of all those things granted and agreed unto by the late king your father, at the last and fatal treaty in the Isle of Wight; as also in the making and repealing of all such laws, acts, and statutes, as by the parliament shall be judged expedient and necessary to be made, and repealed, for the better securing of the just and natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the obviating and preventing all dangerous and destructive excesses of government for the future.

3. " Forasmuch as it cannot be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his death and resurrection, has purchased the liberties of his own people, and is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedience in things spiritual; we do

“ therefore humbly beseech your majesty, that you
 “ would engage your royal word never to erect,
 “ nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical,
 “ popish, and Antichristian hierarchy, (episcopal,
 “ presbyterian, or by what name soever it be
 “ called,) as shall assume a power over, or impose
 “ a yoke upon, the consciences of others; but that
 “ every one of your majesty's subjects may here-
 “ after be left at liberty to worship God in such a
 “ way, form, and manner, as shall appear to them
 “ to be agreeable to the mind and will of Christ,
 “ revealed in his word, according to that proportion
 “ or measure of faith and knowledge which they
 “ have received.

4. “ Forasmuch as the exaction of tithes is a
 “ burden under which the whole nation groans in
 “ general, and the people of God in particular, we
 “ would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to
 “ your majesty's consideration, that, if it be possi-
 “ ble, some other way may be found out for the
 “ maintenance of that which is called the national
 “ ministry; and that those of the separated and
 “ congregated churches may not (as hitherto they
 “ have been, and still are) be compelled to contri-
 “ bute thereunto.

5. “ Forasmuch as in these times of license,
 “ confusion, and disorder, many honest, godly,
 “ and religious persons, by the crafty devices and
 “ cunning pretences of wicked men, have been
 “ ignorantly and blindly led, either into the com-
 “ mission of, or compliance with, many vile, illegal,
 “ and abominable actions, whereof they are now
 “ ashamed; we do therefore most humbly implore
 “ your majesty, that an act of amnesty and oblivion
 “ may be granted for the pardoning, acquitting,
 “ and discharging all your majesty's long deceived
 “ and deluded subjects, from the guilt and impu-
 “ tation of all crimes, treasons, and offences what-
 “ soever, committed or done by them, or any of
 “ them, either against your majesty's father, or
 “ yourself, since the beginning of these unhappy
 “ wars, excepting only such who do adhere to that
 “ ugly tyrant who calls himself protector, or who,
 “ in justification of his or any other interest, shall,
 “ after the publication of this act of grace, con-
 “ tinue and persevere in their disloyalty to your
 “ majesty.”

The gentleman who brought this address, and these wild propositions, brought likewise with him a particular letter to the king from the gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his companions; and told this gentleman, “ that, though the first address
 “ could not be prepared but with those demands,
 “ which might satisfy the whole party, and com-
 “ prehend all that was desired by any of them, yet
 “ if the king gave them such an encouragement, as
 “ might dispose them to send some of the wisest
 “ of them to attend his majesty, he would be able,
 “ upon conference with them, to make them his
 “ instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate
 “ desires, when they should discern, that they
 “ might have more protection and security from
 “ the king, than from any other power that would
 “ assume the government.” The letter was as followeth.

“ May it please your majesty,

“ Time, the great discoverer of all things, has
 “ at last unmasked the disguised designs of this
 “ mysterious age, and made that obvious to the
 “ dull sense of fools, which was before visible
 “ enough to the quicksighted prudence of wise
 “ men, viz. that liberty, religion, and reformation,
 “ the wonted engines of politicians, are but deceit-
 “ ful baits, by which the easily deluded multitude
 “ are tempted to a greedy pursuit of their own
 “ ruin. In the unhappy number of these fools, I
 “ must confess myself to have been one; who
 “ have nothing more now to boast of, but only
 “ that, as I was not the first was cheated, so I was
 “ not the last was undeceived; having long since,
 “ by peeping a little (now and then, as I had
 “ opportunity) under the vizard of the impostor,
 “ got such glimpses, though but imperfect ones,
 “ of his ugly face, concealed under the painted
 “ pretences of sanctity, as made me conclude, that
 “ the series of affairs, and the revolution of a few
 “ years, would convince this blinded generation of
 “ their errors; and make them affrightedly to
 “ start from him, as a prodigious piece of deform-
 “ mity, whom they adored and revered as the
 “ beautiful image of a deity.

“ Nor did this my expectation fail me: God,
 “ who glories in no attribute more than to be
 “ acknowledged the searcher of the inward parts,
 “ could no longer endure the bold affronts of this
 “ audacious hypocrite; but, to the astonishment
 “ and confusion of all his idolatrous worshippers,
 “ has, by the unsearchable wisdom of his deeplaid
 “ counsels, lighted such a candle into the dark
 “ dungeon of his soul, that there is none so blind
 “ who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny,
 “ perfidiousness, dissimulation, atheism, hypo-
 “ crisy, and all manner of villainy, written in large
 “ characters on his heart; nor is there any one
 “ remaining, who dares open his mouth in justifi-
 “ cation of him, for fear of incurring the deserved
 “ character of being a professed advocate for all
 “ wickedness, and a sworn enemy to all virtue.

“ This was no sooner brought forth, but pre-
 “ sently I conceived hopes of being able, in a short
 “ time, to put in practice those thoughts of loyalty
 “ to your majesty, which had long had entertain-
 “ ment in my breast, but till now were forced to
 “ seek concealment under a seeming conformity to
 “ the iniquity of the times. A fit opportunity of
 “ giving birth to these designs was happily admi-
 “ nistered by the following occasion.

“ Great was the rage, and just the indignation
 “ of the people, when they first found the authority
 “ of their parliament swallowed up in the new
 “ name of a protector; greater was their fury, and
 “ upon better grounds, when they observed, that
 “ under the silent, modest, and flattering title of
 “ this protector, was secretly assumed a power
 “ more absolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited,
 “ than ever was pretended to by any king. The
 “ pulpits straightways sound with declamations,
 “ the streets are filled with pasquils and libels,
 “ every one expresses a detestation of this innova-
 “ tion by public invectives, and all the nation,
 “ with one accord, seems at once to be inspired
 “ with one and the same resolution of endeavour-
 “ ing valiantly to redeem that liberty, by arms and
 “ force, which was treacherously stolen from them
 “ by deceit and fraud.

“ When they had for a while exercised them-

“ selves in tumultuary discourses, (the first effects
 “ of popular discontents,) at length they begin to
 “ contrive by what means to free themselves from
 “ the yoke that is upon them. In order hereunto,
 “ several of the chiefest of the malecontents enter
 “ into consultations amongst themselves; to which
 “ they were pleased to invite and admit me. Being
 “ taken into their councils, and made privy to their
 “ debates, I thought it my work to acquaint myself
 “ fully with the tempers, inclinations, dispositions,
 “ and principles of them; which (though all meet-
 “ ing and concentrating in an irreconcilable hatred
 “ and animosity against the usurper) I find so
 “ various in their ends, and so contrary in the
 “ means conducing to those ends, that they do
 “ naturally fall under the distinction of different
 “ parties. Some, drunk with enthusiasms, and
 “ besotted with fanatic notions, do allow of none
 “ to have a share in government besides the
 “ saints; and these are called Christian royalists,
 “ or fifth-monarchy-men. Others violently oppos-
 “ ing this, as destructive to the liberty of the
 “ free-born people, strongly contend to have the
 “ nation governed by a continual succession of
 “ parliaments, consisting of equal representatives;
 “ and these style themselves commonwealth’s-
 “ men. A third party there is, who finding, by
 “ the observation of these times, that parliaments
 “ are better physic than food, seem to incline most
 “ to monarchy, if laid under such restrictions as
 “ might free the people from the fear of tyranny;
 “ and these are contented to suffer under the
 “ opprobrious name of levellers: to these did I
 “ particularly apply myself; and after some few
 “ days’ conference with them in private by them-
 “ selves apart, I was so happy in my endeavours,
 “ as to prevail with some of them to lay aside
 “ those vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather
 “ upon passion than judgment, and return, as their
 “ duty engaged them, to their obedience to your
 “ majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained
 “ as many of the chief of them, whom I knew to
 “ be leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted
 “ with a business of this nature, (the success
 “ whereof does principally depend upon the secret
 “ management of it,) I thought I had nothing
 “ more now to do, but only to confirm and esta-
 “ blish them, as well as I could, in their infant
 “ allegiance, by engaging them so far in an hum-
 “ ble address unto your majesty, that they might
 “ not know how to make either a safe or honour-
 “ able retreat.

“ I must leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy
 “ gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to
 “ make answer to any such objections as may
 “ perhaps be made by your majesty, either as to
 “ the matter or manner of it. This only I would
 “ put your majesty in mind of, that they are but
 “ young proselytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*,
 “ lest, being urged at first too violently, they
 “ should resist the more refractorily.

“ As to the quality of the persons, I cannot say
 “ they are either of great families, or great estates.
 “ But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by
 “ their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the
 “ times, I will not determine, they are such who
 “ may be more serviceable to your majesty in this
 “ conjuncture, than those whose names swell much
 “ bigger than theirs with the addition of great
 “ titles. I durst not undertake to persuade your
 “ majesty to any thing, being ignorant by what

“ maxims your counsels are governed; but this
 “ I shall crave leave to say, that I have often
 “ observed, that a desperate game at chess has
 “ been recovered after the loss of the nobility, only
 “ by playing the pawns well; and that the sub-
 “ scribers may not be of the same use to your
 “ majesty, if well managed, I cannot despair, espe-
 “ cially at such a time as this, when there is scarce
 “ any thing but pawns left upon the board, and
 “ those few others that are left may justly be
 “ complained of in the words of Tacitus, *præsentia*
 “ *et tuta, quam vetera et periculosa, malunt omnes.*

“ I have many things more to offer unto your
 “ majesty, but fearing I have already given too
 “ bold a trouble, I shall defer the mention of them
 “ at present; intending, as soon as I hear how
 “ your majesty resents this overture, to wait upon
 “ your majesty in person, and then to communi-
 “ cate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring within
 “ the narrow compass of an address of this nature.
 “ In the mean time, if our services shall be judged
 “ useful to your majesty, I shall humbly desire
 “ some speedy course may be taken for the ad-
 “ vance of two thousand pound, as well for the
 “ answering the expectation of those whom I have
 “ already engaged, as for the defraying of several
 “ other necessary expenses, which do, and will
 “ every day inevitably come upon us in the prose-
 “ tion of our design.

“ What more is expedient to be done by your
 “ majesty, in order to the encouragement and
 “ satisfaction of those gentlemen who already are,
 “ or hereafter may be, brought over to the assist-
 “ ance of your majesty’s cause and interest, I shall
 “ commit to the care of this honourable person;
 “ who being no stranger to the complexion and
 “ constitution of those with whom I have to deal,
 “ is able sufficiently to inform your majesty by
 “ what ways and means they may be laid under
 “ the strongest obligations to your majesty’s ser-
 “ vice.

“ For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing
 “ more, than only to give your majesty a small
 “ essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to,
 “ your majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of
 “ your majesty, but that you would be pleased to
 “ account me,

“ May it please your majesty, &c.”

The king believed that these distempers might,
 in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and there-
 fore returned the general answer that is mentioned
 before; and, “that he would be willing to confer
 “ with some persons of that party, trusted by the
 “ rest, if they would come over to him;” his ma-
 “ jesty being then at Bruges. Upon which that
 young gentleman came over thither to him, and
 remained some days there concealed. He was a
 person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of
 wit, readiness and volubility of tongue, but an
 anabaptist. He had been bred in the university
 of Cambridge, and afterwards in the inns of court;
 but being too young to have known the religion or
 the government of the precedent time, and his
 father having been engaged from the beginning
 against the king, he had sucked in the opinions
 that were most prevalent, and had been a soldier
 in Cromwell’s life-guard of horse, when he was
 thought to be most resolved to establish a repub-
 lic. But when that mask was pulled off, he de-
 tested him with that rage, that he was of the

combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the king could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiser men had amongst them. He returned into England very well satisfied with the king; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the king without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against Cromwell: for it was manifest they expected a good sum of present money from the king; which could not be in his power to supply.

While these things were transacting, the king found every day, that the Spaniards so much despaired of his cause, that they had no mind to give him any assistance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a country that was so great a scene of war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his majesty sent to don Juan, "that he would accompany him in the field the next campaign, without expecting any ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not answer it to his catholic majesty, if they should permit his majesty, when his two brothers were already in the army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own royal person; which they positively protested against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the king, and being a man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Brussels, and never after returned to Bruges to reside there.

His majesty was no sooner come thither, but don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the level-

lers; and to that purpose prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his majesty willingly consented to, presuming that Sexby might be privy to the address that had been made to him by the same party; which he was not, though they that sent the address well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to trust him to the king, at least not so soon. The man, for an illiterate person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a common soldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of those agitators who were made use of to control the parliament; and had so great an interest in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he frequently admitted those to, whom he employed in any great trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the history of Cromwell's dissimulations, and would describe his artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the army, and wonderfully undervalue the credit and interest of the king's party; and made such demands to the king, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which don Alonzo concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the king would not be advised by him, he sent his friend Sexby into Spain to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the king. And there need not be any other character or description of the stupidity of that Spaniard, than that such a fellow, with the help of an Irish priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his master of ten thousand pistoles; for he received not less than that in Flanders, whatever else he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not use to be of small expense to the Spaniard.

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning men, that the first design the French army would undertake, when they should begin their campaign, must be the siege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: besides, their contract with Cromwell was no secret; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the French would begin the campaign with besieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the marquis de Leyde, governor of Dunkirk, and the best officer they had, in all respects, came to Brussels, having sent several expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his intelligence was infallible, that marshal Turenne was ready to march, and that the French king himself would be in the field to countenance the siege of Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were not supplied with men, ammunition, and victual;" of all which he stood in great need, and of neither of which he could get supply; they telling him, "that he would not be besieged; that they were sure the French meant to attempt Cambray;" which they provided the best they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve him with their army, and fight a battle before he should be in danger." Being able to procure no other answer, he returned, and

came to take his leave of the king as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his majesty of their counsels, and deluding themselves with false intelligence. He said, "he was going to defend a town without men, without ammunition, and without victual, against a very strong and triumphant army; that, if he could have obtained supplies in any reasonable degree, he should have been able to have entertained them some time; but in the condition he was in, he could only lose his life there; which he was resolved to do:" and spoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haste they could to draw their army together, which was very much dispersed, so that, before they were upon their march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impossible to put any succours into the town. Now they found it necessary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the posture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to choose their own ground, upon which they would be found, don Juan, and the marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the army should be ranged; which the prince of Condé dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the marshal Turenne would do in that case; "and that he would still maintain the siege, and give them likewise battle upon the advantage of the ground; whereas, if they would place their army near another part of the line, they should easily have communication with the town, and compel the French to fight with more equal hazards."

It might very reasonably be said of the prince of Condé and marshal Turenne, what a good Roman historian said heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that "*in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis fecere*; they had in the same armies learned that discipline, and those stratagems, which they afterwards practised against each other in enemy armies;" and it was a wonderful and a pleasant thing to see and observe in attacks or in marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, "if we do not make great haste to possess such a pass," (which they never thought of,) "marshal Turenne will take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own troops to possess the place, even when the French were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the Spanish army from many distresses. And marshal Turenne had the same caution, and governed himself according as the prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only considered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable instance two years before, when the Spanish army had besieged Arras, and when the duke of York was present with marshal Turenne.

The Spaniards had made themselves so very strong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the town must be lost if they did not force the line. Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal officers, spent two or three days in viewing the line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the line very frequently, that some of his company were killed within much less than musket shot. In the end, he called some of the principal officers, and said, "he would, that day at noon, assault the line," at a place which he shewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and said, "it was the strongest part of the line; and that they had observed to him, that the whole line on the other side was very much weaker:" to which the marshal replied, "You do not know who keeps that line; we shall do no good there; monsieur le prince never sleeps, and that is his post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the other side;" for he had himself marched in the Spanish army, and very well understood the customs of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, before the soldiers upon the line, or the adjacent guard, would believe that the French were in earnest, and that they would in truth at that time of day assault them; but would think, that they meant only to give them an alarm; which they were never warm in receiving: that when the Spaniards were convinced that the French were in earnest, in which time he should be got near their line, they would send to the count of Fuensaldagna, who at that time of day was usually asleep, and his servants would not be persuaded to waken him in a moment. He would then send for his horse, and ride up to the line; which when he saw, he would with some haste repair to the archduke's tent; who was likewise at his siesto, and when he was awake, they would consult what was to be done; by which time," the marshal said, "they should have done:" and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the prisoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the siege was raised, the Spaniards fled without making any resistance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the prince of Condé was in so good order upon the first alarm, that when he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of safety.

Notwithstanding the advice which the prince of Condé had given, don Juan was positive in his first resolution. The prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The country was most enclosed, so that the horse could not fight but in small bodies. The English foot under Lockhart charged the Spanish foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the Spanish horse doing no better than their foot. Our king's foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the French horse after the Spanish

foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the enclosures, there not being above two hundred taken prisoners. The dukes of York and Gloucester charged several times on horseback; and in the end, having gotten some troops to go with them, charged the English, (whom, though enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well,) and with great difficulty, and some blows of muskets, got safe off. But there was a rumour spread in the French army, that the duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, some men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen resolved to set him at liberty, and rode up to the body of English, and looked upon all their prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; so great an affection that nation owned to have for his highness.

The day being thus lost with a greater rout and confusion than loss of men, don Juan and the marquis of Carracena, who behaved themselves in their own persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the prince of Condé's advice, by which they preserved the best part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the rest when Dunkirk should be taken; which was the present business of marshal Turenne; who found the marquis de Leyde resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the Spanish army was retired into fastness. The marquis de Leyde, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from don Juan, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a party as he could make, he made a desperate sally upon the enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The marquis was a much greater loss than the town; which the master of the field may be always master of in two months' time at most. But in truth the death of the marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the church; to which he was most devoted.

Those in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French king, being by this time come to the camp with the cardinal, entered the town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that king went presently to Calais, and from thence sent the duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the cardinal, to London to visit Cromwell; who likewise sent his son-in-law, the lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that king for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then re-

newed between them, with new obligations "never to make peace without each other's consent."

When don Juan had first removed from Brussels, and the army marched into the field, the king had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in Brussels, whilst all the world was in action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the summer air, and refresh himself during that season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk, and the loss of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochstraten; where there were very good houses, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his court. Thither the king went about the month of August; the village lying upon the skirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or six miles of Breda, sometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the subjects in the States' dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spanish territories are acquainted with. Hochstraten is an open village belonging to the count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleasantly seated, many very good houses, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reason that it is always a horse-quarter in the winter season, who use great license, it is so poor, that those good houses have only walls; so that the people had not furniture to supply those rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the king, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a line that is drawn, (for a man may set one foot in the dominion that is reserved to the king of Spain, and the other in that which is assigned to the Hollander,) the houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good linen, and some plate in every house; the people fat, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the grounds and land fully stocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goshen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompassed by extreme barrenness, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland side, that lie equally open and undefended, can see the Spanish troops exercise all license upon their poor neighbours of Hochstraten; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the least trespass: so strictly the articles of the peace are observed.

Whilst the king spent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the duke of York, who remained still with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as don Juan, and the rest, remained about Farnes and Bruges, sent an express

to the king to let him know, "that the letters "from England, and some passengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his majesty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Brussels, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so wonderful an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

It had been observed in England, that, though from the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the king no good. And when he had discovered the design of Syndercome, who was a very stout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he "should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the guard always with him "day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, those troops Cromwell was most confident of were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigour of it, he

would have confessed many of his confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public justice: nor could he suppress that scandal. Though it did appear upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his guard, his sister came to take her leave of him; and whilst they spake together at the bedside, he rubbed his nose with his hand, of which they then took no notice; and she going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, with some snuffing in his nose, and said, "this was the last "bed he should ever go into;" and seemed to turn to sleep, and never in the whole night made the least noise or motion, save that he sneezed once. When the physicians and surgeons opened his head, they found he had snuffed up through his nostrils some very well prepared poison, that in an instant curdled all his blood in that region, which presently suffocated him. His body was drawn by a horse to the gallows where he should have hanged, and buried under it, with a stake driven through him, as is usual in the case of self-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular discovery which he expected, he made a general discovery by it, that he himself was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the earl of Warwick; with whom he had a fast friendship; though neither their humours nor their natures were like. And the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, died about the same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring his alliance. His domestic delights were lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude, that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration. And though he never made the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

Whatever it was, about the middle of August, he was seized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated: so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he did not think he should die, till even the time that his spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his

"eldest son Richard;" and so expired upon the third day of September, 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for several victories; a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and [the tempest] was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, besides the wrecks all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was known.

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; [whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time:] for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to his designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What Velleius Paterculus said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*: [he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded.] Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those trophies, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to reconcile the affections of the stander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

When he had laid some very extraordinary tax

upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, "as an imposition notoriously against the law, and the propriety of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend." Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of "the old kindness, and friendship, that had been between them; and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth." But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people." When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master." Thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the king's bench, which they then called the upper bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that license; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and magna charta, Cromwell told them, "their magna f—— should not control his actions; which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth." He asked them, "who made them judges? whether they had any authority to sit there, but what he gave them? and if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution, "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster-hall as obedient, and subservient to his commands, as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to contend with his greatness, so towards all who com-

plied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used a wonderful civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman catholics, (nothing being more usual than his saying, "that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome,") that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made." The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into

as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places of the province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the catholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, "that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the subject, till the king's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpellier, to Cromwell to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it despatched;" and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, "that the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with

"the Spaniard; and if he shewed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him an heretic."

He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon any alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "that there might be a general massacre of all the

"royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government," but that Cromwell would never consent to it; it may be, out of too much contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he had all the wickedness against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man.

END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XVI.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never submit to that subordination. Besides the expectation the king had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his son was proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his service, than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness, and all his glory, without that public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new protector: so that the king's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which blasted all their hopes, and confirmed their utmost despair.

It is probable that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last alliance which Oliver had made with the crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the spring to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark; at least to oblige Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance by parliament; and therefore the new protector sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and sent out his writs to call those as peers who had constituted the other house in the former parliament; and so both lords and commons met at the day assigned.

Richard came to the parliament in the same state that Oliver his father had used to do; and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to the commons, that they should attend him in the other house; where, first by himself, and then by the keeper of his great seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the prosecution of the war with Spain, and the assistance of the king of Sweden in the Sound. He had so good fortune at the entrance, that all the commons signed an engagement not to alter the present government. But they were no sooner enclosed within those walls, than there appeared the old republican spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It

begun with inquiring into the accounts, how the money had been spent, and into the offices of excise and customs, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to settle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the state, they would first inform themselves of their own authority, and how far the government was already settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the other house; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the government already established, which they had promised not to alter. Upon this argument they exercised themselves with great license, as well upon the creator of those peers, and the power of the late protector, as upon his creatures the peers; of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were in. They put the house in mind, "how grievous it had been to the kingdom, that the bishops had sat in the house of peers, because they were looked upon as so many votes for the king; which was a reason much stronger against these persons; who were all the work of the protector's own hand, and therefore could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his interest." They concluded, "that they could not, with good consciences, and without the guilt of perjury, ever consent, that that other house should have any part in the government, since they had all taken the engagement, that there should be no more any house of peers, and that the office of protector had been and might still continue without it."

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which disturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the house, "that they would meet, and confer with the other house, as a part of the parliament, during this present parliament; and likewise, that such other persons, as had a right to come to that other house, and had not forfeited it by their breach of trust," (by which they meant those lords who had been always against the king,) "should not be restrained from coming thither:" yet the temper of the house of commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condescension to the royal party; but more for the countenance of the presbyterians; and whatsoever contradicted those who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the protector.

The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army. A new council of officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to sit with them; they neither liked protector nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. They therefore prepared an address to him; in which they complained of "the great arrears of pay that were due to the army, by which they were in great straits: that they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aside: that the good old cause was ill spoken of, and traduced by malignants and disaffected

"persons; who grew every day more insolent, and their numbers increased, by the resort out of Flanders, and other places; and they had several secret meetings in the city of London: that the names of all those who had sat upon the late king as his judges, were lately printed in red letters, and scattered abroad, as if they were designed to destruction; and that many suits were commenced at common law against honest men, for what they had transacted in the war as soldiers: that those famous acts which had been performed in the long parliament, and by the late protector, were censured, railed at, and vilified. By all which," they said, "it was very manifest, that the good old cause was declined; which they were resolved to assert. And therefore they besought his highness to represent those their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies."

This address was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no sooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewise a remonstrance, and sent it to the council of officers; in which they declared their resolutions with the army to stick to the good old cause, and that they were resolved to accompany them, in whatsoever they should do for the nation's good.

The parliament was quickly alarmed with these cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the suppression thereof, the parliament voted, "that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's consent, and by his order: and, that no person should have commands by sea or land, in either of the three nations, who did not immediately subscribe, that he would not disturb the free meeting of parliaments, or of any members in either house of parliament; nor obstruct their freedom in debates and counsels." These votes, or to this effect, were sent to Richard, and by him presently to Wallingford-house, where the council of officers then sat.

These officers were men who resolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no sooner received these votes, but they sent Fleetwood and Desborough to Richard (the first had married his sister; the other was his uncle: both raised by Cromwell) to advise him forthwith to dissolve the parliament. They were two upon whose affection, in regard of the nearness of their alliance, and their obligation to and dependence upon his father, he had as much reason to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood used no arguments but of conscience, "to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; which," he said, "would inevitably fall out, if the parliament were not presently dissolved." Desborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impossible for him to keep both the parliament and the army his friends;" wished him "to choose which he would prefer: if he dissolved the parliament out of hand, he had the army at his devotion; if he refused that, he believed the army would quickly pull him out of Whitehall."

The poor man had not spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without friends to counsel him, if he had been capable to receive counsel. Besides many members of the parliament, of courage and interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the ringleaders of this seditious crew, if he would adhere to the parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a friend; and they who had compelled him to do so imprudent an action would condemn him when he had done it;" some officers of the army likewise, of equal courage and interest with any of the rest, persuaded him "to reject the desire of those who called themselves the council of the army, and to think of punishing their presumption." Ingoldsby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and, the two former, men of signal courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conspiracy,) if he would give him a warrant to that purpose.

Richard continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Desborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his keeper of the seal, to dissolve the parliament the next morning; of which the parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes sent for them to the other house, the commons shut the door of their house, and would not suffer the gentleman usher of the black rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they should by that time convert the protector from destroying himself. But the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the council of officers appointing guards to attend at Westminster, which kept out those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the house upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness and power, which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

When the council of officers had, with this strange success, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a superior; or, as the phrase then was, removed the *single person*; they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove Ingoldsby, Whaley, Goffe, and those other officers, who had dissuaded Richard from submitting to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the rest who had been cashiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wish; and, that the government might return to be purely such, they published a declaration upon the sixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cause, and excusing themselves, "for having been

"instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the commonwealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future;" they remembered, "that the long parliament, consisting of those members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the assistance of these very officers, had pulled them out of the house, and dismissed them,) "had been eminent assertors of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work." They said, "that the desires of many good people concurring with them, they did, by that declaration, according to their duty, invite those members to return to the discharge of their trust, as they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity."

This [restoring the rump parliament] was the only way in which they could all agree, though it was not suitable to what most of them desired: they well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving members of that parliament would pretend a title to sit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to such members who had continued to sit from January 1648 to April 1653, but caused a guard likewise to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the house. When Lenthal, the old speaker, with forty or fifty of those old members specified in the declaration, took their places in the house, and some of the old excluded members likewise got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters proposed, the house was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such persons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the house. By this means that cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the commonwealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into these men's hands again, seemed to all to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the king by the roots; and it did for the present make so deep an impression in the hearts of many, that when an overture was at that time made from Spain to make the duke of York admiral of his galleys, which the king for many reasons suspended giving his consent unto, the chief servants about his royal highness were so transported with the proposition, that they were very much troubled that their master made not all the haste that was possible to be possessed of the charge; and endeavoured all they could to persuade the duke, that they who prevailed with the king not to give his consent were his enemies, and would not have him to be in a condition in which he might be able to live like a prince. And when in discourse they were desired to consider, that if the duke went into Spain, he could not be permitted to enter into that charge, what title soever he might have given to him, unless he changed his religion and became catholic; and what the

consequence of that might be in England, they were so far from being moved with the argument, and in that despair of ever seeing England, that they thought the religion of it not worth the insisting on.

We must, for the better observation and distinction of the several changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repossessed of the government, by the style they called themselves, the parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate and establish their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a protector, or the name of a protector, in being, and residing in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope they would be his good masters, first to inquire into the state of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquiesced in the present government? He, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish, gave the committee a paper, "in which," he said, "was contained the state of his debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other question, his answer was likewise in writing; "that he trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his acquiescence in the will and good pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the peace of the commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect protection from the present government, so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had interest should do the same."

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the jolliness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though [it

happened] long afterwards; because there will not be again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the king's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the king; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumour and apprehension that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he passed through Pezenas, a very pleasant town belonging to the prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then governor of Languedoc, made his residence in it.

In this place Richard made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all strangers who came to that town used to wait upon the prince of Conti, the governor of the province; who expected it, and always treated strangers, and particularly the English, with much civility: that he need not be known, but that he himself would first go to the prince and inform him, that another English gentleman was passing through that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have the honour to kiss his hands." The prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the affairs of England, and asked many questions concerning the king, and whether all men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," said the prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command: but that Richard, that coxcomb, *coquin*, *poltron*, was surely the basest fellow alive. What is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be such a sot?" He answered, "that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father;" so being weary of his visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the king's restoration.

Monk from Scotland presented his obedience to the parliament, and the assurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the sovereign power, and tendered their submission. The ambassadors who were in the town

quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the professions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. The parliament continued Lockhart as their ambassador in France, as a man who could best cajole the cardinal, and knew well the bowels of that court. They sent ambassadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between those two crowns, being resolved to decline all occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their honour. That they might thoroughly unite their friends of the army to them, they passed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former transgressions and tergiversations, which had been the cause of the parliament's former dissolution, and of all the mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well settled, to the general content of the people, who testified the same by their general acclamations, and likewise by particular addresses. And, that they might be sure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a general, which might again introduce a single person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make that impossible, they appointed "the speaker to execute the office of general, in such manner as they should direct; and that all commissions should be granted by him, and sealed with their own seal;" all the seals used by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the speaker was admiral as well as general) delivered up their commissions, and took new ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their empire could be shaken.

But these men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the king's party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in power and authority. And though the smart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards them, that they might with less control exercise their tyranny over the poor broken cavaliers. So they made a present order, "to banish all who had ever manifested any affection to the king, or his father, twenty miles from London;" and revived all those orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many persons were committed to prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another classis, to apprehensions of what they might be made liable to. The soldiers were very merry at their new general, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deserved more than an act of indemnity, for restoring them to such a sovereignty. In a word, as the parliament remembered how they had been used, so all other people remembered how they had used them, and could

not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

This universal temper raised the spirits again of the king's friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the parliament, and been afterwards disobliged by Cromwell, very desirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the king's reestablishment. Those members of the long parliament, who, after the treaty of the Isle of Wight, were by violence kept from the house, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the said violence was practised afterwards, which they had first countenanced upon them, should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther to suppress it, than Lenthal should lead them."

Mr. Mordaunt, who had so lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was so well trusted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in most quarters of the kingdom, "that if the king would assign them a day, and promise to come to them after they were embodied, they would not fail to appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. Mordaunt ventured himself to come in disguise to the king to Brussels, to give him a clear account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the king most relied, to encourage other men, and to desire that his majesty would, by him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formal undertaking by the most powerful men of that country, to possess themselves of some considerable place in that county; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the king to venture his own person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the government, to be settled in it.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in respect of the situation, and likewise of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the lord Willoughby of Parham, with the consent and approbation of sir Horatio Townsend: who, being a gentleman of the greatest interest and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to possess it. The former had served the parliament, and was in great credit with the presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the king's friends in those parts were ready to obey those persons in whatsoever they undertook.

Another design, which was looked upon as ripe

too, was the surprisal of Gloucester, a town very advantageously situated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Bristol and Worcester; both which, persons of the best interest undertook to secure, as soon as Gloucester should be possessed; which major general Massey, who had been formerly governor thereof, and defended it too well against the king, made no question he should be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he sent the king an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garrison in either of the places.

The lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropshire, were ready at the same time to secure Shrewsbury; and, for the making that communication perfect, sir George Booth, a person of one of the best fortunes and interest in Cheshire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of absolute power with the presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the city and castle of Chester. And sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewise served the parliament, and was one of the best fortune and interest in North Wales, was ready to join with sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the king's party in those parts. In the west, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, and the rest in Cornwall and Devonshire, hoped to possess Plymouth, but were sure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the north, by men very ready to venture all they had.

When the king received this account in gross from a person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the persons concerned, (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present government, that messengers went forward and backward with all security,) and likewise found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though any discovery should be made, and any persons imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the king," his majesty resolved that he would adventure his own person, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon such a day of the month; and that his brother the duke of York should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There was in this conjuncture a very unhappy accident, which did do much harm, and might have done much more. From the death of Oliver, some of those who were in the secretest part of his affairs discerned evidently, that their new protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the king, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of secrecy, [Mr. Moreland,] sent an express to the king, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him some advices, what his majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He

made offer of his service to his majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity and his usefulness, he advertised the king of a person who was much trusted by his majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large pension from Cromwell, and that he continually gave Thurlow intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was with so great circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that in his contract he had promised to make such discoveries, as should prevent any danger to the state; but that he would never endanger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evidence against any: and that this very person had discovered the marquis of Ormond's being in London the last year, to Cromwell; but could not be induced to discover where his lodging was; only undertook his journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they might take him if they could; to which he would not contribute." To conclude, his majesty was desired to trust this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The king, and they who were most trusted by him in his secret transactions, believed not this information: but concluded that it was contrived to amuse him, and to distract all his affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accused [was sir Richard Willis; who] had from the beginning to the end of the war, given testimony of his duty and allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the king had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations and advices, that were sent by the person [who accused him], were very important, and could have no end but his majesty's service; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting money; for the present condition of him who sent it was so good, that he expected no reward, till the king should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the errand was likewise a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that person had been trusted by the marquis of Ormond, if he had not discovered it himself?

In this perplexity, his majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the infidelity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his trust from him, but the evidence of his handwriting; which

"was well known." This messenger no sooner returned to London, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were sent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of such things as were known to very few besides that person himself.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he never communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the king's party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the presbyterian party, or by any who had been against the king, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of Massey's design upon Gloucester, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the king's party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy or treachery in the king's councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the person of the king.

It was a new perplexity to the king, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his majesty of that service, which must be of huge moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Brussels, and informed his majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one,) "who," he said, "were principally trusted by his majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that others were much discouraged by their coldness;" and therefore wished, "that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward." Hereupon the king asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming the person: Mr. Mordaunt answered, "it was of him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and discreet man; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him." The king asked him, "whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty?" The other answered, "that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes and contradictions frequently between them, he would put his life into his hand to-morrow."

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man; and therefore his majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the king

charged him "no farther to communicate with that person, and to give his friends such caution, as might not give a greater disturbance to his affairs, by raising new factions amongst them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which it was in his power to do." But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the person who gave the king the advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused papers to be posted up in several places, by which all persons were warned not to look upon such a man (who was named) as faithful to the king, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Brussels, with a resolution that there should be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the king, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being commissions in every county directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces, who had a superior commission from the king. And those commissioners had in their hands plenty of commissions under the king's hand, for regiments and governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a state of affairs, could be devised.

The king, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at Calais; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at Brussels, that his majesty had left the town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the king went out in the morning, so the duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his highness's motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his command in the army. The king went attended by the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Bristol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both sides,) and two or three servants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and so they found their way to Calais; where they stayed. The duke of York, with four or five of his own menial servants, and the lord Langdale, who desired to attend his highness, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The affairs in England had no prosperous aspect; every post brought news of many persons of honour and quality committed to several prisons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual weather at that season of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an excessive rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had seldom so great a storm: so that the persons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross

accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

In the beginning of the night, when Massey was going for Gloucester, a troop of the army beset the house where he was, and took him prisoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the troop marching down a very steep hill, with woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the soldier, who was upon the same horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and, being strong and nimble, got into the woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded; which was that undertaken by sir George Booth; all the rest failed. The lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Horatio Townsend, and most of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as men able to do hurt. Only sir George Booth, being a person of the best quality and fortune of that county, of those who had never been of the king's party, came into Chester, with such persons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the night, and the next morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet sir George being himself there with a good troop of horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into Chester, where his party was strong enough: and sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their declaration, rather against those who called themselves the parliament, and usurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the king's interest; and desiring well affected men of all conditions, especially the city of London, to join with them, in order to the calling a free parliament, for settling the government of the nation in church and state, to the determinations whereof they would willingly submit, and lay down their arms, with those expressions, which they knew would be most acceptable to the presbyterians; but giving all countenance and reception, and all imaginable assurance to the king's party, who had all direction from the king to concur and to unite themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other places, the fame of this action of these two gentlemen raised the spirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former designs; and they who could not promise themselves places of refuge prepared themselves to march to Chester, if sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been

observed. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of persons imprisoned, upon whose assistance he most depended, he was in great apprehension that he had begun the work too soon; and though his numbers increased every day, he thought it best to keep the post he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather trust than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: so they made choice of him to march with such troops as he liked, and with the greatest expedition, to suppress this new rebellion, which they saw had many friends. They had formerly sent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican interest, and those they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his credit with the soldiers, who had loved to be under his command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that sir George Booth found he was within less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir George himself had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were desirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle,) and instead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended against a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a short encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: so that, the next day, the gates of Chester were opened to Lambert; sir George Booth himself making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken upon the way, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

Lambert prosecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a strong castle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpose for one man to oppose the whole kingdom, where all other persons appeared subdued. And therefore, after a day or two making show of resistance, Middleton accepted such conditions as he could obtain, and suffered his goodly house, for the strength of the situation, to be pulled down.

This success put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all persons prisoners whose looks they did not like; so that all prisons in England were filled; whilst the parliament, exalted with their conquest, consulted what persons they would execute, and how they should confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they made no doubt they should destroy all seeds of future insurrections on the

behalf of the king, most of the nobility being at present in custody. And they resolved, if other evidence was wanting, that their suspicion should be their conviction.

When the king came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was transacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the imprisonment of his friends, so he was revived with the fame of sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of troops in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, stood fair; whereupon the king resolved to go himself to some other part of France, from whence he might securely transport himself into those parts of England, from whence, with least hazard, he might join himself with the troops which were in arms for him, and so went to the coast of Bretagne.

The duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect some appearance of arms in Kent and Essex; which was still promised, as soon as the army should be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his royal highness found an opportunity to confer with his old friend marshal Turenne; who very frankly assigned him some troops; and likewise provided vessels to transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterprise; and this with so much generosity and secrecy, that the cardinal should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his highness was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the king, after his visiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle, in hope to find a convenience for his transportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of sir George Booth, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

Struck with this dismal relation, they had nothing to do but to make what haste they could back to Brussels, and were obliged to use more than ordinary caution to get themselves out of France again, where they could not be found with safety. The duke of York, being much nearer, came thither first; and shortly after the king returned, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himself to the borders of Spain, to solicit more powerful supplies; the two chief ministers of the two crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at Brussels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into so many factions amongst themselves, that the government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the marquis of Carracena and don Alonzo had such an influence upon the counsels at Madrid, that don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the marquis of Carracena; which don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a pass to go through France, he left those provinces,

and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a person of a small stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a Spanish breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his music, he was capable of any great employment, and would have discharged it well.

At this time an accident happened, that, as it was new, administered new hopes to raise the king's spirits; and for men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two crowns of France and Spain, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of right and justice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the crowns, (besides the natural animosity, which will always be between the two nations,) who would try the mastery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their masters' treasure, and the blood of their subjects, against all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war prosecuted only for war's sake, with all the circumstances of fire, sword, and rapine, to the consumption of millions of treasure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honest men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous, that this seemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and sister against each other, (for half the time had been spent in the regency of the queen of France,) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happiness, as the best brother and sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel war, which the queen mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young king being of years ripe to marry, and the infanta of Spain being in that and all other respects the most competent match for him, which would be the best, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her majesty resolved to employ all her interest and authority to bring it to pass; and knowing well, all her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the cardinal, she proposed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment such a subject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices she had performed towards him, that he would not only consent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into such a way of negotiation, that it might arrive at the issue she desired."

The cardinal used all the arguments he could, to dissuade her majesty from desiring it at this time; "that it would not be for her majesty's service; nor was he able to bear the reproach, of being the instrument of making a peace, at a time when Spain was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer resist the victorious arms of France; that they could not fail the next summer of being possessed of Brussels itself, and then they should not be long without the rest of the Spanish Netherlands; and therefore,

"at this time, to propose a peace, which must disappoint them of so sure a conquest, would not only be very ingrateful to the army, but incense all good Frenchmen against him, and against her majesty herself."

The queen was not diverted from her purpose by those arguments; but proposed it to the king, and prosecuted it with the cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to choose; and thereupon he yielded; and don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and monsieur de Lyonne from France, so negociated this last winter in both courts, both *incognito*, making several journies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was published, there would be a treaty between the two crowns, and that, in the beginning of the summer of this year 1659, the two favourites, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace and the marriage. And the marshal de Grammont was sent from the king to demand the infanta, who, when he came to Alcovendas, a place within two leagues of Madrid, left his train there, and rode as by post only, with a valet de chambre, and alighted at the palace, and went presently up to the king to demand the infanta; and so returned to Alcovendas, and afterwards made his entry as ambassador.

The cardinal was the sooner induced to this peace by the unsettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the succession of Richard, under the advice of the same persons who were trusted by his father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances, broke all his measures. He could not forget that the parliament, that now governed, were the very same men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spanish side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but have relieved Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well, that Spain did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe, that the parliament would affect the continuance of that war, at so vast a charge both at sea and land; but that they would rather foment the divisions in France, and endeavour to unite the prince of Condé and the Hugonots; which would make a concussion in that kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the English. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the queen, he should best provide for the security of France, and of himself, by making a peace with Spain.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambassador now of the republic,) "that he would never make a peace without the consent and inclusion of England;" and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the parlia-

ment, that he might be at the treaty with him, that so they might still consult what would be best for their joint interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half sentences, "that though the treaty was necessary to satisfy the queen, there were so many difficulties in view, that he had little hope of a peace:" and, in truth, many sober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace; for, besides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conquest, (the usual effect of peace being a restitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit,) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reserved for the treaty of the two favourites; both sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

The two particulars were those concerning Portugal, and the prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to desert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that king should quietly enjoy his government to him and his posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and disclaimed by France.

On the other hand, the prince of Condé had the king of Spain's word and obligation, by the most solemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full restitution to their honours, offices, and estates, but with some farther recompense for the great service he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the cardinal would ever consent to the restoration of that prince, who had wrought him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink of destruction. With these ill presages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites should meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spanish dominions, very near the borders of France, the same place where Francis the First was delivered, after his long imprisonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his master's dominions.

The fame of this treaty had yielded variety, and new matter to the king to consider. Both crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reason, why they did not give him that assistance, which, in a case so nearly relating to themselves, he might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release

them from that war, they would manifest to the world, that they took the king's case to be their own: so that his majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an ambassador, that his majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a letter from sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that he speaking with don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia, and asking him whether he would give him leave to wait on him thither, don Lewis answered, that he should do well to be present; and then asked him, why the king himself would not be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if the king, with a very light train, came *incognito* thither, for the place could not permit them to receive him in state, after the great difficulties of the treaty were over, he would do all he could to induce the cardinal to concur in what might be of convenience to his majesty." The king had before resolved to have a very little train with him, suitable to the treasure he had to defray his expenses, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was necessarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the nature and kindness of the cardinal, than from the sincerity of don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his majesty had written to the queen his mother, to entreat her, "as of herself, to desire the cardinal's advice, whether it would not be fit for the king to be present at the treaty; that she might send his majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose such passes, as should seem reasonable to her." Her majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the question of the cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "that it was by no means fit; and that it would do the king much harm;" and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the queen "to let the king know, that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, as soon as he discerned that the treaty would produce a peace." Her majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the king word, how kind the cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his majesty should think of undertaking such a journey himself; nor did the queen imagine that the king would ever think of it without a pass, and the cardinal's approbation.

When his majesty had received this account from his mother, he saw it was to no purpose to

think of a pass. Nor would he depart from his former resolution; and when he was fully advertised that the favourites were met, and computed that they were well entered upon their treaty, in the very entrance into which they concluded a cessation of arms, so that all was quiet in Flanders in the month of July, the king, attended only by the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three other servants, together with the earl of Bristol, (though sir Harry Bennet had before informed the king, that don Lewis de Haro had particularly desired he would not bring that earl with him; whose company yet, in respect of his language, the king believed would be very convenient to him,) his majesty left Brussels *incognito*, being in truth not known there to be gone till many days after. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of those roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the more time, that he might in his compass see those parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure and divertisement, that such a journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the earl of Bristol to be the guide; who knew most of France, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progress in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near Toulouse, they found that the French court was there, which they were obliged to decline. However the king, going himself a nearer way, sent the marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himself of the true state of the treaty, and to meet his majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The marquis went alone without a servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to Toulouse, he was informed from the common discourse of the court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both parties equally desiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The cardinal, who had much the advantage over don Lewis in all the faculties necessary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the arts imaginable to induce don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal, and what related to the prince of Condé, and his party. He enlarged upon "the desperate estate in which Flanders was; and that they could possess themselves entirely of it in one campaign; and therefore it might easily be concluded, that nothing but the queen's absolute authority could in such a conjuncture have disposed the king to a treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill requited, as to be obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the king her

“son to consent to what was indispensably
 “against his honour: that if he should recede
 “from the interest of Portugal, no prince or
 “state would hereafter enter into alliance with
 “him: that though they were bound to insist to
 “have Portugal included in the peace, yet he
 “would be contented that a long truce might be
 “made, and all acts of hostility forborne for a
 “good number of years, which, he said, was ne-
 “cessary for Spain, that they might recover the
 “fatigue of the long war they had sustained, be-
 “fore they entered into a new one: if they would
 “not consent to that, then that Portugal should
 “be left out of the peace, and Spain at liberty to
 “prosecute the war, and France at the same time
 “to assist Portugal, which, he said, in respect of
 “the distance, they should never be able to ad-
 “minister in such a proportion as would be able to
 “preserve it from their conquest;” not without
 “insinuation, “that, so they might not renounce
 “the promise they had made, they would not be
 “over solicitous to perform it. As to the prince
 “of Condé, that the catholic king was now to
 “look upon France as the dominion of his son in
 “law, and to be inherited by his grandson, and
 “therefore he would consider what peril it might
 “bring to both, if the prince of Condé were re-
 “stored to his greatness in that kingdom, who
 “only could disturb the peace of it, and whose
 “ambition was so restless, that they could no
 “longer enjoy peace, than whilst he was not in a
 “condition to interrupt it.” The cardinal told
 “him, in confidence, of several indignities offered
 “by the prince of Condé to the person of the
 “queen, of which her brother ought to be very
 “sensible, and which would absolve him from any
 “engagement he had entered into with that prince;
 “which he would never have done, if his majesty
 “had been fully informed of those rude transgres-
 “sions. And therefore he besought don Lewis,
 “that the joy and triumph, which the king and
 “the queen would be possessed of by this peace
 “and marriage, might not be clouded, and even
 “rendered disconsolate, by their being bound to
 “behold a man in their presence, who had so
 “often, and with so much damage and disdain,
 “affronted them both; but that the peace of
 “France might be secured by that prince’s being
 “for ever restrained from living in it; which
 “being provided for, whatsoever his catholic ma-
 “jesty should require in ready money, or pen-
 “sions, to enable the prince to live in his just
 “splendour abroad, should be consented to.”

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great tem-
 per, of a sallow complexion, hypochondriac, and
 never weary of hearing; thought well of what he
 was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made
 up in wariness, and though he might omit the
 saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say,
 he never said any thing of which he had occasion
 to repent. He had a good judgment and under-
 standing, and as he was without any talent of
 rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself
 from it. He told the cardinal, “that he knew
 “well his master’s affairs needed a peace with
 “France; and that the accomplishing this mar-
 “riage was the only way to attain it: that the
 “marriage was the best and the most honourable
 “in Christendom, and ought to be equally de-
 “sired on both sides; that his catholic majesty
 “was sensible of his own age, and the infirmities

“which attended it; and desired nothing more
 “than that, before his death, he might see this
 “peace and this marriage finished, and made per-
 “fect; and that he was well content to purchase
 “the former at any price, but of his honour;
 “which was the only thing he preferred even be-
 “fore peace: that for Portugal, the groundless
 “rebellion there was so well known to all the
 “world, that he should not go to his grave in
 “peace, if he should do any thing which might
 “look like a countenance, or concession to that
 “title, that was only founded upon treason and
 “rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any
 “thing that might, with God’s blessing, of which
 “he could not doubt, reduce that kingdom to
 “their duty, and his obedience: that his resolu-
 “tion was, as soon as this peace should be con-
 “cluded, to apply all the force and all the trea-
 “sure of his dominions, to the invasion of Por-
 “tugal; which, he hoped, would be sufficient
 “speedily to subdue it; and was a great part of
 “the fruit he promised himself from this peace;
 “and therefore he would never permit any thing
 “to be concluded in it, that might leave France
 “at liberty to assist that war: that the catholic
 “king had done all he could, both by don Anto-
 “nio Pimentel and monsieur de Lyonne, that his
 “most Christian majesty might know his unal-
 “terable resolution in the point of Portugal, and
 “with reference to the prince of Condé, before he
 “consented to treat; and that he would never
 “depart from what he had declared in either:
 “that he had made a treaty with the prince of
 “Condé; by which he had engaged himself
 “never to desert his interest, nor to make a
 “peace without providing for his full restitution
 “and reparation, and of those who had run his
 “fortune, and put themselves under his protec-
 “tion: that the prince had performed all he had
 “undertaken to do, and had rendered very great
 “service to his catholic majesty; who would not
 “only rather lose Flanders, but his crown like-
 “wise, than fail in any particular which he was
 “bound to make good to the prince:” and there-
 “fore he desired the cardinal “to acquiesce in both
 “these particulars, from which he should not
 “recede in a tittle; in others, he would not have
 “the same obstinacy.”

When the cardinal found that all his art and
 eloquence were lost upon don Lewis’s want of
 politeness; and that he could not bend him in
 the least degree in either of these important par-
 ticulars, he resolved they should pay otherwise
 for their idol honour and punctuality; and after
 he had brought him to consent to the detention
 of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxem-
 bourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by
 which they dismembered all the Spanish domi-
 nions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer
 neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other de-
 sired they should be, he compelled them, though
 a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the
 town of Juliers to the duke of Newburgh, with-
 out the payment of any money for what they had
 laid out upon the fortifications; which they could
 otherwise claim. It is very true, that town did
 belong of right to the duke of Newburgh, as part
 of the duchy of Juliers, which was descended to
 him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by
 Spain, from being possessed by the Hollanders
 many years before, and by treaty to remain in

their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their disbursements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that prince fast to all the Spanish interest in Germany: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the duke of Newburgh to France, and so a new friend to strengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by stopping the resort of any German succours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French shall purchase Juliers from the duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous post to facilitate their enterprises upon Liege, or Cologne, or to disturb the Hollanders in Maestricht, or to seize upon Aquisgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to disturb the peace of Christendom.

For Portugal, it was agreed that there should not be any mention of it in the whole treaty, which the French ingenuity thought could never be called renouncing it; though there were other articles so binding, that they could not only not send them any relief or assistance, but that restrained them from sending any ambassador to them, or receiving one from them.

To the prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompense made to such of his party as could not be restored to their offices; as president Viole, and some others: yet don Lewis would not sign the treaty, till he had sent an express to the prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the king of Spain caused a great sum of money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be disbanded; a method France did not use at the same time to their proselytes, but left Catalonia to their king's chastisement, without any provision made for don Josepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engrossments preparing, the cardinal came one morning into don Lewis's chamber with a sad countenance; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the peace could not be concluded." At which don Lewis, in much disturbance, asked "what the matter was?" The cardinal very composedly answered, "that it must not be; that they two were too good catholics to do any thing against the pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this peace; since his holiness had declared, that there would be no peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two favourites were

to meet, of which he had no notice, he said in the consistory, "that he was sure that cardinal Mazarine would not make a peace." Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the company made themselves merry at the pope's charge.

When the marquis of Ormond discovered by the information he received at Toulouse, that the treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the king had appointed to meet at, that his majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the usual delays in their journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the king. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the king neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. Don Lewis seemed troubled, that the king had not come thither, whilst the cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the cardinal remained still at his old quarters on the French side, under some indisposition of the gout, yet he and don Lewis were to meet no more. But don Lewis was the less troubled that the king had not come sooner, because he had found the cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the king, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the parliament, and seemed to think his majesty's hopes desperate; and advised don Lewis "to be wary how he embarked himself in an affair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time for all catholics to unite to the breaking the power and interest of the heretical party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the king, except he would become catholic." And it is believed by wise men, that, in that treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the protestant interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in France and Germany, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken.

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently consulted with the cardinal, and was by him brought to don Lewis twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were settled between Spain and England. But the cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by some of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the king's hands,) and to the last he was persuaded, that England should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

The king, the next day after he had sent the marquis of Ormond to Toulouse, received information upon the way, that the treaty was absolutely ended, and that don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was easily persuaded by the earl of Bristol to take the nearest way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as soon

as they could; presuming that the marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his majesty. With this resolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragossa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertisement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that don Lewis remained still at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the king, and the earl of Bristol, who had still a mind to Madrid, should stay at Saragossa, whilst O'Neile should go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

Don Lewis and the marquis of Ormond were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill accident had befallen the king, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and misintelligence the king had resolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragossa; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the earl of Bristol's; that he held some intelligence with don Juan, and intended to carry the king to Madrid, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his privity. They were now to save and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expenses which must be shortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the infanta, and all this must be spent upon the king of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a king *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried king must be received, and caressed in that court; which would occasion much discourse both in Spain and France. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the marquis of Ormond and sir Harry Bennet; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, and without any purpose to decline him, upon whose friendship alone the king absolutely depended;" and undertook positively, "that as soon as his majesty should be informed of his advice, he would make all the haste thither he could, without thought of doing any thing else:" which don Lewis desired might be effected as soon as was possible: so O'Neile returned to Saragossa, and his majesty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could use.

The king was received according to the Spanish mode and generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be shewed to his catholic majesty himself, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be said from the king, his master; "how much he was troubled, that the condition of his affairs, and the necessity that was upon him to make shortly a long journey, would not permit him to invite his majesty to Madrid, and to treat him in that manner that was suitable to his grandeur: that having happily concluded the peace, he had now nothing so much in his thoughts, as how he might be able to give or procure such assistance as his majesty stood in need of; and that he should never be destitute of any thing, that his power and interest could

"help him to." Don Lewis for himself made all those professions which could possibly be expected from him. He confessed, "that there was no provision made in the treaty that the two crowns would jointly assist his majesty; but, that he believed the cardinal would be ready to perform all good offices towards him; and that, for his own particular, his majesty should receive good testimony of the profound veneration he had for him."

Don Lewis intimated a wish, that his majesty could yet have some conference with the cardinal; who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon the king sent the marquis of Ormond to visit him, and to let him know, that his majesty had a desire to come to him, that he might have some conference with him, and receive his counsel and advice. But the cardinal would by no means admit it; said, "it would administer unseasonable jealousy to the parliament, without any manner of benefit to the king." He made many large professions, which he could do well, of his affection to the king; desired, "he would have patience till the marriage should be over, which would be in the next spring; and till then their majesties must remain in those parts: but, as soon as that should be despatched, the whole court would return to Paris; and that he would not be long there, before he gave the king some evidence of his kindness and respect." Other answer than this the marquis could not obtain.

After his majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the king of Spain could take any resolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his majesty,) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the earl of Bristol, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he should be received into the service of his catholic majesty, in such a province as should be worthy of him. So that his majesty had now a less train to return with, the marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three servants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuses that their expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their money, presented his majesty with seven thousand gold pistoles, "to defray," as he said, "the expenses of his journey," with assurance, "that when, he came into Flanders, he should find all necessary orders for his better accommodation, and carrying on his business." So his majesty begun his journey, and took Paris in his way to visit the queen his mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes: and, towards the end of December, he returned to Brussels in good health; where he found his two brothers, the dukes of York and Gloucester, impatiently expecting him.

The pleasure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from don Lewis, with the good disposition he had left the queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the king's spirit, and the joy for his return dispersed the present clouds. But he had not been long at Brussels, before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the countenances of most men, which he had left there; and though there had some changes happened in England, which might reasonably encourage men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

It was a great blessing of God that this melancholic conjuncture happened in the winter, that men could not execute all the thoughts and purposes the unhappy state of affairs suggested to them. The king could not make his journey through Germany till the spring, and in the meantime men thought of providing a religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those people and places, where and with whom they were like to reside. The protestant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the king's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the king, that his restoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of catholic princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of catholic religion.

The best the king could now look for seemed to be a permission to remain in Flanders, with a narrow assignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a king; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended conquest of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the dukes of York and Gloucester could no longer remain in an unactive course of life; and the duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the king. And therefore, when the marquis of Carracena at this time brought the duke of York a letter from the king of Spain, that he would make him *el admirante del oceano*, his highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a preferment, that the duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what conditions he should be subject to, and what he might expect from it: that the command had been in a younger son of the duke of Savoy, and at another time in a younger son of the duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of it; for whatever title they had, the whole command

"was in the Spanish officers under them; and that, if the duke were there, he might possibly have a competent pension to live on shore, but would never be suffered to go to sea under any title of command, till he first changed his religion;" all this had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his royal highness, to return his consent, and acceptance of the office, by the same courier who brought the letter.

The marquis of Carracena likewise told the king, "that he had received orders to put all things in a readiness for his expedition into England, towards which he would add three thousand men to those troops which his majesty already had." At the same time the lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the king from Paris, with many compliments from the cardinal, "that when there should be a peace between the northern kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) "France would declare avowedly for the king; but in the mean time they could only assist him underhand; and to that purpose they had appointed three thousand men to be ready on the borders of France, to be transported out of Flanders, and thirty thousand pistoles to be disposed of by the king to advance that expedition." Sir Harry Bennet had sent from Madrid a copy of the Spanish orders to the marquis of Carracena; by which he was not (as he had told the king) to add three thousand men to the king's troops, but to make those which his majesty had amount to the number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the king must be obliged to embark them in France. The men the cardinal would provide must be embarked in Flanders; and they who were to be supplied by Spain must be embarked in France. So that, by these two specious pretences and proffers, the king could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new form their counsels. And the lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had so little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the duke of York should embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the queen would give her consent.

In this state of despair the king's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old style, 1659: and though his majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in England; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the king thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to cast about for themselves, till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious act of providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any nation, since he led his own chosen people through the Red sea.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the king's hopes so totally destroyed, the parliament thought of transporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by

degrees, so to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent Lambert a thousand pounds to buy him a jewel ; which he employed better by bestowing it among the officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the parliament ; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that should more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour ; and that it was by his advice, that they were first dissolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell protector, upon his promise that he should succeed him ; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the town.

Lambert, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march, (as if all were not safe,) to seize upon the persons of delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to disband their army, except only some few regiments, which should consist only of persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what his portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was signed by the inferior officers of his army ; in which they desired the parliament, "that they might be governed, as all armies used to be, by a general, who might be amongst them, and other officers, according to their qualities, subordinate to him." The address was entitled, *The humble petition and proposals of the army, under the command of the lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

They made a large recapitulation of "the many services they had done, which they thought were forgotten ; and that now lately they had preserved them from an enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would, in a short time, have overrun the kingdom : and engaged the nation in a new bloody war ; to which too many men were still inclined ;" and concluded with a desire, "that they would commit the army to Fleetwood, as general ; and that they would appoint Lambert to be major general." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying part of the army ; a man, whom the parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no general, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's ; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This petition was sent by some trusty person to some colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him presented to the parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of his friends for their advice ; and so it came to the notice of Haslerig, who immediately informed the parliament "of a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had done." They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but sent to Fleetwood for it. He answered, he had it not, but that he had delivered it to such

an officer, whom he named. The officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the afternoon ; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any address of that kind, passed a vote, "that the having more general officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."

This put the whole army into that distemper, that Lambert could wish it in ; and brought the council of officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the parliament. They prepared a petition and representation to the parliament ; in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of "their fidelity towards them ; but yet that they would so far take care for their own preservation, that they would not be at the mercy of their enemies ;" and implied, that they had likewise privileges, which they would not quit.

The parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haslerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and understandings,) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of subsistence from the army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the government, by force. In order thereunto they declared, "that it should be treason in any person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect money, without consent in parliament." Then they made void all acts for custom and excise ; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army ; with whom they were most offended, and conferred their regiments and commands upon other persons, in whom they could confide ; and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of seven commissioners ; who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great interest in the army, and so durst not totally disoblige him,) Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland,) Monk, (who was their general in Scotland,) Haslerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton ; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the parliament to provoke so many of them, without being sure of a competent strength to execute their orders. But they had a great presumption upon the city ; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the parliament had much more reputation, and the army less terror. The nine cashiered officers were resolved not to part with their commands, nor would the soldiers submit to their new officers ; and both officers and soldiers consulted their affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at Westminster the next morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The parliament, to encounter this design, sent their orders to those regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Westminster to defend them from force ; and likewise sent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horse ; who were well armed, and ranged themselves in

the Palace-yard, with a resolution to oppose a force that should attempt the parliament. Lambert intended they should have little to do there; and divided his party in the army to the several places by which the city militia could come to Westminster, with order, "that they should suffer none to march that way, or to come out of the gates;" then placed himself with some troops in King-street, to expect when the speaker would come to the house; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual state, guarded with his troop of horse. Lambert rode up to the speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be done at Westminster," and therefore advised him "to return back again to his own house:" which he refused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way. Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horse; and bid major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his saddle; which he presently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his house. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the least contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own house; and then disposed of themselves as their new captain commanded them.

When they had thus secured themselves from any more votes, Lambert sent to those who had been ordered into the Palace-yard by the parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refused to do; at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themselves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the parliament sat not, they desired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were cashiered; and such sent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all submission and obedience from the soldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commission above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, "that the army finding itself without a general, or other general officers, had themselves made choice of Fleetwood to be their general, and of Lambert to be their major general, and of Desborough to be commissary general of the horse; and that they bound themselves to obey them in their several capacities, and to adhere to and defend them." Upon the publishing this declaration, they assumed their several provinces; and the whole army took commissions from their new general; and were as much united, as if they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the parliament; which they all detested.

But these generals were not at ease; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the parliament had stopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of custom and excise; and to revive these impositions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itself. The divisions in the parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it less

reproachful. Vane, who was much the wisest man, found he could never make that assembly settle such a government as he affected, either in church or state: and Haslerig, who was of a rude and stubborn nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the king, and root out his majesty's party: in all other things relating to the temporal or ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animosity against each other.

Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was inferior to that of few men,) that he did at some time believe, he was the person deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years.

Haslerig was, as to the state, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a king or a bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his credit in the house was greater than the other's; which made Vane less troubled at the violence that was used, (though he would never advise it,) and appear willing enough to confer and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the army, who were most like to have authority.

A model of such a government, as the people must acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a number of persons should be chosen, who, under the style of a committee of safety, should assume the present entire government, and have full power to revive all such orders, or to make new, which might be necessary for raising of money, or for doing any thing else which should be judged for the peace and safety of the kingdom; and to consider and determine, what form of government was fit to be erected, to which the nation was to submit."

To this new invention, how wild soever, they believed the people would be persuaded, with the assistance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the number of this committee of safety should consist of three and twenty persons; six officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desborough were three; Ireton, lord mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republic interest, and not like to give any countenance to presbyte-

rians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally,) besides three or four others of those who had been the king's judges, with Vane, and Whitlock, whom they made keeper of their great seal.

Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole legislative power of the nation, and proclaimed themselves *the committee of safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and issued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own tribe in any parts, they sent colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to persuade general Monk to a concurrence with them; and, because they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert,) to work upon as many of his officers as he could; there being many in that army of whose affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another colonel into Ireland, to dispose the army there to a submission to their power and authority.

Before the parliament was routed, they discerned what Lambert's intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would take care of his army, lest it should be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring;" and Haslerig, who had some friendship with him, writ particularly to him, "to continue firm to the parliament;" and to assure him, "that before Lambert should be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would give him other divertisement." And some time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the speaker, so that they could meet no more, Haslerig, and Morley, two of the commissioners of the government of the army, went to Portsmouth, where colonel Whetham the governor was their friend, and devoted to the presbyterian-republican party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; others, and the most considerable of that party, professing, "that they very much desired monarchical government, and the person of the king, so that they might have him without episcopacy, and enjoy the lands of the church;" which they had divided among them. They were well received at Portsmouth; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the governor turned all such officers and soldiers out of the town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and colonel Morley, whose interest was in Sussex, easily drew in enough of his friends, to make them very secure in their garrison; which the committee of safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that Haslerig would never be induced to serve the king, whose interest only could break all their measures.

That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who presumed to censure and find fault with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of Berwick. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed close prisoner to Edinburgh castle; and that Monk used extraordinary dili-

gence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; sending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence dismissing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the person of Cromwell; otherwise, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be seduced by the king, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send Lambert with their whole army into the north, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some troops to send to Portsmouth, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the garrison there from making incursions into the two neighbour counties of Sussex and Hampshire, where they had many friends.

Whilst all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the committee of safety resolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpose they sent to him a committee of such persons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his friends. He received these men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions, "that he desired nothing more, than to unite himself and his army with that of England, provided that there might be a lawful power, to which they might all be subject: but that the force that had been used upon the parliament was an action of such a nature, that was destructive to all government, and that it would be absolutely necessary to restore that to its freedom, rights, and privileges; which being done, he would use all the instance and credit he had to procure an act of pardon and oblivion, for all that had been done amiss; and this would unite both parliament and army for the public safety, which was apparently threatened and shaken by this disunion." He added, "that he so much desired peace and union, and so little thought of using force, that he would appoint three officers of his army, Wilks, Cloberry, and Knight, to go to London, and treat with the committee of safety, of all particulars necessary thereunto." When the persons sent from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great professions the general made, and his resolution to send a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the committee of safety was very well pleased, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frightened him: so that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewise appointed Lambert to hasten his march, and to make no stay, till he should come to Newcastle. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his army still increasing till he came thither.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonshire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a soldier, upon that stage where some of

all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he assigned it to the command of colonel Goring. When the first troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch service, and betook themselves to the service of the king. In the beginning of the Irish rebellion, he was sent thither, with the command of the lord Leicester's own regiment of foot, (who was then lieutenant of Ireland,) and continued in that service with singular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the king and the parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he was taken prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been such in Ireland, when the transportation of the regiment from thence, to serve the king in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment should be sent on that expedition, and his answer to the lord of Ormond was so rough and doubtful, (having had no other education but Dutch and Devonshire,) that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those regiments were sent to Chester, and there were others at the same time sent to Bristol, and with them Monk was sent prisoner, and from Bristol to the king at Oxford, where he was known to many persons of quality, (and his eldest brother being at the same time most zealous in the king's service in the west, and most useful,) his professions were so sincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation,) that all men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the king was willing to send him into the west, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old friends and companions; and so, with the king's leave, made all haste towards Chester; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very desirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a volunteer, in the first rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other officers sent to Hull, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

He was no sooner there, than the lord Lisle, who had great kindness for him, and good interest in the parliament, with much importunity persuaded him to take a commission in that service, and offered him a command superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange, nor money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several

officers of the same quality for his exchange; which was always refused; there having been an ordinance made, "that no officer who had been transported out of Ireland should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the king's condition, which could not provide money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the war was at an end, and the king a prisoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and money, which he loved heartily, to engage himself again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell; who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from those quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whose fidelity to himself Cromwell more depended. And those of his western friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived. But as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the king, than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the king's service; and all his relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of religion to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were swayed by those trances; only he was cursed after a long familiarity to marry a woman of the lowest extraction, the least wit, and less beauty; who, taking no care for any other part of herself, had deposited her soul with some presbyterian ministers, who disposed her to that interest. She was a woman, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, so utterly unacquainted with all persons of quality of either sex, that there was no possible approach to him by her.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parsonage in Devonshire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the king. Sir Hugh Pollard and Sir John Greenvil, who had both friendship for the general, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, advised with him, "whether, since Cromwell was now gone, and in all reason it might be expected that his death would be attended with a general revolution, by which the king's interest would be again disputed, he did not believe, that the general might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the king, in which, they thought, he would be sure to meet with a universal concurrence from the whole Scottish nation." The honest clergyman thought the overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a visit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them,) and directly to propose it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the king of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his majesty's approbation and instruc-

tion. The king had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a negociation. Whereupon his brother begun his journey towards Edinburgh, where the general received him well. But after he had stayed some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he found him to be so far from the temper of a brother, that after infinite reproaches for his daring to endeavour to corrupt him, he required him to leave that kingdom, using many oaths to him, that if he ever returned to him with the same proposition, he would cause him to be hanged; with which the poor man was so terrified, that he was glad when he was gone, and never had the courage after to undertake the like employment.

And at that time there is no question the general had not the least thought or purpose to contribute to the king's restoration, the hope whereof he believed to be desperate; and the disposition that did grow in him afterwards, did arise from those accidents which fell out, and even obliged him to undertake that which proved so much to his profit and glory. And yet from this very time, his brother being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpose to serve the king; which his majesty took no pains to disclaim, either there or in England.

Upon the several sudden changes in England, and the army's possessing itself of the entire government, Monk saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by Lambert's greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the north, he used all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other party that would own and avow the parliament's interest, as he had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his imagination, than his own profit and greatness, under the establishment of that government.

When he heard of Lambert's being past York, and his making haste to Newcastle, and had purged out of his army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called the states of Scotland together; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other tyranny over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce the pride and tyranny of that people to an entire submission to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, so he was not unloved by the common people, who received more justice and less oppression from him, than they had been accustomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a call from heaven and earth, to march with his army into England, for the better settlement of the government there; and though he did not intend his absence should be long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance of the peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he expected, and

"desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be ready to join with the forces he left behind in their own defence." In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "that they would raise him a present sum of money, for supplying the necessities of the army, without which it could not well march into England."

From the time that he had settled his government in that kingdom, he had shewed more kindness to, and used more familiarity with, such persons as were most notorious for affection to the king, as finding them a more direct and punctual people than the rest: and when these men resorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the king; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they gave him a twelvemonths tax over the kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had assigned those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of major general Morgan, he marched with the rest to Berwick; where a good part of his horse and foot expected him; having put an end to his treaty at London, and committed colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcastle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion in the committee of safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcastle, where he found the officers and soldiers whom Monk had cashiered; and who, he persuaded the people, had deserted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his committee of safety, which it was like to stand in need of. Haslerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the persons invested with the authority of parliament, whose interest was supported by them; and the officer, who was sent by the committee of safety to restrain them in Portsmouth, or rather to restrain persons from resorting to them, found himself deserted by more than half his soldiers; who declared, "that they would serve the parliament," and so went into Portsmouth; and another officer, who was sent with a stronger party to second them, discovering or fomenting the same affections in his soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place: so that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garrison, but were quartered to be in readiness to march whither their generals, Haslerig and Morley, would conduct them.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the masters durst not publicly own, the ap-

prentices did, their dislike of the present government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free parliament." And though colonel Hewson, a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer,) who was left to guard the committee of safety, suppressed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing some of the apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the city the more against the army; which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder the citizens." And it was said, they caused a bill of indictment to be prepared against Hewson for those murders. The common council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the committee of safety; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the original of such another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a parliament called to meet together in February next, under such qualifications and restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

But that which broke the heart of the committee of safety, was the revolt of their favourite vice-admiral Lawson, a man at that time appearing at least as much republican, as any amongst them; as much an independent, as much an enemy to the presbyterians and to the covenant, as sir Harry Vane himself; and a great dependent upon sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raised to that command in the fleet, that they might be sure to have the seamen still at their devotion. This man, with his whole squadron, came into the river, and declared for the parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawson, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and two others, members of the parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their charms; and told them, "that he would submit to no authority but that of the parliament."

Upon the fame of this, Haslerig and Morley resolved with their troops to leave Portsmouth, and to march towards London, where their friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those soldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute any orders which they should receive from the committee of safety. The officers of these regiments had been cashiered by the council of officers, or the committee of safety, for adhering to the parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been discountenanced by the parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the interest of the army, as could be wished. But these cashiered officers, upon so great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haslerig and Morley, resolved to confer with their old soldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found so much encouragement, that, at a time appointed,

they put themselves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a short conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to desert the parliament, they all marched into Chancery-lane to the house of the speaker; and professed their resolution to live and die with the parliament, and never more to swerve from their fidelity to it.

Lambert, upon the first news of the froward spirit in the city, had sent back Desborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Westminster, with whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not to be the last in their submission; but declared that they likewise were for the parliament; and gave the speaker notice of their obedience. In all these several tergiversations of the soldiers, general Fleetwood remained still in consultations with the committee of safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongst the soldiers, by which a revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst them to confirm them, he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himself upon his knees before them: and when some of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had spit in his face, and would not hear him:" so that men ceased to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of general, and been content with the second command for himself.

Lenthall the speaker, upon this new declaration of the soldiers, recovered his spirit, and went into the city, conferred with the lord mayor and aldermen, and declared to them, "that the parliament would meet (though not immediately) within very few days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the committee of safety; and put sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other members of the parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Westminster, on December the 26th, and assumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their act against the payment of excise and customs; and put those collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without money to pay their proselyte forces, and to carry on their other expenses. Then they appointed commissioners to direct the quarters into which the army should be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those quarters to which they were assigned.

This man was now in a disconsolate condition:

as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The lord Fairfax had raised forces, and possessed himself of York, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last order of the parliament so entirely stripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horse; all the rest returned to their quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the officers of the army, who had been formerly cashiered by the parliament, and had resumed their commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their charges, and committed prisoners to their own houses. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the house who had concurred with the committee of safety, were likewise confined to their own houses: so that the parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition or contradiction.

The other changes and fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the king, and the daily breaking out of new animosities amongst the chief ministers of the former mischiefs, disposed men to believe that the government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their parts of the army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new parliament; in the election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the people would choose sober and wise men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The committee of safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising resurrection of the parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was most formidable to the king and his party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and looked like an act of Providence to establish their monstrous murders and usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to posterity, that there was no one man, who bore a part in these changes and giddy revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the king's restoration, or who wished well to his interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this confusion. This was the true state of affairs when the king returned from Fuentarabia to Brussels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of spirit upon his majesty and those about him; and that the duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into England, was well pleased with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Whilst the divisions had continued in the army, and the parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and nobody imagined a possibility of any composition without blood, the cardinal himself, as is said before, and the Spanish ministers,

seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the king's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very men again in possession of the government and the army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the government as more securely settled against domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

There remained only within the king's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce some alteration. His majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal officers in his army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great services; and it was presumed that they would undertake no such perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever present conditions the governing party might give him, for the service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they saw he was possessed of, and that an army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the parliament resolved to new model their army, and to have no man in any such extent of command, as to be able to control their counsels. Then his majesty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himself obliged to provide for his own safety and security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes grounded upon such probabilities as despairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those officers had honest inclinations; and, as wise men, had concluded, that, from those frequent shuffles, some game at last might fall out, that might prove to the king's advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the general the least cause to imagine they had any such affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And for the second presumption upon his understanding and ratiocination, alas! it was not equal to the enterprise. He could not bear so many and so different contrivances in his head together, as were necessary to that work. And it was the king's great happiness that he never had it in his purpose to serve him, till it fell to be in his power; and indeed till he had nothing else to do. If he had resolved it sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was instrumental in bringing those mighty things to pass, which he had neither wisdom to foresee, nor courage to attempt, nor understanding to contrive.

When the parliament found themselves at so

much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that general Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, so they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that all his forces might be sent back to Scotland; and that he would not come to London with above five hundred horse;" but he, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any work they could have to do in those northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thousand foot and horse, consisting of such persons in whose affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the possession of the lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn those forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the army's possessing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the less interrupted.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the king, delivered to Fairfax by sir Horatio Townsend, and with his sole privy, and upon a presumption that general Monk brought good affections with him for his majesty's service, that lord had called together some of his old disbanded officers and soldiers, and marched in the head of them into York, as soon as Lambert was passed towards Newcastle, with a full resolution to declare for the king; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the testimony of his own conscience, and presently dismissed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, presented their desires to the general in writing, "that he would be instrumental to restore the nation to peace and security, and to the enjoying those rights and liberties, which by the law were due to them, and of which they had been robbed and deprived by so many years' distractions; and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for the restoring those members which had been excluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that they might exercise that trust the kingdom had reposed in them; or that a free and full parliament might be called by the votes of the people; to which all subjects had a right by their birth."

The principal persons of all counties through which the general passed, flocked to him in a body with addresses to the same purpose. The city of London sent a letter to him by their sword-bearer, to offer their service; and all concluded for a free parliament, legally chosen by the free votes of the people. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare "that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present parliament," yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "that he would procure a free parliament:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

The parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a body, contrary to their desires, his receiving so many addresses from the

people, and his treating malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his professions of fidelity to the parliament, and referring all determinations to their wisdom, had a good aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that license of addresses, and resort of malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the general, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the parliament, "that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not live peaceably with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers "who were then quartered in the Strand, Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, that there might be room for his army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a mutiny did arise amongst the soldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerset-house expressly refused to obey those orders; so that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon such an occasion, were under restraint, or absent: and so at last all was well composed, and officers and soldiers removed to the quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, general Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand, and Westminster, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

He was shortly after conducted to the parliament, which had before, when they saw there was no remedy, conferred the office and power of general of all the forces in the three kingdoms upon him, as absolutely as ever they had given it to Cromwell. There he had a chair appointed for him to sit in; and the speaker made a speech to him, in which he extolled the great service he had done to the parliament, and therein to the kingdom, which was in danger to have lost all the liberty they had gotten with so vast an expense of

blood and treasure, and to have been made slaves again, if he had not magnanimously declared himself in their defence; the reputation whereof was enough to blast all their enemies' designs, and to reduce all to their obedience. He told him his memory should flourish to all ages, and the parliament (whose thanks he presented to him) would take all occasions to manifest their kindness and gratitude for the service he had done.

The general was not a man of eloquence, or of any volubility of speech; he assured them of his constant fidelity, which should never be shaken, and that he would live and die in their service; and then informed them of the several addresses which he had received in his march, and of the observation he had made of the general temper of the people, and their impatient desire of a free parliament, which he mentioned with more than his natural warmth, as a thing they would expect to be satisfied in; (which they observed and disliked;) yet concluded, that having done his duty in this representation, and thereby complied with his promise which he had made to those who had made the addresses, he entirely left the consideration and determination of the whole to their wisdom; which gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they longed for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very slowly; and the people generally had so little reverence for their legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to raise a present great sum of money on the city; which could not be done but by the advice and with the consent of the common council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their distribution.

The common council was constituted of such persons as were weary of the parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to this new imposition, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to any imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the general; and the apprehension of this made the parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore resolved upon this occasion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their general's obedience.

The parliament having received a full information from those aldermen, and others, whose interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had

passed at the common council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the citizens, referred it to the consideration of the council of state, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the parliament. The privy council deliberated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the parliament, "that some part of the army might be sent into the city, and remain there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of the commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the parliament. In order thereunto, and for their better humiliation, they thought it convenient that the posts and chains should be removed from and out of the several streets of the city; and that the portcullises and gates of the city should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven persons, who had been the principal conductors in the common council, all citizens of great reputation; and advised "that they should be apprehended and committed to prison, and that thereupon a new common council might be elected, that would be more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their general, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their service; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town [on Feb. the 9th], neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them,) caused as many as he could of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole city; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, which was the whole kingdom, he returned himself to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters; and by this last act of outrage convinced those who expected somewhat from him how vain their hopes were, and how incapable he was of embracing any opportunity to do a noble action, and confirmed his masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant injunctions. And without doubt if the parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

Whilst he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to lessen his power and authority, and resolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, presented to the parliament by a man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praise-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of sectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the memory of the late king, and against

the person of the present king, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it pressed with great acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new parliament, at least of admitting those members to sit in the present parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of "all the godly in the land:" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no "person whatsoever might be admitted to the "exercise of any office or function in the state, "or in the church, no not so much as to teach a "school, who did not first take the oath of abjuration of the king, and of all his family, and "that he would never submit to the government "of any one single person whatsoever; and that "whosoever should presume so much as to propose or mention the restoration of the king in "parliament, or any other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemned for, high "treason."

This petition was received with great approbation by the house, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the parliament very solemnly returned by the speaker: all which information the general received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city; and was presently attended by his chief officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the parliament, "their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance "to a rabble of infamous varlets, who desired to "set the whole kingdom in a flame, to comply "with their fantastic and mad enthusiasms; and "that the parliament would never have admitted "such an infamous address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon his ruin and "destruction; which he was assuredly to look "for, if he did not prevent it by his wisdom and "sagacity;" and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were used to work upon the affections of the soldiers.

The general had been prepared, by the conferences of Scot and Robinson in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the parliament, he must take the oath of abjuration of the king and his family. And therefore they had advised him "to offer the taking it himself, before it "should be proposed to him, as a matter that "would confirm all men in an entire confidence "in him;" and he discovered not the least aversion from it. When he came to the parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and without doubt he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarm from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the parliament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adhered to them. He had observed throughout the kingdom, as he

marched, how opprobrious they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the rump, as the fag end of a carcass long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

In the morning, the very next morning after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's house where he dined. At the same time he left Whitehall, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their "unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic proceedings; "of their abetting and countenancing wicked and "unchristian tenets in reference to religion, and "such as would root out the practice of any religion; of their underhand corresponding with "those very persons whom they had declared to "be enemies, and who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts and indignities "they had undergone, in and after their dissolution." Thereupon he advised them in such terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory command, "that, in such a "time," (a time prescribed in his letter,) "they "would issue out writs for a new parliament, "that so their own sitting might be determined; "which was the only expedient that could return "peace and happiness to the kingdom, and which "both the army and kingdom expected at their "hands." This letter was no sooner delivered to the house, than it was printed, and carefully published and dispersed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was embarked, and so entertain no new jealousies of him.

After he had dined, and disposed his army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired the lord mayor and aldermen to meet him at the guildhall; where, after many excuses for the work of yesterday, they plighted their troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the lord mayor attended the general to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and testified to the town and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as soon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and suburbs, with such an universal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous expressions of scorn and contempt of the parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a bonfire at which they did not roast a rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "which," they said, "was for the celebration of the funeral "of the parliament:" and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exercised to defame the parliament, and to magnify the general.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose people of all conditions, and such a transport of affections, it could not be otherwise but that some men would drink the king's health; which was taken no notice of; nor did one person of condition once presume

to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their general again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his ambition, or to satisfy his insatiable avarice. The entertainment he gave this committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, "that in justice the secluded members ought to be admitted, but that matter was now over, by his having required the calling another parliament, and the dissolution of this."

After he had put the city into the posture they desired, and found no danger threatened him from any place, he returned again to his quarters in Whitehall, and disposed his army to those posts which he judged most convenient. He then sent for the members of the parliament to come to him, and many others who had been excluded, and lamented "the sad condition the kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the disunion and divisions which had arisen in parliament among those who were faithful to the commonwealth: that he had had many conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those gentlemen, who had been excluded, of their integrity; and therefore he had desired this conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his delivery, or misapprehended in his expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing;" which he commanded his secretary to read to them. The writing imported, that the settlement of the nation lay now in their hands, and that he was assured they would become makers-up of its woful breaches, in pursuit whereof they would be sure of all his service, and he should think all his pains well spent; that he would impose nothing upon them, but took leave to put them in mind, that the old foundations upon which the government had heretofore stood were so totally broken down and demolished, that in the eye of human reason they could never be reedified and restored but in the ruin of the nation; that the interest of the city of London would be best preserved by the government of a commonwealth, which was the only means to make that city to be the bank for the whole trade of Christendom; that he thought a moderate, not a rigid presbyterian government would be most acceptable, and the best way of settlement in the affairs of the church; that their care would be necessary to settle the conduct of the army, and to provide maintenance for the forces by sea and land; and concluded with a desire that they would put a period to the present parliament, and give order for the calling another that might make a perfect settlement, to which all men might submit. There was no dissimulation in this, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the king: for,

without doubt, he had not to this hour entertained any purpose or thought to serve him, but was really of the opinion he expressed in his paper, that it was a work impossible; and desired nothing, but that he might see a commonwealth established in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the prince of Orange possessed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had any conversation with any persons who had served the king, nor indeed had he acquaintance with any such; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after, did he set one of the king's friends at liberty, though all the prisons were full of them; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed; and it was guilt enough to be suspected but to wish for the king's restoration.

As soon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the house [on Feb. the 21st], and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being superior in number to the rest, they first repealed and abolished all the orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him who had so well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging the general's commission, and revoking all other commissions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or assign quarters to any part of the forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of sectaries, persons of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new tenet in religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the king's party. All these commissions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no person should be capable of being trusted in that province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did confess, and acknowledge, that the war raised by the two houses of parliament against the late king was just, and lawful, until such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in the year 1648."

In the last place, they raised an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the month, for the payment of the army, and defraying the public expenses for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660,) and then, on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of March, after they had appointed a council of state, of which there were many sober and honest gentlemen, who did not wish the king ill, they dissolved that present parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves,) but to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very dif-

ferent affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long parliament.

When the king, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of general Monk to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the parliament, and of his entering the city, and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the whole court of the king; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the general's second march into the city was the very next day after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the first in the morning, brought likewise an account to his majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and such other additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

When it begun to be dark, the lord marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the chancellor's lodging at Brussels; which was under the king's bedchamber, and to which his majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any business. The marquis said no more but "that that man had formerly been an officer under him, and he believed he was an honest man; besides, that he brought a line or two of credit from a person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the king to judge;" and so went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the king.

The man's name was Bailly; who had lived most in Ireland, and had served there as a foot-officer under the marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or slept little: his relation was, "that in the afternoon of such a day, he was with sir John Stephens in Lambeth house, used then as a prison for many of the king's friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, news was brought into the house by several persons, that the general was marched with his whole army into the city, (it being the very next day after he had been there, and broke down their gates, and pulled down their posts,) and that he had a conference with the mayor and aldermen; which was no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out; and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth: and that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires burning and flaming in the city: upon which sir John Stephens had desired him, that he would immediately cross the river, and go into London, and inquire what the matter was; and if he found any thing extraordinary in it, that he

"would take post, and make all possible haste to Brussels, that the king might be informed of it; and so gave him a short note in writing to the marquis of Ormond, that he might believe all that the messenger would inform him: that thereupon he went over the river, walked through Cheapside, saw the bonfires, and the king's health drank in several places, heard all that the general had done, and brought a copy of the letter which the general had sent to the parliament, at the time when he returned with his army into the city; and then told many things, which were," he said, "publicly spoken, concerning sending for the king: that then he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought him to Ostend."

The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his majesty, and the other two; and had been sent over lately by the king, with some advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was sent prisoner to Lambeth house. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the king could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the general's letter to the parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the king thought he had argument to raise his own spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his intelligence to his dispirited family and servants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such unreasonable presumption, that no success could procure satisfaction for.

But the king, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such revolution as would be sufficient to do his work, towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any foreign power. The most that he could collect from the general's letter, besides the suppressing the present tyranny of the parliament, was, that the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that council. And even this administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his majesty. Several of those excluded members had not been true members of parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the king; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit great seal had given them, without and against the king's authority. It was thought these men, with others who had been lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the concessions made by the late king at the Isle of Wight might be

accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the name and life of the king, near as much establish a republican government, as was settled after his murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the house; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the king reasonably expect from these men's readmission into the government, but that they would resume their old conclusions, and press him to consent to his father's concessions? which his late majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful men then in the parliament, "that he should not be obliged to accomplish that agreement." These revolvings wrought much upon his majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his majesty had heard before was confirmed by several expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the king recovered his hopes again; which were every day increased by the addresses of many men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his majesty's approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next parliament. And from the time that the parliament was dissolved, the council of state behaved themselves very civilly towards his majesty's friends, and released many of them out of prison: particularly Annesley, when president of the council, was very well contented that the king should receive particular information of his devotion, and of his resolution to do him service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his majesty, and returned a dutiful answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the king knew not what to think of the general's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his majesty's friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the king had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the king, "of what importance it would be, that he gave them some credit, or means of access to the general, by which they might receive his order and direction in such things as occurred on the sudden, and that they might be sure to do nothing that might cross any purpose of his." To which the king returned no other answer, "but that they should have patience, and make no attempt whatsoever; and that in due time they should receive all advices necessary;" it being not thought fit to disclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of, the

general; since it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he did design to serve the king, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his majesty's service, as if he had dedicated himself to it. And the assurance, that other men had, that he had no such intention, hindered those obstructions, jealousies, and interruptions, which very probably might have lessened his credit with his own army, or united all the rest of the forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time an accident that very much troubled the king, and might very probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the dissolution of the parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of those who had been the chief instruments of all the monstrous things which had been done, the highest despair seized upon all who had been the late king's judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from the secluded members, as they were to expect if the king himself had been restored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the rump, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the rump members would again resume the government, notwithstanding their dissolution by the power of the secluded members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their agents amongst the officers and soldiers of the army, who had been disgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Westminster, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for general Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the sole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed these men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the war, should, besides the loss of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same infusions into the soldiers of general Monk's army, who had all the same title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, Lambert made his escape out of the Tower; his party having in all places so many of their combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the general had as great a jealousy of this man's escape, as of any thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriously known neither to love Lambert's person, nor to favour his designs.

This escape of Lambert in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the general, and the council of state, into a great agony. They knew well what poison had been scattered about the army, and what impression it had made in the soldiers. Lambert was the most popular man, and had the greatest influence upon

them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would choose to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear, (which had been very easy then for him to have done,) he would have gone near to have shaken and dissolved the model the general had made.

But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience,) or the presumption, that the army would obey him upon his first call, and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and so put it into his enemy's power to disappoint and control all his designs. He stayed not at all in London, as he ought to have done, but hastened into the country; and trusting a gentleman in Buckinghamshire, whom he thought himself sure of, the general had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonshire, a country infamously famous for disaffection to the king, and for adhering to the parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the army, before it should be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he should have seasonable notice.

But the general, upon his first secret intimation of his being in Buckinghamshire, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of colonel Ingoldsby, (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himself received from him,) to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horse; which was the more faithful to him for having been before seduced by Lambert to desert him. Ingoldsby used so much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was suspected to be so near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him prisoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldsby; who, after some conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promise, "that he would himself retire to his house, and send his troop to obey his commands;" which promise he observed; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quartermaster, came to Ingoldsby, and informed

him were Lambert was. He thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was pursued by him.

Lambert, surprised with this discovery, and finding that one of his troops had forsaken him, saw his enemy much superior to him in number; and therefore sent to desire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert proposed to him, "that they might restore Richard to be protector;" and promised to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. But Ingoldsby (besides that he well understood the folly and impossibility of that undertaking) had devoted himself to a better interest; and adhered to the general, because he presumed that he did intend to serve the king, and so rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forsaking him, and putting themselves under his enemy, he concluded, that his safety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his horse. But Ingoldsby keeping his eye still upon him, and being as well horsed, overtook him, and made him his prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

With him were taken Oakes, Axtell, Cobbet, Creed, and some other officers of the greatest interest with the fanatic part of the army, and who were most apprehended by the general, in a time when all the ways were full of soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldsby returned to London, and brought his prisoners to the privy council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a stricter charge, with some other of the officers; and sent the rest to other prisons. This very seasonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the succeeding parliament; which was to assemble the next day after the prisoners were brought before the council; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if Lambert had remained still in arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

In this interval between the dissolution of the last and convention of the new parliament, the council of state did many prudent actions, which were good presages that the future counsels would proceed with moderation. They released sir George Booth from his imprisonment, that he might be elected to sit in the ensuing parliament, as he shortly after was; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the king's party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely trusted by the king, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the council, and some officers of the army, as Ingoldsby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their services to the king.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the navy; which was full of sectaries, and under the government of those who of all men were declared the most republican. The present fleet prepared for the summer service was under the command of vice-admiral Lawson; an excellent seaman, but then a

notorious anabaptist; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the city; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the committee of safety, and restore the rump parliament to the exercise of their jurisdiction; for which he stood high in reputation with all that party. The parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove Lawson, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to control them. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own house, under a cloud, and jealousy of being inclined too much to the king, and made him and the general (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to sea, and have the ships under his command; by which he might take care for good officers, and seamen, for such other ships as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. Mountague sent privately over to the king for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the general; and immediately applied himself to put the fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no man who betook himself to his majesty's service with more generosity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the king.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which some were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared against the king; though his father, who had been long a servant to the crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, also trod awry, he was so far wrought upon by the caresses of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was persuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He served in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very stout and sober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest confidence, and sent him, first, joined in commission with Blake; and then, in the sole command of several expeditions by sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all men, and without the least show of acrimony towards any who had served the king; and was so much in love with monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised Cromwell to accept and assume that title, when it was offered to him by his parliament. He was designed by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when

Richard was scornfully thrown out of the protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other plenipotentiaries which the rump parliament sent to reconcile those crowns. As soon as Richard was so cast down, the king thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his service.

There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldest son of the lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinsman; with whom he had a particular friendship. This gentleman was not unknown to the king, and very well known to the chancellor, to have good affections and resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant voyage, only to dispose his cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his majesty. At this time sir George Booth appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom against that odious part of the parliament which was then possessed of the government. And it was now thought a very seasonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the king.

The chancellor thereupon prepared such a letter in his own name, as his majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of "sir George Booth's being possessed of Chester, and in the head of an army; and that his majesty was assured of many other places; and of a general combination between persons of the greatest interest, to declare for the king; and that, if he would bring his fleet upon the coast, his majesty, or the duke of York, would immediately be on board with him." This letter was enclosed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an express, who was then thought not to be without some credit with the admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the messenger was diligent in prosecuting his voyage, and arrived safely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the parliament then were,) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the person to whom it was directed; who, the same night, delivered the other to his cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of good fellowship, that the admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ such a letter to the chancellor, as was evidence enough that his majesty would not be disappointed in his

expectation of any service that the admiral could perform for him. With this answer the messenger returned to Brussels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this messenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whose being there the plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to require of the king of Denmark, that he might be committed to prison, admiral Mountague declared, "that he should not be able to stay longer there for the want of victual; of which he had not more than would serve to carry him home; and therefore desired, that they would press both kings, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries, to finish the negociation." By this time the news of the revolutions in England made a great noise, and were reported, according to the affections of the persons who sent letters thither, more to the king's advantage than there was reason for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with Edward Mountague; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that negociation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his fleet under sail, making his course for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his inclination) to have secured his person on board his own ship, and to have disposed of the government of the fleet; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than send expresses overland, to acquaint the parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coast of England, they found sir George Booth defeated, and all persons who pretended any affection for the king so totally crushed, and the rump parliament in so full exercise of its tyrannical power, that the admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "by his scarcity of victual, which must have failed, if he had stayed till the winter had shut him up in the Sound;" and his return was resolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had presented himself to the parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; so that Mountague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the parliament, and general Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that parliament was totally abolished and extinguished; and then the council of state called him to resume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good symptoms in the state, raised his majesty's hopes and expect-

tation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his majesty, of the general, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no persons trusted by his majesty could approach him, nor did any word fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The general was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the king's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the king, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his majesty's power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the crown, or of bishops, or of delinquents; and nobody spoke more moderately, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-house in a conference with that earl, the earl of Manchester, and other lords, and likewise with Hollis, sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate presbyterian party; who, most of them, would have been very glad, their own security being provided for, that the king should be restored to his full rights, and the church to its possessions. In this conference, the king's restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate, the general insisted upon the most rigid propositions; which he pressed in such a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from restoring the king, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the general, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the church, or uniformity in the public exercise of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the general, and jealous of his inclinations.

There was, at this time, in much conversation and trust with the general, a gentleman of Devon-

shire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the king, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him best, believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allied to the general, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go. With him the general consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations; how "he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the king, but upon such conditions as must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received;" and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that they had caused the covenant to be new printed, and, by order, to be secretly fixed up in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the king, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the general, was the choice which was generally made in all counties for members to serve in parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the king, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded; so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controlled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the king; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the west, "where the king's restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no members to serve for Cornwall, or Devonshire, but such, who, they were confident, would contribute all they could to invite the king to return. And when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit; and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach." When the general had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance what he plainly saw he should not be able to hinder; and so consulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a servant of eminent trust to the king, sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the general into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his majesty, and at this time were taken notice of

to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the general was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, sir Bevil Greenvil; who lost his life at the battle of Lansdown for the king, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.

The general was content, that sir John Greenvil should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice should bring him secretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the king; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the king, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil, was, after he had enlarged upon the "perplexity the general was in, by the several humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any officer of his own army, or any friend but himself, with his own secret purposes;" he advised, "that the king should write a letter to the general; in which, after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire him to deliver the enclosed letter and declaration to the parliament;" the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration, Morrice discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.

After sir John Greenvil had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the general; to whom he read the short notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the general said, that if the "king writ to that purpose, when he brought the letter to him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his majesty." Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the king to consent to, which was, his majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his majesty would make haste to Breda, and that, for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda;" and he enjoined sir John Greenvil "not to return, till he

“ had himself seen the king out of the dominions “ of Flanders.” Thus instructed, he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived safely at Brussels.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the king, nor of small advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all these revolutions in England as the effects of the several animosities and emulations of the different factions among themselves; a contention only between the presbyterian-republicans on one side, and the independent and levelling party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the government of the state, without the least reference to the king’s interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore don Alonzo, by his Irish agents, (who made him believe any thing,) continued firm to the levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was assured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the king, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to Brussels; and when instruments of most credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some person, who was intrusted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expensive, they cared not what money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the king, and suffered him to be without that small supply, which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the Spanish ministers, when Mr. Mordaunt and sir John Greenvil came to Brussels. And they had so fully possessed the court at Madrid with the same spirit, that when the chancellor, in his letters to sir Harry Bennet, his majesty’s resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the king, he answered plainly, “ that “ he durst not communicate any of those letters “ to the ministers there; who would laugh at him “ for abusing them, since they looked upon all “ those hopes of the king as imaginary, and without foundation of sense, and upon his condition “ as most deplorable, and absolutely desperate.”

When sir John Greenvil had at large informed his majesty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the general’s conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the instructions and advices he had received, as his majesty was very glad that the general had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their possession in all the lands which they held in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchase or donation, whether of lands belonging to the crown and church, or such who, for adhering to his father and himself, were declared delinquents, and had their lands confiscated and disposed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the com-

plying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conscience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be comprehended to consist with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more disposed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his honour, nor his conscience, that those who had sat as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was advised, “ that “ there might be no exception; or that above four “ might not be excepted; because,” it was alleged, “ that some of them had facilitated the general’s “ march by falling from Lambert, and others had “ barefaced advanced the king’s service very “ much.”

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the general’s advice in all things which his conscience and honour would permit, his majesty directed such letters and declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the wishes and counsel of the general, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the parliament, rather than of his majesty’s approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honest and prudent men, and in some particular persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title they assumed, or he gave them, they must have another kind of parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be safe and contented, nor his majesty obliged.

The advice for his majesty’s remove out of Flanders presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as barbarously used as it was possible for any gentleman to be. But besides the authority which the general’s advice deserved to have, the truth is, his majesty could remove no whither else. France was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the king; and the way thither must be through all the Spanish dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the English, from whence he might embark for England upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in England, after the peace between the two crowns, the king had sent to Lockhart, the governor, and general of the English there, by a person of honour, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his service by the prospect he had of the revolutions like to ensue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the king,) and by the uncertainty of Lockhart’s own condition upon any such alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the king, and to receive his majesty into that garrison; which might be facilitated by his majesty’s troops, if he did not think his own soldiers enough

at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it; though," he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the council of state, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, that he expected every day to be removed from that command;" as shortly after he was. Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour,) or from his jealousy of the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, but in his own family,) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda.

The king was resolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose rather to refer the whole consideration of that affair, without any restriction, to the conscience of the parliament; yet with such expressions and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do themselves and the nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the secluded members sat again with the rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the king to depend upon their virtue and justice.

When the summons were sent out to call the parliament, there was no mention or thought of a house of peers; nor had the general intimated any such thing to sir John Grenvil; nor did sir John himself, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the commons. However, the king thought not fit to pass them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the house of commons; and another to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the general, were like to add very much to his authority.

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the king, which he resolved to send by sir John Grenvil to the general, (Grenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels being unknown; they, attending his majesty only in the night at the chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any,) his majesty visited the marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended the next day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to spend two or three days with his sister the princess of Orange;" to whom the dukes of York and Gloucester were already gone, to acquaint her with the king's purpose; and his majesty likewise, in confidence, informed him, "that there were some persons come from England, who would not venture to come to Brussels, from whom he expected some propositions and informations,

"which might prove beneficial to him; which obliged him to make that journey to confer with them."

The marquis seemed to think that of little moment; and said, "that don Alonzo expected every day to receive assurance, that the levellers would unite themselves to the king's interest, upon more moderate conditions than they had hitherto made;" but desired his majesty, "that the duke of York might hasten his journey into Spain, to receive the command that was there reserved for him;" and the king desired him, "that the forces he had promised for his service might be ready against his return to be embarked upon the first appearance of a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his majesty went the next day to Antwerp, with that small retinue he used to travel with.

His departure was some hours earlier than the marquis imagined; and the reason of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Irish young man, page at that time to don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the lord chancellor's lodgings, and finding his secretary in his own room, told him, "he must needs speak presently with his lord; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the king's life." The chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "that his lord don Alonzo and the marquis of Carracena had been long together that evening; and, that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a guard to attend the king: that, about an hour after, they parted; and the marquis sent a paper to don Alonzo; who, when he went to bed, laid it on his table: that himself, who lay in his master's antechamber, looked into the paper, when his master was in bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought it to the chancellor." It imported an order to an officer to attend the king with a party of horse, for a guard wherever he went, (a respect that never had been paid him before,) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As soon as the chancellor had read the order, he sent his secretary with it to the king; who was in bed likewise; and his majesty having read it, the secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his master's table. The king commanded the chancellor's secretary to call up his majesty's querry, sir William Armorer; and to him his majesty gave his orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the clock that morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the marquis of Ormond, sir William Armorer, and two or three servants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and inquire for the king; but it happened, by this seasonable discovery, that his majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small mortification, no doubt, of the Spanish governor.

As soon as his majesty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to sir John Grenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the general, "that he had seen his majesty out of Flanders") all those despatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the same day in which he received them, and where his majesty was to be that

night. The copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the general, upon perusal thereof, might choose whether to deliver the originals, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the king, "that though he had no order to propose it directly to his majesty; yet he could assure him, it would be the most grateful and obliging thing his majesty could do towards the general, if he would give him leave to assure him, that, as soon as he came into England, he would bestow the office of one of the secretaries of state upon Mr. Morrice; who was as well qualified for it, as any man who had not been versed in the knowledge of foreign affairs." One of those places was then void by the earl of Bristol's becoming Roman catholic, and thereupon resigning the signet; and his majesty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the general, and to gratify a person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good affection to his majesty, and directed him to give that assurance to the general. With these despatches sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately expected his return at Antwerp, made what haste they could towards England; and the king went that night to Breda. The letters which the king writ to the general, and to the house of commons, and the other letters, with the declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk, to be by him communicated to the president, and council of state, and to the officers of the armies under his command.

Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well:
"It cannot be believed, but that we have been,
"are, and ever must be, as solicitous as we can,
"by all endeavours to improve the affections of
"our good subjects at home, and to procure the
"assistance of our friends and allies abroad, for
"the recovery of that right, which, by the laws of
"God and man, is unquestionable; and of which
"we have been so long dispossessed by such force,
"and with those circumstances, as we do not
"desire to aggravate by any sharp expressions;
"but rather wish, that the memory of what is past
"may be buried to the world. That we have
"more endeavoured to prepare and to improve
"the affections of our subjects at home for our
"restoration, than to procure assistance from
"abroad to invade either of our kingdoms, is as
"manifest to the world. And we cannot give a
"better evidence that we are still of the same
"mind, than in this conjuncture; when common
"reason must satisfy all men, that we cannot be
"without assistance from abroad, we choose rather
"to send to you, who have it in your power to
"prevent that ruin and desolation which a war
"would bring upon the nation, and to make the
"whole kingdom owe the peace, happiness, secu-
"rity, and glory it shall enjoy, to your virtue;
"and to acknowledge that your armies have com-
"plied with their obligations, for which they were

"first raised, for the preservation of the protestant
"religion, the honour and dignity of the king,
"the privileges of parliament, the liberty and
"property of the subject, and the fundamental
"laws of the land; and that you have vindicated
"that trust, which others most perfidiously abused
"and betrayed. How much we desire and resolve
"to contribute to those good ends, will appear to
"you by our enclosed declaration; which we de-
"sire you to cause to be published for the informa-
"tion and satisfaction of all good subjects, who
"do not desire a farther effusion of precious
"Christian blood, but to have their peace and
"security founded upon that which can only sup-
"port it, an unity of affections amongst ourselves,
"an equal administration of justice to men, re-
"storing parliaments to a full capacity of provid-
"ing for all that is amiss, and the laws of the
"land to their due veneration.

"You have been yourselves witnesses of so
"many revolutions, and have had so much expe-
"rience, how far any power and authority that is
"only assumed by passion and appetite, and not
"supported by justice, is from providing for the
"happiness and peace of the people, or from re-
"ceiving any obedience from them, (without which
"no government can provide for them,) that you
"may very reasonably believe, that God hath not
"been so well pleased with the attempts that have
"been made, since he hath usually increased the
"confusion, by giving all the success that hath
"been desired, and brought that to pass without
"effect, which the designers have proposed as the
"best means to settle and compose the nation:
"and therefore we cannot but hope and believe,
"that you will concur with us in the remedy we
"have applied; which, to human understanding,
"is only proper for the ills we all groan under;
"and that you will make yourselves the blessed
"instruments to bring this blessing of peace and
"reconciliation upon king and people; it being
"the usual method in which divine providence
"delighteth itself, to use and sanctify those very
"means, which ill men design for the satisfaction
"of private and particular ends and ambition, and
"other wicked purposes, to wholesome and public
"ends, and to establish that good which is most
"contrary to the designers; which is the greatest
"manifestation of God's peculiar kindness to a
"nation that can be given in this world. How
"far we resolve to preserve your interests, and
"reward your services, we refer to our declara-
"tion; and we hope God will inspire you to per-
"form your duty to us, and to your native coun-
"try; whose happiness cannot be separated from
"each other.

"We have intrusted our well-beloved servant
"sir John Greenvil, one of the gentlemen of our
"bedchamber, to deliver this unto you, and to give
"us an account of your reception of it, and to
"desire you, in our name, that it may be published.
"And so we bid you farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this 4th of April,
1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved, the speaker of the
house of commons.*

Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well:
"In these great and insupportable afflictions and

“calamities, under which the poor nation hath been
 “so long exercised, and by which it is so near
 “exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural
 “and proper remedy, than to resort to those for
 “counsel and advice, who have seen and observed
 “the first beginning of our miseries, the progress
 “from bad to worse, and the mistakes and mis-
 “understandings, which have been produced, and
 “contributed to inconveniences which were not
 “intended; and after so many revolutions, and
 “the observation of what hath attended them, are
 “now trusted by our good subjects to repair the
 “breaches which are made, and to provide proper
 “remedies for those evils, and for the lasting
 “peace, happiness, and security of the kingdom.

“We do assure you upon our royal word, that
 “none of our predecessors have had a greater
 “esteem of parliaments, than we have in our judg-
 “ment, as well as from our obligation; we do
 “believe them to be so vital a part of the consti-
 “tution of the kingdom, and so necessary for the
 “government of it, that we well know neither
 “prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree
 “happy without them; and therefore you may be
 “confident, that we shall always look upon their
 “counsels, as the best we can receive; and shall
 “be as tender of their privileges, and as careful to
 “preserve and protect them, as of that which is
 “most near to ourself, and most necessary for our
 “own preservation.

“And as this is our opinion of parliaments, that
 “their authority is most necessary for the govern-
 “ment of the kingdom; so we are most confident,
 “that you believe, and find, that the preservation
 “of the king's authority is as necessary for the
 “preservation of parliaments; and that it is not
 “the name, but the right constitution of them,
 “which can prepare and apply proper remedies
 “for those evils which are grievous to the people,
 “and which can thereby establish their peace and
 “security. And therefore we have not the least
 “doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as
 “jealous of, any thing that may infringe our
 “honour, or impair our authority, as of your own
 “liberty and property; which is best preserved
 “by preserving the other.

“How far we have trusted you in this great
 “affair, and how much it is in your power to
 “restore the nation to all that it hath lost, and to
 “redeem it from any infamy it hath undergone,
 “and to make the king and people as happy as
 “they ought to be; you will find by our enclosed
 “declaration; a copy of which we have likewise
 “sent to the house of peers: and you will easily
 “believe, that we would not voluntarily, and of
 “ourself, have reposed so great a trust in you,
 “but upon an entire confidence that you will not
 “abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a
 “manner, and with such due consideration of us
 “who have trusted you, that we shall not be
 “ashamed of declining other assistance, (which
 “we have assurance of,) and repairing to you for
 “more natural and proper remedies for the evils
 “we would be freed from; nor sorry, that we
 “have bound up our own interests so entirely
 “with that of our subjects, as that we refer it to
 “the same persons to take care of us, who are
 “trusted to provide for them. We look upon
 “you as wise and dispassionate men, and good
 “patriots, who will raise up those banks and
 “fences which have been cast down, and who

“will most reasonably hope, that the same pros-
 “perity will again spring from those roots, from
 “which it hath heretofore and always grown;
 “nor can we apprehend that you will propose any
 “thing to us, or expect any thing from us,
 “but what we are as ready to give, as you to
 “receive.

“If you desire the advancement and propaga-
 “tion of the protestant religion, we have, by our
 “constant profession, and practice of it, given
 “sufficient testimony to the world, that neither
 “the unkindness of those of the same faith to-
 “wards us, nor the civilities and obligations from
 “those of a contrary profession, (of both which
 “we have had an abundant evidence,) could
 “in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve
 “from it; and nothing can be proposed to mani-
 “fest our zeal and affection for it, to which we
 “will not readily consent. And we hope, in due
 “time, ourself to propose somewhat to you for
 “the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world,
 “that we have always made it both our care and
 “our study, and have enough observed what is
 “most like to bring disadvantage to it.

“If you desire security for those who, in these
 “calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have
 “transgressed those bounds which were prescrib-
 “ed, and have invaded each other's rights, we
 “have left to you to provide for their security and
 “indemnity, and in such a way as you shall think
 “just and reasonable; and by a just computation
 “of what men have done and suffered, as near as
 “is possible, to take care that all men be satisfied;
 “which is the surest way to suppress and extirpate
 “all such uncharitableness and animosity, as
 “might hereafter shake and threaten that peace,
 “which for the present might seem established.
 “If there be a crying sin, for which the nation
 “may be involved in the infamy that attends it,
 “we cannot doubt but that you will be as solici-
 “tous to redeem it, and vindicate the nation from
 “that guilt and infamy, as we can be.

“If you desire that reverence and obedience
 “may be paid to the fundamental laws of the
 “land, and that justice may be equally and im-
 “partially administered to all men, it is that
 “which we desire to be sworn to ourself, and
 “that all persons in power and authority should
 “be so too.

“In a word, there is nothing that you can pro-
 “pose that may make the kingdom happy, which
 “we will not contend with you to compass; and
 “upon this confidence and assurance, we have
 “thought fit to send you this declaration, that you
 “may, as much as is possible, at this distance,
 “see our heart; which, when God shall bring us
 “nearer together, (as we hope he will do shortly,)
 “will appear to you very agreeable to what we
 “have professed; and we hope, that we have
 “made that right Christian use of our affliction,
 “and that the observation and experience we
 “have had in other countries, have been such,
 “as that we, and, we hope, all our subjects, shall
 “be the better for what we have seen and suf-
 “fered.

“We shall add no more, but our prayers to
 “Almighty God, that he will so bless your coun-
 “sels, and direct your endeavours, that his glory
 “and worship may be provided for; and the
 “peace, honour, and happiness of the nation
 “may be established upon those foundations

“ which can best support it. And so we bid you
“ farewell.”

*Given at our court at Breda, this 14th day of
April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

His majesty's declaration.

“ *Charles R.*

“ Charles, by the grace of God, king of Eng-
“ land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of
“ the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what
“ degree or quality soever, greeting. If the gene-
“ ral distraction and confusion, which is spread
“ over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all
“ men to a desire, and longing, that those wounds,
“ which have so many years together been kept
“ bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will
“ be to no purpose. However, after this long si-
“ lence, we have thought it our duty to declare,
“ how much we desire to contribute thereunto :
“ and that, as we can never give over the hope, in
“ good time, to obtain the possession of that right,
“ which God and nature hath made our due ; so
“ we do make it our daily suit to the divine Pro-
“ vidence, that he will, in compassion to us and
“ our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings,
“ remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable
“ possession of that our right, with as little blood
“ and damage to our people as is possible ; nor
“ do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than
“ that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is
“ theirs, by a full and entire administration of
“ justice throughout the land, and by extending
“ our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

“ And to the end that fear of punishment may
“ not engage any conscious to themselves of what
“ is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future,
“ by opposing the quiet and happiness of their
“ country, in the restoration both of king, and
“ peers, and people, to their just, ancient, and fun-
“ damental rights ; we do by these presents de-
“ clare, that we do grant a free and general pardon,
“ which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under
“ our great seal of England, to all our subjects of
“ what degree or quality soever, who, within forty
“ days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold
“ upon this our grace and favour, and shall by
“ any public act declare their doing so, and that
“ they return to the loyalty and obedience of good
“ subjects ; excepting only such persons as shall
“ hereafter be excepted by parliament. Those
“ only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty
“ soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly
“ given by this present declaration, that no crime
“ whatsoever committed against us, or our royal
“ father, before the publication of this, shall ever
“ rise in judgment, or be brought in question,
“ against any of them, to the least indamagement
“ of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates,
“ or (as far forth as lies in our power) so much
“ as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any
“ reproach, or terms of distinction from the rest
“ of our best subjects ; we desiring, and ordaining,
“ that henceforward all notes of discord, separa-
“ tion, and difference of parties, be utterly abo-
“ lished among all our subjects ; whom we invite
“ and conjure to a perfect union among themselves,
“ under our protection, for the resettlement of our
“ just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament ; by
“ which, upon the word of a king, we will be
“ advised.

“ And because the passion and uncharitableness
“ of the times have produced several opinions in
“ religion, by which men are engaged in parties
“ and animosities against each other ; which, when
“ they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of con-
“ versation, will be composed, or better under-
“ stood ; we do declare a liberty to tender consci-
“ ences ; and that no man shall be disquieted, or
“ called in question, for differences of opinion in
“ matters of religion which do not disturb the
“ peace of the kingdom ; and that we shall be
“ ready to consent to such an act of parliament,
“ as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to
“ us, for the full granting that indulgence.

“ And because in the continued distractions of
“ so many years, and so many and great revolu-
“ tions, many grants and purchases of estates have
“ been made to and by many officers, soldiers,
“ and others, who are now possessed of the same,
“ and who may be liable to actions at law, upon
“ several titles ; we are likewise willing that all
“ such differences, and all things relating to such
“ grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined
“ in parliament ; which can best provide for the
“ just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

“ And we do farther declare, that we will be
“ ready to consent to any act or acts of parliament
“ to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satis-
“ faction of all arrears due to the officers and
“ soldiers of the army under the command of
“ general Monk ; and that they shall be received
“ into our service upon as good pay and conditions
“ as they now enjoy.”

*Given under our sign manual, and privy signet,
at our court at Breda, the 14th day of April,
1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

“ *Charles R.*

“ Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins,
“ and right trusty and well-beloved cousins, and
“ trusty and right well-beloved ; we greet you
“ well. We cannot have a better reason to pro-
“ mise ourself an end of our common sufferings
“ and calamities, and that our own just power and
“ authority will, with God's blessing, be restored
“ to us, than that you are again acknowledged to
“ have that authority and jurisdiction which hath
“ always belonged to you by your birth, and the
“ fundamental laws of the land : and we have
“ thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you
“ for your help, in the composing the confound-
“ ing distempers and distractions of the kingdom ;
“ in which your sufferings are next to those we
“ have undergone ourself ; and therefore you can-
“ not but be the most proper counsellors for re-
“ moving those mischiefs, and for preventing the
“ like for the future. How great a trust we re-
“ pose in you, for the procuring and establishing
“ a blessed peace and security for the kingdom,
“ will appear to you by our enclosed declaration ;
“ which trust we are most confident you will dis-
“ charge with that justice and wisdom that becomes
“ you, and must always be expected from you ;
“ and that, upon your experience how one viola-
“ tion succeeds another, when the known relations
“ and rules of justice are once transgressed, you
“ will be as jealous for the rights of the crown,
“ and for the honour of your king, as for your-
“ selves : and then you cannot but discharge your

"trust with good success, and provide for and
 "establish the peace, happiness, and honour of
 "king, lords, and commons, upon that founda-
 "dation which can only support it; and we shall
 "be all happy in each other; and as the whole
 "kingdom will bless God for you all, so we shall
 "hold ourself obliged in an especial manner to
 "thank you in particular, according to the affec-
 "tion you shall express towards us. We need
 "the less enlarge to you upon this subject, be-
 "cause we have likewise writ to the house of
 "commons; which we suppose they will com-
 "municate to you. And we pray God to bless
 "your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And
 "so we bid you very heartily farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$ th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved general Monk and
 general Mountague, generals at sea, to be com-
 municated to the fleet.*

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.
 "It is no small comfort to us, after so long and
 "great troubles and miseries, which the whole
 "nation hath groaned under; and after so great
 "revolutions, which have still increased those
 "miseries, to hear that the fleet and ships, which
 "are the walls of the kingdom, are put under the
 "command of two persons so well disposed to,
 "and concerned in, the peace and happiness of
 "the kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that
 "the officers and seamen under your command
 "are more inclined to return to their duty to us,
 "and put a period to these distempers and dis-
 "tractions, which have so impoverished and dis-
 "honoured the nation, than to widen the breach,
 "and to raise their fortunes by rapine and vio-
 "lence; which gives us great encouragement and
 "hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds
 "by the same plaister that made the flesh raw;
 "that he will proceed in the same method in
 "pouring his blessings upon us, which he was
 "pleased to use, when he began to afflict us;
 "and that the manifestation of the good affection
 "of the fleet and seamen towards us, and the
 "peace of the nation, may be the prologue to that
 "peace, which was first interrupted by the mis-
 "take and misunderstanding of their predeces-
 "sors; which would be such a blessing upon us
 "all, that we should not be less delighted with
 "the manner, than the matter of it.

"In this hope and confidence, we have sent the
 "enclosed declaration to you; by which you may
 "discern, how much we are willing to contribute
 "towards the obtaining the general and public
 "peace: in which, as no man can be more, or so
 "much, concerned, so no man can be more soli-
 "citous for it. And we do earnestly desire you,
 "that you will cause the said declaration to be
 "published to all the officers and seamen of the
 "fleet; to the end, that they may plainly discern,
 "how much we have put it into their power to pro-
 "vide for the peace and happiness of the nation,
 "who have been always understood by them to
 "be the best and most proper counsellors for
 "those good ends: and you are likewise farther
 "to declare to them, that we have the same gra-

"cious purpose towards them, which we have ex-
 "pressed towards the army at land; and will be
 "as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears
 "due to them, and for rewarding them according
 "to their several merits, as we have expressed to
 "the other; and we will always take so particular a
 "care of them and their condition, as shall mani-
 "fest our kindness towards them. And so de-
 "pending upon God's blessing, for infusing
 "those good resolutions into your and their
 "hearts which are best for us all; we bid you
 "farewell."

*Given at our court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$ th day of
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.*

*To our trusty and well-beloved the lord mayor,
 aldermen, and common council, of our city of
 London.*

"Charles R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.
 "In these great revolutions of late, happened in
 "that our kingdom, to the wonder and amaze-
 "ment of all the world, there is none that we
 "have looked upon with more comfort, than the
 "so frequent and public manifestations of their
 "affections to us in the city of London; which
 "hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and which,
 "no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of
 "God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation;
 "which hath been encouraged by you, and your
 "good example, to assert that government under
 "which it hath, so many hundred years, enjoyed
 "as great felicity as any nation in Europe; and to
 "discountenance the imaginations of those who
 "would subject our subjects to a government they
 "have not yet devised, and, to satisfy the pride
 "and ambition of a few ill men, would introduce
 "the most arbitrary and tyrannical power that
 "was ever yet heard of. How long we have all
 "suffered under those and the like devices, all
 "the world takes notice, to the no small reproach
 "of the English nation; which we hope is now
 "providing for its own security and redemption,
 "and will be no longer bewitched by those inven-
 "tions.

"How desirous we are to contribute to the
 "obtaining the peace and happiness of our sub-
 "jects without effusion of blood; and how far we
 "are from desiring to recover what belongs to us
 "by a war, if it can be otherwise done, will appear
 "to you by the enclosed declaration; which, toge-
 "ther with this our letter, we have intrusted our
 "right trusty and well-beloved cousin, the lord
 "viscount Mordaunt, and our trusty and well-be-
 "loved servant, sir John Greenvil, knight, one of
 "the gentlemen of our bedchamber, to deliver
 "to you; to the end, that you, and all the rest of
 "our good subjects of that our city of London,
 "(to whom we desire it should be published,)
 "may know, how far we are from the desire of
 "revenge, or that the peace, happiness, and secu-
 "rity of the kingdom, should be raised upon any
 "other foundation than the affections and hearts
 "of our subjects, and their own consents.

"We have not the least doubt of your just sense
 "of these our condescensions, or of your zeal to
 "advance and promote the same good end, by
 "disposing all men to meet us with the same

“ affection and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental laws to that reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by our particular affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native country, and to advance the honour of it; and as we have that full affection for the kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary kindness for our native city in that particular; which we shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their charter, and confirming all those privileges which they have received from our predecessors, but by adding and granting any new favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and honour of that our native city; for which we will be so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all those respects, even from our own observation and experience abroad. And we are most confident, we shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all possible service from your affections: and so we bid you farewell.”

Given at our court at Breda, the $\frac{4}{11}$ th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The [two] gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the king returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the parliament was to begin. The general, upon the perusal of the copies of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the king; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of king, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr Morrice only excepted,) that he had received any letter from the king, till the very minute that he presented it to the house of commons.

There happened at the same time a concurrence which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction, that hindered the universal consent to call in the king, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproaches, which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the king, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they, who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the king's restoration, with extreme license and insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the king's party caused a profession and protestation to be prepared, in which they declared that they looked upon their late sufferings as the effect of God's judgments upon their own particular sins, which had as much contributed to the miseries of the nation, as any other cause had done; and they did therefore protest, and call God to witness of such their protes-

tation, that if it should please God to restore the king, they would be so far from remembering any injuries or discourtesies which they had sustained, in order to return the like to any who had obliged them, that they resolved on nothing more than to live with the same affection and good neighbourhood towards them, as towards each other, and never to make the least reflection upon any thing that was past.

These professions, or to the same purpose, under the title of a declaration of all those that had served the late king, or his present majesty, or adhered to the royal party in such a city or county, which was named, were signed by all the considerable persons therein; and then all printed with their names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the same giddiness. The Irish, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past miscarriages and madness by doing service for the king, were under as severe a captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them transported into foreign parts, for the service of the two kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that number consumed by the plague and famine, and inhuman barbarities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Irish, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releases of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refused to give such releases, they were still deprived of what they would not release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorse killed by the English, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those releases, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had such assignments of land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that province, who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by husbandry raise any thing out of their lands to support their lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence, and to be in some sort industrious; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the limits prescribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles

which had been granted were not punctually observed to them; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the English, under some former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Irish had taken so heavily from the earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the English, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he lost his life.

Upon the recalling and tame submission of Harry Cromwell to the rump parliament, as soon as his brother Richard was deposed, the factions increased in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongst the soldiers and officers of the army, as in the council of state, and amongst the civil magistrates. The lord Broghill, who was president of Munster, and of a very great interest and influence upon that whole province, though he had great wariness in discovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated Lambert so much, that he less feared the king; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his majesty service; and he had a good post, and a good party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was president of Connaught, and had a good command, and interest in the army, was a man of less wit and less guilt, and more courage, and impatience to serve the king. He sent over sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottish gentleman of good affection to the king, and good interest in the province of Ulster, where he was an officer of horse. This gentleman sir Charles Coot sent to Brussels to the marquis of Ormond, "that he might assure his majesty of his affection and duty; and that, if his majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into Ireland, he was confident the whole kingdom would declare for him: that though the present power in England had removed all the sober men from the government of the state, in Ireland, under the character of presbyterians; and had put Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the king's judges, in their places; yet they were so generally odious to the army as well as to the people, that they could seize upon their persons, and the very castle of Dublin, when they should judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Brussels, before the king had any assurance or confident hope of the general, and when few men thought his fortune better than desperate: so that, if what sir Arthur proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most men about the court would have been very solicitous for his majesty's going into Ireland. But his majesty well knew that that unhappy kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed sir Arthur Forbes with such letters and commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the state of affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and general Monk's marching towards London, the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coot, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined

with such other persons who were presbyterians, and though they had been always against the king, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by Lambert, or the rump parliament, and submitted to the orders of general Monk, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the king; and so, by the time that the parliament was to meet at Westminster, all things were so well disposed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the general and the parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of April; of which the general was returned a member, to serve as knight of the shire for the county of Devon, together with Mr. Maurice; sir Harbottle Grimstone was chosen speaker, who had been a member of the long parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Isle of Wight; where he was one of the commissioners sent to treat with that king, and behaved himself so well, that his majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the king's concessions; and was thereupon in the number of those who were by force excluded the house. His election to be speaker at this time was contrived by those who meant well to the king; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchristian murder of the late king. And in these generals they spent the first five days of sitting; no man having the courage, how loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the general was of; who could only protect such a proposition from being penal to the person that made it, by the former ordinances of the rump parliament.

After the general had well surveyed the temper of the house, upon the first of May he came into the house, and told them, "one sir John Grenvil, who was a servant of the king's, had brought him a letter from his majesty; which he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it without their direction; and that the same gentleman was at the door, and had a letter to the house;" which was no sooner said, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the king his master, having been lately with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to the house:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the sergeant to be delivered to the speaker, he withdrew.

The house immediately called to have both letters read, that to the general, and that to the speaker; which being done, the declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of: and so universal a joy was never seen within those walls; and though there were some members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the house, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a

committee to prepare an answer to his majesty's letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the house had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their loyalty and duty to his majesty; and that the house would give a speedy answer to his majesty's gracious proposals. They likewise ordered, at the same time, that both his majesty's letters, that to the house, and that to the general, with his majesty's declaration therein enclosed, and the resolution of the house thereupon, should be forthwith printed and published.

This kind of reception was beyond what the best affected, nay, even the king, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the same pace. The lords, when they saw what spirit the house of commons was possessed of, would not lose their share of thanks, but made haste into their house without excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewise the letter from sir John Grenvil which his majesty had directed to them; and they received it with the same duty and acknowledgment. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, were likewise transported with the king's goodness towards them, and with the expressions of his royal clemency; and entered into close deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army, upon the sight of the letters to their generals, and his majesty's declaration, thought themselves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good instruments of his majesty's restoration; and made those vows, and published such declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their generals caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the general managed the business, which he had now undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their commands whose affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at least their countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the house of commons to prepare an answer to the king's letter, found it hard to satisfy all men, who were well contented that the king should be invited to return: but some thought that the guilt of the nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the treaty ought first to be made with the king, and conditions of security agreed on, before his majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the parliament, had designed some articles to be prepared, according to the model of those at Killingworth, in the time of king Harry the Third, to which the king should be sworn before he came home. Then the presbyterian party, of which there were many members in parliament, though they were rather troublesome than powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their answer to the discountenance of the bishops. But the warmer zeal of the house threw away all those

formalities and affectations: they said, "they had proceeded too far already in their vote upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again, and to offend the king with colder expressions of their duty." In the end, after some days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the house, they were contented to gratify the presbyterians in the length of the answer, and in using some expressions which would please them, and could do the king no prejudice; and all agreed, that this answer should be returned to his majesty, which is here inserted in the very words:

Most royal sovereign,

"We your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto your majesty the unfeigned thankfulness of our hearts, for those gracious expressions of piety, and goodness, and love to us, and the nations under your dominion, which your majesty's letter of the 4th of April, dated from Breda, together with the declaration enclosed in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which we do, in the first place, look up to the great King of kings, and bless his name, who hath put these thoughts into the heart of our king, to make him glorious in the eyes of his people; as those great deliverances, which that divine Majesty hath afforded unto your royal person, from many dangers, and the support which he hath given to your heroic and princely mind under various trials, make it appear to all the world that you are precious in his sight. And give us leave to say, that as your majesty is pleased to declare your confidence in parliaments, your esteem of them, and this your judgment, and character of them, that they are so necessary for the government of the kingdom, that neither prince nor people can be in any tolerable degree happy without them, and therefore say, that you will hearken unto their counsels, be tender of their privileges, and careful to preserve and protect them; so we trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that your majesty will not be deceived in us, and that we will never depart from that fidelity which we owe unto your majesty, that zeal which we bear unto your service, and a constant endeavour to advance your honour and greatness.

"And we beseech your majesty, we may add this farther for the vindication of parliaments, and even of the last parliament, convened under your royal father of happy memory, when, as your majesty well observes, through mistakes, and misunderstandings, many inconveniences were produced, which were not intended, that those very inconveniences could not have been brought upon us by those persons who had designed them, without violating the parliament itself. For they well knew it was not possible to do a violence to that sacred person, whilst the parliament, which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safety of that person, remained entire. Surely, sir, as the persons of our kings have ever been dear unto parliaments, so we cannot think of that horrid act committed against the precious life of our late sovereign, but with such a detestation and abhorrency, as

“we want words to express it; and, next to wishing it had never been, we wish it may never be remembered by your majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sorrow, as it will never be remembered by us, but with that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the greatest reproach that ever was incurred by any of the English nation, an offence to all the protestant churches abroad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of religion here at home; though both profession, and true professors, and the nation itself, as well as the parliament, were most innocent of it; it having been only the contrivance and act of some few ambitious and bloody persons, and such others, as by their influence were misled. And as we hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil consequences thereof, unto the land, whose divine justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so we cannot but give due praise to your majesty's goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent your parliament and people, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the parliament to consider farther, and advise your majesty, what may be necessary to restore the nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the banks and fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the advancement of religion, the security of our laws, liberties, and estates, and the removing all jealousies and animosities, which may render our peace less certain and durable. Wherein your majesty gives a large evidence of your great wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

“We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things; and, in a very short time, we hope to be able to present them to your majesty; and for the present do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your grace and favour in assuring us of your royal concurrence with us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, but what you will be as ready to give, as we to receive. And we cannot doubt of your majesty's effectual performance, since your own princely judgment hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such things; and your piety and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to your faithful parliament. You speak as a gracious king, and we will do what befits dutiful, loving, and loyal subjects; who are yet more engaged to honour and highly esteem your majesty, for your declining, as you were pleased to say, all foreign assistance, and rather trusting to your people; who, we do assure your majesty, will and do open their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will spare neither their estates, nor their lives, when your service shall require it of them.

“And we have yet more cause to enlarge our praise and our prayers to God for your majesty, that you have continued unshaken in your faith; that neither the temptation of allurements, persuasions, and promises from seducing papists

“on the one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from some seduced and misguided professors of the protestant religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on your majesty, to make you forsake the Rock of Israel, the God of your fathers, and the true protestant religion, in which your majesty hath been bred; but you have still been as a rock yourself, firm to your covenant with your and our God, even now expressing your zeal and affection for the protestant religion, and your care and study for the propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and an assurance to them that God would not forsake you; but after many trials, which should but make you more precious, as gold out of the fire, would restore your majesty unto your patrimony, and people, with more splendour and dignity, and make you the glory of kings, and the joy of your subjects; which is, and shall ever be, the prayer of your majesty's most loyal subjects, the commons of England assembled in parliament.”

Which letter was signed by sir Harbottle Grimstone, speaker.

As soon as this letter was engrossed and signed, sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to the bar, the speaker stood up, and told him, “that they need not acquaint him with what grateful hearts they had received his majesty's gracious letter; he himself was an ear and eye-witness of it: their bells and their bonfires had already begun the proclamation of his majesty's goodness, and of their joys; that they had now prepared an answer to his majesty, which should be delivered to him; and that they did not think fit he should return to their royal sovereign without some testimony of their respects to himself; and therefore that they had ordered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the messenger of so gracious a message;” and in the name of the house he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a change was this, that a servant of the king's, who, for near ten years together, had been in prisons, and under confinements, only for being the king's servant, and would, but three months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the king, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the king so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.

The lords and the commons now conferred together, how they might with more lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his majesty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late king, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his estate, should presume to proclaim his successor; which so terrified the people, that they dared not so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this parliament had now, by all the

ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make some solemn proclamation of his majesty's undoubted right to the crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare such a proclamation; which being done, the lords and commons, the general having concerted all things with the city, met in Westminster-hall upon the 8th of May, within seven days after the receipt of the king's letter; and walked into the palace-yard; where they all stood bare, whilst the heralds proclaimed the king. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the same; and afterwards at Temple-bar; where the lord mayor, and aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was spent in those acclamations, festivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon such solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his majesty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in these words:

"Although it can no way be doubted, but that
 "his majesty's right and title to his crown and
 "kingdoms is and was every way completed by
 "the death of his most royal father of glorious
 "memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of
 "a proclamation; yet, since proclamations in such
 "cases have been always used, to the end that all
 "good subjects might, upon this occasion, testify
 "their duty and respect, and since the armed vio-
 "lence, and other the calamities of many years
 "last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such
 "opportunity, whereby we might express our loy-
 "alty and allegiance to his majesty, we therefore,
 "the lords and commons now assembled in par-
 "liament, together with the lord mayor, aldermen,
 "and commons of the city of London, and other
 "freemen of this kingdom now present, do, ac-
 "cording to our duty and allegiance, heartily, joy-
 "fully, and unanimously acknowledge and pro-
 "claim, that immediately upon the decease of our
 "late sovereign lord king Charles, the imperial
 "crown of the realm of England, and of all the
 "kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to
 "the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful
 "undoubted succession, descend and come to his
 "most excellent majesty Charles the Second, as
 "being lineally, justly, and lawfully next heir of
 "the blood royal of this realm; and that, by the
 "goodness and providence of Almighty God, he is
 "of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the
 "most potent, mighty, and undoubted king; and
 "thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do
 "submit and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and pos-
 "terity for ever."

From the time that the king came to Breda, very few days passed without some express from London, upon the observations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active against the king, and were now as solicitous his majesty should know, that they wholly dedicated themselves to his service. Even before the general had declared himself, or the parliament was assembled, some, who had sat

judges upon his father, sent many excuses, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform signal services, if they might obtain their pardon. But his majesty would admit no address from them, nor hearken to any propositions made on their behalf.

There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the case of colonel Ingoldsby; who was in the number of the late king's judges, and whose name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the deposal of Richard, had declared, that he would serve the king, and told Mr. Mordaunt, "that he would perform all services he could, without making any conditions; and would be well content, that his majesty, when he came home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; only he desired that the king might know the truth of his case;" which was this:

He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came first to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horse, and to have the reputation of great courage against the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be judges of the king; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other passion in any part of the quarrel, but his personal kindness to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the painted chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sat upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the king's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, "though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that paper as well as they;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his name there were compared with what he had ever writ himself, it could never be looked upon as his own hand."

Though his majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his pardon; presuming that, if all these allegations were true, there would be a season when a distinction would be made, without his majesty's declaring himself, between him and those other of those classes, which he resolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldsby at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former resolutions, and first surprised the castle of Windsor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition,) and put out that governor whom the rump had put in; and afterwards took Lambert prisoner, as is before remembered.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, admiral Mountague sent his cousin Edward Mountague to the king, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which he hoped might be within so many days,) he would be himself on board, and would

then be ready to receive and obey his majesty's orders: this was before the parliament assembled. He sent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the king had any assurance of the general, who, however, he wished might know nothing of his resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his majesty.

The frequent resort of persons to Brussels, before they knew of the king's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his majesty's servants, and the other English who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the Spanish ministers begin to think, that the king's affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the king's remove to Breda than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his majesty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing, but of greater resort thither to the king, and that he had stayed longer there than he had seemed to intend to do, the marquis of Carracena sent a person of prime quality to Breda, "to invite his majesty to return to Brussels; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful propositions from England, to which he was not willing to make any answer, without receiving his majesty's approbation and command."

The king sent him word, "that he was obliged, with reference to his business in England, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his affairs might succeed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return to Brussels at all." Which answer the marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same messenger with a kind of expostulation "for the indignity that would be offered to his catholic majesty, if he should leave his dominions in such a manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the duke of York, and the duke of Gloucester, or at least one of them, might come to Brussels, that the world might not believe, that his majesty was offended with the catholic king; who had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the king and both the dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his catholic majesty, and of the civilities shewed to them by the marquis himself, he revenged himself upon don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his stupidity and ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years ambassador in that kingdom."

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambassador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other in-

tentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the king was removed from Brussels to Breda, he presently persuaded the queen mother of England to send the lord Jermyn (whom the king had lately, upon his mother's desire, created earl of St. Alban's) to invite the king "to come into France; and to make that treaty, which, probably, would be between the ensuing parliament and his majesty, in that kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her majesty's interest and honour; in which the power of the cardinal might be of great importance in diverting or allaying any insolent demands which might be made." And the cardinal himself made the same invitation by that lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the most Christian king was infinitely desirous to perform all those offices and respects to his majesty, which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till now;" with this addition, "that if his majesty found that the expedition of his affairs would not permit him to come to Paris, order and preparations should be made for his reception at Calais, or any other place he would appoint; where the queen his mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest esteem; which the sagacity of that great minister was plentifully supplied with.

The earl of St. Alban's found the king in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the instances he brought; and was contented to return with the king's acknowledgments and excuse, "that he could not decently pass through Flanders, after he had refused to return to Brussels; and without going through those provinces, he could not well make a journey into France." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the ministers of these two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his journey.

Several persons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Brussels, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to present their duty to the king; some being employed to procure pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good presents in English gold to the king, that their names, and the names of their friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their affections that way to his majesty, by supplying his necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these supplies his majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his servants the arrears of their board-wages, but to give them all some testimony of his bounty, to raise their spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the king's letter by the general to the parliament.

The king had not been many days in Breda,

before the States General sent deputies of their own body to congratulate his majesty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beseeching his majesty, "that he would grace that province with his royal presence at the Hague, where preparations should be made for his reception, in such a manner as would testify the great joy of their hearts for the blessings which divine Providence was pouring upon his head." His majesty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their professions.

In the mean time Breda swarmed with English, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with presents, and protestations, "how much they had longed and prayed for this blessed change; and magnifying their sufferings under the late tyrannical government;" when some of them had been zealous instruments and promoters of it. The magistrates of the town took all imaginable care to express their devotion to the king, by using all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his subjects, who resorted thither to express their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always passion for his prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their superiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readiness, and the States having sent their yachts and other vessels, for the accommodation of his majesty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the king, with his royal sister and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, within an hour, embarked themselves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they passed, making all those expressions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the situation of those places would suffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they seemed to pass through one continued street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both sides, with such acclamations of joy, as if themselves were now restored to peace and security.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his majesty to the house provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatness of that state. The treatment of his majesty, and all who had relation to his service, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the universal joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own subjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all solemnity; and then several persons, according to their faculties, made their professions; and a set number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his majesty's commands. All the ambassadors and public ministers

of kings, princes, and states, repaired to his majesty, and professed the joy of their masters on his behalf: so that a man would have thought this revolution had been brought to pass by the general combination and activity of Christendom, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The king had been very few days at the Hague, when he heard that the English fleet was in sight of Scheveling; and shortly after, an officer from admiral Mountague was sent to the king, to present his duty to him, and to the duke of York, their high admiral, to receive orders. As soon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found those officers more frank in declaring their duty to the king, and resolution to serve him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the parliament to his majesty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he set up his sails, and stood for the coast of Holland, leaving only two or three of the lesser ships to receive their orders, and to bring over those persons, who, he knew, were designed to wait upon his majesty; which expedition was never forgiven him by some men, who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take possession of his command; where he was received by all the officers and seamen, with all possible duty and submission, and with those acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving information of the state of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the several ships, his highness returned with it that night to the king, that his majesty might make alterations, and new christen those ships which too much preserved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

Shortly after, the committee of lords and commons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his majesty, who immediately received them very graciously. From the house of peers were deputed six of their body, and, according to custom, twelve from the commons. The peers were, the earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middlesex, the lord viscount Hereford, the lord Berkley of Berkley-castle, and the lord Brook. From the commons were sent, the lord Fairfax, the lord Bruce, the lord Falkland, the lord Castleton, the lord Herbert, the lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, sir Horatio Townsend, sir sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, sir George Booth, John Holland, and sir Henry Cholmeley. These persons presented the humble invitation and supplication of the parliament, "that his majesty would be pleased to return, and take the government of the kingdom into his hands; where he should find all possible affection, duty, and obedience, from all his subjects." And lest his return so much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to discharge those debts, which he could not but have contracted, they presented from the parliament the sum of fifty thousand pounds to his majesty; having likewise order to pay the sum of ten thousand pounds to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester; which was a very good supply to their several necessities. The king treated all the

committee very graciously together, and every one of them severally and particularly very obligingly. So that some of them, who were conscious to themselves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterness from so princely and so generous a nature.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the king from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the same time, send fourteen of the most substantial citizens "to assure his majesty of their fidelity, and most cheerful submission; and that they placed all their felicity, and hope of future prosperity, in the assurance of his majesty's grace and protection; for the meriting whereof, their lives and fortunes should be always at his majesty's disposal;" and they presented to him from the city the sum of ten thousand pounds. The king told them, "he had always had a particular affection for the city of London, the place of his birth; and was very glad, that they had now so good a part in his restoration; of which he was informed; and how much he was beholding to every one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money presented to the king by the parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richest merchants in Amsterdam, who had vast estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal citizens of London, who came to the king, went themselves to solicit it, and had credit enough themselves for much greater sums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the king, that it is not easy in that most opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greatest credit, to draw together a great sum of ready money; the custom of that country, which flourishes so much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amsterdam upon their correspondents in London, for above thirty thousand pounds of the money that was assigned; all which was paid in London as soon as demanded.

With these committees from the parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergymen, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the rest, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Manton; and others, the most eminent of the presbyterians,) desired to be thought to represent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his majesty; where they presented their duties, and magnified the affections of themselves and their friends; who, they said, "had always, according to the obligation of their covenant, wished his majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the people of their duty;

which, they presumed, his majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him." They thanked God "for his constancy to the protestant religion;" and professed, "that they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy; only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful."

The king spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard conditions upon them, with reference to their consciences: that they well knew, he had referred the settling all differences of that nature to the wisdom of the parliament; which best knew what indulgence and toleration was necessary for the peace and quiet of the kingdom." But his majesty could not be so rid of them; they desired several private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in England, and the people having been disused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his majesty should, at his first landing in the kingdom, revive the use of it in his own chapel; whither all persons would resort; and therefore they besought him, that he would not use it entirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, with mixture of other good prayers, which his chaplains might use."

The king told them with some warmth, "that whilst he gave them liberty, he would not have his own taken from him: that he had always used that form of service, which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them: that, when he came into England, he would not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, though he doubted not, he should find it used in many; but he was sure he would have no other used in his own chapel." Then they besought him with more importunity, "that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because the sight of it would give great offence and scandal to the people." They found the king as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, "that he would not be restrained himself, when he gave others so much liberty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the church, constantly practised in England till these late ill times; that it had been still retained by him; and though he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and undecency in the exercise of God's worship, he would never, in the least degree, by his own practice, discountenance the good old order of the church, in which he had been bred." Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased further troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the Hague in triumphs and festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with several rich presents made to his majesty, the king took

his leave of the States, with all the professions of amity their civilities deserved; and embarked himself on the Prince; which had been before called the Protector, but had been new christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order, of his royal highness the admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of May, the fleet set sail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover so early on the six and twentieth, that his majesty disembarked; and being received by the general at the brink of the sea, he presently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where he stayed the next day, being Sunday; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people seemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other persons of quality, to present themselves to the king; and there his majesty assembled his council; and swore the general of the council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the signet, and swore him secretary of state. That day his majesty gave the garter to the general, and likewise to the marquis of Hertford, and the earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before), and sent it likewise by garter, herald and king at arms, to admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

On Monday he went to Rochester; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birthday, he entered London; all the ways from Dover thither being so full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered. About or above Greenwich the lord mayor and aldermen met him, with all such protestations of joy as can hardly be imagined. And the concourse was so great, that the king rode in a crowd from the bridge to Temple-bar;

all the companies of the city standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his majesty's presence. And he no sooner came to Whitehall, but the two houses of parliament solemnly cast themselves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his majesty said smilingly to some about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault " he had been absent so long; for he saw nobody " that did not protest, he had ever wished for his " return."

In this wonderful manner, and with this miraculous expedition, did God put an end in one month (for it was the first of May that the king's letter was delivered to the parliament, and his majesty was at Whitehall upon the twenty-ninth of the same month) to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of parricide, murder, and devastation, that fire and the sword, in the hands of the most wicked men in the world, could be ministers of; almost to the desolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. Yet did the merciful hand of God in one month bind up all those wounds, and even made the scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance; and if there wanted more glorious monuments of this deliverance, posterity would know the time of it, by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, cardinal Mazarine and don Lewis de Haro, who both died within three or four months, with the wonder if not the agony of this undreamed of prosperity; and as if they had taken it ill that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in Europe without their concurrence, and against all their machinations.

END OF THE LAST BOOK.

THE LIFE
OF
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD :
IN WHICH IS INCLUDED
A CONTINUATION OF HIS
HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat. CICERO.

A NEW EDITION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

OXFORD; UNIVERSITY PRESS, MDCCCXLII.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

HISTORY OF THE GREAT REFORMATION

CHARLES THE FIRST

A NEW EDITION FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

EDITED BY JAMES H. BURNET

THE PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE reader can desire no better recommendation of the History now published, than to be assured that it is the genuine Work of the great Earl of Clarendon. The Work itself bears plain characteristics of its Author. The same dignity of sentiment and style which distinguishes the History of the Rebellion, and all other the works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this performance.

The reason why this History has lain so long concealed will appear from the ^a title of it, which shews that his lordship intended it only for the information of his children. But the late lord Hyde, judging that so faithful and authentic an account of this interesting period of our history would be an useful and acceptable present to the public, and bearing a grateful remembrance of this place of his education, left by his will this, and the other remains of his great grandfather, in the hands of trustees, to be printed at our press, and directed that the profits arising from the sale should be employed towards the establishing a Riding-school in the University. But lord Hyde dying before his father, the then earl of Clarendon, the property of these papers never became vested in him, and consequently this bequest was void. However, the noble heiresses of the earl of Clarendon, out of their regard to the public, and to this seat of learning, have been pleased to fulfil the kind intentions of lord Hyde, and adopt a scheme recommended both by him ^b and his great grandfather. To this end they have sent to the University this History, to be printed at our press, on condition that the profits arising from the publication or sale of this Work be applied as a beginning for a fund for supporting a Manège, or Academy for Riding, and other useful exercises, in Oxford.

The Work here offered to the public consists of two parts. The second, which is the most important and interesting part of the Work, is the History of the Earl of Clarendon's Life, from the year 1660 to 1667, from the restoration to the time of his banishment, and includes in it the most memorable transactions of those times. It may be therefore considered in two views. It is a second part of Lord Clarendon's Life; and is also a Continuation of his former History, entitled, The History of the Rebellion, from the year 1660, where that ends, to the year 1667. This is carefully printed, without any material variations, from a manuscript, all of lord Clarendon's own hand-writing, excepting some few pages in the hand of his amanuensis, which are only transcripts from two papers; the one, a letter from the Chancellor to the King on the subject of his Majesty's declared displeasure; the other, a paper containing his reasons for withdrawing himself, which he left behind him to be presented to the House of Peers.

To this our noble benefactresses have thought fit to prefix, as a first part, the History of the Earl of Clarendon's Life, from his birth, to the year 1660, extracted from another manuscript of Lord Clarendon's own hand-writing. This other manuscript is entitled by his Lordship, The History of his own Life, and contains likewise the substance of the History of the Rebellion. However, it is not the manuscript from whence that History was printed, but appears rather to be the rough draught from whence that History, or, however, great part of it, was

^a See Continuation, p. 1.

^b See his Dialogue on Education, p. 325, &c.

afterwards compiled. For although he tells us, towards the close of this Work, that he wrote the first four books of the History of the Rebellion in the island of Jersey, (many years before the date of this History of his Life,) yet he likewise informs us, that he did not proceed to complete that History till after his banishment. It is therefore supposed by the family, (and the supposition seems to carry with it great probability,) that, seeing an unjust and cruel persecution prevail against him, he was induced at that time to extend the original plan of his Work, by introducing the particular History of his own Life, from his earliest days down to the time of his disgrace, as the most effectual means of vindicating his character, wickedly traduced by his enemies, and artfully misrepresented to a master, whom he had long and faithfully served, whose countenance and favour being transferred to the authors and abettors of his ruin, might probably, in the eyes of the world, give too much colour to their aspersions. But afterwards, on more mature thoughts, his great benevolence and public spirit prevailed on him to drop the defence of his own private character, and resume his original plan of the History of the Rebellion. However, his noble descendants, willing to do justice to the memory of their great grandfather, and thinking it might be also of service to the public to deliver his exemplary life as complete as they could authentically collect it, have caused such parts of this manuscript, as related to the Earl of Clarendon's private life, to be extracted; and according to their directions it is printed.

The directions are as follows :

“ The Life of Lord Chancellor Clarendon from his Birth to the Restoration of the Royal Family is extracted from a large manuscript in his own hand-writing, in which is contained what has already been printed in the History of the Rebellion; and therefore care has been taken to transcribe only what has never yet been published: but as those passages are often intermixed with the History already printed, it has been found necessary to preserve connection by giving abstracts^c of some parts of the printed history, with references to the pages, where the reader may be satisfied more at large. And, as great pains have been taken to put this first part in the order it now stands, it is desired that in this first edition it may be printed exactly after the copy to be sent.

“ The original manuscript of the Continuation of Lord Chancellor Clarendon's Life from 1660 to 1667 inclusive is very incorrect, many words being omitted, that must necessarily be supplied: but it is desired that no other alterations may be made, except in the orthography, or where literal or grammatical errors require it, or where little inaccuracies may have escaped the attention of the author. The work must be printed entire, as it now stands, no part of it left out, not an abstract, nor a reference omitted.”

These directions have been punctually observed. The second part is printed from his lordship's manuscript entire, without any omission or variation, except as above; and with regard to the first part, the extract sent to us has been carefully compared with the original manuscript itself, and found to agree: so that the whole here offered to the public is the genuine work of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. And both these valuable original manuscripts are given to the University by our noble benefactresses, to be deposited in the public library.

^c In the present edition all the passages here referred to are printed between brackets.

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON;

FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION OF THE
ROYAL FAMILY IN THE YEAR 1660.

PART I.

Montpelier, July 23, 1668.

HE was born in Dinton in the county of Wilts, six miles from Salisbury, in the house of his father, who was Henry Hyde, the third son of Laurence Hyde, of West-Hatch, esquire; which Laurence was the younger son of Robert Hyde of Norbury in the county of Chester, esquire; which estate of Norbury had continued in that family, and descended from father to son from before the Conquest, and continues to this day in Edward Hyde, who is possessed thereof: the other estate of Hyde having some ages since fallen into that of Norbury, by a marriage, and continues still in that house.

Laurence, being, as was said, the younger son of Robert Hyde of Norbury, and the custom of that county of Chester being, to make small provisions for the younger sons of the best families, was, by the care and providence of his mother, well educated, and when his age was fit for it, was placed as a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, where he gained great experience, and was employed in the affairs and business of sir John Thynne, who, under the protection and service of the duke of Somerset, had in a short time raised a very great estate, and was the first of that name who was known, and left the house of Longleat to his heir, with other lands to a great value. Laurence Hyde continued not above a year (or very little more) in that relation, and never gained any thing by it; but shortly after married Anne, the relict and widow of Matthew Calthurst, esquire, of Claverton near Bath in the county of Somerset, by whom he had a fair fortune: and by her had four sons and four daughters, that is to say, Robert, Laurence, Henry, and Nicholas; Joanna, married to Edward Younge of Durnford near Salisbury, esquire; Alice, married to John St. Loe of Kingston in the county of Wilts, esquire; Anne, married to Thomas Baynard of Wanstrow in the county of Somerset, esquire; and Susanna, married to sir George Fuy of Kyneton in the county of Wilts, knight: and these four sons and four daughters lived all above forty years after the death of their father.

Laurence, shortly after his marriage with Anne, purchased the manor of West-Hatch, where he

died, and several other lands; and having taken care to breed his sons at the university of Oxford, and inns of court, leaving his wife, the mother of all his children, possessed of the greatest part of his estate, presuming that she would be careful and kind to all their children, upon that account left the bulk of his estate to Robert his eldest son, who married Anne the daughter of — Castilian of Benham in the county of Berks, esquire, who had many children, and lived to the age of eighty, and left his estate, a little impaired by the marriage of many daughters, to his son. To Laurence his second son (who was afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, and a lawyer of great name and practice) he left the impropriate rectory of Dinton, after the life of Anne his mother, charged with an annuity of forty pounds per annum to his third son Henry for his life; and he charged some other part of his estate with an annuity of thirty pounds per annum to his youngest son Nicholas, for his life, relying upon the goodness of his wife, who was left very rich, as well by his donation, as from her husband Calthurst, that she would provide for the better support of the younger children; two of which raised their fortunes by the law, Laurence, as was said before, being attorney general to the queen, and Nicholas, the youngest son, living to be lord chief justice of the king's bench, and dying in that office; both of them leaving behind them many sons and daughters.

Henry, the third son, being of the Middle Temple at his father's death, and being thought to be most in the favour of his mother, and being ready to be called to the bar, though he had studied the law very well, and was a very good scholar, having proceeded master of arts in Oxford, had yet no mind to the practice of the law, but had long had an inclination to travel beyond the seas, which in that strict time of queen Elizabeth was not usual, except to merchants, and such gentlemen who resolved to be soldiers; and at last prevailed with his mother to give him leave to go to the Spa for his health, from whence he followed his former inclinations, and passing through Germany, he went into Italy, and from Florence

he went to Syena, and thence to Rome: which was not only strictly inhibited to all the queen's subjects, but was very dangerous to all the English nation who did not profess themselves Roman catholics; to which profession he was very averse, in regard of the great animosity Sixtus Quintus (who was then pope) had to the person of queen Elizabeth: yet cardinal Allen, who was the last English Cardinal, being then in Rome, he received so much protection from him, that during the time he stayed there, which was some months, he received no trouble, though many English priests murmured very much, and said, "that my lord cardinal was much to be blamed for protecting such men, who came to Rome, and so seeing the ecclesiastical persons of that nation, discovered them afterwards when they came into England, and so they were put to death."

After he was returned into England his mother was very glad, and persuaded him very earnestly to marry, offering him in that case, that whereas she had the rectory of Dinton in jointure for her life, upon which he had only an annuity of forty pounds per annum, for his life, the remainder being to come to Laurence the second brother and his heirs for ever, she would immediately resign her term to him, for his better support, and would likewise purchase of Laurence the said rectory for the life of Henry, and such a wife as he should marry; upon which encouragement, and depending still upon his mother's future bounty, about the thirtieth year of his age, he married Mary, one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the county of Wilts, esquire, by whom in present, and after her mother, he had a good fortune, in the account of that age. From that time, he lived a private life at Dinton aforesaid, with great cheerfulness and content, and with a general reputation throughout the whole country; being a person of great knowledge and reputation, and of so great esteem for integrity, that most persons near him referred all matters of contention and difference which did arise amongst them to his determination; by which, that part of the country lived in more peace and quietness than many of their neighbours. During the time of queen Elizabeth he served as a burgess for some neighbour boroughs in many parliaments; but from the death of queen Elizabeth, he never was in London, though he lived above thirty years after; and his wife, who was married to him above forty years, never was in London in her life; the wisdom and frugality of that time being such, that few gentlemen made journeys to London, or any other expensive journeys, but upon important business, and their wives never; by which providence they enjoyed and improved their estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours; and in this rank, and with this reputation, this gentleman lived till he was seventy years of age; his younger brother the chief justice dying some years before him, and his two elder brothers outliving him. The great affection between the four brothers, and towards their sisters, of whom all enjoyed plenty and contentedness, was very notorious throughout the country, and of credit to them all.

Henry Hyde, the third son of Laurence, by his intermarriage with Mary Langford, had four sons and five daughters, and being by the kindness

and bounty of his mother, who lived long, and till he had seven or eight children, possessed of such an estate as made his condition easy to him, lived still in the country, as was said before. Laurence his eldest son died young; Henry his second son lived till he was twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age; Edward his third son was he who came afterwards to be earl of Clarendon, and lord high chancellor of England; Nicholas died young; Henry and Edward were both in the university of Oxford together; Henry being master of arts the act before his younger brother Edward came to the university, who was then but thirteen years of age, and designed by his father to the clergy.

Edward Hyde, being the third son of his father, was born at Dinton upon the eighteenth day of February in the year 1608, being the fifth year of king James; and was always bred in his father's house under the care of a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of that parish, who, having been always a schoolmaster, (though but of very indifferent parts,) had bred many good scholars, and this person of whom we now speak, principally by the care and conversation of his father, (who was an excellent scholar, and took pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his education than the school did,) was thought fit to be sent to the university soon after he was thirteen years of age; and being a younger son of a younger brother, was to expect a small patrimony from his father, but to make his own fortune by his own industry; and in order to that, was sent by his father to Oxford at that time, being about Magdalen election time, in expectation that he should have been chosen demy of Magdalen college, the election being to be at that time, for which he was recommended by a special letter from king James to Dr. Langton then president of that college; but upon pretence that the letter came too late, though the election was not then begun, he was not chosen, and so remained in Magdalen hall (where he was before admitted) under the tuition of Mr. John Oliver, a fellow of that college, who had been junior of the act a month before, and a scholar of eminency, who was his tutor.

The year following, the president of the college having received reprehension from the lord Conway then secretary of state, for giving no more respect to the king's letter, he was chosen the next election in the first place, but that whole year passed without any avoidance of a demy's place, which was never known before in any man's memory, and that year king James died, and shortly after, Henry his elder brother, and thereupon his father having now no other son, changed his former inclination, and resolved to send his son Edward to the inns of court: he was then entered in the Middle Temple by his uncle Nicholas Hyde, who was then treasurer of that society, and afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench; but by reason of the great plague then at London in the first year of king Charles, and the parliament being then adjourned to Oxford, whither the plague was likewise then brought by sir James Hussy, one of the masters of the chancery, who died in New college the first night after his arrival at Oxford, and shortly after Dr. Chaloner, principal of Alban hall, who had supped that night with sir James Hussy, he did not go to the Middle Temple till the Michaelmas term after

the term at Reading, but remained partly at his father's house, and partly at the university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, and then left it, rather with the opinion of a young man of parts and pregnancy of wit, than that he had improved it much by industry, the discipline of that time being not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be; and the custom of drinking being too much introduced and practised, his elder brother having been too much corrupted in that kind, and so having at his first coming given him some liberty, at least some example towards that license, insomuch as he was often heard to say, "that it was a very good fortune to him that his father so soon removed him from the university," though he always reserved a high esteem of it.

Before the beginning of Michaelmas term (which was in the year 1625) the city being then clear from the plague, he went from Marlborough after the quarter sessions with his uncle Nicholas Hyde, who was afterwards chief justice, to London, and arrived there about ten of the clock in the morning the eve of the term, and dined that day in the Middle Temple hall, being then between sixteen and seventeen years of age. In the evening he went to prayers to the Temple church, and was there seized upon by a fit of an ague very violently, which proved a quartan, and brought him in a short time so weak, that his friends much feared a consumption, so that his uncle thought fit shortly after Alhollandtide to send him into the country to Pirton in North Wiltshire, whither his father had removed himself from Dinton; choosing rather to live upon his own land, the which he had purchased many years before, and to rent Dinton, which was but a lease for lives, to a tenant. He came home to his father's house very weak, his ague continuing so violently upon him (though it sometimes changed its course from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new year's day he had two hot fits and two cold fits) until Whitsunday following, that all men thought him to be in a consumption; it then left him, and he grew quickly strong again. In this time of his sickness his uncle was made chief justice: it was Michaelmas following before he returned to the Middle Temple, having by his want of health lost a full year of study; and when he returned, it was without great application to the study of the law for some years, it being then a time when the town was full of soldiers, the king having then a war both with Spain and France, and the business of the Isle of Ree shortly followed; and he had gotten into the acquaintance of many of those officers, which took up too much of his time for one year: but as the war was quickly ended, so he had the good fortune quickly to make a full retreat from that company, and from any conversation with any of them, and without any hurt or prejudice from their conversation; insomuch as he used often to say, "that since it pleased God to preserve him whilst he did keep that company, (in which he wonderfully escaped from being involved in many inconveniences,) and to withdraw him so soon from it, he was not sorry that he had some experience in the conversation of such men, and of the

"license of those times," which was very exorbitant: yet when he did indulge himself that liberty, it was without any signal debauchery, and not without some hours every day, at least every night, spent amongst his books; yet he would not deny that more than to be able to answer his uncle, who almost every night put a case to him in law, he could not bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, but rather loved polite learning and history, in which, especially in the Roman, he had been always conversant.

In the year 1628 his father gave him leave to ride the circuit in the summer with his uncle the chief justice, who then rode the Norfolk circuit; and indeed desired it, both that he might see those counties, and especially that he might be out of London in that season when the small pox raged very furiously, and many persons, some whereof were very familiar with him, died of that disease in the Middle Temple itself. It was about the middle of July when that circuit began, and Cambridge was the first place the judges begun at; Mr. justice Harvey (one of the judges of the common pleas) was in commission with the chief justice: they both came into Cambridge on the Saturday night, and the next day Mr. Edward Hyde fell sick, which was imputed only to his journey the day before in very hot weather; but he continued so ill the day or two following, that it was apprehended that he might have the small pox; whereupon he was removed out of Trinity college, where the judges were lodged, and where he had a chamber, to the Sun inn, over against the college gate, the judges being to go out of town the next day; but before they went, the small pox appeared; whereupon his uncle put him under the care of Mr. Crane an eminent apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. Butler, and was in much greater practice than any physician in the university; and left with him Laurence St. Loe one of his servants, who was likewise his nephew, to assist and comfort him. It pleased God to preserve him from that devouring disease, which was spread all over him very furiously, and had so far prevailed over him, that for some hours both his friends and physician consulted of nothing but of the place and manner of his burial; but as I said, by God's goodness he escaped that sickness, and within few days more than a month after his first indisposition, he passed in moderate journeys to his father's house at Pirton, where he arrived a day or two before Bartholomew day.

He was often wont to say, that he was reading to his father in Camden's Annals, and that particular place, in which it is said, "*Johannes Feltonus, qui bullam pontificiam valvis palatii episcopi Londinensis affixerat jam deprehensus, cum fugere nollet, factum confessus quod tamen crimen agnoscere noluit,*" &c. when a person of the neighbourhood knocked at the door, and being called in, told his father that a post was then passed through the village to Charleton, the house of the earl of Berkshire, to inform the earl of Berkshire that the duke of Buckingham was killed the day before (being the 24th of August, Bartholomew day, in the year 1628) by one John Felton*,

* For the particulars of the duke of Buckingham's death, and of the alterations it produced at court, and in public affairs, vid. Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 12.

which dismal accident happening in the court, made a great change in the state, produced a sudden disbanding of all armies, and a due observation of, and obedience to the laws; so that there being no more mutations in view (which usually affect the spirits of young men, at least hold them some time at gaze) Mr. Hyde returned again to his studies at the Middle Temple, having it still in his resolution to dedicate himself to the profession of the law, without declining the politer learning, to which his humour and his conversation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay some obligation upon himself to be fixed to that course of life, he inclined to a proposition of marriage, which, having no other passion in it than an appetite to a convenient estate, succeeded not, yet produced new acquaintance, and continued the same inclinations.

About this time his uncle sir Nicholas Hyde, lord chief justice of the king's bench, died of a malignant fever, gotten from the infection of some gaol in his summer circuit. He was a man of excellent learning for that province he was to govern, of unsuspected and unblemished integrity, of an exemplar gravity and austerity, which was necessary for the manners of that time, corrupted by the marching of armies, and by the license after the disbanding them; and though upon his promotion some years before, from a private practiser of the law to the supreme judicatory in it, by the power and recommendation of the great favourite, of whose council he had been, he was exposed to much envy and some prejudice; yet his behaviour was so grateful to all the judges, who had an entire confidence in him, his service so useful to the king in his government, his justice and sincerity so conspicuous throughout the kingdom, that the death of no judge had in any time been more lamented.

The loss of so beneficial an encouragement and support in that profession did not at all discourage his nephew in his purpose; rather added new resolution to him; and to call home all straggling and wandering appetites, which naturally produce irresolution and inconstancy in the mind, with his father's consent and approbation he married a young lady very fair and beautiful, the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, a gentleman of a good name and fortune in the county of Wilts, where his own expectations lay, and by her mother (a St. John) nearly allied to many noble families in England. He enjoyed this comfort and composure of mind a very short time, for within less than six months after he was married, being upon the way from London towards his father's house, she fell sick at Reading, and being removed to a friend's house near that town, the small pox discovered themselves, and (she being with child) forced her to miscarry; and she died within two days. He bore her loss with so great passion and confusion of spirit, that it shook all the frame of his resolutions, and nothing but his entire duty and reverence to his father kept him from giving over all thoughts of books, and transporting himself beyond the seas to enjoy his own melancholy; nor could any persuasion or importunity from his friends prevail with him in some years to think of another marriage. There was an ill accident in the court befell a lady of a family nearly allied to his wife, whose memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm friendship in him to all

her alliance, which likewise ever manifested an equal affection to him; amongst those was William viscount Grandison, a young man of extraordinary hope, between whom and the other there was an entire confidence. The injury was of that nature, that the young lord thought of nothing but repairing it his own way; but those imaginations were quickly at an end, by the king's rigorous and just proceeding against the persons offending, in committing them both to the Tower, and declaring that "since he was satisfied that there was a promise of marriage in the case, the gentleman should make good his promise by marrying the lady; or be kept in prison, and for ever banished from all pretence or relation to the court," where he had a very great credit and interest. This declaration by the king made the nearest friends of the lady pursue the design of this reparation more solicitously, in which they had all access to the king, who continued still in his declared judgment in the matter. In this pursuit Mr. Hyde's passionate affection to the family embarked him, and they were all as willing to be guided by his conduct; the business was to be followed by frequent instances at court, and conferences with those who had most power and opportunity to confirm the king in the sense he had entertained; and those conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all admission to the persons of alliance to the lady, and so concerned in the dishonour, which was a great body of lords and ladies of principal relations in court, with whom in a short time he was of great credit and esteem; of which the marquis of Hamilton was one, who having married an excellent lady, cousin-german to the injured person, seemed the most concerned and most zealous for her vindication, and who had at that time the most credit of any man about the court, and who upon that occasion entered into a familiarity with him, and made as great professions of kindness to him as could pass to a person at that distance from him, which continued till the end and conclusion of that affair, when the marquis believed that Mr. Hyde had discovered some want of sincerity in him in that prosecution, which he pretended so much to assert.

The mention of this particular little story, in itself of no seeming consequence, is not inserted here only as it made some alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another way of conversation than he had formerly been accustomed to, and which in truth by the acquaintance, by the friends and enemies he then made, had an influence upon the whole course of his life afterwards; but that it made such impressions upon the whole court, by dividing the lords and ladies both in their wishes and appearances, that much of that faction grew out of it, which survived the memory of the original; and from this occasion (to shew us from how small springs great rivers may arise) the women, who till then had not appeared concerned in public affairs, began to have some part in all business; and having shewn themselves warm upon this amour, as their passions or affections carried them, and thereby entered into new affections, and formed new interests; the activity in their spirits remained still vigorous when the object which first inspired it was vanished and put in oblivion. Nor were the very ministers of state vacant upon this occasion; they who for their own sakes, or, as they pretended, for the king's

dignity, and honour of the court, desired the ruin of the gentleman, pressed the magnitude of the crime, in bringing so great a scandal upon the king's family, which would hinder persons of honour from sending their children to the court; and that there could be no reparation without the marriage, which they therefore only insisted upon, because they believed he would prefer banishment before it; others who had friendship for him and believed that he had an interest in the court, which might accommodate himself and them if this breach were closed any way, therefore if the king's severity could not be prevailed upon, wished it concluded by the marriage; which neither himself nor they upon whom he most depended would ever be brought to consent to; so that all the jealousies and animosities in the court or state came to play their own prizes in the widening or accommodating this contention. In the conclusion, on a sudden, contrary to the expectation of any man of either party, the gentleman was immediately sent out of the kingdom, under the formality of a temporary and short banishment, and the lady commended to her friends, to be taken care of till her delivery; and from that time never word more spoken of the business, nor shall their names ever come upon the stage by any record of mine. It was only observed, that at this time there was a great change in the friendships of the court, and in those of the marquis of Hamilton, who came now into the queen's confidence, towards whom he had always been in great jealousy; and another lady more appeared in view, who had for the most part before continued behind the curtain; and who in few years after came to a very unhappy and untimely end.

Now after a widowhood of near three years, Mr. Hyde was inclined again to marry, which he knew would be the most grateful thing to his father (for whom he had always an infinite reverence) he could do; and though he needed no other motive to it, he would often say, that though he was now called to the bar, and entered into the profession of the law, he was not so confident of himself that he should not start aside if his father should die, who was then near seventy years of age, having long entertained thoughts of travels, but that he thought it necessary to lay some obligation upon himself, which would suppress and restrain all those appetites; and thereupon resolved to marry, and so, being about the age of twenty-four years, in the year of our Lord 1632, he married the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, baronet, master of requests to the king; by whom he had many children of both sexes, with whom he lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable times, and very joyfully in those times when matter of joy was administered, for the space of five or six and thirty years; what befell him after her death will be recounted in its place. From the time of his marriage he laid aside all other thoughts but of his profession, to the which he betook himself very seriously; but in the very entrance into it, he met with a great mortification: some months after he was married, he went with his wife to wait upon his father and mother at his house at Pirton, to make them sharers in that satisfaction which they had so long desired to see, and in which they took great delight.

His father had long suffered under an indisposition (even before the time his son could remem-

ber) which gave him rather frequent pains than sickness; and gave him cause to be terrified with the expectation of the stone, without being exercised with the present sense of it: but from the time he was sixty years of age it increased very much, and four or five years before his death, with circumstances scarce heard of before, and the causes whereof are not yet understood by any physician: he was very often, both in the day and the night, forced to make water, seldom in any quantity, because he could not retain it long enough; and in the close of that work, without any sharp pain in those parts, he was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a pain in the left arm for half a quarter of an hour, or near so much, that the torment made him as pale (whereas he was otherwise of a very sanguine complexion) as if he were dead; and he used to say, "that he had passed the pangs of death, and he should die in one of those fits." As soon as it was over, which was quickly, he was the cheerfulness man living; eat well such things as he could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a promptness and vivacity upon all arguments (for he was *omnifariam doctus*) as hath been seldom known in a man of his age: but he had the image of death so constantly before him in those continual torments, that for many years before his death he always parted with his son as to see him no more; and at parting still shewed him his will, discoursing very particularly and very cheerfully of all things he would have performed after his death.

He had for some time before resolved to leave the country, and to spend the remainder of his time in Salisbury, where he had caused a house to be provided for him, both for the neighbourhood of the cathedral church, where he could perform his devotions every day, and for the conversation of many of his family who lived there, and not far from it; and especially that he might be buried there, where many of his family and friends lay; and he obliged his son to accompany him thither before his return to London; and he came to Salisbury on the Friday before Michaelmas day in the year 1632, and lodged in his own house that night. The next day he was so wholly taken up in receiving visits from his many friends, being a person wonderfully revered in those parts, that he walked very little out of his house. The next morning, being Sunday, he rose very early, and went to two or three churches; and when he returned, which was by eight of the clock, he told his wife and his son, "that he had been to look out a place to be buried in, but found none against which he had not some exception, the cathedral only excepted: where he had made a choice of a place near a kinsman of his own name, and had shewed it to the sexton, whom he had sent for to that purpose; and wished them to see him buried there;" and this with as much composedness of mind as if it had made no impression upon him; then went to the cathedral to sermon, and spent the whole day in as cheerful conversation with his friends, (saving only the frequent interruptions his infirmity gave him once in two or three hours, sometimes more, sometimes less,) as the man in the most confirmed health could do. Monday was Michaelmas day, when in the morning he went to visit his brother sir Laurence Hyde, who was then making a jour-

ney in the service of the king, and from him went to the church to a sermon, where he found himself a little pressed as he used to be, and therefore thought fit to make what haste he could to his house, and was no sooner come thither into a lower room, than having made water, and the pain in his arm seizing upon him, he fell down dead, without the least motion of any limb. The suddenness of it made it apprehended to be an apoplexy; but there being nothing like convulsions, or the least distortion or alteration in the visage, it is not like to be from that cause; nor could the physicians make any reasonable guess from whence that mortal blow proceeded. He wanted about six weeks of attaining the age of seventy, and was the greatest instance of the felicity of a country life that was seen in that age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful fortune, a very great reputation of piety and virtue, and his death being attended with universal lamentation. It cannot be expressed with what agony his son bore this loss, having, as he was used to say, "not only lost the best father, but the best friend and the best companion he ever had or could have;" and he was never so well pleased, as when he had fit occasions given him to mention his father, whom he did in truth believe to be the wisest man he had ever known; and he was often heard to say, in the time when his condition was at highest, "that though God Almighty had been very propitious to him, in raising him to great honours and preferments, he did not value any honour he had so much as the being the son of such a father and mother, for whose sakes principally he thought God had conferred those blessings upon him."

There fell out at this time, or thereabouts, a great alteration in the court and state, by the death of the earl of Portland, lord high treasurer of England, of whom enough hath been said before. The king from the death of the duke of Buckingham had not only been very reserved in his bounty, but so frugal in his own expense, that he had retrenched much of what had formerly issued out for his household, in so much as every year somewhat had been paid of his debts. He resolved now to govern his treasury by commission, and to take a constant account of it; and thereby to discover what had been of late done amiss. The commissioners he appointed were, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, (formerly bishop of London,) the lord keeper Coventry, and other principal officers of state, who, together with the lord Cottington, (who was chancellor of the exchequer, and by his office of the quorum in that commission,) were to supply the office of treasurer in all particulars. The archbishop of Canterbury, who till now had only intended the good government of the church, without intermeddling in secular affairs, otherwise than when the discipline of the church was concerned, in which he was very strict, both in the high commission, and in all other places, where he sat as a privy counsellor, well foreseeing, as he made manifest upon several occasions, the growth of the schismatics, and that if they were not with rigour suppressed, they would put the whole kingdom into a flame, which shortly after fell out to be too confessed a truth; though for the present his providence only served to increase the number of his enemies, who had from that his zeal contracted

all the malice against him that can be imagined, and which he, out of the conscience of his duty, and the purity of his intentions, and his knowledge of the king's full approbation of his vigilance and ardour, too much undervalued; I say, as soon as he was made commissioner of the treasury, he thought himself obliged to take all the pains he could to understand that employment, and the nature of the revenue, and to find out all possible ways for the improvement thereof, and for the present managery of the expense. Many were of opinion that he was the more solicitous in that disquisition, and the more inquisitive into what had been done, that he might make some discovery of past actions, which might reflect upon the memory of the late treasurer, the earl of Portland, and call his wisdom and integrity in question, who had been so far from being his friend, that he had always laboured to do him all the mischief he could; and it was no small grief of heart to him, and much occasion of his ill humour, to find that the archbishop had too much credit with the king, to be shaken by him: and the archbishop was not in his affections behind-hand with him, looking always upon him as a Roman catholic, though he dissembled it by going to church; and as the great countenancer and support of that religion; all his family being of that profession, and very few resorting to it, or having any credit with him but such. It is very true, the archbishop had no great regard for his memory, or for his friends, and was willing enough to make any discovery of his miscarriages, and to inform his majesty of them, who he believed had too good an opinion of him and his integrity.

The truth is, the archbishop had laid down one principle to himself, which he believed would much advance the king's service, and was without doubt very prudent; that the king's duties being provided for, and cheerfully paid, the merchants should receive all the countenance and protection from the king that they could expect, and not be liable to the vexation particular men gave them for their private advantage; being forward enough to receive propositions which tended to the king's profit, but careful that what accrued of burden to the subject should redound entirely to the benefit of the crown, and not enrich projectors at the charge of the people: and there is reason to believe that if this measure had been well observed, much of that murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that jealousy and discontent which soon after brake out. This vigilance and inclination in the archbishop opened a door to the admission of any merchants or others to him, who gave him information of this kind; and who being ready to pay any thing to the king, desired only to be protected from private oppressions. The archbishop used to spend as much time as he could get at his country house at Croydon; and then his mind being unbent from business, he delighted in the conversation of his neighbours, and treated them with great urbanity.

There was a merchant of the greatest reputation, (Daniel Harvey,) who, having a country house within a few miles from Croydon, and understanding the whole business of trade more exactly than most men, was always very welcome to the archbishop, who used to ask him many questions upon such matters as he desired to be informed in; and received much satisfaction from

him. Upon an accidental discourse between them, what encouragement merchants ought to receive, who brought a great trade into the kingdom, and paid thereupon great sums of money to the king, Mr. Harvey mentioned the discouragements they had received in the late times, by the rigour of the earl of Portland, in matters that related nothing to the king's service, but to the profit of private men; and thereupon remembered a particular, that, after the dissolution of the parliament in the fourth year of the king, and the combination amongst many merchants to pay no more customs or impositions to the king, because they had not been granted in parliament, which produced those suits and decrees in the exchequer, which are generally understood, and a general distraction in trade; many merchants of the greatest wealth and reputation resolved to continue the trade; and in a short time reduced it into so good order, and by their advice and example disposed others to make a punctual entry of their goods, and to pay their duties to the king, that the trade seemed to be restored to the nation, and the customs to rise above the value they had ever yielded to the crown: which was no sooner brought to pass, than the earl of Portland (who endeavoured to persuade the king that this great work was entirely compassed by his wisdom, interest, and dexterity) disoblighd the merchants in a very sensible degree, in requiring them to unlade their ships at the custom-house quay, and at no other quay or wharf, upon pretence that thereby the king would have his customs well paid, of which otherwise he would be in danger to be cozened; and alleged an order that had been formerly made in the court of the exchequer, that fine goods which were portable, (as silks and fine linens,) and might easily be stolen, should always be landed at the custom-house quay. The merchants looked upon this constraint and restraint as a great oppression, and applied themselves to him for reparation and redress: they undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a matter which concerned the private benefit of the particular wharfingers, and in the least degree the king's profit; that the custom-house quay was of great value to the owner of it, who had a very great rent for it, but that it yielded the king nothing, nor would in fifty years or thereabouts, there being a lease yet to come for that term; that the mention of fine goods, and the order of the exchequer, was not applicable to the question; that they disputed not the landing of fine goods, but that the pretence was to compel them to bring their grossest, and their merchandise of the greatest bulk to that quay, whereas they had been always free to ship or unship such goods at what wharf they would choose for their conveniences; there being the sworn waiters of the custom-house attending in the one, as well as the other; that the restraining them to one wharf, and obliging all the ships to be brought thither, must prove much to their prejudice, and make them depend upon the good-will of the wharfinger for their despatch; who in truth, let his desire be never so good, could not be able to perform the service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to lose their markets. All this discourse, how reasonable soever, made no impression upon the treasurer, but he dismissed them with his usual roughness, and reproached them that they desired

all occasions to cozen the king of his customs; which they looked upon as an ill reward for the service they had done, and a great discouragement to trade. The archbishop heard this discourse with great trouble and indignation, and being then interrupted by the coming of persons of quality, told him, he would some other time run over all these particulars again, and that he should recollect himself for other instances of that strange nature.

The next time the archbishop returned to Croydon, which he usually did once in the week during the summer, and stayed a day or two, impatient to understand more of the matter, he sent for Mr. Harvey, and told him, "that his last discourse had given him much cause of sorrow, in finding how the king had been used, and that he knew his nature so well, that he could confidently say, that he never knew of that kind of proceeding, and that he wondered that the merchants had not then petitioned the king to hear the matter himself." He answered, "that they had left no way unattempted for their ease, having no fear of displeasing the treasurer; that they had caused a petition to be drawn by their council, which was signed by all the principal merchants in the city, wherein (to obviate the calumny concerning refusing to pay, or stealing customs) they declared, that they were all very willing to pay all duties to his majesty, and would never refuse the same, (which was a declaration would have been much valued a year or two before, and ought to have been so then,) only desired to be left at liberty to ship and land their goods as they had been accustomed to; that they had given this petition to a secretary of state to present it to the king, who referred it to the consideration of the treasurer; and thereupon they pursued it no further, knowing how he stood resolved, and the cause of it, which troubled them most, viz. that that custom-house quay did, though not in his own name, in truth belong to sir Abraham Dawes, one of the farmers of the customs, and the only minion of the lord treasurer, all the other farmers being offended with the order, which they saw would offend the merchants." The archbishop asked "where that petition was; that he thought it still of that moment, that he would be glad to see it." He answered, "he knew not where it was; but he believed it to remain in the hands of Mr. Hyde, who had drawn it, and was of council with the merchants throughout the whole proceedings; and was so warm in it, that he had exceedingly provoked the lord treasurer, who would have ruined him if he could." He asked who that Mr. Hyde was, and where he was: the other said, "he was a young lawyer of the Middle Temple, who was not afraid of being of council with them, when all men of name durst not appear for them; and that he was confident that he, having been always present at all debates, remembered many circumstances in the business which the other had forgotten; that he was generally known; and had lately married the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury."

Within a few days after, the archbishop meeting sir Thomas Aylesbury at court, asked him whether he had married his daughter to one Mr. Hyde, a lawyer, and where he was: he answered, he had done so, and that he lived in his house, when he

was not at his chamber in the Middle Temple. The archbishop desired him to send him to him, for he heard well of him; and the next morning I attended him, and found him walking alone in his garden at Lambeth: he received me civilly according to his manner, without much ceremony; and presently asked me, whether I had not been of council with some merchants in such a business, and where that petition now was: I answered him, not knowing why he asked, "that I had been about two years past of council with some merchants about such an affair, in which the earl of Portland had been much incensed against me; that I remembered I had drawn such a petition, which was signed by all the considerable merchants of London, but that there was little progress made thereupon, by reason of the asperity of the treasurer." He asked still for the petition that was so signed; he told him, he thought he had it himself, if he had it not, he was confident he could find who had it: he desired him, that he would find it out, and bring it to him, and any other papers concerning that affair, or the business of the customs. He said, "the king had, contrary to his desire, made him one of the commissioners of the treasury; that he understood nothing of that province, but was willing to take any pains which might enable him to do his master service, which made him inquisitive into the customs, the principal branch of the revenue; that his neighbour Daniel Harvey had spoken much good of him to him; and informed him of that complaint of the merchants, which he thought had much reason in it, but it was like other acts of the earl of Portland; that he would be willing to receive any information from him, and that he should be welcome when he came to him." He told him, in short, (which he heard would please him best,) two or three passages that happened in that transaction; and some huffing expressions which fell from the treasurer, when upon his urging that the farmers would not hold their farm, if he did not strictly hold the merchants to custom-house quay, he told him, "that if the farmers were weary of their bargain, he would help the king to forty thousand pounds a year above the rent they paid, and that they should be paid all the money they had advanced within one week;" upon which the earl indeed had let himself out into an indecent rage, using many threats to him: which he found was not ingrateful to the archbishop, upon whom he attended within a day or two again, and delivered him the petition and many other useful papers, which pleased him abundantly; and he required him to see him often.

By this accident Mr. Hyde came first to be known to the archbishop, who ever afterwards used him very kindly, and spoke well of him upon all occasions, and took particular notice of him when he came of council in any causes depending at the council board, as he did frequently; and desired his service in many occasions, and particularly in the raising monies for the building St. Paul's church, in which he made a journey or two into Wiltshire with good success; which the archbishop still acknowledged in a more obliging way than he was accustomed to; insomuch as it was so much taken notice of, that Mr. Hyde (who well knew how to cultivate those advantages) was used with more countenance by all the judges in West-

minster hall, and the eminent practisers, than was usually given to men of his years; so that he grew every day in practice, of which he had as much as he desired; and having a competent estate of his own, he enjoyed a very pleasant and a plentiful life, living very generously, and much above the rank of those lawyers whose business was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and esteemed by most persons of condition and great reputation. Though he pursued his profession with great diligence and intentness of mind, and upon the matter wholly betook himself to business, yet he made not himself a slave to it, but kept both his friends at court and about the town, by his frequent application and constant conversation: in order to which, he always gave himself at dinner to those who used to meet together at that hour, and in such places as was mutually agreed between them; where they enjoyed themselves with wonderful delight and public reputation, for the innocence, and sharpness, and learning of their conversation. For he would never suffer himself to be deprived of some hours (which commonly he borrowed from the night) to refresh himself with polite learning, in which he still made some progress. The afternoons he entirely dedicated to the business of his profession, taking instructions and the like; and very rarely supped, except he was called out by some of his friends, who spared him the more, because he always complied with those summons; otherwise he never supped for many years, (before the troubles brought in that custom,) both for the gaining that time for himself, and that he might rise early in the morning according to his custom, and which he would say, he could never do when he supped. The vacations he gave wholly to his study and conversation, never going out of London in those seasons, except for two months in the summer, which he spent at his own house in the country, with great cheerfulness amongst his friends, who then resorted to him in good numbers.

He never did ride any country circuits with the judges, which he often repented afterwards, saying, that besides the knowing the gentry, and people, and manners of England, (which is best attained that way,) there is a very good and necessary part of the learning in the law, which is not so easily got any other way, as in riding those circuits; which as it seems to have much of drudgery, so is accompanied with much pleasure as well as profit; and it may be, the long lives of men of that profession (for the lawyers usually live to more years than any other profession) may very reasonably be imputed to the exercise they give themselves by their circuits, as well as to their other acts of temperance and sobriety. And as he had denied himself that satisfaction, purely to have that time to himself for other delight, so he did resolve, if the confusion of the time had not surprised him, for three or four years (longer he did not intend) to have improved himself by the experience of those journeys.

He was often heard to say, that, "next the immediate blessing and providence of God Almighty, which had preserved him throughout the whole course of his life, (less strict than it ought to have been,) from many dangers and disadvantages, in which many other young men were lost; he owed all the little he knew, and the little good that was in him, to the friend-

“ships and conversation he had still been used to, of the most excellent men in their several kinds that lived in that age; by whose learning, and information, and instruction, he formed his studies, and mended his understanding; and by whose gentleness and sweetness of behaviour, and justice, and virtue, and example, he formed his manners, subdued that pride, and suppressed that heat and passion he was naturally inclined to be transported with.” And he never took more pleasure in any thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming those persons, who were then his friends, or of his most familiar conversation, and in remembering their particular virtues and faculties; and used often to say, “that he never was so proud, or thought himself so good a man, as when he was the worst man in the company;” all his friends and companions being in their quality, in their fortunes, at least in their faculties and endowments of mind, very much his superiors: and he always charged his children to follow his example in that point, in making their friendships and conversation; protesting, that in the whole course of his life he never knew one man, of what condition soever, arrive to any degree of reputation in the world, who made choice or delighted in the company or conversation of those, who in their qualities were inferior, or in their parts not much superior to them.

Whilst he was only a student of the law, and stood at gaze, and irresolute what course of life to take, his chief acquaintance were Ben Johnson, John Selden, Charles Cotton, John Vaughan, sir Kenelm Digby, Thomas May, and Thomas Carew, and some others of eminent faculties in their several ways. Ben Johnson’s name can never be forgotten, having by his very good learning, and the severity of his nature and manners, very much reformed the stage; and indeed the English poetry itself. His natural advantages were, judgment to order and govern fancy, rather than excess of fancy, his productions being slow and upon deliberation, yet then abounding with great wit and fancy, and will live accordingly; and surely as he did exceedingly exalt the English language in eloquence, propriety, and masculine expressions, so he was the best judge of, and fittest to prescribe rules to poetry and poets, of any man, who had lived with, or before him, or since: if Mr. Cowley had not made a flight beyond all men, with that modesty yet, to ascribe much of this to the example and learning of Ben Johnson. His conversation was very good, and with the men of most note; and he had for many years an extraordinary kindness for Mr. Hyde, till he found he betook himself to business, which he believed ought never to be preferred before his company. He lived to be very old, and till the palsy made a deep impression upon his body and his mind.

Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages, (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent writings,) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating

all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh and sometimes obscure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the paths trod by other men; but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity: but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden’s acquaintance from the time he was very young; and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was very much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in the parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions were which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them; but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale.

Charles Cotton was a gentleman born to a competent fortune, and so qualified in his person and education, that for many years he continued the greatest ornament of the town, in the esteem of those who had been best bred. His natural parts were very great, his wit flowing in all the parts of conversation; the superstructure of learning not raised to a considerable height; but having passed some years in Cambridge, and then in France, and conversing always with learned men, his expressions were ever proper and significant, and gave great lustre to his discourse upon any argument; so that he was thought by those who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with books than he was. He had all those qualities which in youth raise men to the reputation of being fine gentlemen; such a pleasantness and gayety of humour, such a sweetness and gentleness of nature, and such a civility and delightfulness in conversation, that no man in the court, or out of it, appeared a more accomplished person; all these extraordinary qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a clearness of courage and fearlessness of spirit, of which he gave too often manifestation. Some unhappy suits in law, and waste of his fortune in those suits, made some impression upon his mind; which being improved by domestic afflictions, and those indulgences to himself which naturally attend those afflictions, rendered his age less revered than his youth had been; and gave his best friends cause to have wished that he had not lived so long.

John Vaughan was then a student of the law in the Inner Temple, but at that time indulged more to the politer learning; and was in truth a man of great parts of nature, and very well adorned by arts and books, and so much cherished by Mr. Selden, that he grew to be of entire trust and friendship with him, and to that owed the best part of his reputation: for he was of so magisterial and supercilious a humour, so proud and insolent a behaviour, that all Mr. Selden’s instruc-

tions, and authority, and example, could not file off that roughness of his nature, so as to make him very grateful. He looked most into those parts of the law which disposed him to least reverence to the crown, and most to popular authority; yet without inclination to any change in government; and therefore, before the beginning of the civil war, and when he clearly discerned the approaches to it in parliament, (of which he was a member,) he withdrew himself into the fastnesses of his own country, North Wales, where he enjoyed a secure, and as near an innocent life, as the iniquity of that time would permit; and when the king [Charles the Second] returned, he appeared under the character of a man who had preserved his loyalty entire, and was esteemed accordingly by all that party.

His friend Mr. Hyde, who was then become lord high chancellor of England, renewed his old kindness and friendship towards him, and was desirous to gratify him all the ways he could, and earnestly pressed him to put on his gown again, and take upon him the office of a judge; but he excused himself upon his long discontinuance, (having not worn his gown, and wholly discontinued the profession from the year 1640, full twenty years,) and upon his age, and expressly refused to receive any promotion; but continued all the professions of respect and gratitude imaginable to the chancellor, till it was in his power to manifest the contrary, to his prejudice, which he did with circumstances very uncommendable.

Sir Kenelm Digby was a person very eminent and notorious throughout the whole course of his life, from his cradle to his grave; of an ancient family and noble extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful fortune, notwithstanding the attainder of his father. He was a man of a very extraordinary person and presence, which drew the eyes of all men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful behaviour, a flowing courtesy and civility, and such a volubility of language, as surprised and delighted; and though in another man it might have appeared to have somewhat of affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and seemed natural to his size, and mould of his person, to the gravity of his motion, and the tune of his voice and delivery. He had a fair reputation in arms, of which he gave an early testimony in his youth, in some encounters in Spain and Italy, and afterwards in an action in the Mediterranean sea, where he had the command of a squadron of ships of war, set out at his own charge under the king's commission; with which, upon an injury received, or apprehended from the Venetians, he encountered their whole fleet, killed many of their men, and sunk one of their galleasses; which in that drowsy and unactive time, was looked upon with a general estimation, though the crown disavowed it. In a word, he had all the advantages that nature, and art, and an excellent education could give him; which, with a great confidence and presentness of mind, buoyed him up against all those prejudices and disadvantages, ([as] the attainder and execution of his father, for a crime of the highest nature; his own marriage with a lady, though of an extraordinary beauty, of as extraordinary a fame; his changing and rechanging his religion; and some personal vices and licenses in his life,) which would have suppressed and sunk any other man, but never

clouded or eclipsed him, from appearing in the best places, and the best company, and with the best estimation and satisfaction.

Thomas May was the eldest son of his father, a knight, and born to a fortune, if his father had not spent it; so that he had only an annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal education: yet since his fortune could not raise his mind, he brought his mind down to his fortune, by a great modesty and humility in his nature, which was not affected, but very well became an imperfection in his speech, which was a great mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any discourse but in the company of his very friends. His parts of nature and art were very good, as appears by his translation of Lucan, (none of the easiest work of that kind,) and more by his supplement to Lucan, which being entirely his own, for the learning, the wit, and the language, may be well looked upon as one of the best dramatic poems in the English language. He writ some other commendable pieces, of the reign of some of our kings. He was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places; yet, (to shew that pride and envy have their influences upon the narrowest minds, and which have the greatest semblance of humility,) though he had received much countenance, and a very considerable donative from the king, upon his majesty's refusing to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenious person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own, he fell from his duty, and all his former friends, and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the king; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so shortly after died miserable and neglected, and deserves to be forgotten.

Thomas Carew was a younger brother of a good family, and of excellent parts, and had spent many years of his youth in France and Italy; and returning from travel, followed the court; which the modesty of that time disposed men to do some time, before they pretended to be of it; and he was very much esteemed by the most eminent persons in the court, and well looked upon by the king himself, some years before he could obtain to be sewer to the king; and when the king conferred that honour upon him, it was not without the regret even of the whole Scotch nation, which united themselves in recommending another gentleman to the place: of so great value were those relations held in that age, when majesty was beheld with the reverence it ought to be. He was a person of a pleasant and facetious wit, and made many poems, (especially in the amorous way,) which for the sharpness of the fancy, and the elegance of the language in which that fancy was spread, were at least equal, if not superior to any of that time: but his glory was, that after fifty years of his life, spent with less severity or exactness than it ought to have been, he died with the greatest remorse for that license, and with the greatest manifestation of Christianity, that his best friends could desire.

Among these persons Mr. Hyde's usual time of conversation was spent, till he grew more retired to his more serious studies, and never discontinued his acquaintance with any of them, though he

spent less time in their company; only upon Mr. Selden he looked with so much affection and reverence, that he always thought himself best when he was with him: but he had then another conjunction and communication that he took so much delight in, that he embraced it in the time of his greatest business and practice, and would suffer no other pretence or obligation to withdraw him from that familiarity and friendship; and took frequent occasions to mention their names with great pleasure; being often heard to say, "that if he had any thing good in him, in his humour, or in his manners, he owed it to the example, and the information he had received in, and from that company, with most of whom he had an entire friendship." And they were in truth, in their several qualifications, men of more than ordinary eminence, before they attained the great preferments many of them lived to enjoy. The persons were, sir Lucius Carey, eldest son to the lord viscount Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland; sir Francis Wenman of Oxfordshire; Sidney Godolphin of Godolphin in Cornwall; Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield; Dr. Gilbert Sheldon; Dr. George Morley; Dr. John Earles; Mr. John Hales of Eton; and Mr. William Chillingworth.

With sir Lucius Carey he had a most entire friendship without reserve, from his age of twenty years to the hour of his death, near twenty years after: upon which there will be occasion to enlarge when we come to speak of that time, and often before, and therefore we shall say no more of him in this place, than to shew his condition and qualifications, which were the first ingredients into that friendship, which was afterwards cultivated and improved by a constant conversation and familiarity, and by many accidents which contributed thereto. He had the advantage of a noble extraction, and of being born his father's eldest son, when there was a greater fortune in prospect to be inherited, (besides what he might reasonably expect by his mother,) than came afterwards to his possession. His education was equal to his birth, at least in the care, if not in the climate; for his father being deputy of Ireland, before he was of age fit to be sent abroad, his breeding was in the court, and in the university of Dublin; but under the care, vigilance, and direction of such governors and tutors, that he learned all those exercises and languages, better than most men do in more celebrated places; insomuch as when he came into England, which was when he was about the age of eighteen years, he was not only master of the Latin tongue, and had read all the poets, and other of the best authors with notable judgment for that age, but he understood, and spake, and writ French, as if he had spent many years in France.

He had another advantage, which was a great ornament to the rest, that was, a good, a plentiful estate, of which he had the early possession. His mother was the sole daughter and heir of the lord chief baron Tanfield, who having given a fair portion with his daughter in marriage, had kept himself free to dispose of his land, and his other estate, in such manner as he should think fit; and he settled it in such manner upon his grandson sir Lucius Carey, without taking notice of his father, or mother, that upon his grandmother's death, which fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age, all the land, with two excel-

lent houses excellently furnished, (worth above 2000*l.* per annum,) in a most pleasant country, and the two most pleasant places in that country, with a very plentiful personal estate, fell into his hands and possession, and to his entire disposal.

With these advantages, he had one great disadvantage (which in the first entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice) in his person and presence, which was in no degree attractive or promising. His stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting, that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world: but then no man sooner or more disappointed this general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprise; it being his greatest weakness to be too solicitous for such adventures: and that untuned tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind of lustre and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptance from the persons present, than any ornament of delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him.

In a short time after he had possession of the estate his grandfather had left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault against his father, in marrying a young lady, whom he passionately loved, without any considerable portion, which exceedingly offended him; and disappointed all his reasonable hopes and expectation of redeeming and repairing his own broken fortune, and desperate hopes in court, by some advantageous marriage of his son; about which he had then some probable treaty. Sir Lucius Carey was very conscious to himself of his offence and transgression, and the consequence of it, which though he could not repent, having married a lady of a most extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the most signal virtue and exemplary life, that the age produced, and who brought him many hopeful children, in which he took great delight; yet he confessed it, with the most sincere and dutiful applications to his father for his pardon that could be made; and in order to the prejudice he had brought upon his fortune, by bringing no portion to him, he offered to repair it, by resigning his whole estate to his disposal, and to rely wholly upon his kindness for his own maintenance and support; and to that purpose, he had caused conveyances to be drawn by council, which he brought ready engrossed to his father, and was willing to seal and execute them, that they might be valid: but his father's passion and indignation so far transported him, (though he was a gentleman of excellent parts,) that he refused any reconciliation, and rejected all the offers that were made him of

the estate; so that his son remained still in the possession of his estate against his will; for which he found great reason afterwards to rejoice: but he was for the present so much afflicted with his father's displeasure, that he transported himself and his wife into Holland, resolving to buy some military command, and to spend the remainder of his life in that profession: but being disappointed in the treaty he expected, and finding no opportunity to accommodate himself with such a command, he returned again into England; resolving to retire to a country life, and to his books; that since he was not like to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters.

In this resolution he was so severe, (as he was always naturally very intent upon what he was inclined to,) that he declared, he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world; and that in his studies, he would first apply himself to the Greek, and pursue it without intermission, till he should attain to the full understanding of that tongue: and it is hardly to be credited, what industry he used, and what success attended that industry: for though his father's death, by an unhappy accident, made his repair to London absolutely necessary, in fewer years, than he had proposed for his absence; yet he had first made himself master of the Greek tongue, (in the Latin he was very well versed before,) and had read not only all the Greek historians, but Homer likewise, and such of the poets as were worthy to be perused.

Though his father's death brought no other convenience to him, but a title to redeem an estate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which he was compelled to sell a finer seat of his own; yet it imposed a burden upon him, of the title of a viscount, and an increase of expense, in which he was not in his nature too provident or restrained; having naturally such a generosity and bounty in him, that he seemed to have his estate in trust, for all worthy persons, who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben Johnson, and many others of that time, whose fortunes required, and whose spirits made them superior to, ordinary obligations; which yet they were contented to receive from him, because his bounties were so generously distributed, and so much without vanity and ostentation, that, except from those few persons from whom he sometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intrusted, for the more secret deriving them to them, he did all he could, that the persons themselves who received them should not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he sustained any acknowledgment from the persons obliged with so much trouble and bashfulness, that they might well perceive, that he was even ashamed of the little he had given, and to receive so large a recompense for it.

As soon as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made necessary to be done, he retired again to his country life, and to his severe course of study, which was very delightful to him, as soon as he was engaged in it: but he was wont to say, that he never found reluctancy in any thing he resolved to do, but in his quitting London, and departing from the conversation of those he enjoyed there; which was in some degree preserved and continued by

frequent letters, and often visits, which were made by his friends from thence, whilst he continued wedded to the country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their stay with him, he looked upon no book, except their very conversation made an appeal to some book; and truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit, and good humour, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided, (Tew, or Burford, in Oxfordshire,) being within ten or twelve miles of the university, looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint, to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together, whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society. Here Mr. Chillingworth wrote, and formed, and modelled, his excellent book against the learned Jesuit Mr. Nott, after frequent debates upon the most important particulars; in many of which, he suffered himself to be overruled by the judgment of his friends, though in others he still adhered to his own fancy, which was sceptical enough, even in the highest points.

In this happy and delightful conversation and restraint, he remained in the country many years; and until he had made so prodigious a progress in learning, that there were very few classic authors in the Greek or Latin tongue, that he had not read with great exactness. He had read all the Greek and Latin fathers; all the most allowed and authentic ecclesiastical writers; and all the councils, with wonderful care and observation; for in religion he thought too careful and too curious an inquiry could not be made, amongst those, whose purity was not questioned, and whose authority was constantly and confidently urged, by men who were furthest from being of one mind amongst themselves; and for the mutual support of their several opinions, in which they most contradicted each other; and in all those controversies, he had so dispassioned a consideration, such a candour in his nature, and so profound a charity in his conscience, that in those points, in which he was in his own judgment most clear, he never thought the worse, or in any degree declined the familiarity, of those who were of another mind; which, without question, is an excellent temper for the propagation and advancement of Christianity. With these great advantages of industry, he had a memory retentive of all that he had ever read, and an understanding and judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most dexterity and address, and the least pedantry and affectation, that ever man, who knew so much, was possessed with, of what quality soever. It is not a trivial

evidence of his learning, his wit, and his candour, that may be found in that discourse of his, against the infallibility of the church of Rome, published since his death, and from a copy under his own hand, though not prepared and digested by him for the press, and to which he would have given some castigations.

But all his parts, abilities, and faculties, by art and industry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in comparison of his most accomplished mind and manners: his gentleness and affability was so transcendent and obliging, that it drew reverence, and some kind of compliance, from the roughest, and most unpolished, and stubborn constitutions; and made them of another temper in debate, in his presence, than they were in other places. He was in his nature so severe a lover of justice, and so precise a lover of truth, that he was superior to all possible temptations for the violation of either; indeed so rigid an exacter of perfection, in all those things which seemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common practice of men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved and admired his virtue, (as all who did know him must love and admire it,) did believe, that he was of a temper and composition fitter to live in *republica Platonis*, than in *face Romuli*: but this rigidity was only exercised towards himself; towards his friend's infirmities no man was more indulgent. In his conversation, which was the most cheerful and pleasant that can be imagined, though he was young, (for all I have yet spoken of him doth not exceed his age of twenty-five or twenty-six years, what progress he made afterwards will be mentioned in its proper season in this discourse,) and of great gayety in his humour, with a flowing delightfulness of language, he had so chaste a tongue and ear, that there was never known a profane or loose word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company; the integrity, and cleanliness of the wit of that time, not exercising itself in that license, before persons for whom they had any esteem.

Sir Francis Wenman would not look upon himself under any other character, than that of a country gentleman; though no man of his quality in England was more esteemed in court. He was of a noble extraction, and of an ancient family in Oxfordshire, where he was possessed of a competent estate; but his reputation of wisdom and integrity gave him an interest and credit in that country much above his fortune; and no man had more esteem in it, or power over it. He was a neighbour to the lord Falkland, and in so entire friendship and confidence with him, that he had great authority in the society of all his friends and acquaintance. He was a man of great sharpness of understanding, and of a piercing judgment; no man better understood the affections and temper of the kingdom, or indeed the nature of the nation, or discerned further the consequence of counsels, and with what success they were like to be attended. He was a very good Latin scholar, but his ratiocination was above his learning; and the sharpness of his wit incomparable. He was equal to the greatest trust and employment, if he had been ambitious of it, or solicitous for it; but his want of health produced a kind of laziness of mind, which disinclined him to business, and he died a little before the general troubles of the kingdom, which he foresaw with wonderful reluc-

tancy, and when many wise men were weary of living so long.

Sidney Godolphin was a younger brother of Godolphin, but by the provision left by his father, and by the death of a younger brother, liberally supplied for a very good education, and for a cheerful subsistence, in any course of life he proposed to himself. There was never so great a mind and spirit contained in so little room; so large an understanding and so unrestrained a fancy in so very small a body; so that the lord Falkland used to say merrily, that he thought it was a great ingredient into his friendship for Mr. Godolphin, that he was pleased to be found in his company, where he was the properer man; and it may be, the very remarkableness of his little person made the sharpness of his wit, and the composed quickness of his judgment and understanding, the more notorious and notable. He had spent some years in France, and in the Low Countries; and accompanied the earl of Leicester in his ambassage into Denmark, before he resolved to be quiet, and attend some promotion in the court; where his excellent disposition and manners, and extraordinary qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every body loved his company very well, yet he loved very much to be alone, being in his constitution inclined somewhat to melancholy, and to retirement amongst his books; and was so far from being active, that he was contented to be reproached by his friends with laziness; and was of so nice and tender a composition, that a little rain or wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short journey he had most willingly proposed to himself; inso-much as, when he rid abroad with those in whose company he most delighted, if the wind chanced to be in his face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his horse, and go home. Yet the civil war no sooner began, (the first approaches towards which he discovered as soon as any man, by the proceedings in parliament, where he was a member, and opposed with great indignation,) than he put himself into the first troops which were raised in the west for the king; and bore the uneasiness and fatigue of winter marches, with an exemplar courage and alacrity; until by too brave a pursuit of the enemy, into an obscure village in Devonshire, he was shot with a musket; with which (without saying any word more, than, Oh God! I am hurt) he fell dead from his horse; to the excessive grief of his friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable damage of the public.

Edmund Waller was born to a very fair estate, by the parsimony or frugality of a wise father and mother; and he thought it so commendable an advantage, that he resolved to improve it with his utmost care, upon which in his nature he was too much intent; and in order to that, he was so much reserved and retired, that he was scarce ever heard of, till by his address and dexterity he had gotten a very rich wife in the city, against all the recommendation, and countenance, and authority of the court, which was thoroughly engaged on the behalf of Mr. Crofts; and which used to be successful, in that age, against any opposition. He had the good fortune to have an alliance and friendship with Dr. Morley, who had assisted and instructed him in the reading many good books, to which his natural parts and promptitude in-

clined him; especially the poets: and at the age when other men used to give over writing verses, (for he was near thirty years of age when he first engaged himself in that exercise, at least that he was known to do so,) he surprised the town with two or three pieces of that kind; as if a tenth muse had been newly born, to cherish drooping poetry. The doctor at that time brought him into that company which was most celebrated for good conversation; where he was received, and esteemed, with great applause and respect. He was a very pleasant discourser, in earnest and in jest, and therefore very grateful to all kind of company, where he was not the less esteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nursed in parliaments, where he sat in his infancy; and so when they were resumed again, (after a long intermission and interdiction,) he appeared in those assemblies with great advantage, having a graceful way of speaking; and by thinking much upon several arguments, (which his temper and complexion, that had much of melancholic, inclined him to,) he seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the occasion had only administered the opportunity of saying what he had thoroughly considered, which gave a great lustre to all he said; which yet was rather of delight than weight. There needs no more be said to extol the excellence and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach; viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness, and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with; that it preserved and won his life from those who were most resolved to take it, and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again, from the reproach and contempt that was due to him for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a price; that it had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked; and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable, where his spirit was odious; and he was at least pitied, where he was most detested.

Of Doctor Sheldon there needs no more be said in this place, there being frequent occasions to mention him hereafter in the prosecution of this discourse, than that his learning, and gravity, and prudence, had in that time raised him to such a reputation, when he was chaplain in the house to the lord keeper Coventry, (who exceedingly esteemed him, and used his service not only in all matters relating to the church, but in many other businesses of importance, and in which that great and good lord was nearly concerned,) and when he was afterwards warden of All Souls' college in Oxford, that he then was looked upon as very equal to any preferment the church could, or hath since yielded unto him; and sir Francis Wenman would often say, when the doctor resorted to the conversation at the lord Falkland's house, as he frequently did, that "Dr. Sheldon was born and bred to be archbishop of Canterbury."

Doctor Morley, of whom more must likewise be said in its place, was a gentleman of very eminent

parts in all polite learning; of great wit, and readiness, and subtilty in disputation; and of remarkable temper and prudence in conversation, which rendered him most grateful in all the best company. He was then chaplain in the house, and to the family, of the lord and lady Carnarvon, which needed a wise and a wary director. From some academic contests he had been engaged in, during his living in Christ Church in Oxford, where he was always of the first eminency, he had, by the natural faction and animosity of those disputes, fallen under the reproach of holding some opinions, which were not then grateful to those churchmen who had the greatest power in ecclesiastical promotions; and some sharp answers and replies he used to make in accidental discourses, and which in truth were made for mirth and pleasantness sake, (as he was of the highest facetiousness,) were reported, and spread abroad to his prejudice: as being once asked by a grave country gentleman, (who was desirous to be instructed what their tenets and opinions were,) "what the Arminians held," he pleasantly answered, that *they held all the best bishoprics and deaneries in England*; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. Morley's definition of the Arminian tenets.

Such and the like harmless and jocular sayings, upon many accidental occasions, had wrought upon the archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, (who lived to change his mind, and to have a just esteem of him,) to entertain some prejudice towards him; and the respect which was paid him by many eminent persons, as John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, and others, who were not thought friends to the prosperity the church was in, made others apprehend that he was not enough zealous for it. But that disaffection and virulency (which few men had then owned and discovered) no sooner appeared, in those and other men, but Dr. Morley made haste as publicly to oppose them, both in private and in public; which had the more effect to the benefit of the church, by his being a person above all possible reproach, and known and valued by more persons of honour than most of the clergy were, and being not only without the envy of any preferment, but under the advantage of a discountenanced person. And as he was afterwards the late king's chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him as any of his chaplains were permitted to attend him; so presently after his murder he left the kingdom, and remained in banishment till his majesty's [king Charles the Second's] happy return.

Doctor Earles was at that time chaplain in the house to the earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, and had a lodging in the court under that relation. He was a person very notable for his elegance in the Greek and Latin tongues; and being Fellow of Merton college in Oxford, and having been proctor of the university, and some very witty and sharp discourses being published in print without his consent, though known to be his, he grew suddenly into a very general esteem with all men; being a man of great piety and devotion; a most eloquent and powerful preacher; and of a conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no man's company was more desired and more loved. No man was more negligent in his dress, and habit, and mien; no man more

wary and cultivated in his behaviour and discourse; insomuch as he had the greater advantage when he was known, by promising so little before he was known. He was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English, as appears by many pieces yet abroad; though he suppressed many more himself, especially of English, incomparably good, out of an austerity to those sallies of his youth. He was very dear to the lord Falkland, with whom he spent as much time as he could make his own; and as that lord would impute the speedy progress he made in the Greek tongue, to the information and assistance he had from Mr. Earles, so Mr. Earles would frequently profess, that he had got more useful learning by his conversation at Tew, (the lord Falkland's house,) than he had at Oxford. In the first settling of the prince's family, he was made one of his chaplains; and attended on him when he was forced to leave the kingdom, and therefore we shall often have occasion to mention him hereafter. He was amongst the few excellent men who never had, nor ever could have an enemy, but such a one who was an enemy to all learning and virtue, and therefore would never make himself known.

Mr. John Hales had been Greek professor in the university of Oxford; and had borne all the labour of that excellent edition and impression of St. Chrysostom's Works, set out by sir Harry Savile; who was then warden of Merton college, when the other was fellow of that house. He was chaplain in the house with sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague in Holland, at the time when the synod of Dort was held, and so had liberty to be present at the consultations in that assembly; and hath left the best memorial behind him, of the ignorance, and passion, and animosity, and injustice of that convention; of which he often made very pleasant relations; though at that time it received too much countenance from England. Being a person of the greatest eminency for learning, and other abilities, from which he might have promised himself any preferment in the church, he withdrew himself from all pursuits of that kind into a private fellowship in the college of Eton, where his friend sir Harry Savile was provost; where he lived amongst his books, and the most separated from the world of any man then living: though he was not in the least degree inclined to melancholy, but, on the contrary, of a very open and pleasant conversation; and therefore was very well pleased with the resort of his friends to him, who were such as he had chosen, and in whose company he delighted, and for whose sake he would sometimes, once in a year, resort to London, only to enjoy their cheerful conversation.

He would never take any cure of souls; and was so great a contemner of money, that he was wont to say, that his fellowship, and the bursar's place, (which, for the good of the college, he held many years,) was worth him fifty pounds a year more than he could spend; and yet, besides his being very charitable to all poor people, even to liberality, he had made a greater and better collection of books, than were to be found in any other private library that I have seen; as he had sure read more, and carried more about him in his excellent memory, than any man I ever knew, my lord Falkland only excepted, who I think sided him. He had, whether from his natural

temper and constitution, or from his long retirement from all crowds, or from his profound judgment and discerning spirit, contracted some opinions which were not received, nor by him published, except in private discourses; and then rather upon occasion of dispute, than of positive opinion: and he would often say, his opinions he was sure did him no harm, but he was far from being confident that they might not do others harm who entertained them, and might entertain other results from them than he did; and therefore he was very reserved in communicating what he thought himself in those points, in which he differed from what was received.

Nothing troubled him more than the brawls which were grown from religion; and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the church of Rome; more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors in their own opinions: and would often say, that he would renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wish him so. No man more strict and severe to himself; to other men so charitable as to their opinions, that he thought that other men were more in fault for their carriage towards them, than the men themselves were who erred; and he thought that pride, and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion; and he frequently said, that that only kept the world from agreeing upon such a liturgy, as might bring them into one communion; all doctrinal points, upon which men differed in their opinions, being to have no place in any liturgy. Upon an occasional discourse with a friend, of the frequent and uncharitable reproaches of heretic and schismatic, too lightly thrown at each other, amongst men who differ in their judgment, he writ a little discourse of schism, contained in less than two sheets of paper; which being transmitted from friend to friend in writing, was at last, without any malice, brought to the view of the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who was a very rigid surveyor of all things which never so little bordered upon schism; and thought the church could not be too vigilant against, and jealous of, such incursions.

He sent for Mr. Hales, whom, when they had both lived in the university of Oxford, he had known well; and told him, that he had in truth believed him to be long since dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old acquaintance: then asked him, whether he had lately written a short discourse of schism, and whether he was of that opinion which that discourse implied. He told him, that he had, for the satisfaction of a private friend, (who was not of his mind,) a year or two before, writ such a small tract, without any imagination that it would be communicated; and that he believed it did not contain any thing that was not agreeable to the judgment of the primitive fathers: upon which, the archbishop debated with him upon some expressions of Irenæus, and the most ancient fathers; and concluded with saying, that the time was very apt to set new doctrines on foot, of which the wits of the age were too susceptible; and that there could not be too much care taken to preserve the peace and unity of the church; and from thence

asked him of his condition, and whether he wanted any thing: and the other answering, that he had enough, and wanted or desired no addition, so dismissed him with great courtesy; and shortly after sent for him again, when there was a prebendary of Windsor fallen, and told him, the king had given him the preferment, because it lay so convenient to his fellowship of Eton; which (though indeed the most convenient preferment that could be thought of for him) the archbishop could not without great difficulty persuade him to accept, and he did accept it rather to please him than himself; because he really believed he had enough before. He was one of the least men in the kingdom; and one of the greatest scholars in Europe.

Mr. Chillingworth was of a stature little superior to Mr. Hales, (and it was an age in which there were many great and wonderful men of that size,) and a man of so great a subtilty of understanding, and so rare a temper in debate, that, as it was impossible to provoke him into any passion, so it was very difficult to keep a man's self from being a little discomposed by his sharpness and quickness of argument, and instances, in which he had a rare facility, and a great advantage over all the men I ever knew. He had spent all his younger time in disputation, and had arrived to so great a mastery, as he was inferior to no man in those skirmishes: but he had, with his notable perfection in this exercise, contracted such an irresolution and habit of doubting, that by degrees he grew confident of nothing, and a sceptic, at least, in the greatest mysteries of faith.

This made him, from first wavering in religion, and indulging to scruples, to reconcile himself too soon and too easily to the church of Rome; and carrying still his own inquisitiveness about him, without any resignation to their authority, (which is the only temper can make that church sure of its proselytes,) having made a journey to St. Omer's, purely to perfect his conversion by the conversation of those who had the greatest name, he found as little satisfaction there; and returned with as much haste from them; with a belief, that an entire exemption from error was neither inherent in, nor necessary to any church: which occasioned that war, which was carried on by the Jesuits with so great asperity and reproaches against him, and in which he defended himself by such an admirable eloquence of language, and clear and incomparable power of reason, that he not only made them appear unequal adversaries, but carried the war into their own quarters; and made the pope's infallibility to be as much shaken, and declined by their own doctors, (and as great an acrimony amongst themselves upon that subject,) and to be at least as much doubted, as in the schools of the reformed, or protestant; and forced them since to defend and maintain those unhappy controversies in religion, with arms and weapons of another nature than were used or known in the church of Rome when Bellarmine died; and which probably will in time undermine the very foundation that supports it.

Such a levity, and propensity to change, is commonly attended with great infirmities in, and no less reproach and prejudice to the person; but the sincerity of his heart was so conspicuous, and without the least temptation of any corrupt end; and the innocence and candour of his nature so

evident, and without any perverseness; that all who knew him clearly discerned, that all those restless motions and fluctuations proceeded only from the warmth and jealousy of his own thoughts, in a too nice inquisition for truth. Neither the books of the adversary, nor any of their persons, though he was acquainted with the best of both, had ever made great impression upon him; all his doubts grew out of himself, when he assisted his scruples with all the strength of his own reason, and was then too hard for himself; but finding as little quiet and repose in those victories, he quickly recovered, by a new appeal to his own judgment; so that he was, in truth, upon the matter, in all his sallies and retreats, his own convert; though he was not so totally divested of all thoughts of this world, but that when he was ready for it, he admitted some great and considerable churchmen, to be sharers with him in his public conversion.

Whilst he was in perplexity, or rather some passionate disinclination to the religion he had been educated in, he had the misfortune to have much acquaintance with one Mr. Lugar, a minister of that church; a man of a competency of learning in those points most controverted with the Romanists, but of no acute parts of wit, or judgment; and wrought so far upon him, by weakening and enervating those arguments, by which he found he was governed, (as he had all the logic, and all the rhetoric, that was necessary to persuade very powerfully men of the greatest talents,) that the poor man, not able to live long in doubt, too hastily deserted his own church, and betook himself to the Roman: nor could all the arguments and reasons of Mr. Chillingworth make him pause in the expedition he was using, or reduce him from that church after he had given himself to it; but he had always a great animosity against him, for having (as he said) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another religion, and there left him. So unfit are some constitutions to be troubled with doubts, after they are once fixed.

He did really believe all war to be unlawful; and did not think that the parliament (whose proceedings he perfectly abhorred) did in truth intend to involve the nation in a civil war, till after the battle of Edge-hill; and then he thought any expedient or stratagem that was like to put a speedy end to it, to be the most commendable: and so having too mathematically conceived an engine, that should move so lightly as to be a breastwork in all encounters and assaults in the field, he carried it, to make the experiment, into that part of his majesty's army, which was only in that winter season in the field, under the command of the lord Hopton, in Hampshire, upon the borders of Sussex; where he was shut up in the castle of Arundel; which was forced, after a short, sharp siege, to yield for want of victual; and poor Mr. Chillingworth with it, falling into the rebels' hands; and being most barbarously treated by them, especially by that clergy which followed them; and being broken with sickness, contracted by the ill accommodation, and want of meat and fire during the siege, which was in a terrible season of frost and snow, he died shortly after in prison. He was a man of excellent parts, and of a cheerful disposition; void of all kind of vice, and endued with many notable virtues; of a very public heart, and an indefatigable desire to do good; his only un-

happiness proceeded from his sleeping too little, and thinking too much; which sometimes threw him into violent fevers.

This was Mr. Hyde's company and conversation, to which he dedicated his vacant times, and all that time which he could make vacant, from the business of his profession; which he indulged with no more passion than was necessary to keep up the reputation of a man that had no purpose to be idle; which indeed he perfectly abhorred: and he took always occasion to celebrate the time he had spent in that conversation, with great satisfaction and delight. Nor was he less fortunate in the acquaintance and friendships which he made with the persons in his profession; who were all eminent men, or of the most hopeful parts; who being all much superior to him in age and experience, and entirely devoted to their profession, were yet well pleased with the gayety of his humour, and inoffensive and winning behaviour; and this good inclination of theirs was improved by the interest they saw he had in persons of the best quality, to whom he was very acceptable, and his condition of living, which was with more splendour than young lawyers were accustomed to.

Those persons were, Mr. Lane, who was then attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards lord chief baron of the exchequer, and lastly, upon the death of the lord Littleton, was made keeper of the great seal, who died in banishment, and of whom we shall say more hereafter; Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, afterwards attorney general, who will likewise have another part in this story; Mr. John Maynard; and Bulstrode Whitlock; all men of eminent parts, and great learning out of their professions; and in their professions, of signal reputation: and though the two last did afterwards bow their knees to Baal, and so swerved from their allegiance, it was with less rancour and malice than other men: they never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the torrent, than swam with the stream; and failed through those infirmities, which less than a general defection and a prosperous rebellion could never have discovered. With these, and very few other persons of other societies, and of more than ordinary parts in the profession, he conversed. In business and in practice, with the rest of the profession, he had at most a formal acquaintance, and little familiarity; very seldom using, when his practice was at highest, so much as to eat in the hall, without which no man ever got the reputation of a good student: but he ever gave his time of eating to his friends; and was wont pleasantly to say, "that he repaired himself with very good company at dinner, for the ill company he had kept in the morning;" and made himself amends for the time he lost with his friends, by declining suppers, and with a part of that time which was allowed for sleep: but he grew every day more intent on business and more engaged in practice, so that he could not assign so much time as he had used to do to his beloved conversation.

The countenance he received from the archbishop of Canterbury, who took all occasion to mention him as a person he had kindness for; the favour of the lord Coventry, manifested as often as he came before him; the reception he found with the lord privy seal, the earl of Manchester, who had raised the court of requests to as much business as the chancery itself was pos-

sessed of, and where he was looked upon as a favourite; the familiarity used towards him by the earl of Pembroke, who was lord chamberlain of the king's house, and a greater man in the country than the court; by the earl of Holland, and many other lords and ladies, and other persons of interest in the court, made him looked upon by the judges in Westminster hall with much condescension; and they, who before he put on his gown looked upon him as one who designed some other course of life, (for though he had been always very punctual in the performance of all those public exercises the profession obliged him to, both before and after he was called to the bar; yet in all other respects he lived as if he thought himself above that course of life,) now when they no sooner saw him put on his gown, but that he was suddenly in practice, and taken notice of particularly in all courts of justice with unusual countenance, thought he would make what progress he desired in that profession.

As he had those many friends in court, so he was not less acceptable to many great persons in the country, who least regarded the court, and were least esteemed by it; and he had that rare felicity, that even they, who did not love many of those upon whom he most depended, were yet very well pleased with him and with his company. The earl of Hertford and the earl of Essex, whose interests and friendships were then the same, and who were looked upon with reverence by all who had not reverence for the court; and even by all in the court who were not satisfied there, (which was, and always will be, a great people,) were very kind to him, and ready to trust him in any thing that was most secret: and though he could not dispose the archbishop or the earl of Essex to any correspondence or good intelligence with each other, which he exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal aversion in both towards each other; yet he succeeded to his wish in bringing the archbishop and the earl of Hertford to a very good acquaintance and inclination to each other; which they both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the earl of Essex was as much unsatisfied.

The person whose life this discourse is to recollect (and who had so great an affection and reverence for the memory of that prelate, [archbishop Laud,] that he never spake of him without extraordinary esteem, and believed him to be a man of the most exemplar virtue and piety of any of that age) was wont to say, the greatest want the archbishop had was of a true friend, who would seasonably have told him of his infirmities, and what people spake of him; and he said, he knew well that such a friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon that occasion he used to mention a story of himself: that when he was a young practiser of the law, being in some favour with him, (as is mentioned before,) he went to visit him in the beginning of a Michaelmas term, shortly after his return from the country, where he had spent a month or two of the summer.

He found the archbishop early walking in the garden; who received him according to his custom, very graciously; and continuing his walk, asked him, "What good news in the country?" to which he answered, "there was none good; the people were universally discontented; and (which troubled him most) that every [one]

“spoke extreme ill of his grace, as the cause of all that was amiss.” He replied, “that he was sorry for it; he knew he did not deserve it; and that he must not give over serving the king and the church, to please the people, who otherwise would not speak well of him.” Mr. Hyde told him, “he thought he need not lessen his zeal for either; and that it grieved him to find persons of the best condition, and who loved both king and church, exceedingly indevoted to him; complaining of his manner of treating them, when they had occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his directions.” And then named him two persons of the most interest and credit in Wiltshire, who had that summer attended the council board in some affairs which concerned the king and the county: that all the lords present used them with great courtesy, knowing well their quality and reputation; but that he alone spake very sharply to them, and without any thing of grace, at which they were much troubled; and one of them, supposing that somebody had done him ill offices, went the next morning to Lambeth, to present his service to him, and to discover, if he could, what misrepresentation had been made of him: that after he had attended very long, he was admitted to speak with his grace, who scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that “he had no leisure for compliments;” and so turned away; which put the other gentleman much out of countenance: and that this kind of behaviour of his was the discourse of all companies of persons of quality; every man continuing any such story with another like it, very much to his disadvantage, and to the trouble of those who were very just to him.

He heard the relation very patiently and attentively, and discoursed over every particular with all imaginable condescension; and said, with evident shew of trouble, that “he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well; that he remembered the time when those two persons were with the council; that upon any deliberations, when any thing was resolved, or to be said to any body, the council enjoined him to deliver their resolutions; which he did always according to the best of his understanding: but by the imperfection he had by nature, which he said often troubled him, he might deliver it in such a tune, and with a sharpness of voice, that made men believe he was angry, when there was no such thing; that when those gentlemen were there, and he had delivered what he was to say, they made some stay, and spake with some of the lords, which not being according to order, he thought he gave them some reprehension; they having at that time very much other business to do: that he did well remember that one of them (who was a person of honour) came afterwards to him at a time he was shut up about an affair of importance, which required his full thoughts; but that as soon as he heard of the other’s being without, he sent for him, himself going into the next room, and received him very kindly, as he thought; and supposing that he came about business, asked him what his business was; and the other answering, that he had no business, but continuing his address with some ceremony, he had indeed said, that he had not time for compliments: but he did not think that he went out of the room

“in that manner: and concluded, that it was not possible for him, in the many occupations he had, to spend any time in unnecessary compliments; and that if his integrity and uprightness, which never should be liable to reproach, could not be strong enough to preserve him, he must submit to God’s good pleasure.”

He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply very freely upon the subject, who said, “he observed by what his grace himself had related, that the gentlemen had too much reason for the report they made; and he did not wonder that they had been much troubled at his carriage towards them; that he did exceedingly wish that he would more reserve his passion towards all persons, how faulty soever; and that he would treat persons of honour, and quality, and interest in their country, with more courtesy and condescension; especially when they came to visit him, and make offer of their service.” He said, smiling, that “he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning; for his tongue, he could not undertake, that he would not sometimes speak more hastily and sharply than he should do, (which oftentimes he was sorry for and reprehended himself for,) and in a tune which might be liable to misinterpretation with them who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew that it was an infirmity, which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend with it.” For the state and distance he kept with men, he said, “he thought it was not more than was suitable to the place and degree he held in the church and state; or so much as others had assumed to themselves who had sat in his place; and thereupon he told him some behaviour and carriage of his predecessor, Abbot, (who he said was not better born than himself,) towards the greatest nobility of the kingdom, which he thought was very insolent and excusable;” and was indeed very ridiculous.

After this bold enterprise, [Mr. Hyde] ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity; upon which he always concluded, that if the archbishop had had any true friend, who would, in proper seasons, have dealt frankly with him in the most important matters, and wherein the errors were like to be most penal, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it. But it is the misfortune of most persons of that education, (how worthy soever,) that they have rarely friendships with men above their own condition; and that their ascent being commonly sudden, from low to high, they have afterwards rather dependants than friends, and are still deceived by keeping somewhat in reserve to themselves, even from those with whom they seem most openly to communicate; and which is worse, receive for the most part their informations and advertisements from clergymen who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read.

Under this universal acquaintance and general acceptation, Mr. Hyde led for many years as cheerful and pleasant a life as any man did enjoy, as long as the kingdom took any pleasure in itself. His practice grew every day as much as he wished, and would have been much more, if he had wished it; by which, he not only supported his

expense, greater much than men of his rank and pretences used to make, but increased his estate by some convenient purchases of land adjoining to his other; and he grew so much in love with business and practice, that he gave up his whole heart to it; resolving, by a course of severe study, to recover the time he had lost upon less profitable learning; and to intend nothing else, but to reap all those benefits to which that profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof he had so many and so unusual encouragements; and towards which it was not the least, that God had blessed him with an excellent wife, who perfectly resigned herself to him; and who then had brought him, before any troubles in the kingdom, three sons and a daughter, which he then and ever looked upon, as his greatest blessing and consolation.

Because we shall have little cause hereafter to mention any other particulars in the calm part of his life, whilst he followed the study and practice of the law, it will not in this place appear a very impertinent digression to say, that he was in that very time when fortune seemed to smile and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole course of his life, wont to say, that "when he reflected upon himself and his past actions, even from the time of his first coming to the Middle Temple, he had so much more cause to be terrified upon the reflection, than the man had who viewed Rochester bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had galloped over in the night; that he had passed over more precipices than the other had done, for many nights and days, and some years together; from which nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved him." For though it is very true, the persons before mentioned were the only men, in whose company, in those seasons of his life, he took delight; yet he frequently found himself in the conversation of worse, and indeed of all manner of men; and it being in the time when the war was entered into against the two crowns, and the expeditions made to, and unprosperous returns from Cadiz and the Isle of Rhé, the town was full of soldiers, and of young gentlemen who intended to be soldiers, or as like them as they could; great license used of all kinds, in clothes, in diet, in gaming; and all kinds of expenses equally carried on, by men who had fortunes of their own to support it, and by others, who, having nothing of their own, cared not what they spent, whilst they could find credit: so that there was never an age, in which, in so short a time, so many young gentlemen, who had not experience in the world, or some good tutelar angel to protect them, were insensibly and suddenly overwhelmed in that sea of wine, and women, and quarrels, and gaming, which almost overspread the whole kingdom, and the nobility and gentry thereof. And when he had, by God's immediate blessing, disentangled himself from these labyrinths, (his nature and inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute quarters, than to make any stay in them,) and was enough composed against any extravagant excursions; he was still conversant with a rank of men (how worthy soever) above his quality, and engaged in an expense above his fortune, if the extraordinary accidents of his life had not supplied him for those excesses; so that it brought no prejudice upon

him, except in the censure of severe men, who thought him a person of more license than in truth he was, and who, in a short time, were very fully reconciled to him.

He had without doubt great infirmities; which by a providential mercy were seasonably restrained from growing into vices, at least into any that were habitual. He had ambition enough to keep him from being satisfied with his own condition, and to raise his spirit to great designs of raising himself; but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked and indirect means. He was never suspected to flatter the greatest man, or in the least degree to dissemble his own opinions or thoughts, how ingrateful soever it often proved; and even an affected defect in, and contempt of, those two useful qualities, cost him dear afterwards. He indulged his palate very much, and took even some delight in eating and drinking well, but without any approach to luxury; and, in truth, rather discoursed like an epicure, than was one; having spent much time in the eating hours with the earl of Dorset, the lord Conway, and the lord Lumley, men who excelled in gratifying their appetites. He had a fancy sharp and luxuriant; but so carefully cultivated and strictly guarded, that he never was heard to speak a loose or a profane word; which he imputed to the chastity of the persons where his conversation usually was, where that rank sort of wit was religiously detested: and a little discountenance would quickly root those unsavoury weeds out of all discourses, where persons of honour are present.

He was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing very troublesome, which good company in a short time so much reformed and mastered, that no man was more affable and courteous to all kind of persons; and they who knew the great infirmity of his whole family, which abounded in passion, used to say, he had much extinguished the unruliness of that fire. That which supported and rendered him generally acceptable was his generosity, (for he had too much a contempt of money,) and the opinion men had of the goodness and justice of his nature, which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful tenderness, and delight in obliging. His integrity was ever without blemish, and believed to be above temptation. He was firm and unshakable in his friendships; and, though he had great candour towards others in the differences of religion, he was zealously and deliberately fixed in the principles both of the doctrine and discipline of the church: yet he used to say to his nearest friends, in that time, when he expected another kind of calm for the remainder of his life, "though he had some glimmering light of, and inclination to, virtue in his nature, that the whole progress of his life had been full of desperate hazards; and that only the merciful hand of God Almighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate and a vicious man:" and he still said, that "God had vouchsafed that signal goodness to him, for the piety and exemplar virtue of his father and mother;" whose memory he had always in singular veneration: and he was pleased with what his nearest ally and bosom friend, sergeant Hyde, (who was afterwards chief justice of the king's bench,) used at that time to say of him, that his cousin had passed his time very luckily, and with notable success, and was

like to be very happy in the world; but he would never advise any of his friends to walk in the same paths, or to tread in his steps.

It was about the year 1639, when he was little more than thirty years of age, and when England enjoyed the greatest measure of felicity that it had ever known; the two crowns of France and Spain worrying each other, by their mutual incursions and invasions of each other, whilst they had both a civil war in their own bowels; the former, by frequent rebellions from their own factions and animosities, the latter, by the defection of Portugal; and both laboured more to ransack and burn each other's dominions, than to extinguish their own fire. All Germany weltering in its own blood, and contributing to each other's destruction, that the poor crown of Sweden might grow great out of their ruins, and at their charge: Denmark and Poland being adventurers in the same destructive enterprises. Holland and the United Provinces wearied and tired with their long and chargeable war, how prosperous soever they were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of France their ally, than of Spain their enemy. Italy every year infested by the arms of Spain and France, which divided the princes thereof into the several factions.

Of all the princes of Europe, the king of England alone seemed to be seated upon that pleasant promontory, that might safely view the tragic sufferings of all his neighbours about him, without any other concernment than what arose from his own princely heart and Christian compassion, to see such desolation wrought by the pride, and passion, and ambition of private persons, supported by princes who knew not what themselves would have. His three kingdoms flourishing in entire peace and universal plenty, in danger of nothing but their own surfeits; and his dominions every day enlarged, by sending out colonies upon large and fruitful plantations; his strong fleets commanding all seas; and the numerous shipping of the nation bringing the trade of the world into his ports; nor could it with unquestionable security be carried any whither else; and all these blessings enjoyed under a prince of the greatest clemency and justice, and of the greatest piety and devotion, and the most indulgent to his subjects, and most solicitous for their happiness and prosperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint!

In this blessed conjuncture, when no other prince thought he wanted any thing to compass what he most desired to be possessed of, but the affection and friendship of the king of England, a small, scarce discernible cloud arose in the north, which was shortly after attended with such a storm, that never gave over raging till it had shaken, and even rooted up, the greatest and tallest cedars of the three nations; blasted all its beauty and fruitfulness; brought its strength to decay, and its glory to reproach, and almost to desolation; by such a career and deluge of wickedness and rebellion, as by not being enough foreseen, or in truth suspected, could not be prevented.

Upon the rebellion in Scotland, in the year 1640, the king called a parliament; which met, according to summons, upon the third of April. Mr. Hyde was chosen to serve for two places; for the borough of Wotton-Basset, in the county of

Wilts; and for the borough of Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset; but made choice to serve for his neighbours of the former place: and so a new writ issued for the choice of another Burgess for Shaftesbury.

The next day after Mr. Pym had recapitulated the whole series of the grievances and miscarriages which had been in the state, Mr. Hyde told the house, that "that worthy gentleman had omitted" "one grievance, more heavy than (as he thought) many of the others; which was, the earl marshal's court: a court newly erected, without colour or shadow of law, which took upon it to fine and imprison the king's subjects, and to give great damages for matters which the law gave no damages for." He repeated a pleasant story of a citizen, who, being rudely treated for more than his fare came to, by a waterman, who, pressing him, still shewed his crest, or badge upon his coat, the citizen bade him be gone *with his goose*; whereas it was, in truth, a swan, the crest of an earl, whose servant the waterman was: whereupon the citizen was called into the marshal's court, and, after a long and chargeable attendance, was, *for the opprobrious dishonouring the earl's crest, by calling the swan a goose*, fined and imprisoned, till he had paid considerable damages to the lord, or at least to the waterman; which really undid the citizen.

He told them another story as ridiculous, of a gentleman, who, owing his tailor a long time a good sum of money for clothes, and his tailor coming one day to his chamber, with more than ordinary importunity for his debt, and not receiving any good answer, threatened to arrest him; upon which the gentleman, enraged, gave him very ill words, called him base fellow, and laid his hands upon him to thrust him out of his chamber: in this struggle, and under this provocation, oppression, and reproach, the poor tailor chanced to say, that he was as good a man as the other; for which words he was called into the marshal's court; and for his peace, was content to be satisfied his debt, out of his own ill manners; being compelled to release all his other demands in lieu of damages. The case was known to many, and detested by all.

He told them, that "there was an appendant to that court, which he called the pageantry of it, the heralds; who were as grievous to the gentry, as the court was to the people." He said, "that sure the knights of that house, when they received that honour from the king, though they might think themselves obliged to live at a higher rate, yet they believed that they might die as good cheap as other men;" he told them, "they could not, it would cost them ten pounds more; and yet a gentleman could not die for nothing." The heralds had procured such an order from the earl marshal, to force all persons to pay at their funerals, such several sums, according to their several degrees. He concluded with a desire, that when the wisdom of that house provided remedies against the other grievances, it would likewise secure the subject against this exorbitance. This representation was very acceptable to the house, both in respect of the matter, which was odious enough, and in regard of the person that usurped that monstrous jurisdiction, who was in no degree grateful to them; upon whom the speaker had not made the least

him; and were willing to take advice from him, how to prevent those miseries which were like to be brought upon the kingdom: so that they, who had cut out all the work from the beginning, and seldom met with any notable contradiction, found themselves now frequently disappointed and different resolutions taken to what they had proposed; which they imputed to his activity.

He was very much in the business of the house; the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment; and very diligent in attending the service both in the house and at committees: for he had from the beginning of the parliament laid aside his gown and practice, and wholly given himself up to the public business; which he saw so much concerned the peace and very being of the kingdom. He was in the chair in that committee which considered of the illegality of the court of York: and the other, that examined the miscarriages of the judges, in the case of ship-money, and in other cases of judicatory, in their several courts; and prepared charges thereupon against them. He was in the chair against the marshal's court: in that committee which was against the court of York, which was prosecuted with great passion, and took up many weeks debate: in that which concerned the jurisdiction of the lord president and council of the marches of Wales; which likewise held a long time, and was prosecuted with great bitterness and animosity: in which the inhabitants of the four neighbour counties of Salop, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, and consequently the knights and burgesses which served for the same, were passionately concerned to absolve themselves from the burden of that jurisdiction; and all the officers of that court and council, whereof some were very great men, and held offices of great value, laboured with equal passion and concernment to support and maintain what was in practice and possession; and their friends appeared accordingly.

X He was in the chair in many committees made upon private complaints; insomuch as he was seldom in the afternoon free from that service in the committees, as he was never absent in mornings from the house: and he was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to some the queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the queen to a servant of near trust; who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the earl of Manchester, lord privy seal; who, together with his son Mandevile, were now most concerned to maintain the enclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power.

The committee sat in the queen's court, and Oliver Cromwell, being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the lord Mandevile being likewise present as a party, and, by the direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the house of commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged

upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the council and witnesses on the other side with great clamour, when they said any thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats to reduce them to such a temper, that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell in great fury reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them: the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before and at the enclosure, the lord Mandevile desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end, his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the house of him; which he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death.

When Mr. Hyde sat in the chair, in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, all that party made great court to him; and the house keeping those disorderly hours, and seldom rising till after four of the clock in the afternoon, they frequently importuned him to dine with them at Mr. Pym's lodging, which was at sir Richard Manly's house, in a little court behind Westminster hall; where he, and Mr. Hambden, sir Arthur Haslerig, and two or three more, upon a stock kept a table, where they transacted much business, and invited thither those of whose conversion they had any hope.

One day after dinner, Nathaniel Fiennes, who that day likewise dined there, asked Mr. Hyde whether he would ride into the fields, and take a little air, it being a fine evening; which the other consenting to, they sent for their horses, and riding together in the fields between Westminster and Chelsea, Mr. Fiennes asked him what it was that inclined him to adhere so passionately to the church, which could not possibly be supported. He answered, that he could have no other obligation than that of his conscience, and his reason, that could move with him; for he had no relation or dependence upon any churchmen that could dispose him to it; that he could not conceive how religion could be preserved without bishops, nor how the government of the state could well subsist, if the government of the church were altered; and asked him what government they meant to introduce in its place. To which he answered, that there would be time enough to think of that; but assured him, and wished him to remember what he said, that if the king resolved to defend the bishops, it would cost the kingdom much blood, and would be the

occasion of as sharp a war as had ever been in England: for that there was so great a number of good men who resolved to lose their lives before they would ever submit to that government. Which was the first positive declaration he had ever heard from any particular man of that party, very few of them having at that time that resolution, much less avowing it; and if they had, the kingdom was in no degree at that time infected with that poison, how much soever it was spread afterwards.

Within two days after this discourse from Mr. Fiennes, Mr. Hyde, walking between the parliament house and Westminster, in the churchyard, met with Harry Martin, with whom he lived very familiarly; and speaking together about the proceedings of the houses, Martin told him, that he would undo himself by his adhering to the court; to which he replied, that he had no relation to the court, and was only concerned to maintain the government and preserve the law: and then told him, he could not conceive what he proposed to himself, for he did not think him to be of the opinion or nature with those men who governed the house; and asked him, what he thought of such and such men: and he very frankly answered, that he thought them knaves; and that when they had done as much as they intended to do, they should be used as they had used others. The other pressed him then to say what he desired; to which, after a little pause, he very roundly answered, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all:" which was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose; and would without doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole nation, of any design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the hearts of some desperate persons, that gentleman being at that time possessed of a very great fortune, and having great credit in his country.

Whilst things were thus depending, one morning, when there was a conference with the lords, and so the house adjourned, Mr. Hyde being walking in the house, Mr. Peircy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, being a member of the house, came to him, and told him that the king would speak with him, and would have him that afternoon to come to him. He answered, he believed it was some mistake, for that he had not the honour to be known to the king; and that there was another of the same name, of the house. Mr. Peircy assured him he was the man; and so it was agreed, that at such an hour in the evening he should call on him at his chamber; which he did, and was by him conducted into the gallery, and so into the square room, where he stayed till the other went to the king; who in a very short time came thither, attended only by Mr. Peircy, who, as soon as Mr. Hyde had kissed his majesty's hand, withdrew.

The king told him, "that he heard from all hands how much he was beholden to him; and that when all his servants in the house of com-

mons either neglected his service, or could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasions to do him service; for which he thought fit to give him his own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember it to his advantage." He took notice of his affection to the church, for which, he said, "he thanked him more than for all the rest;" which the other acknowledged with the duty that became him, and said, "he was very happy that his majesty was pleased with what he did; but if he had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and reverence for the church, he would not have obeyed him;" which his majesty said made him love him the better. Then he discoursed of the passion of the house, and of the bill then brought in against episcopacy; and asked him, "whether he thought they would be able to carry it;" to which he answered, "he believed they could not, at least that it would be very long first." "Nay, (replied the king,) if you will look to it, that they do not carry it before I go for Scotland, which will be at such a time, when the armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the church after that time: why then, (said the other,) by the grace of God, it will not be in much danger:" with which the king was well pleased; and dismissed him with very gracious expressions. And this was the first introduction of him to the king's taking notice of him.

Afterwards, in that summer, during the time of his majesty's stay in Scotland, Mr. Secretary Nicholas (who then kept the signet, though he was not sworn secretary till the king's return) being very sick, sent to him, to desire to speak with him; whereupon he went to him to his house in King's-street, and found him in his bed: and the business was wholly to shew him a letter from the king to him, in which he writ to him, that he understood, by several hands, that he was very much beholden to Mr. Hyde, for the great zeal he shewed to his service; and therefore commanded him to speak with him, and to let him know the sense he had of it; and that when he returned, he would let him know it himself.

Having now taken a view of him from his birth, and through his whole youth, and first entrance into the business of the world, in which he had great success and prosperity, (and if the calm, in which he was born, and lasted so long, had continued, no man could with more probability have promised himself better fortune in the profession to which he had dedicated himself;) and having now brought him to be known to the king; and the tempest, that from the present foul weather shortly after broke out, driving him from further applying himself to, or prosecuting that profession; and the parliament making some short recess during the king's being in Scotland; we will here conclude the first part of his life, and enter upon the second; which will contain a more important part, and in which we will mention no particulars of that active time, but such in which he had a signal part; leaving the rest to the history of those great and monstrous actions.

Montpelier, March 27, 1669.

PART II.

AS soon as the remonstrance, so much mentioned before, was printed, Mr. Hyde, only to give vent to his own indignation, and without the least purpose of communicating it, or that any use should be made of it, had drawn such a full answer to it, as the subject would have enabled any man to have done who had thought of it: and the lord Digby, who had much conversation and friendship with him, coming accidentally and suddenly into the room, where he was alone amongst his books and papers; conferring together of the extravagant proceedings of the parliament, he, upon the familiarity that was between them, and upon the argument that was then between them, read the answer to him which he had prepared to the remonstrance; with which he seemed much pleased, and desired him, that he would permit it to be made use of by the king, and that he might shew it to his majesty; who found it absolutely necessary to publish some answer in his own name to that remonstrance, which had so much poisoned the hearts of the people; and that his majesty was endeavouring to procure such an answer to be drawn. The other expressly and positively refused to give it him, or that any use should be made of it; and reproached him for proposing a thing to him which might prove ruinous to him, if the house should have the least imagination that he exercised himself in such offices; with which answer he seemed satisfied, and departed: no other person having seen it but the lord Falkland, from whom nothing was ever concealed.

Within few days after, the lord Digby, with whom the king advised in the business of the parliament without reserve, came again to him; and, after some apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the king, desiring him that he would take care that some answer might be published to that remonstrance, which had already done much harm, and would do much more if it were not answered; and that the king had spoken to him; upon which he had confessed that he had seen an answer that pleased him very well, but could not prevail with the author of it to suffer it to be made use of; and told him who it was: whereupon the king seemed to wonder very much, that a person, who had appeared so publicly in defence of his service, should be so wary of assisting him in private: and after many expressions of grace towards that gentleman, his majesty had commanded him to come in his name to him; and to conjure him to send that paper to him; and to give him his royal word, that no person living should know that he had the least hand in it; so that no danger should accrue to him thereby.

Mr. Hyde, though he was very unsatisfied with what the lord Digby had done, (whose affection to him he did not in any degree make question of, but did not like his over activity, to which his restless fancy always disposed him; and as he doubted not that himself had given the occasion to the king to send those commands, so he had likewise enlarged those commands, as he believed,

in such a manner as he thought might most oblige him,) yet, upon the real consideration that it might do the king much service, he did, without delay, deliver the papers; insisting upon the promise of secrecy, and, likewise, that his majesty would not publish without first communicating it to his council, and as done with their advice. And to that purpose he affixed that title to it, before he delivered the papers out of his hands; believing, that as it would be more for the king's service to carry such an authority in the front of it, as "The king's answer with the advice of his council;" so it could not be refused by them, and yet might engage them in some displeasure with the house of commons, which probably might be offended at it. The king was very punctual in doing what was desired, and caused it to be read at a full council, where many of the lords commended it very much, and none spake against it; and so it was published and printed; and it was very apparent to all men, that the king's service was very much advanced by it; and it was not more evident to any than to the house of commons, who knew not how to make any expostulation upon it, it being in the king's own name, and published with the advice of his privy-council: so that all they could do was, to endeavour to discover who was the penner of it; to which discovery they were most intent by all their secret friends in court, who found means to discover most other secrets to them, but in this could do them no service.

As soon as the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper were called to the privy-council, the king sent for Mr. Hyde to him, who had not seen his majesty from the time he had been presented by Mr. Peircey. He commanded the lord Digby to bring him when it was night to the queen's back stairs; and as soon as he was there, both king and queen came into the room; and when he had kissed their hands, and the lord Digby was withdrawn, the king told him, "he was much beholden to him for many good services, and that now he had preferred two of his friends, it was time to give him some testimony of his favour; and therefore he had sent to him to tell him that he intended to make him his solicitor general, in the place of him who had served him so ill." Mr. Hyde suddenly answered, "God forbid!" With which the king seeming surprised, said, "Why God forbid?" The other replied, "It was in no degree fit at this time that he should remove the other; and if he were removed, himself was in no degree fit for it." The queen said, "he ought not to suffer for his modesty: she had heard men, who could judge well, say, that he was as fit for it as the other." Mr. Hyde said, "that was an argument that gentleman thought the other not fit for it, not that he believed him fit; which in truth, he said, he was not. That it might be, that when the place was actually void, the king might have filled it better with another man than with Mr. Saint-John, whose parts were not above many others, and his affections were below most men's: but now that he was in-

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“vested in that office, it was not a good conjuncture to remove him; and when it should be, he did humbly advise his majesty to make choice of the ablest man of the profession, whose affections were clear, by whom he might indeed have great benefit; whereas himself was young, and without any of that learning or experience which might make him capable of that great trust.” The queen saying again this was his modesty, he replied, “Madam, when you know me better, you will not find me so modest a man, but that I hope by your majesty’s favour, in due time, to be made a better man than I am at present: but, if you believe that I know any thing of the disposition of the present time, or of what may conduce to the king’s service, I pray believe, that, though the solicitor will never do much service, he will be able to do much more mischief if he be removed.” The king at the same time resolved to remove another officer, who did disserve him notoriously, and to prefer Mr. Hyde to that place; with which their gracious intention both their majesties acquainted him: but he positively refused it; and assured both their majesties, that he should be able to do much more service in the condition he was in.

Before the king left Whitehall, he renewed his commands to the three persons mentioned before, the lord viscount Falkland, sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde, to meet constantly together, and consult upon his affairs, and conduct them the best way they could in the parliament, and to give him constant advice what he was to do, without which, he declared again very solemnly, he would make no step in the parliament. Two of them were obliged by their offices and relations, and the other by his duty and inclination, to give him all satisfaction; notwithstanding the discouragement they had so lately received, and which had made a deep impression upon them. And so they met every night late together, and communicated their observations and intelligence of the day; and so agreed what was to be done or attempted the next; there being very many persons of condition and interest in the house who would follow their advice, and assist in any thing they desired. And because Mr. Hyde had larger accommodation in the house where he lived in Westminster than either of the other had, the meetings at night were for the most part with him; and after their deliberation together, what was to be put in writing was always committed to Mr. Hyde; and when the king had left the town, he writ as freely to the king as either of the other did; and sometimes, when they would be excused, he went to him in great secret.

He had been from the beginning very unbeloved by all the governing party; and though they took some pains at first to win him, yet their hope of that was quickly desperate; and from the night of the protestation, he was as much in their detestation as any man; and the more, that they could take no advantage against him: and though they had a better opinion of his discretion than to believe he had any share in the advice of the late proceedings, yet they were very willing that others should believe it; and made all the infusions they could to that purpose amongst those who took their opinions from them; towards which his known friendship with the lord Digby was an argument very prevalent: and then his opposing

the votes upon their privilege had inflamed them beyond their temper; insomuch as Mr. Hambden told him one day, that the trouble that had lately befallen them had been attended with that benefit, that they knew who were their friends: and the other offering to speak upon the point of privilege, and how monstrous a thing it was to make a vote so contrary to the known law; he replied very snappishly, “that he well knew he had a mind they should be all in prison;” and so departed without staying for an answer. Then they imputed to him the disposing the lord Falkland to serve the court, and the court to receive his service; and from the time that he and Colepepper were called to the council, they equally were enraged against both; and now, when they had discovered the place of the nightly meetings, that a secretary of state and a chancellor of the exchequer every day went to the lodging of a private person, who ought to attend them, they believed it a condescension that had some other foundation than mere civility; yet they could not discover any thing against them which they thought fit to offer in public.

It is not amiss in this place to say somewhat of those three persons, who had from that time so great a part in the business that was upon the stage, and did in a short time raise the reputation of the king, and of his cause, to a very great degree; and who, though they were well united in the opposition of all the ill designs against the crown, and concurred in the public service with necessary and mutual civilities towards each other, yet their principles and constitutions were very different; and the lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde (between whom, as is said before, the friendship was most entire) had never had the least acquaintance with sir John Colepepper before the parliament; and finding themselves often of one opinion, grew into some conversation; and being after united in the king’s trust, they rarely conferred but in the agitation of business; their natures being in nothing like.

The lord Falkland, though he was a man of a cheerful conversation, was of a severe nature, and a lover of virtue; yet he had great esteem for all men of great parts, though they applied them to ill purposes. He was so great an enemy to all dissimulation, that he chose sometimes the other extreme when it was not requisite. He had not the court in great reverence, and had a presaging spirit that the king would fall into great misfortune: and often said to his friend, that he chose to serve the king, because honesty obliged him to it; but that he foresaw his own ruin by doing it. He had a better opinion of the church of England, and the religion of it, than of any other church and religion; and had extraordinary kindness for very many churchmen; and if he could have helped or prevented it, there should have been no attempts against it. But he had in his own judgment such a latitude in opinion, that he did not believe any part of the order or government of it to be so essentially necessary to religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable public benefit or convenience; and that the crown itself ought to gratify the people, in yielding to many things; and to part with some power, rather than to run the hazards which would attend the refusal. But he was swayed in this by a belief that the king would in the end be

prevailed with to yield to what was pressed; and this opinion wrought too much upon too many.

Albeit he had the greatest compliance with the weakness, and even the humour of other men, when there could be no suspicion of flattery; and the greatest address to inform and reform them: yet towards the king, who many times obstinately adhered to many conclusions which did not naturally result from good premises, and did love to argue many things to which he would not so positively adhere, he did not practise that condescension; but contradicted him with more bluntness, and by sharp sentences; and in some particulars (as of the church) to which the king was in conscience most devoted: and of this his majesty often complained; and cared less to confer with him in private, and was less persuaded by him, than his affairs, and the other's great parts and wisdom, would have required: though he had not a better opinion of any man's sincerity or fidelity towards him.

Sir John Colepepper had spent some years of his youth in foreign parts, and especially in armies; where he had seen good service, and very well observed it; and might have made a very good officer if he had intended it. He was of a rough nature, a hot head, and of great courage; which had engaged him in many quarrels and duels; wherein he still behaved himself very signally. He had in a very good season, and after a small waste of his fortune, retired from that course of life, and married, and betook himself to a country life; and studied the business of the country, and the concerns of it, in which he was very well versed; and being a man of sharpness of parts, and volubility of language, he was frequently made choice of to appear at the council-board, in those matters which related to the country: in the managing whereof, his abilities were well taken notice of. His estate was very moderate, and his usual expense exceeded it not; not being delighted with delicacies of any nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had infirmities which sometimes made a noise; but his parts and abilities made him very acceptable to his neighbours, and to those who were most considerable in their estates, and most popular; so that with very little opposition, he had been chosen to be knight of that great county Kent, for the parliament; where he quickly made himself to be taken notice of. He was proud and ambitious, and very much disposed to improve his fortune; which he knew well how to do, by industry and thrift, without stooping to any corrupt ways, to which he was not inclined.

He did not love the persons of many of those who were the violent managers, and less their designs; and therefore he no sooner knew that he was well spoken of at court, but he exposed himself to the invitation, and heartily embraced that interest: and when he came thither, he might very well be thought a man of no very good breeding; having never sacrificed to the muses, or conversed in any polite company. He was warm and positive in debates, and of present fancy to object and find fault with what was proposed; and indeed would take any argument in pieces, and expose it excellently to a full view; and leave nothing to chance, or accident, without making it foreseen; but after that, knew not so well what to judge and determine; and was so irresolute, and had a fancy

so perpetually working, that, after a conclusion made, he would the next day, in the execution of it, and sometimes after, raise new doubts, and make new objections; which always occasioned trouble, and sometimes produced inconvenience.

In matters of religion he was, in his judgment, very indifferent; but more inclined to what was established, to avoid the accidents which commonly attend a change, without any motives from his conscience; which yet he kept to himself; and was well content to have it believed that the activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this uncourtliness (for sure no man less appeared a courtier) and ungracefulness in his mien and motion, a wonderful insinuation and address into the acceptance and confidence of the king and queen; and flattery being a weed not so natural to the air and soil of the country where he had wholly lived, he was believed to speak with all plainness and sincerity; when no man more complied with those infirmities they both had, and by that compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical way in expressing himself, to raise the fears and apprehensions of those who were naturally apprehensive of dangers; and by this means he prevailed marvellously with the queen in those matters to which she was most averse; by representing things as dismally to her as he could well do; and on the other hand, to the king (who was naturally very sanguine) he was full of compliance; cherished all his hopes and imaginations, and raised and improved those hopes very frequently by expedients very unagreeable to the end proposed. He was then (as was said before) very positive in his conclusions; as if he did not propose a thing that might come to pass, but what infallibly must be so: which was a temper the king could not contend with; and did so much suspect himself, (which was his greatest infirmity, and the chief ground of all his sufferings,) that he did believe a man, of whom he thought very well, did know every thing that he confidently insisted upon. But his greatest advantage was, (besides his diligence in speaking as often as he could with the king and queen, and always with the queen upon any important counsel,) that he had an entire confidence and friendship with Mr. John Ashburnham, whom the king loved, and trusted very much; and who always imprinted that advice in the king's mind, which the other had infused; and being a member of the house, was always ready to report the service he did his majesty there, as advantageously as the business would bear.

Mr. Hyde was, in his nature and disposition, different from both the other; which never begot the least disagreement between the lord Falkland and him. He was of a very cheerful and open nature, without any dissimulation; and delivered his opinion of things or persons, where it was convenient, without reserve or disguise; and was at least tenacious enough of his opinion, and never departed from it out of compliance with any man. He had a very particular devotion and passion for the person of the king; and did believe him the most, and the best Christian in the world. He had a most zealous esteem and reverence for the constitution of the government; and believed it so equally poised, that if the least branch of the prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the subject suffered by it, and that his right was impair-

ed: and he was as much troubled when the crown exceeded its just limits, and thought its prerogative hurt by it: and therefore not only never consented to any diminution of the king's authority, but always wished that the king would not consent to it, with what importunity or impetuosity soever it was desired and pressed.

He had taken more pains than such men use to do, in the examination of religion; having always conversed with those of different opinions with all freedom and affection, and had very much kindness and esteem for many, who were in no degree of his own judgment; and upon all this, he did really believe the church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of peace, of any church in the world: that the taking away any of its revenue, and applying it to secular uses, was robbery, and notorious sacrilege; and that the diminishing the lustre it had, and had always had in the government, by removing the bishops out of the house of peers, was a violation of justice; the removing a landmark, and the shaking the very foundation of government; and therefore he always opposed, upon the impulsion of conscience, all mutations in the church; and did always believe, let the season or the circumstance be what it would, that any compliance was pernicious; and that a peremptory and obstinate refusal, that might put men in despair of what they laboured for, and take away all hope of obtaining what they desired, would reconcile more persons to the government than the gratifying them in part; which only whetted their appetite to desire more, and their confidence in demanding it.

Though he was of a complexion and humour very far from despair, yet he did believe the king would be oppressed by that party which then governed, and that they who followed and served him would be destroyed; so that it was not ambition of power, or wealth, that engaged him to embark in so very hazardous an employment, but abstractly the consideration of his duty; and he often used to apply those words of Cicero to himself, *Mea ætas incidit in id bellum, cujus altera pars sceleris nimium habuit, altera felicitatis parum*. It is very probable, that if his access at that time had been as frequent to the king as sir John Colepepper's was, or the lord Falkland's might have been, some things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much prejudice to the king; for all his principles were much more agreeable to his majesty's own judgment, than those of either of the other; and what he said was of equal authority with him; and when any advice was given by either of the other, the king usually asked, "whether Ned Hyde were of that opinion;" and they always very ingenuously confessed, that he was not: but his having no relation of service, and so no pretence to be seen often at court, and the great jealousy that was entertained towards him, made it necessary to him to repair only in the dark to the king upon emergent occasions, and leave the rest to be imparted by the other two: and the differences in their natures and opinions never produced any disunion between them in those councils which concerned the conduct of the king's service; but they proceeded with great unanimity, and very manifestly much advanced the king's business from the very low state it was

in when they were first trusted; the other two having always much deference to the lord Falkland, who allayed their passions; to which they were both enough inclined. The parliament continued its fury, and every day sent some new expostulations to the king, and did all they could to kindle the fire throughout the kingdom, upon the breach of privilege. They had already passed the bill to remove the bishops out of the house of peers, and deferred the sending it to the king, only that it might be accompanied with the other bill concerning the militia, which, being passed the commons, was not like to meet with much obstruction in the house of peers; the late tumults, and the committing the persons of so many bishops to the Tower, having made many of the lords neglect coming to the house, and disheartened many of those who did continue their attendance: so that the king and queen were weary of Windsor; and her majesty's fears grew every day so much stronger, that it was resolved, that she should herself remove beyond the seas; and that then the king should retire into the northern parts, with a resolution that he would get Hull into his hands. But this and all other resolutions were kept very secret; the design upon Hull, which would require his remove into the northern parts, being the sole advice of sir John Colepepper, which he owned not to his two companions, well knowing that their opinion was, that the queen being once gone, the king should either return to London, or remain at Hampton-court, or at such a distance, and positively refuse to consent to any other unreasonable demands. The king sent word to the parliament, that he was obliged by the treaty with the States upon the marriage of his daughter, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange, that he would about this time send his daughter to her husband, which he was resolved forthwith to do; and that the queen his wife, being indisposed in her health, and being advised that change of air would do her much good, resolved to make use of the same opportunity, and to accompany her daughter to the Hague, of which he thought fit to give them notice. The leading men were much divided among themselves upon this message. They, who had been formerly engaged in treaties of preferment, were not willing to give over all hopes of reassuming that matter, which they could never think could be done, if her majesty were gone beyond the seas. Others, who were well acquainted with her constitution and her fears, believed, if she were absent, they should no more prevail with the king (who was naturally positive enough) to consent to their demands; and there were some who out of pure generosity, and a sense that all the world would believe that she was driven away by the uncivil behaviour of the parliament: and all these desired that she might be persuaded to stay; and prevailed so far, that both houses sent a message to her to that purpose, with some more courtly expressions than they had been of late accustomed to; and taking notice that her physician had declared that her health was impaired by the trouble of her mind, made professions of duty, and a desire to give her all content, if they might know what would do it. But the rest, who cared not whether she went or stayed, and rather wished her away, pressed on all those proceedings in the houses which they knew would give her most

offence, and the bill for the militia was now likewise passed both houses, as well as that concerning the bishops, and they sent to the king to appoint a day for the passing and enacting them, together with some other bill for the relief of Ireland, according to their usual method, which was to send some necessary act, which could not be refused, when they sent others which would be more ungrateful. Most men did believe that the king would never give his consent to either of these two; though very many had concurred in them for no other reason, than because they were assured he would not refuse; and others upon confidence that he would; and therefore would not render themselves obnoxious by opposing them. Upon all which the queen continued her resolution, and hastened her journey, that she might be out of the way, and thereby the king might the more resolutely reject those bills, which he intended to do; and the houses the more importunately pressed the despatch of the bills, as soon as the day was appointed for the queen's beginning her journey from Windsor towards Dover. And the bill concerning Ireland could not be despatched too soon for the necessity of the service; besides that any delay therein was presently taken notice of and published as a favour to that rebellion and hindering the suppression thereof, which now grew to be an impudent imputation, especially upon the queen; so that the king thought of sending a commission to despatch those and suspend the other, till he had further considered them; for he thought it not fit to give an absolute denial, till he were retired to a greater distance from London; but then the doing one and not the other would be looked upon as an absolute denial by those imperious conductors.

In this perplexity, when nothing was so necessary as the most obstinate resolution, sir John Colepepper, who was naturally inclined to expedients, and in difficult cases, that is, cases made difficult by the perverseness of supercilious contenders, to composition, much desired that the king would pass that against the bishops, and absolutely reject the other; which he did in truth believe would satisfy so many, that those that remained unsatisfied would not have credit enough to give any further disturbance; and in his own judgment, as hath been said before, he thought the matter of little importance; but he knew that argument would make no other impression upon the king, than to the disadvantage of the arguer; and if he had thought himself obliged to have enacted one, he would have chosen to have passed that for the militia, rather than the other: he urged therefore to the king, no other person present, the necessity of giving the parliament satisfaction in one of those bills; and that there were more who would be satisfied with that concerning the bishops, than with the other concerning the militia; and therefore it would be best to gratify the major part. Then he exposed the dreadful consequences which would attend the yielding in the point of the militia; as if it would be the next day in their power to depose him; and all the tragical effects of granting that authority. He seemed in no degree to undervalue the mischief of consenting to the bill against the bishops; yet that it would be attended with that present benefit, that the church would be free from further apprehension; and that this degradation would secure

the function and the revenue; and that when these jealousies and misunderstandings should be once composed, that bill would be easily repealed by the experience how much the government was hurt by it; and whilst the sword remained in the king's own hands, there would be no attempt to make further alterations. The king asked him, whether Ned Hyde was of that mind; to which he answered, he was not; nor did wish that either of the bills should be passed; which he thought, as the time was, could not be a reasonable judgment: the king said, "it was his; and that he would run the hazard."

When he found he could not prevail there, he went to the queen, and repeated all the arguments he had used to the king, with his usual vehemence; and added, that he exceedingly apprehended, that, by some means or other, upon this refusal of the king's, her majesty's journey would be stopped, and that she would not be suffered to transport herself out of the kingdom; and therefore he heartily wished that she would so use her credit with the king, that he might pass that act concerning the bishops, which he said would lay such an obligation upon both houses, as would redound to her majesty's advantage. The queen was so terrified with the apprehension of her being hindered from pursuing her purpose, that she gave not over her importunity with the king, till she had prevailed with him; and so that bill for removing the bishops out of the house of peers passed by commission, when both their majesties were upon their way, and in their journey to Dover.

Nothing that is here said must reflect upon the memory of sir John Colepepper, as if he were corrupted in his affections to the church, or gave this advice to gratify and please other men, or for any particular advantage to himself, in all which he was very innocent. It is said before, that in his judgment he looked upon the thing as what might be conscientiously consented to; and then his real apprehension of danger and mischief to the king (to whom he bore all possible fidelity) by refusing it, so far wrought upon his warm constitution, that he did really believe it to be his duty to be solicitous to the vehement degree he was. But he quickly found he had been deceived, at least in the imagination, that the consenting to that one bill would at all allay their passion. They were, on the contrary, so far from being pleased with it, that they immediately betook themselves to inquire, "who the evil counsellors were, who dissuaded his majesty from consenting to the other concerning the militia;" which was so necessary to all their purposes: and forthwith sent some of their messengers to the king, whilst he stayed at Dover, to complain of such evil counsel, and to use all importunity that he would pass it as a matter of absolute necessity for the peace and security of the kingdom, and for the carrying on the service for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland; with many new expressions "of the presumption of those malignant persons who gave his majesty such advice," and with boldness enough, that the king should prefer such advice before the wisdom of the parliament.

They who hated the bishops most, and were glad that they were rid of the opposition they gave them in all their demands, seemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the mis-

chief in not granting the militia. And no doubt there were many the less pleased with the passing the other, in doubt, that they should thereby lose the assistance of very many towards the utter extirpation of episcopacy, and the disposal of all church lands, upon which their hearts were set; and who would with the more choler have concurred with them, if that bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore they rather wished they had the other, which they knew would bring all their ends to pass. They who loved the church, and were afraid of so great an alteration in the frame and constitution of parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *three estates*, of which the parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the passing that act, as an introduction to the entire destruction of the government of the church, and to the alteration of the religion of the kingdom: and very many, who more considered the policy than the justice and piety of the state, did ever after believe, that by being removed out of the parliament, the preserving them in the kingdom was not worth any notable contention. Then they looked upon the king's condescension in this particular, in a subject that all men knew had a wonderful influence upon his conscience, as he often took occasion to profess, as a manifestation that he would not be constant in retaining and denying any thing that should be impetuously and fiercely demanded; which, as it exceedingly confirmed those who were engaged in that party, so it abated the courage of too many who had always opposed them, and heartily detested their proceedings; and made them more remiss in their attendance at the house, and less solicitous for any thing that was done there; who by degrees first became a neutral party, believing they should be safe in angering nobody: and when they afterwards found no security in that indifferency, they adhered to those who they saw had the best success; and so went sharers with them in their future attempts, according to their several tempers and inclinations.

The benefit that would redound to the king from not passing the other bill of the militia, more than avoiding the infamy of consenting to it, was not evident to discerning men; for they foresaw, that they would quickly wrest it out of his hands without his consent; and that the reputation of the parliament was so great, that whatsoever the two houses (which the people looked upon as the parliament) should concur in, and enjoin to be done, the people would look upon as law, and observe it accordingly: so that when, by the removal of so many voices out of the house of peers as the bishops made, who were always firm to the crown and government, the house of commons found a concurrence from the lords in all they proposed, their joint determination would find obedience, for the most part, from the people; whom there were all endeavours used to corrupt and possess, by presently printing, and causing to be read in churches, all their messages and petitions to the king; that they might see all their concerns were for the good of the kingdom, and preservation of the people.

When the king accompanied the queen to Dover, where they expected a wind many days, he sent the prince, under his new governor, the marquis of Hertford, to Richmond; that there

might be no room for the jealousy that the prince should be transported beyond the seas; which had been infused into the minds of many; and would have made a great noise, if he had waited upon his mother to Dover: but as soon as the wind appeared hopeful for her majesty's embarkation, the king sent an express to Richmond, that the prince should attend his majesty at Greenwich the Saturday following: the marquis being at that time very much indisposed by a defluxion upon his eyes, and a catarrh. The parliament, being presently informed, as they had spies in all places, of this direction, and there being yet no certainty of the queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and resolved to send to his majesty, by members of both houses, to desire that the prince might not remove from Richmond, at least till the marquis recovered health enough to be able to attend him; and at the same time sent an express order to the marquis, that he should not suffer the prince to go from thence, till he himself should be able to go with him.

They appointed one lord and two commoners to carry the message to the king, whom they believed to be still at Dover; and Mr. Hyde coming accidentally into the house, when the matter was in debate, they appointed him to be one of the messengers; which no excuses could free him from, for they did not intend it as a favour to him; so that they were obliged presently to begin their journey; and that night they went to Gravesend. The next day they were fully informed of the queen's being gone to sea, and that the king would be that night at Canterbury; whither the messengers made what haste they could, and found his majesty there, with a very little court, most of his servants having leave to go before to London, the better to provide themselves for a further journey. When they read their message to the king, in the hearing whereof he shewed no satisfaction, he appointed them to attend him after he had supped, and they should receive their answer: and accordingly, about nine of the clock, he caused it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no notice of Mr. Hyde, as if he had been known to him. That messenger, who was a member of the house of peers, received it from his majesty, as of right he ought to do, that it might be first reported to that house.

Mr. Hyde was very much troubled when he heard the answer read; for it had much sharpness in it, which at that time could only provoke them: so without taking any notice of it to his companions, he pretended to them only to be very weary, and desirous to go to bed, and bade them good night; having the conveniency offered him by the lord Grandison (his familiar friend) to lodge with him in a house next the court: and so the other two messengers making haste to find some lodging in an inn, he sent the lord Grandison to the duke of Richmond, to desire the king that he might speak with him before he went into his bed. The king was half undressed, yet said he would stay for him, and bade that he should make haste to the back stairs; and as soon as he came thither, the duke went into the king, who immediately came out in his nightdress; and the duke having before sent all other servants from thence, retired likewise himself.

He told the king, that "he was sorry that his majesty had expressed so much displeasure in

“his answer; which could produce no good, and might do hurt; and therefore he desired he would call for it, and alter some expressions;” which his majesty was not inclined to do; enlarging himself with much sharpness upon the insolence of the message, and of the order they had sent to the marquis of Hertford; and seemed to apprehend that the prince would not be suffered to attend him at Greenwich; the thought whereof had caused that warmth in him. It was now Friday night, and his majesty resolved the next night to be at Greenwich, and to stay there all Sunday; and then to pursue his former resolutions: upon which, Mr. Hyde told him, “that he hoped the prince would be at Greenwich as soon as he, and then that point would be cleared; that they could not report his message to the parliament till Monday morning; and that they might well attend upon his majesty again on Sunday, and receive his pleasure; and at that time the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper would be likewise present; when his majesty might take what resolution he pleased in that matter; and therefore he besought his majesty that he would presently send a servant to the other two messengers, at such an inn, for the answer he had delivered to them, of which he would further consider when he came to Greenwich; where he commanded them to attend him on Sunday, and that he would despatch them soon enough for them to be at London that night.” All which his majesty was pleased to consent to, and immediately sent a gentleman to them for the paper, with that injunction; and then sent it by the lord Grandison the same night to Mr. Hyde, whom he had commanded to attend him on Sunday morning, saying he had very much to say to him.

When his majesty came to Greenwich, he found the prince there with his governor, who, though indisposed in his health, without returning any answer to the parliament, brought the prince very early from Richmond to Greenwich; with which the king was very much pleased, and in very good humour. And the next morning, when Mr. Hyde came to court, (to whom his companions had told that the king had sent for his answer to them again, and appointed them to attend him for it at Greenwich that afternoon; which they had agreed together to do,) the king being come into the privy chamber, and seeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the message with him were; and said, he would expect them in the afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the weather, that all men heard, he came near him, and, as it were passing by, (which nobody took notice of, the room not being full,) he bade him dine with Porter, at the back stairs, that he might be in the privy chamber when he rose from dinner; and after he had dined he found him there; and at that hour most people looking after their own dinner, his majesty did, without any body’s taking notice of it, bid him follow him into the privy gallery; where he was no sooner entered, than the king locked the door with his own key, saying, “We will not now be disturbed, for there is no man in the house now who hath a key to this door.” Then he said, “I will say nothing of the answer, for I am sure Falkland and Colepepper will be here anon; and then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for

“now I have gotten Charles, I care not what answer I send to them.”

Then he spake of many particulars of the parliament with warmth enough; and lamented his having consented to the bill concerning the bishops, which he said he was prevailed upon to do for his wife’s security; but he should now be without any fear to displease them. He said, he would lay the next night at Theobalds; where he would stay a day or two, that his servants might provide themselves to attend him northward: that he should not see him any more before he took that journey, and therefore he required him upon all occasions to write to him, and advertise him of such matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and send him answers to such declarations or messages as the parliament should send to him. He said, he knew well the danger he underwent, if it were discovered; but his majesty assured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no person alive, but himself and his two friends, should know that he corresponded with his majesty; and that he would himself transcribe every paper in his own hand before he would shew it to any man, and before his secretary should write it out. Mr. Hyde told him, that he writ a very ill hand, which would give his majesty too much trouble to transcribe himself; and that he had so much friendship with secretary Nicholas, that he was well contented he should be trusted: to which the king said, Nicholas was a very honest man, and he would trust him in any thing that concerned himself; but in this particular, which would be so penal to the other, if it should be known, it was not necessary; for he would quickly learn to read the hand, if it were writ at first with a little the more care; and nobody should see it but himself. And his majesty continued so firm to this resolution, that though the declarations from the houses shortly after grew so voluminous, that the answers frequently contained five or six sheets of paper very closely writ, his majesty always transcribed them with his own hand; which sometimes took him up two or three days, and a good part of the night, before he produced them to the council, where they were first read; and then he burned the originals. And he gave himself no ease in this particular, till Mr. Hyde left the parliament, and by his majesty’s command attended upon him at York: which will be mentioned in its time.

Whilst the king held this discourse with him in the privy gallery, many of the lords were come from London; and not finding him, the earls of Essex and Holland, who by their offices had keys to the gallery, opened that door, and went in; and seeing nobody there, walked to the further end; where in a turning walk the king and Mr. Hyde were: and though they presently drew back, the king himself, as well as Mr. Hyde, was a little discomposed; and said, “I am very sorry for this accident; I meant to have said somewhat to you of those gentlemen, but we must not stay longer together: forget not what I have said; and send me presently the answer for your message, and then attend with your companions in the privy chamber, and I will come out and deliver it to them:” and so he withdrew; the two earls smiling, and saluting Mr. Hyde civilly. He quickly found the lord Falkland and Colepepper, and they as quickly agreed upon the answer,

which the lord Falkland carried to the king: and his majesty approving and signing it, he came out and delivered it, after he had caused it to be read, to the messengers who attended to receive it; and who went that night to London; and the next morning, at the first sitting of the houses, reported and delivered it.

It was expected and believed, that as soon as the queen was gone for Holland, the king would return to Whitehall, and reside there. And many wise men were of opinion, that if he had done so, he would have been treated with more duty and respect; and that he would be able to bring his business to a fair end by very moderate condescensions; for the universal prejudice and aversion was to the queen, how unjustly and unreasonably soever; and to the king only as it was generally believed, that he governed himself entirely by her dictates: and many of those, whose countenance had most supported the violent party, by their concurrence with them, were grown weary of those excesses; and as they had been seduced, and craftily drawn further than they meant to have gone, so they plainly discerned that there would be further attempts made than were agreeable to their wishes or their interests, and therefore resolved to second them no further.

The earl of Essex himself was in his nature an honest man, and a man of honour; and though he did not think the king had any gracious purposes towards him, or great confidence in him, yet he was willing to retire from that angry company; and did neither desire the dignity of the king should be affronted, or the government receive an alteration or diminution; and did hope nothing more than to make himself the instrument to reconcile the parliament to the king, by some moderate and plausible expedient. But it was no sooner known in the houses that his majesty was gone to Theobalds, and had taken the prince with him, with a purpose of making a progress further northward, but they fell into all their usual heat and debate, of their just causes of jealousy and distrust, and the wickedness of those persons who misled him; and the next morning, being well informed that the king stayed all day at Theobalds, they resolved to send a committee of four lords and eight commoners to him, to put him in mind of his violating their privileges, for which they had yet no reparation or satisfaction; his refusal to settle the militia, whereby he left his kingdom and people exposed to the violence of a foreign enemy, or a domestic insurrection; the great jealousies and fears which possessed the minds of all his subjects, which would be now exceedingly increased by his removal in this conjuncture from his parliament; and thereupon concluded, that he would return to London, or reside at such a distance that they might easily repair to him.

When the persons designed for the message withdrew to prepare themselves for their journey, the message being read and agreed upon, Mr. Hyde went likewise out of the house; and that the king might not be surprised with the sight of the message before he heard of it, he sent instantly to the lord Grandison (in whom he had entire confidence) to speak with him; and desired him to cause his horse to be made ready, that he might with all possible expedition carry a letter to the king, which he would prepare by the time he could be

ready for the journey. He writ to the king, that such persons would be presently with him, and the substance of the message they would bring to him; which in respect of the length of it, and of many particulars in it, would require some time to answer, which he should receive soon enough; and for the present, he might upon the delivery make some short resentment of the houses' proceeding with him; and conclude, that he would send an answer to their message in due time. The lord Grandison came to Theobalds when the king had newly dined, so that he was alone in his bedchamber; and as soon as he had delivered the letter, he returned to London, and met the messengers within a mile or two of Theobalds.

As soon as they had delivered their message, which one of them read, the king, with a displeased countenance, and in a warmer and more sprightly tone than was natural to him, told them, "that he was amazed at their message, and could not conceive what they would have, nor what they meant to do: that they made a great noise with their privileges, but forgot that he had privileges too, which they made no conscience to violate: that they talked of their fears and jealousies, for which they had not the least ground; but if they would well consider, they would find that they gave him cause enough for jealousy:" and concluded, "that he would think of their message, and send an answer to the houses in convenient time:" without saying any thing of his journey, when or whither he meant to go; nor held any further discourse with them. The manner and the matter of the king's short discourse to them wonderfully surprised the messengers, who were all persons of the best quality in both houses, the earl of Pembroke being the chief, and some of them were of known affections to his majesty's service; who were wonderfully delighted with the king's quick and sharp treatment, with which the rest were as much troubled: and so they all returned the same night to London.

The king resolved to pursue the course agreed upon with the queen at her departure, and would no more resume the consideration of staying nearer the parliament; very reasonably apprehending that he should render himself liable every day to new affronts. And the practice both houses had gotten, to send for persons by a sergeant at arms upon any suggestions of light discourse, or upon general and ungrounded suspicions, by which they were compelled to give long attendance, if they were not committed to prison, had so terrified all conditions of men, that very few resorted to the court. And they who did most diligently seem to attend their duty there, did in truth perform that service, that they might with the more ease betray their master, and gratify those who they thought would at last bring themselves into those places and offices, upon which they were to depend. So that he thought it most absolutely necessary to be at such a distance from Westminster, that people might be less apprehensive of their power: resolving likewise, that no person who attended him, or resorted to the place where he was, should yield any obedience to their summons upon those general suggestions, or any applications they should make to his majesty. And though it might have met with better success, if he had taken the contrary resolution, and

stayed in or near Whitehall; yet the hazards or inconveniences which might very probably have attended that counsel, were too much in view for wise men to engage positively in the advice. Besides, the concert that had been made with the queen shut out all opposite consultations: and the king with a small court, after two days' stay at Theobalds, began his progress towards Newmarket; and sometimes resting a day in a place, he advanced by easy journeys northward.

He took the prince with him, the marquis likewise attending him; but left the duke of York still at Richmond, till he came to York: and then likewise he sent for his highness, who came thither to him: and the morning he left Theobalds he sent his answer to the two houses to their message they had sent to him thither. When the messengers who had presented the message to the king at Theobalds made their report to the houses of their reception there, and of what his majesty had said to them, in which they helped and assisted each other, so that there was not only every word he said related, but his manner of speaking and his looks described, which gave them infinite trouble, and much the more, because they saw joy and delight in the countenance of all those who they knew were not their friends, and a kind of dejection in many who used to concur with them; on the same day, or the next, they received an answer from his majesty to their last message, which took notice of every particular in it: answered all the reproaches they had cast upon him, and the unwarrantable manner in doing it; enlarged upon the large concessions he had granted upon their desires; and that all which the people could desire for their benefit and advantage was provided for by his grace, and that it would be acknowledged by them, if they had not fears and jealousies infused into their heads by them. He put them in mind of many indignities offered to him in the pulpits by seditious sermons, and by the press in publishing and printing those sermons, and many other scandalous pamphlets, and that all this found no discountenance from them. He said, he would deny nothing to them which by law they could require, and that the preservation of his own prerogative was necessary, that his subjects might enjoy the benefit of those laws; and after some sharp reflections upon some undutiful actions of theirs, and some unusual expressions in the addresses they had made to him, he concluded that, since they had appealed to the people, by printing all their unwarrantable votes and other proceedings, which they had no lawful authority to publish in that manner, his majesty was well contented that the people should judge between them, and discern who was most tender of their happiness, and most desired that it might be continued to them; and so ordered that his answer should be printed, as their message had been.

This new spirit in the king's actions, and steadiness in his proceedings, and his new dialect in his words and answers to them, so contrary to the softness they expected, infinitely discomposed them, and raised the spirits of others, who had sunk under their insolence. In the house of peers they found more opposition than of late they had done, and many in the house of commons recovered new mettle. Alderman Gourny, who was lord mayor of London, was a man of courage and

discretion, very well affected to the king, and to the government in church and state, and perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the parliament; gave not that obedience to the orders they expected; did all he could to discountenance and suppress the riotous assemblies in the city, and especially the insolencies committed in churches; and expressly refused to call common-halls, and sometimes common-councils, when the house of commons desired it, which was the only way they had to scatter their fire about the city; and the refractoriness of this lord mayor discouraged them much by making it evident, that it was only the rabble and inferior sort of the city which was in truth devoted to them. But they were now gone too far to retire with their honour, or indeed with their safety; and they easily discerned, that if their spirits seemed to sink, their friends would leave them as fast as they had resorted to them; and if they now appeared more moderate in their demands from the king, they should but censure and condemn their own former fervour and importunity, and therefore they made all haste to make it appear that they had no such temper and inclination. They made committees to prepare new messages to the king, and to prepare new declarations; and sent their agents into the country to stir up the people in those counties and places through which the king was to pass; so that, wherever he made any stay, he was sure to be encountered with a petition from the county, that is, in the name of it, or of some eminent town in it where he lodged, that he would return to his parliament; but at the very time appeared to be the work of a few factious people, by the repair of the best persons of quality and interest to his majesty with all professions of affections and duty to him. They declared more hardiness and resolution than before for the settling the militia of the kingdom; and since the king had refused to consent to the bill they had sent to him, they appointed a committee to prepare an ordinance for the government and settling of it, which, being passed both houses, they voted had in it the authority of a law, and that all persons were bound to obey it. They had before the king's leaving Windsor, or about that time, sent to the king, that in regard of the sickness and indisposition of the earl of Northumberland, the high admiral of England, so that he could not be able in person to command the fleets which his majesty had ordered to be ready for the guard of the seas, they desired that the earl of Warwick might, with his majesty's approbation, have a commission to execute that charge, (the earl of Northumberland having refused to grant any such commission without the king's consent,) which they said would much compose the minds of the people, in a conjuncture of so much jealousy; and the king answered them, that in the absence of the admiral, sir John Pennington, a person of good experience in command, well known, and of a fair reputation, had used to have that command, which his majesty resolved he should execute that year. They now resolved that the earl of Warwick should be admiral of that fleet, by an ordinance of both houses, which the earl accepted, and undertook the charge accordingly; the admiral having put in some officers and commanders of ships who would be forward to obey all his commands; and the king unhappily restraining some who had good interest in the navy from

taking command then, though he permitted some others to go, who had less credit and reputation to serve him, though they were not without good affections. The king in his journey sent an answer from Huntingdon to some propositions they had sent to him, which contained not only a positive refusal of what they had desired, but making some sharp reflections upon somewhat they had said or done, put them into wonderful passion. They would not believe that it came from the king, but that it was forged in the town, for that it took notice of what had been done the night before, which could not be communicated to the king before the date of that despatch; and therefore they would make inquiry how it came to the speaker, to whom it had been delivered under the king's signet. The lord Falkland owning the having received it that morning from the king, and that he sent it by a messenger to the speaker, and putting them in mind that the matter they reflected upon as done the night before, had likewise been done three or four days before that, which, being manifest, they suppressed their choler as to the forgery, and took revenge upon the message itself, and voted, "that whosoever had advised the king to send that message, was a disaffected person, an enemy to the peace of the kingdom, and a promoter of the rebellion in Ireland;" which was a new style they took up upon that occasion, and continued afterwards in their most angry votes, to make those they liked not odious, and to make their punishment to pass with the more ease when they should be discovered. And now they tried all ways imaginable to find what new counsellors and secretary the king had found, who supplied him with so much resolution and bitterness; and though they made no doubt of the two new counsellors' concurrence in all, yet they did not impute the framing and forming the writing itself to either of them.

They had long detested and suspected Mr. Hyde, from the time of their first remonstrance, for framing the king's messages and answers, which they now every day received, to their intolerable vexation; yet knew not how to accuse him. But now that the earls of Essex and Holland had discovered his being shut up with the king at Greenwich, and the marquis of Hamilton had once before found him very early in private with the king at Windsor, at a time when the king thought all passages had been stopped; together with his being of late more absent from the house than he had used to be; and the resort of the other two every night to his lodging, as is mentioned before, satisfied them that he was the person; and they resolved to disenable him to manage that office long. Sir John Colepepper had as many eyes upon them as they had upon the other, and an equal animosity against them; and had familiarity and friendship with some persons, who from the second or third hand came to know many of the greatest designs, before they were brought upon the stage. For though they managed those councils with the greatest secrecy, and by few persons, which amounted to no more than pure designs in speculation; yet when any thing was to be transacted in public by the house, they were obliged, not only to prepare those of whom they were themselves confident, but to allow those confidants to communicate it to others in whom they confided: and so men, who did not

concur with them, came to know sometimes their intentions time enough to prevent the success they proposed to themselves.

And by this means, sir John Colepepper, meeting at night with the lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, assured them, that it had been resolved that day to have seized upon all three, and sent them to the Tower: of which he having received notice as he was going to the house, returned to his lodging, not being able to give the same information to the other two; but that his own being absent prevented the mischief. For he knew it was resolved the night before, that, when the three were together in the house, somebody should move the house, "that they would apply themselves to make some strict inquiry after the persons who were most like to give the king the evil counsel he had lately followed, and who prepared those answers and messages they received from his majesty:" upon which, by one and another, those three persons should be named, and particular reasons given for their suspicion; and that they did not doubt, but, if their friends were well prepared beforehand, they should be able to cause them to be all sent to the Tower; and then they doubted not they should be able to keep them there. But it was then likewise agreed, that they would not make the attempt but at a time when they were all three in the house; upon hearing whereof, and finding that they two were there, he went back to his lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be nothing done.

Upon this communication, though they were all of opinion that the design was so extravagant, and exceeding all the rules of common justice, that they would not be able to procure the consent of the major part of the house in it, if there were any considerable number present; yet because very many usually absented themselves, and they were not governed by any rules which had been formerly observed, they thought fit to resolve, that one of them would be always present in the house, that they might know all that was done; but that they would never be there all together, and seldom two of them; and when they were, they would only hear, and speak no more than was of absolute necessity. For it was now grown a very difficult thing for a man who was in their disfavour to speak against what they proposed, but that they would find some exception to some word or expression; upon which, after he had been called upon to explain, he was obliged to withdraw; and then they had commonly a major part to send him to the Tower, or to expel him the house; or at least to oblige him to receive a reprehension at the bar upon his knees. And so they had used sir Ralph Hopton at that time; who excepting to some expression that was used in a declaration prepared by a committee, and presented to the house, which he said was dishonourable to the king, they said, it was a tax upon the committee; caused him to withdraw, and committed him to the Tower; which terrified many from speaking at all, and caused more to absent themselves from the house; where too small numbers appeared any day. These three gentlemen kept the resolution agreed upon, till they all found it necessary to forbear any further attendance upon the house.

About the end of April, which was in the year 1642, Mr. Hyde received a letter from the king,

wherein he required him, that, as soon as he could be spared from his business there, he should repair to his majesty at York, where he had occasion for his service: which when he had communicated to his two friends, they were all of opinion that it was necessary he should defer that journey for some time; there being every day great occasion of consulting together, and of sending despatches to the king. And it was a wonderful expedition that was then used between York and London, when gentlemen undertook the service, as enough were willing to do: insomuch, as when they despatched a letter on Saturday night, at that time of the year, about twelve at night, they received always the king's answer, Monday by ten of the clock in the morning. His majesty was content that he should stay as long as the necessity required; but, that as soon as he might be dispensed with, he would expect him. And it was very happy that he did stay; for there was an occasion then fell out, in which his presence was very useful, [towards disposing the lord keeper Littleton to send the great seal to the king at York, and to resolve upon going thither himself as soon as possible to attend his majesty; which resolution being taken,] it was agreed between him and his two friends, that it was now time that he should be gone (the king having sent for him some time before) after a day or two; in which time the declaration of the nineteenth of May would be passed, which being very long, he might carry with him, and prepare the answer upon the way, or after he came to York.

It was upon a Wednesday that he resolved to begin his journey, having told the speaker, that it was very necessary, by the advice of his physician, that he should take the air of the country for his health; and his physician certified the same; which caution was necessary: for he had a week or two before made a journey into the country to his own house, and his absence being taken notice of, a messenger was immediately sent to him, to require him immediately to attend the house; upon which he found it necessary to return without delay; and was willing to prevent the like sudden inquiry, and so prepared the speaker to answer for him. He resolved with the lord Falkland to stay at a friend's house near Oxford, and little out of the road he meant to take for York, till he should hear of the keeper's motion, of which he promised to give him timely notice; not giving in the mean time any credit to his purpose of moving; but he was quickly convinced.

Much notice had been taken of Mr. Hyde's frequent resort to him, and of his being often shut up with him; and when he took his leave of him, the night before he left the town, the keeper was walking in his garden with Mr. Hollis and Mr. Glyn, who had, as they said, then observed, that as soon as the keeper's eyes were upon him, at his entrance into the garden, he had shewn some impatience to be free from them; and when they were gone, others took notice, (for there were many in the garden,) as they pretended, that, after they had walked some time together, they took their leave of each other in another manner than was usual; and which was not true. But he had not so good a name; as that any thing of that kind would not easily gain belief: so that Dr. Morley, (who is since bishop of Winchester,) being in

Westminster hall on the Monday morning, when the news came of the lord keeper's flight, a person of great authority in the parliament met him, and, with great passion inveighing against the keeper, told him, that they knew well enough that his friend Mr. Hyde had contrived that mischief, and brought it to pass; for which he would be that morning, or the next, accused of high treason; which the doctor (who was ever very much his friend) hearing, went presently to the lord Falkland, and told him of it, and desired to know where he was, that he might give him timely notice of it; knowing a gentleman, a very near friend of his, who would immediately ride to him. The lord Falkland was then writing to him, to inform him of the keeper's having made good his word, of which he had but then notice, and to advise him to prosecute his northern journey with all expedition; and desired the doctor, that he would send for the gentleman, whom he would presently direct where he should find Mr. Hyde; who did make so good haste, that he delivered the lord Falkland's letter to him early the same night.

He was then at Ditchley with the lady Lee, (since countess of Rochester,) and the person who brought the advertisement to him was John Ayliffe, whom he dearly loved. He no sooner received the advertisement, but he thought it time for him to be gone; and as he was utterly unacquainted with the way, having never been in the northern parts, and apprehended that there would be care taken to intercept him, if he went in any common road; there was with him at that time Mr. Chillingworth, whose company he had desired from Oxford, purposely for that occasion; and who was well acquainted with those ways which led almost as far as Yorkshire. They sent their horses that night to a village near Coventry, where Mr. Chillingworth's brother had a farm; and then in the morning they put themselves into the lady's coach; which, with six horses, carried them to that village, thirty miles from Ditchley; where, after they had a little refreshed themselves, they took their horses; and that night, out of all roads, reached Lutterworth, a village in Leicestershire; where Mr. Chillingworth had likewise a friend, who was parson of the parish, who received them kindly. And so by unusual ways they got through Derbyshire, until they came to Yorkshire; and then rested at Nostall, the house of sir John Worstenholme; who, though he and his family were at London, had given order for his very good reception; it having been before resolved, with his majesty's consent, that he should stay in some private place near York, till his majesty was informed of it, and till his affairs absolutely required his presence there; there being many reasons that he should be concealed in those parts as long as might be convenient. Nostall was within twenty miles of York; and from thence he gave his majesty notice of his being there, and sent him the answer that was prepared to the declaration of the two houses. And the king the next day sent Mr. Ashburnham to him, with the declaration of the twenty-sixth of May, and which was the highest they had yet published; and to which he wished an answer should be prepared as soon as possible it might be, that the poison thereof might not work too long upon the minds of the people. By this time many persons of quality from the several quarters of the

kingdom repaired to the king, and many gentlemen listed themselves with those of the country in the prince's troop, and usually attended upon his majesty when he rode abroad to take the air; and it was not possible but in such a number of men of all humours, many would discourse with freedom of the times, and of the proceedings of the parliament according to their tempers and passions; and there were spies enough to give quick advertisement to London of all that was said or done. Whereupon the houses sent messengers to apprehend some gentlemen, against whom they had received information of words spoken by them, which trenched upon them and their actions, and to bring them before them; who appeared with the same confidence, even in the king's presence, as they could have done at Westminster, and shewed their warrants to the persons concerned, and required their submission; of which his majesty being informed, he forbade the gentlemen to yield any obedience to those summons, and sent for the messengers, and commanded them to depart the town, and to appear no more there on those errands at their utmost perils. The news of this protection, which his majesty knew well if he did not give, he should be quickly stripped of all his attendants, and that nobody should remain about him, but such who would betray him, was no sooner known, but persons of all conditions and from all places flocked to York, and many members of both houses of parliament left their attendance at Westminster, and repaired to his majesty, it being in truth not safe to continue longer there, they having now made their general, and solemnly engaged themselves to live and die with the earl of Essex; and shortly after sir Sydney Mountague was expelled the house of commons for refusing to take that engagement, and giving his reason, because, he said, he had a proclamation in his pocket by which the king had proclaimed the earl of Essex a traitor, and produced the proclamation, for which he was so treated as aforesaid. In the house of commons the members had publicly declared, and made subscriptions what horse and arms they would contribute or bring in to serve under the earl of Essex. It is true, though all the members were called upon by name to declare themselves, there was not yet any man punished for refusing; the case of sir Sydney Mountague fell out afterwards; and Harry Killigrew, of Cornwall, (a gallant gentleman, and generally known,) being asked in the house what he would subscribe, stood up and answered, that he would provide a good horse, and a good sword, and a good buff coat, and then he would find a good cause; which, for that time, only raised laughter, though they knew well what cause he thought good, which he had never dissembled. However men easily discerned, that in a short time there could very few remain there, but of one party; and so very many repaired into their countries, there to expect what would follow; and very many resorted to the king, to offer him their service, and to receive his commands. Upon the return of the messengers to London, who were forbade by his majesty to come any more thither, after he forbade the gentlemen who had been sent for to obey the summons, the houses had a new reproach to cast upon the king, that he protected delinquents from justice; upon which they made new votes and declarations; and that

the spirits of their friends in those parts might not sink, they sent a committee of both houses to deliver one of their usual messages to his majesty, and ordered them to reside at York, or wheresoever his majesty should be, for the more convenient representing their desires and propositions, which would otherwise require particular messengers every [time]; whereas that committee, residing still there, would receive his majesty's answers upon all occasions, and transmit them to the parliament.

The king well knew that the persons were chosen to be spies upon him, and to raise factions in the country against him; yet thought it not yet time to break off all correspondence with the parliament, and so to dismiss that committee. That committee consisted of the lord Edward Howard, who hath been mentioned before so fully that there needs no enlargement upon him in this place; the lord Fairfax, sir Hugh Cholmondely, and sir John Stapleton; the three last being gentlemen of that county; who, in a short time, had so great an influence upon that people, that they made it appear to the king that he was not so entirely possessed of the hearts and affections of that great county, as by the conflux of the chief gentry to him he was willing to believe: for at a general appearance of that country in a great field or moor near York, his majesty riding thither to receive the acclamations of the people, who, he was told, were ready to receive any commands from him, sir Thomas Fairfax, the son of the lord Fairfax, and the same man who was afterwards general for the parliament, with some few other gentlemen of less account, in the head of a great number of substantial country people, presented the king with a petition that he would return to his parliament, and not violate their privileges by giving protection to delinquents; taking notice that he had many papists who attended about him, and had listed themselves in his troops of guards, and some particulars of the like nature; which petition, delivered confidently, in such a manner and at such a time, much surprised the king; and though most of the persons of condition expressed a public dislike and disapprobation of the petition, and the number of the common people, who knew nothing of it, was much superior to the other, which appeared many ways, and in particular by the affronts which were given to many of those who appeared with the petition; yet it made a great noise, and gave the parliament new courage, and persuaded them that they had many friends in that place, where it was believed that the king had most.

As soon as it was taken notice of in the parliament that Mr. Hyde was absent, inquiry was made what was become of him, and a motion made in the house, that he might be sent for. The speaker said, that he had acquainted him with his going into the country to recover his indisposition, which troubled him, by fresh air; and that Dr. Winston his physician was with him, and informed him that he was troubled with the stone; and that his having sat so much in the house in that very hot weather had done him much harm, and therefore that he had advised him to refresh himself in the country air; with which testimony they were for the present satisfied; though Mr. Peard said confidently, "that he was troubled "with no other stone than the stone in his heart,

“and therefore he would have him sent for wherever he was; for he was most confident that he was doing them mischief wherever he was.” But he prevailed not, till their committee from York sent them word that he was come thither, and almost always with the king. It is said before, that he stayed at Nostall, at the house of sir John Worstenholme, from whence he sent every day to the king, and received his majesty’s commands; and he intended to have stayed longer there, where he could better intend and despatch any business he was to do; and he was willing for some time not to be seen at York, which he knew would quickly be taken notice of at Westminster.

When he came first thither, he found that the king was not satisfied with the lord keeper, which gave him much trouble; his majesty having sent him word, that he did not like his humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. Elliot, who had brought the seal to the king, to magnify his own service, and not imagining that the keeper intended to follow him, had told many stories; as if the keeper had refused to deliver the seal, and that he got it by force, by having locked the door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if he would not give it to him, which, upon such his manhood, he did for pure fear consent unto. And this tale got so much credit with the king, that he hardly disbelieved it when he came himself; though it was in the nature of it very improbable, that a single man, from another man as strong as himself, (who was attended by many servants in the next room,) should suffer the door to be shut upon him, and suffer that to be extorted from him which he had no mind to part with; and suffer him to go out of his house, when there were persons enough in every room to have laid hands upon him, and to have taken that again by force, which he had ravished away. Besides that, his majesty knew he expected to be sent for at that time; and that if he had repented the promise he had made, and resolved not to perform it, he could have found several ways to have evaded it; and refused to have admitted Mr. Elliot to speak with him: but the prejudice his majesty had before contracted against him, and the great confidence Elliot had in the relation, which was natural in him, had shut out all those reflections. Yet when his majesty saw him, he received him graciously; and caused him to be lodged in the court, in a room very near his majesty; which many believed to be rather out of jealousy and care that he should not again return, than out of respect to him; his majesty keeping still the seal himself, and not restoring it to his custody; which could not but make some impression on him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that he would have no more to do with the seal; and carried themselves towards him accordingly.

The lords who were come from the house of peers, and had been offended at his behaviour there, gave him little respect now; but rather gave credit to Mr. Elliot’s relation; and were forward to make relation of his carriage in the house to his disadvantage, to the king himself; so that it was no wonder that the poor gentleman grew very melancholic. And when he was sent for to attend the king, (who was himself present when the great seal was to be used, nor did ever

suffer it to be used but in the presence of the keeper, who signed all things, as he ought to do by his office,) when any proclamation of treason, as that against the earl of Essex, or against the proceedings of the houses, as in the business of the militia, or the like, was brought to be sealed, he used all delays; and made many exceptions, and found faults in matters of form, and otherwise, sometimes very reasonably; yet in such a manner as made it evident he retained many fears about him, as if he was not without apprehension that he might fall again into their hands; which was the cause that the king had said, that he knew not what to make of him.

Mr. Hyde, as soon as he heard this, wrote a letter to the king, and put him in mind of all that had formerly passed in that affair; how absolutely the keeper had destroyed himself in the account of the parliament, by paying that obedience which he ought to do to his majesty’s commands; and that if he should be deprived of his majesty’s favour, he must be of all men the most miserable; and that himself should be most unfortunate, in having contributed so much to his ruin; which would call his majesty’s good nature, and even his justice into question; and therefore besought him to be gracious to him, and to keep up his spirits with his countenance. However, he made it his own humble suit to his majesty, that he would not take any severe resolution against him, before he gave him leave to kiss his hand, and to offer him some further considerations. Upon the receipt of this letter, the king sent him word, that he would gratify him in the last part of his letter, and conclude nothing before he spake with him: in the mean time he wished him to send the keeper some good counsel; and that as soon as he should have despatched some business he had then upon his hands, that he would come to York, where he would find much to do; and that he thought now there would be less reason every day for his being concealed. And within four or five days after, his majesty sent Mr. Ashburnham to him, to let him know, that he had every day so much to do with the keeper, and found him so refractory and obstinate, that he should not be able to keep the promise he had made to him, if he did not make haste to York; and therefore bade him to be with him with all convenience: whereupon, within two days after, for he had somewhat to despatch that required haste, and sooner than he intended, he waited upon his majesty at York.

It was about a day or two after the appearance of the people of the country, when sir Thomas Fairfax had delivered the petition, mentioned before, that Mr. Hyde came to York, and when he came to the court, being about four of the clock in the afternoon, the king was at council, upon the publishing his answer to the declaration of the twenty-sixth of May; which, though it contained eight or nine sheets of paper, he brought to the board in his own hand writing; having kept the promise he had made at Greenwich to that hour, in writing out all the papers himself, which had been sent to him; which had been a wonderful task he had imposed on himself: so that he always spent more than half the day shut up by himself in his chamber, writing; which was most of the news the houses heard of him at London; and which perplexed them very much.

Mr. Hyde was in the gallery when the king came from council; and as soon as he saw him, he bade him welcome to York very graciously; and asked some questions aloud of him, as if he thought he had then come from London; and then called him into the garden, where he walked with him above an hour. He said at the beginning, "that they needed not now be afraid of being seen together;" then used all the expressions of kindness to him that can be imagined, of the service he had done him, and of the great benefit he had received from it, even to the turning the hearts of the whole nation towards him again, and of his gracious resolutions of rewarding him with the first opportunity; and many expressions of that kind, which the other received with the modesty and reverence that became him. Then his majesty spake of his business, and the temper of that country; and quickly entered upon finding fault with the keeper, and protested, if it were not for his sake, he would turn him out of his place that very hour; and enlarged upon many particulars of his obstinacy, and of his want of courage, to such a degree, as if he did really apprehend that the gentleman usher of the black rod would come and take him out of his chamber.

Mr. Hyde told him, that he would discourage many good men, who desired to serve him very faithfully, if he were too severe for such faults, as the infirmities of their nature and defects in their education exposed them to: that if the keeper, from those impressions, had committed some faults which might provoke his majesty's displeasure, he had redeemed those errors by a signal service, which might well wipe out the memory of the other. The king said with some warmth, "that he was so far from another opinion, that he would hate himself, if he did not believe that he had made a full expiation; and though he did think that he had been wrought upon by him to perform that part, yet he thought the merit of it far above any of his transgressions; and that he was disposed, from the first minute of his coming to York, to have renewed his old kindness to him, and confidence in him; and would willingly have given the seal again into his hands, if he had found he had desired it; but that he found no serenity in his countenance, nor any inclination to do what necessity required: and whereas the parliament took advantage, that none of his majesty's acts, which he had caused to be published, were authentic, nor ought to be looked upon as his, because the great seal had not been affixed to them, which could not be done whilst the great seal was at Westminster; now he had the seal by him, and sent proclamations to be sealed, the keeper was still as unwilling that they should pass, as if he was still under their power; which made him angry, and nothing that he had done before."

Mr. Hyde replied, that "the poor gentleman could not but think himself disobliged to the highest extremity, in the presumption of Mr. Elliot; and that his extravagant and insolent discourses should find credit, without his majesty's reprehension and vindication, who knew the falsehood of them." And so put his majesty in mind of all that had passed; and of the other circumstances, which made all the other's brags impossible to be true. For his fears and

apprehensions, he besought his majesty to remember, that "he had newly escaped out of that region where the thunder and lightning is made; and that he could hardly yet recover the fright he had been often in, and seen so many others in; and that his majesty need not distrust him; he had passed the Rubicon, and had no hope but in his majesty." His majesty concluded, that he should be sure to receive all necessary countenance and protection from him; of which he bade him to assure him, and presently to visit him; which going to do, he met him in the garden, and they there walked together.

He found him full of apprehension that he should be put out of his place, and of the ruin and contempt that he should be then exposed to, which he had brought upon himself; but when the other answered him, that there was no danger of that, and told him all that had passed between the king and him; and that if he would, he might have the seal in his own custody again within an hour, he was exceedingly revived, and desired him to entreat the king to keep the great seal still himself; that he would by no means be answerable for the safety of it, nor would trust any servant of his own to look to it; which, as it was wisely considered and resolved by him, so it increased the king's confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the grace that was offered. And from that time, when any thing was to be done that administered any argument for doubt, Mr. Hyde always prepared him by discourse; so that there was never after any unkindness from the king towards him: but the vigour of his mind grew every day less, under a great melancholy that oppressed him, from the consideration of the time, and of his own ill condition in his fortune; which was much worse than any body imagined it could be.

Before he went out of the garden, the lord Howard, sir Hugh Cholmely, and sir Philip Stapleton, (who were the committee from the parliament,) had intelligence that he was walking in the garden with the king; whereupon they came presently thither, and after they had saluted him with much civility, they shewed him an instruction they had from the parliament; by which they were required, if any member of either house came to York, they should let them know, that it was the pleasure of the house that they should immediately attend the house, and signify to them what answer they made; and so they desired he would excuse them for doing their duty. He told them, he was but just then come thither, in obedience to his majesty's commands, and knew not yet what service he was to do; but that as soon as his majesty would give him leave, he would return to the parliament.

There happened an accident, at Mr. Hyde's first coming to York, which he used often to speak of, and to be very merry at. One of the king's servants had provided a lodging for him, so that when he alighted at the court, he sent his servants thither, and stayed himself at the court till after supper, and till the king went into his chamber; and then he had a guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his chamber; which he liked very well, and began to undress himself. One of his servants wished that he had any other lodging, and desired him not to lie

there: he asked why, it seemed to him a good chamber: his servant answered, that the chamber was good, but the people of the house the worst he ever saw, and such as he was confident would do him some mischief: at which wondering, his servant told him, that the persons of the house seemed to be of some condition by their habit that was very good; and that the servants, when they came thither, found the master and mistress in the lower room, who received them civilly, and shewed them the chamber where their master was to lodge, and wished them to call for any thing they wanted, and so left them: that shortly after, one of them went down, and the mistress of the house being again in the lower room, where it seems she usually sat, she asked him what his master's name was, which he told her: what, said she, that Hyde that is of the house of commons? and he answering yes, she gave a great shriek, and cried out, that he should not lodge in her house; cursing him with many bitter execrations. Upon the noise, her husband came in; and when she told him who it was that was to lodge in the chamber above, he swore a great oath that he should not; and that he would rather set his house on fire, than entertain him in it. The servant stood amazed, knowing that his master had never been in or near that city, and desired to know what offence he had committed against them; he told them, he was confident his master did not know them, nor could be known to them. The man answered, after two or three curses, that he knew him well enough, and that he had undone him, and his wife, and his children; and so, after repeating some new bitter curses, he concluded, that he would set his house on fire, as soon as the other should set his foot in it; and so he and his wife went away in a great rage into an inner room, and clapped the door to them.

When his servant had made this relation to him, he was no less surprised; knew not what to make of it; asked whether the people were drunk; was assured that they were very sober, and appeared before this passion to be well bred. He sent to desire the master of the house to come to him, that they might confer together; and that he would immediately depart his house, if he desired it. He received no answer, but that he and his wife were gone to bed: upon which he said no more, but that, if they were gone to bed, he would go to bed too; and did accordingly. Though he was not disturbed in the night, the morning was not at all calmer; the master and the mistress stormed as much as ever, and would not be persuaded to speak with him; but he then understood the reason: the man of the house had been an attorney in the court of the president and council of the north, in great reputation and practice there; and thereby got a very good livelihood; with which he had lived in splendour; and Mr. Hyde had sat in the chair of that committee, and had carried up the votes of the commons against that court, to the house of peers; upon which it was dissolved: which he confessed was a better reason for being angry with him than many others had, who were as angry, and persecuted him more. However, he thought himself obliged to remove the eyesore from them, and to quit the lodging that had been assigned to him; and he was much better accommodated by

the kindness of a good prebendary of the church, Dr. Hodshon, who sent to invite him to lodge in his house, as soon as he heard he was come to town; where he resided as long as the court stayed there.

There was now a great conflux of the members of both houses of parliament to York; insomuch as there remained not in the house of commons above a fifth part of the whole number; and of the house of peers so few, that there continued not at Westminster twenty lords. Yet they proceeded with the same spirit and presumption, as when their numbers were full; published new declarations against the king; raised soldiers for their army apace; and executed their ordinance for the militia in all the counties of England, the northern parts only excepted; forbade all persons to resort to the king; and intercepted many in their journey towards York, and committed them to prison: notwithstanding which, many persons of quality every day flocked thither; and it was no longer safe for those members to stay in the houses of parliament, who resolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable designs; and therefore the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper shortly after repaired likewise to York. The houses quickly found the reproach of their small numbers was some discredit to their transactions, and therefore renewed their summons to their absent members to return; and, when they saw no obedience given to those summons, they expelled those members of the house of commons who were with the king, and gave order that new writs should issue out for the electing new members in their places; but the king prevented that by giving order to the lord keeper not to seal any writs which should be prepared and sent to him for any new elections. Upon some information against the lord Savile, for some expressions he had used against the parliament, when the petition that is mentioned before was presented by sir Thomas Fairfax, that lord and eight more were summoned by an order from the house of peers, and required to attend that house. Upon which they making a joint answer, that they had received an express order to attend upon his majesty's person, the house of commons, taking notice of this answer, in a new and unheard-of way carried up a charge and impeachment to the house of peers against those nine lords for not attending the service of the parliament; and the house of peers thereupon, with all formality, and in their robes, passed a sentence and judgment upon those nine, (the number of the judges not much exceeding that number,) that they should be fined, and disabled to sit in parliament during the time that parliament should continue; which was looked upon as an act without any foundation of law or precedent, and was slighted accordingly by those who were most immediately concerned in it.

The noise of the king's journey to Beverley made a great impression upon the parliament; where, how great a concurrence soever there was, in those unwarrantable actions which begot the war, yet a small number of those who voted both the raising the army and making the general, did in truth intend, or believe, that there would be a war: and therefore, when they looked upon it as begun in this march of the king's to Hull, (for they considered their own actions as done only to prevent a war, by making the king unable to

make it, who as they thought only desired it,) they moved presently for some overtures of an accommodation: which that angry party that resolved against it, never durst absolutely reject; but consenting cheerfully to it, got thereby authority to insert such things in the address, as must inevitably render it ineffectual. So at this time they sent the earl of Holland, a person whom at that time they knew to be most unacceptable to the king, with two members of the house of commons, who came to Beverley the day the king arrived there. The subject of their message was, after several specious expressions and professions of their duty, to dissuade his majesty from making war against his parliament, by proceeding in his enterprise against Hull, which the parliament was obliged to defend. And all the expedient they proposed for the avoiding this war was, that he would consent to the nineteen propositions, which they had formerly made to him at York, and to which he had long since returned his answer; and both the one and the other were printed.

These nineteen propositions, which contained the disinherison of the crown of all its choice regalities, and left only the shadow and empty name of the king, had been framed by the houses after Mr. Hyde left London. And because he had so much work then upon his hands, as they believed he would not be able to despatch soon enough, the lord Falkland and sir John Colepepper undertook to prepare an answer to them themselves; and so divided the propositions between them; and in a short time so finished their answer, that they sent it to the king, and desired that Mr. Hyde might peruse it, and then cause it to be published and printed. The answer was full to all particulars, and writ with very much wit and sharpness; but there were some expressions in it, which he liked not, as prejudicial to the king, and in truth a mistake in point of right, in that part which had been prepared by sir John Colepepper; who had taken it up upon credit, and, without weighing the consequence, did really believe that it had been true; which was, that in the discourse of the constitution of the kingdom, he had declared, that the *king*, and the *house of peers*, and the *house of commons* made the *three estates*: and for this reason Mr. Hyde did not advance the printing it; and told the king, that all the particulars in those propositions had been enough answered in former answers to other declarations, (which was true,) and therefore that this needed not be published: with which his majesty was satisfied, without knowing the particular true reason; which he thought not fit to communicate, for both the persons' sakes, of whose affection for the church (which was principally concerned in that mistake, since in truth the *bishops* make the *third estate*, the king being the head and sovereign of the whole) his majesty was always jealous.

But they no sooner came to York, than they appeared much unsatisfied, that that answer was not printed; and the lord Falkland finding it remained still in Mr. Hyde's hands, he expostulated warmly with him of the reasons; and in some passion said, "he therefore disliked it, because he had not writ it himself." Upon which, without saying more, than that "he never expected so unkind a reproach from him," he delivered the written copy to him, and he imme-

diately procured the king's consent, and sent it to the press that night, with order to lose no time in the impression. Of which the king was afterwards very sensible; and that excellent lord, who intended not the least unkindness, (nor did it produce the least interruption in their friendship,) was likewise much troubled when he knew the reason; and imputed it to his own inadvertency, and to the infusion of some lawyers, who had misled sir John Colepepper; and to the declarations which many of the prelatical clergy frequently and ignorantly made, that the bishops did not sit in parliament as the representatives of the clergy, and so could not be the *third estate*.

It happened that the day the earl of Holland came to Beverley, Mr. Hyde had been riding abroad; and returning to Beverley, happened to be in the same road, when the earl of Holland and his company prosecuted their journey to the king: when meeting together, there passed the usual salutations which are between persons well known to each other. "He hoped," the earl said, "that he should be welcome to all honest men at the court, because he came to invite the king to return to his parliament, and to abolish all jealousies between them." The other answered, "he would be very welcome indeed, if he brought proper expedients to produce either of those effects; but then his errand must be of another composition than what the king understood it to be." Upon which they entered upon a warmer discourse than it may be either of them intended; and as the earl spake in another style than he had used to do, of the power and authority of the parliament, and how much they were superior to any opposition or contradiction; so the other in the debate was less reserved, and kept a less guard upon himself than he used to do; so that they seemed nothing pleased with each other: nor did Mr. Hyde visit him after his coming to Beverley, because he was informed that the earl had, to many persons who resorted to him, repeated with some liberty and sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without some menaces what the parliament would do. And as soon as he did return, there was a new vote passed by name against him, and two or three more, by which he was exempted from pardon, in any accommodation that should be made between the king and parliament.

Mr. Hyde had been absent four or five days from the court, and came into the presence when the king was washing his hands before dinner; and as soon as the king saw him, he asked him aloud, "Ned Hyde, when did you play with my band-strings last?" upon which he was exceedingly out of countenance, not imagining the cause of the question, and the room being full of gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the king had asked. But his majesty observing him to be in disorder, and to blush very much, said pleasantly, "Be not troubled at it, for I have worn no band-strings these twenty years:" and then asked him whether he had not seen the diurnal; of which he had not heard till then; but shortly after, some of the standers-by shewed him a diurnal, in which there was a letter of intelligence printed, where it was said, that Ned Hyde was grown so familiar with the king, that he used to play with his band-strings. Which was a method of calumniating they began then, and

shortly after prosecuted and exercised upon much greater persons.

In the afternoon the earl of Holland came to deliver his message with great formality; whom the king received with much coldness and manifestation of neglect: and when the earl approached, and kneeled to kiss his hand, he turned, or withdrew his hand in such a manner, that the earl kissed his own. When the message was read, the king said little more, than that they should not stay long for an answer; and so went to his chamber. The earl was not without many friends there; and some of them moved the king, that he would give him leave to say somewhat to him in private, which they believed would be very much for his service; but his majesty would by no means yield to it. By this time his majesty had notice of the governor's irresolution at Hull; and so was glad of this opportunity to have a fair excuse for making no attempt upon that place: and sent the next day for the earl of Holland to receive his answer; which being read aloud in the king's presence, and a full room, by the clerk of the council, was very grateful to the auditors, who feared some condescension in the king, though very mortifying to the earl. For besides that it was thought very sharp towards the houses, it declared his brother, the earl of Warwick, a traitor, for possessing himself of the king's fleet against his consent; and concluded, that he would forbear any attempt upon Hull for fourteen days; in which time, if the parliament would enter into a treaty for a happy peace, they should find him very well inclined to it; after the expiration of that time, he should pursue those ways which he thought fit. In the mean time, he made a short progress into the adjacent counties of Nottingham and Leicester, to see what countenance they wore, and to encourage those who appeared to have good affections to his service: and then returning to Beverley within the limited time, and hearing no more from the parliament, or any thing from Hull that he expected, he returned again to York, as hath been said before.

Mr. Hyde was wont often to relate a passage in that melancholic time, when the standard was set up at Nottingham, with which he was much affected. Sir Edmund Varney, knight-marshal, who was mentioned before as standard-bearer, with whom he had great familiarity, who was a man of great courage, and generally beloved, came one day to him, and told him, "he was very glad to see him, in so universal a damp, under which the spirits of most men were oppressed, retain still his natural vivacity and cheerfulness; that he knew that the condition of the king, and the power of the parliament, was not better known to any man than to him; and therefore he hoped that he was able to administer some comfort to his friends, that might raise their spirits, as well as it supported his own." He answered, "that he was, in truth, beholden to his constitution, which did not incline him to despair; otherwise, that he had no pleasant prospect before him, but thought as ill of affairs as most men did; that the other was as far from being melancholic as he, and was known to be a man of great courage, (as indeed he was of a very cheerful and a generous nature, and confessedly valiant,) and that they could not do the king better service, than by making it their

business to raise the dejected minds of men, and root out those apprehensions which disturbed them, of fear and despair, which could do no good, and did really much mischief."

He replied smiling, "I will willingly join with you the best I can, but I shall act it very scurvily. My condition," said he, "is much worse than yours, and different, I believe, from any other man's; and will very well justify the melancholic that, I confess to you, possesses me. You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right; that the king ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and your business together: but for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend: for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for the bishops, for whom this quarrel [subsists]." It was not a time to dispute; and his affection to the church had never been suspected. He was as good as his word; and was killed, in the battle of Edgehill, within two months after this discourse. And if those who had the same and greater obligations, had observed the same rules of gratitude and generosity, whatever their other affections had been, that battle had never been fought, nor any of that mischief been brought to pass that succeeded it.

After the king came to Oxford with his army, his majesty one day speaking with the lord Falkland very graciously concerning Mr. Hyde, said he had such a peculiar style, that he could know any thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a stranger, amongst a multitude of writings by other men. The lord Falkland answered, he doubted his majesty could hardly do that, because he himself, who had so long conversation and friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with things written by him, of which he could never have suspected him, upon the variety of arguments. To which the king replied, he would lay him an angel, that, let the argument be what it would, he should never bring him a sheet of paper (for he would not undertake to judge of less) of his writing, but he would discover it to be his. The lord Falkland told him it should be a wager; but neither the one nor the other ever mentioned it to Mr. Hyde. Some days after, the lord Falkland brought several packets, which he had then received from London, to the king, before he had opened them, as he used to do: and after he had read his several letters of intelligence, he took out the prints of diurnals, and speeches, and the like, which were every day printed at London, and as constantly sent to Oxford: and amongst the rest there were two speeches, the one made by the lord Pembroke for an accommodation, and the other by the lord Brooke against it; and for the carrying on the war with more vigour, and utterly to root out the cavaliers, which were the king's party.

The king was very much pleased with reading

the speeches, and said, he did not think that Pembroke could speak so long together; though every word he said was so much his own, that nobody else could make it. And so after he had pleased himself with reading the speeches over again, and then passed to other papers, the lord Falkland whispered in his ear, (for there were other persons by,) desiring him he would pay him the angel; which his majesty in the instant apprehending, blushed, and put his hand in his pocket, and gave him an angel, saying, he had never paid a wager more willingly; and was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. Hyde for a speech, or a letter, which he very often prepared upon several occasions; and the king always commanded them to be printed. And he was often wont to say, many years after, that he would be very glad he could make a collection of all those papers, which he had written occasionally at that time; which he could never do, though he got many of them.

There was at that time a pleasant story upon those speeches. The lord Brooke had met with them in print, and heard that he was much reproached for so unchristian a speech against peace, though the language was such as he used in all opportunities: whereupon one morning in the house of peers, and before the house sat, he came to the earl of Portland, (who yet remained there with the king's approbation, and knew well enough from whence the speeches came, having himself caused them to be printed,) and shewing them to him, desired he would move the house, that that speech might, by their order, be burned by the hand of the hangman; by which means the kingdom would be informed, that it had never been spoken by him. The earl said, he would willingly do him the service; but he observed, that the speeches were printed in that manner, that where the earl of Pembroke's speech ended on the one side of the leaf, his (the lord Brooke's) speech began on the other side, so that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which he knew not how the earl of Pembroke would like; and therefore he durst not move it without his consent. Whereupon they both went to the earl, who was then likewise in the house; and Portland told him what the lord Brooke desired, and asked him whether he wished it should be done. He, who heard he was very well spoken of, for having spoke so honestly for peace, said, he did not desire it. Upon which Brooke, in great anger, asked, if he had ever made that speech; he was very sure he had never made the other; and the other with equal choler replied, that he was always for peace; and though he could not say he had spoken all those things together, he was sure he had spoken them all at several times; and that he knew as well, that he had always been against peace, and had often used all those expressions which were in the speech, though, it may be, not all together. Upon which they entered into a high combat of reproachful words against each other, to the no small delight of the earl, who had brought them together, and of the rest of the standers-by; though upon the king's advance from Colebrooke, and the imagination that he purposed to have brought his army to London, both the parliament and the city was so far provoked, that they laid aside all thoughts of treaty; and upon his retreat, the

view of the number and ill condition of his army, the furious party was much exalted, and thought of nothing but of forming new armies, which might subdue the other parts of the kingdom; yet when they had better collected themselves, the principal persons of the parliament, and those of the city, who had formerly very importunately pressed the message to the king for a treaty, returned to the same temper. The parliament was full of faction, and they who had concurred too much in the entering into the war, were now most solicitous to get out of it; they said the expense was already unsupportable; their army was wasted, so that they were upon the matter to begin again. They had spent very much of the money which had been raised for Ireland, and employed great numbers of those soldiers which were levied for that kingdom, which did not only redound to the great hazard of losing that kingdom, but would exceedingly turn to their reproach with the people of England, as soon as it should be taken notice of, and it could not be long concealed. They foresaw likewise that the vast sum of money, which must be got for the carrying on the war, must all be raised out of the city, which appeared discontented enough. There was likewise no union in the army; many officers gave up their commissions; and those who were members of both houses, and had carried regiments and troops into the field, were weary of the service, and disengaged themselves, and gave up their commands; so that the motions were again renewed for sending to the king for a peace: and at last a message was sent to the king, that he would send a safe conduct for four lords and eight commoners to attend his majesty with an humble petition from both houses, which they hoped might produce a good accommodation; which safe conduct was immediately granted, with which the messenger returned; and within few days after, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, together with Pierrepont, lord Wenman, Whitlocke, Waller, and other members of the house of commons, came to Oxford with a petition to the king; which contained no more than a desire from the parliament, in terms more modest than they had been accustomed to, that his majesty would permit them to send a committee of both houses to attend him, that they might treat about a happy peace, and, in the first place, of a cessation of all acts of hostility. There was a pleasant observation at that time, which made the artifices appear by which they imposed upon their friends at London. The people there did generally believe that the king, and the little army he had with him, were in so great straits for want of provision in Oxford, that they were compelled to eat horseflesh; and that they would in a short time be forced to return to the parliament, that they might avoid the being starved; and either to keep up this imagination, or that they did themselves believe the scarcity to be very great, these commissioners brought with them a great quantity of provisions, even of bread and beer, as well as of beef and mutton and fowl, sufficient to feed the whole company that came with them, during such time as they believed they should stay there; of which they were ashamed as soon as they entered Oxford, and saw the great plenty in the markets, not only of the usual common fare, but of those choice fowl, of pheasants, partridge, cocks, snipes,

in that abundance, as they were not so well furnished in London; besides the best fish and wild fowl, which was brought in every day, from the western part, in such plenty, that it can hardly be imagined. So that they were quickly converted from giving credit to that rumour, and it may be by it judged the better of the want of integrity in many other reports. The commissioners, after three or four days, returned with a gracious answer from the king, and with a safe conduct for such persons as the two houses should send to treat with the king; and men began to entertain good hope of a peace, and fair accommodation of all differences.

X It may not be unfit in this place, for the better understanding the unhappy temper of the court and of the king's affairs, to remember, that, as soon as the commissioners were gone out of the town, there appeared a general indisposition in court, in army, and amongst the persons of quality which filled the town, to the peace, and a wonderful apprehension that it would be brought to pass, and therefore there were many cabals and meetings to consult how the treaty might be prevented, or at least made ineffectual. Though the king was in pleasant and plentiful quarters, where he wanted no provision of victuals, and out of which (for he was possessed of most of the countries between Oxford and Chester, and of the greatest part of Wales) he might reasonably hope to recruit his army; yet there was no hope of procuring money to pay them; and though the soldiers yet behaved themselves modestly in their quarters, so that there were no complaints, it could not be imagined that the country would long endure free-quarters, and submit likewise to pay contributions in money, which was assigned to the horse. The battle of Edge-hill, and the supplying the few garrisons which were made with very slender proportions of ammunition, had already so exhausted the stores, that there were not left at this time in Oxford above forty barrels of powder, and match and bullet proportionable; and though there was set up there a mill to make powder, newly erected, yet the undertakers in it would not promise to provide above twenty barrels in a week, which could produce no provision suitable to the necessity. It is true there was a reasonable supply of arms and ammunition arrived at Newcastle, the only port in the king's obedience; but, besides the great use there was to be of it in those parts, where the earl of Newcastle had been left to raise an army, and had now Yorkshire added to his commission, which stood in great need of his protection, the distance was so great between that and Oxford, that there was little hope of getting any of it with a less convoy than an army. Above all this, it was apparent to all men, who could discern at any distance, that the good humour of the lords and persons of quality, which kept up the humour every where else, would decay, and turn into murmuring and discontent, as soon as that money should be spent which they had brought with them from London, and which alone had made some show of plenty in the court; and therefore it was looked upon by wise men as a judgment from Heaven, that now, when that seemed to be in view which men of all conditions had prayed for since the setting up the standard at Nottingham, there should be even a conspiracy amongst those very persons to drive that blessing

from them. And it was the more wonderful, that even the king himself was not without apprehension that he might suffer by making peace, and countenanced those who spake most against it, and laboured to prevent it; of which there will be occasion anon to speak more at large, and in that place to mention the true reason which produced that aversion. At this time there was a change in Mr. Hyde's fortune, by a preferment the king conferred upon him. Every body knew that he was trusted by the king in his most secret transactions; but he was under no character in his service. When the commissioners who were sent for the safe-conduct came to Oxford, some who came in their company, amongst other matters of intelligence, brought the king a letter of his own to the queen, printed, that had been intercepted, and printed by the license, if not order, of the parliament. In this letter, of the safe conveyance whereof his majesty had no apprehension, the king had lamented the uneasiness of his own condition, in respect of the daily importunity which was made to him by the lords and others, for honours, offices, and preferments; and named several lords, who were solicitous by themselves, or their friends, for this and that place; in all which he desired to receive the queen's advice, being resolved to do nothing with reference to those pretences, till he should receive it. But he said there were some places which he must dispose of without staying for her answer, the necessity of his service requiring it; which were the mastership of the wards; applications being still made to the lord Say in those affairs, and so that revenue was diverted from him: and therefore, as he had revoked his patent, so he was resolved to make secretary Nicholas master of the wards; "and then," (these were his majesty's own words,) "I must make Ned Hyde secretary of state, for the truth is, I can trust nobody else." Which was a very envious expression, and extended by the ill interpretation of some men, to a more general comprehension than could be intended. This was quickly made public, for there were several prints of it in many hands; and some men had reason to be troubled to find their names mentioned in that manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the pretence to pursue their importunities the more vehemently, being, as the phrase was, brought upon the stage, and should suffer much in their honour, if they should be now rejected; which kind of argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the king.

One morning, when the king was walking in the garden, as he used to do, Mr. Hyde being then in his view, his majesty called him, and discoursed of the trouble he was in at the intercepting that letter; and finding by his countenance that he understood not the meaning, he asked him, "whether he had not heard a letter of his, which he writ to the queen, had been intercepted and printed." And he answering, "that he had not heard of it," as in truth he had not, the king gave him the printed letter to read, and then said, that "he wished it were as much in his power to make every body else amends as he could him; for," he said, "he was resolved that afternoon to swear him secretary of state, in the place of Nicholas, whom he would likewise then make master of the wards." Mr.

Hyde told him, "he was indeed much surprised with the sight of the letter; which he wished had not been communicated in that manner: but he was much more surprised to find his own name in it, and his majesty's resolution upon it, which he besought him to change; for as he never had the ambition to hope or wish for that place, so he knew he was very unfit for it, and unable to discharge it." To which the king with a little anger replied, that "he did the greatest part of the business now:" and he answered, that "what he did now would be no part of the business, if the rebellion were ended; and that his unskilfulness in languages, and his not understanding foreign affairs, rendered him very incapable of that trust." The king said, "he would learn as much as was necessary of that kind very quickly." He continued his desire, that his majesty would lay aside that thought; and said, "that he had great friendship for secretary Nicholas, who would be undone by the change; for he would find that his majesty would receive very little, and he nothing, by that office, till the troubles were composed." The king said, "Nicholas was an honest man, and that his change was by his desire;" and bade him speak with him of it; which he went presently to do, leaving his majesty unsatisfied with the scruples he had made.

When he came to the secretary's lodging, he found him with a cheerful countenance, and embracing him, called him his son. Mr. Hyde answered him, that "it was not the part of a good son to undo his father, or to become his son that he might undo him:" and so they entered upon the discourse; the one telling him what the king had resolved, and how grateful the resolution was to him; and the other informing him of the conference he had then had with the king, and that for his sake, as well as his own, he would not submit to the king's pleasure in it. And so he debated the whole matter with him, and made it evident to him, that he would be disappointed in any expectation he should entertain of profit from the wards, as the state of affairs then stood: so that he should relinquish an honourable employment, which he was well acquainted with, for an empty title, with which he would have nothing to do: and so advised him to consider well of it, and of all the consequences of it, before he exposed himself to such an inconvenience.

Whilst this was in suspense, sir Charles Cæsar, who, with great prejudice to the king, and more reproach to the archbishop of Canterbury, Laud, had been made master of the rolls, died: and sir John Colepepper had long had a promise from the king of that place, when it should become void, and now pressed the performance of it: which was violently opposed by many, partly out of ill-will to him, (for he had not the faculty of getting himself much loved,) and as much out of good husbandry, and to supply the king's necessities with a good sum of money, which Dr. Duck was ready to lay down for the office. And the king was so far wrought upon, that he paid down three thousand pounds in part of what he was to give; but his majesty caused the money to be repaid, and resolved to make good his promise to sir John Colepepper, who would by no means release him. This was no sooner declared, than

the lord Falkland (who was much more solicitous to have Mr. Hyde of the council, than he was himself for the honour) took an opportunity to tell the king, that he had now a good opportunity to prefer Mr. Hyde, by making him chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of sir John Colepepper; which the king said he had resolved to do, and bid him take no notice of it, until he had told him so himself: and shortly after sent for him, and said, "that he had now found an office for him, which he hoped he would not refuse: that the chancellorship of the exchequer was void by the promotion of Colepepper, and that he resolved to confer it upon him;" with many gracious expressions of the satisfaction he had in his service. The other answered, "that though it was an office much above his merit, yet he did not despair of enabling himself by industry to execute it, which he would do with all fidelity."

As soon as this was known, no man was so much troubled at it as sir John Colepepper, who had in truth an intention to have kept both places, until he should get into the quiet possession of the rolls. And though he professed much friendship to the other, he had no mind he should be upon the same level with him; and believed he would have too much credit in the council. And so delayed, after his patent for the rolls was passed, to surrender that of the chancellorship of the exchequer, until the lord Falkland and the lord Digby expostulated very warmly with him upon it, and until the king took notice of it; and then, seeming very much troubled that any body should doubt the integrity of his friendship to Mr. Hyde, to whom he made all the professions imaginable, he surrendered his office of chancellor of the exchequer: and the next day Mr. Hyde was sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, and had his patents sealed for that office. And the king, after he rose from the council, and after many expressions of the content he took himself in the obligation he had laid upon him, with much grace, that was not natural in him upon such occasions, told him, that "he was very fortunate, because he verily believed nobody was angry at his preferment; for besides that the earl of Dorset and others, who he knew loved him, had expressed much satisfaction in the king's purpose," he said, "the lord Maltrevers, and the lord Dunsmore, who he did not think had any acquaintance with him, seemed very much pleased with him; and therefore he thought nobody would envy him; which was a rare felicity." But his majesty was therein mistaken; for he had great enviers, of many who thought he had run too fast; especially of those of his own profession, who looked upon themselves as his superiors in all respects, and did not think that his age, (which was not then above thirty-three,) or his other parts, did entitle him to such a preference before them. And the news of it at Westminster exceedingly offended those who governed in the parliament; to see the man whom they most hated, and whom they had voted to be incapable of pardon, to be now preferred to an office the chief of them looked for. Besides, there was another unusual circumstance accompanied his preferment, that it was without the interposition or privy of the queen, which was not like to make it the more easy and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that circumstance.

Notwithstanding all the discourse of, and inclination to a treaty, the armies were not quiet on either side. The king's quarters were enlarged by the taking of Marlborough in Wiltshire, and of Cirencester in Gloucestershire; which, though untenable by their situation and weak fortifications, were garrisoned by the parliament with great numbers of men; who were all killed, or taken prisoners. And the parliament forces were not without success too; and, after the loss of Marlborough, surprised the regiment of horse, that was commanded by the lord Grandison, a gallant gentleman, who, if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to Winchester, with promise of forces ready to defend the place; which being in no degree performed, he was, the next day after he came, enclosed in the castle of Winchester, and com-

pelled to become, all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war: though he and some other of the principal officers, by the negligence or corruption of their guard, made their escape in the night, and returned to Oxford.

This was the state of the kingdom, of the king, and of the parliament, in the beginning of the year 1643, at the time when Mr. Hyde was made of the privy-council, and chancellor of the exchequer: which was between the return of the commissioners, who had been sent to the king to propose a treaty, and the coming of those commissioners to Oxford, who were afterwards sent from the parliament to treat with the king; which being about the end of the year 1642, this part shall be closed here.

Pezenas, the 24th of July, 1669.

PART III.

IT was about the beginning of March (which by that account was about the end of the year 1642, and about the beginning of the year 1643) that the commissioners of the parliament came to Oxford, to treat with his majesty; and were received graciously by him; and by his order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all respects.

The persons were the earl of Northumberland, (the rest appointed by the house of peers were dispensed with,) and of the commons the lord Wenman, Mr. Pierrepont, Mr. Whitlocke, and the king intended to have appointed some of his council to have treated with them; but they discovered at their first audience, that they had authority only to treat with his majesty himself, and not with any other persons; whereupon his majesty gave them admission whenever they desired it, and received what they had to propose in writing, and then consulted and debated it at his council, and delivered his answer again in writing, the chancellor of the exchequer being always appointed to prepare those answers. The commissioners had very sincere desires to have made a peace, none of them having ever had inclination to alter the government, and the short experience they had, made it manifest to them that others were possessed with contrary resolutions; but their instructions were very strict, and nothing left to their own discretions; they who sent them well knowing how their affections stood, and though they had not power to hinder a treaty, which all the kingdom called for, and to refuse it had been to declare that they would continue the war that was universally abominated; yet they knew well how to elude it, which they were the less suspected to incline to, because they were still willing that such persons should be employed to treat who were known to be most solicitous for peace. When the propositions were formed in the house, upon the debate of them, when objections were made of their unreasonableness: that the king had already refused those very overtures when his condition was much lower, and therefore that it was not probable he would yield to the same when he was in the head of a good army: it was answered by those who resolved it should come to

nothing, that it was the course and rule in all treaties *iniquum petere ut æquum feras*; that they did not expect that the king would yield to all they desired, or indeed that a peace would ever be made upon what they did or could propose; but that thereupon the king would be wrought upon to make his propositions, which must be the ground of the peace; and that they must first know what the king would grant before they abated any thing of their demands; and hereby (which seemed to have somewhat of reason) they still prevailed to keep up their propositions to the utmost they had insisted upon, in their proudest and most insolent conjuncture, but still implied that they would be glad to depart from any thing of it, when they should see any approach made towards peace by any concessions from the king that would make it safe and valid: yet they bound up their commissioners to the strictest letter of their propositions; nor did their instructions at this time (which they presented to the king) admit the least latitude to them, to interpret a word or expression, that admitted a doubtful interpretation. Insomuch as the king told them, "that he was sorry that they had no more trust reposed in them; and that the parliament might as well have sent their demands to him by the common carrier, as by commissioners so restrained." They had only twenty days allowed them to finish the whole treaty: whereof they might employ six days in adjusting a cessation, if they found it probable to effect it in that time; otherwise they were to decline the cessation, and enter upon the conditions of the peace; which, if not concluded before the end of the twenty days, they were to give it over, and to return to the parliament.

These propositions and restrictions much abated the hopes of a good issue of the treaty. Yet every body believed, and the commissioners themselves did not doubt, that if such a progress should be made in the treaty, that a peace was like to ensue, there would be no difficulty in the enlargement of the time; and therefore the articles for a cessation were the sooner declined, that they might proceed in the main business. For though what was proposed by them in order to it was agreeable

enough to the nature of such an affair; yet the time allowed for it was so short, that it was impossible to make it practicable: nor could notice be timely given to all the quarters on either side to observe it.

Besides that, there were many particulars in it, which the officers on the king's side (who had no mind to a cessation) formalized much upon; and (I know not from what unhappy root, but) there was sprung up a wonderful aversion in the town against a cessation. Insomuch as many persons of quality of several counties, whereof the town was full, applied themselves in a body to the king, not to consent to a cessation till a peace might be concluded; alleging, that they had several agitations in their countries, for his majesty's and their own conveniences, which would be interrupted by the cessation; and if a peace should not afterwards ensue, would be very mischievous. Which suggestion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of importance. But the truth is, the king himself had no mind to the cessation, for a reason which shall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: and so they waved all further mention of the cessation, and betook themselves to the treaty; it being reasonable enough to believe, that if both sides were heartily disposed to it, a peace might as soon have been agreed upon as a cessation could be. All the transactions of that treaty having been long since published, and being fit only to be digested into the history of that time, are to be omitted here. Only what passed in secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwise be known, since at this time no man else is living who was privy to that negociation but the chancellor of the exchequer, will have a proper place in this discourse. The commissioners, who had all good fortunes and estates, had all a great desire of peace, but knew well that there must be a receding mutually on both sides from what they demanded; for if the king insisted on justice, and on the satisfaction and reparation the law would give him, the lives and the fortunes of all who had opposed him would be at his mercy; and there were too many concerned to submit to that, and that guilt was in truth the foundation of their union. On the other side, if the parliament insisted on all that they had demanded, all the power of the crown and monarchy itself would be thrown off the hinges, which as they could never imagine the king would ever consent to, so they saw well enough their own concernment in it, and that themselves should be as much involved in the confusion as those they called their enemies.

The propositions brought by the commissioners in the treaty were so unreasonable, that they well knew that the king would never consent to them: but some persons amongst them, who were known to wish well to the king, endeavoured underhand to bring it to pass. And they did therefore, whilst they publicly pursued their instructions, and delivered and received papers upon their propositions, privately use all the means they could, especially in conferences with the lord Falkland and the chancellor of the exchequer, that the king might be prevailed with in some degree to comply with their unreasonable demands.

In all matters which related to the church, they did not only despair of the king's concurrence,

but did not in their own judgments wish it; and believed, that the strength of the party which desired the continuance of the war, was made up of those who were very indifferent in that point; and that, if they might return with satisfaction in other particulars, they should have power enough in the two houses, to oblige the more violent people to accept or submit to the conditions. They wished therefore that the king would make some condescensions in the point of the militia; which they looked upon as the only substantial security they could have, not to be called in question for what they had done amiss. And when they saw nothing could be digested of that kind, which would not reflect both upon the king's authority and his honour, they gave over insisting upon the general; and then Mr. Pierrepont (who was of the best parts, and most intimate with the earl of Northumberland) rather desired than proposed, that the king would offer to grant his commission to the earl of Northumberland, to be lord high admiral of England. By which condescension he would be restored to his office, which he had lost for their sakes; and so their honour would be likewise repaired, without any signal prejudice to the king; since he should hold it only by his majesty's commission, and not by any ordinance of parliament: and he said, if the king would be induced to gratify them in this particular, he could not be confident that they should be able to prevail with both houses to be satisfied therewith, so that a peace might suddenly be concluded; but, as he did not despair even of that, he did believe, that so many would be satisfied with it, that they would from thence take the occasion to separate themselves from them, as men who would rather destroy their country than restore it to peace.

And the earl of Northumberland himself took so much notice of this discourse to secretary Nicholas, (with whom he had as much freedom as his reserved nature was capable of, (as to protest to him, that he desired only to receive that honour and trust from the king, that he might be able to do him service; and thereby to recover the credit he had unhappily lost with him. In which he used very decent expressions towards his majesty; not without such reflections upon his own behaviour, as implied that he was not proud of it: and concluded, that if his majesty would do him that honour, as to make that offer to the houses, upon the proposition of the militia, he would do all he could that it might be effectual towards a peace; and if it had not success, he would pass his word and honour to the king, that as soon, or whensoever his majesty would please to require it, he would deliver up his commission again into his hands; he having no other ambition or desire, than by this means to redeliver up the royal navy to his majesty's as absolute disposal, as it was when his majesty first put it into his hands; and which he doubted would hardly be done by any other expedient, at least not so soon.

When this proposition (which, from the interest and persons who proposed it, seemed to carry with it some probability of success, if it should be accepted) was communicated with those who were like with most secrecy to consult it; secretary Nicholas having already made some approach towards the king upon the subject, and found his

majesty without inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and resolved by them, that the chancellor of the exchequer should presume to make the proposition plainly to the king, and to persuade his majesty to hear it debated in his presence; at least, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himself as much as the argument required: and he was not unwilling to embark himself in the affair.

When he found a fit opportunity for the representation, and his majesty at good leisure, in his morning's walk, when he was always most willing to be entertained; the chancellor related ingenuously to him the whole discourse, which had been made by Mr. Pierrepoint, and to whom; and what the earl himself had said to secretary Nicholas; and what conference they, to whom his majesty gave leave to consult together upon his affairs, had between themselves upon the argument, and what occurred to them upon it: in which he mentioned the earl's demerit towards his majesty with severity enough, and what reason he had not to be willing to restore a man to his favour, who had forfeited it so unworthily. Yet he desired him to consider his own ill condition; and how unlike it was that it should be improved by the continuance of the war; and whether he could ever imagine a possibility of getting out of it upon more easy conditions than what was now proposed; the offer of which to the parliament could do him no signal prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable advantages: for if the peace did not ensue upon it, such a rupture infallibly would, as might in a little time facilitate the other. And then he said as much to lessen the malignity of the earl as he could, by remembering, how dutifully he had resigned his commission of admiral upon his majesty's demand, and his refusal to accept the commission the parliament would have given him; and observed some vices in his nature, which would stand in the place of virtues, towards the support of his fidelity to his majesty, and his animosity against the parliament, if he were once reingratiated to his majesty's trust.

The king heard him very quietly without the least interruption, which he used not to do upon subjects which were not grateful to him; for he knew well that he was not swayed by any affection to the man, to whom he was more a stranger than he was to most of that condition; and he, upon occasions, had often made sharp reflections upon his ingratitude to the king. His majesty seemed at the first to insist upon the improbability that any such concession by him would be attended with any success; that not only the earl had not interest in the houses to lead them into a resolution that was only for his particular benefit, but that the parliament itself was not able to make a peace, without such conditions as the army would require; and then he should suffer exceedingly in his honour, for having shewn an inclination to a person who had requited his former graces so unworthily: and this led him into more warmth than he used to be affected with. He said, "indeed he had been very unfortunate in conferring his favours upon many very ungrateful persons; but no man was so inexcusable as the earl of Northumberland." He said, "he knew that the earl of Holland was generally looked upon as the man of the greatest ingrati-

tude; but," he said, "he could better excuse him than the other: that it was true, he owed all he had to his father's and his bounties, and that himself had conferred great favours upon him; but that it was as true, he had frequently given him many mortifications, which, though he had deserved, he knew had troubled him very much; that he had oftener denied him, than any other man of his condition; and that he had but lately refused to gratify him in a suit he had made to him, of which he had been very confident; and so might have some excuse (how ill soever) for being out of humour, which led him from one ill to another: but that he had lived always without intermission with the earl of Northumberland as his friend, and courted him as his mistress; that he had never denied any thing he had ever asked; and therefore his carriage to him was never to be forgotten."

And this discourse he continued with more commotion, and in a more pathetic style than ever he used upon any other argument. And though at that time it was not fit to press the matter further, it was afterwards resumed by the same person more than once; but without any other effect, than that his majesty was contented that the earl should not despair of being restored to that office, when the peace should be made; or upon any eminent service performed by him, when the peace should be despaired of. The king was very willing and desirous that the treaty should be drawn out in length; to which purpose a proposition was made to the commissioners for an addition of ten days, which they sent to the parliament, without the least apprehension that it would be denied. But they were deceived; and for answer, received an order upon the last day but one of the time before limited, by which they were expressly required to leave Oxford the next day. From that time all intercourse and commerce between Oxford and London, which had been permitted before, was absolutely interdicted under the highest penalties by the parliament.

If this secret underhand proposition had succeeded, and received that encouragement from the king that was desired, and more application of the same remedies had been then made to other persons, (for alone it could never have proved effectual,) it is probable, that those violent and abominable counsels, which were but then in projection between very few men of any interest, and which were afterwards miserably put in practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by those who were then privy to this overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the king should in that conjuncture decline so advantageous a proposition; since he did already discern many ill humours and factions, growing and nourished, both in his court and army, which would every day be uneasy to him; and did with all his soul desire an end of the war. And there was nothing more suitable and agreeable to his magnanimous nature, than to forgive those, who had in the highest degree offended him: which temper was notorious throughout his whole life. It will not be therefore amiss, in this discourse, which is never to see light, and so can reflect upon nobody's character with prejudice, to enlarge upon this fatal rejection, and the true cause and ground thereof.

The king's affection to the queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment; and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her: which was not good for either of them. The queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections; so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs, (from which she had been carefully restrained by the duke of Buckingham whilst he lived,) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them; in which her passions were always strong.

She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and meddling with nothing, during the time of that great favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things, and disposing all things; and thought it but just, that she should dispose of all favours and preferments, as he had done; at least, that nothing of that kind might be done without her privity: not considering that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone, was not with reference to his person, but his power; and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint, if it resided in any other person than the king himself. And she so far concurred with the king's inclination, that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power, than that all the world should take notice that she was the entire mistress of it: which in truth (what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in the mischief) was the foundation upon which the first and the utmost prejudices to the king and his government were raised and prosecuted. And it was her majesty's and the kingdom's misfortune, that she had not any person about her, who had either ability or affection, to inform and advise her of the temper of the kingdom, or humour of the people; or who thought either worth the caring for.

When the disturbances grew so rude as to interrupt this harmony, and the queen's fears, and indisposition, which proceeded from those fears, disposed her to leave the kingdom, which the king, to comply with her, consented to; (and if that fear had not been predominant in her, her jealousy and apprehension, that the king would at some time be prevailed with to yield to some unreasonable conditions, would have dissuaded her from that voyage;) to make all things therefore as sure as might be, that her absence should not be attended with any such inconvenience, his majesty made a solemn promise to her at parting, that he would receive no person into any favour or trust, who had disserved him, without her privity and consent; and that, as she had undergone so many reproaches and calumnies at the entrance into the war, so he would never make any peace, but by her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might receive that blessing only from her.

This promise (of which his majesty was too religious an observer) was the cause of his majesty's

rejection, or not entertaining this last overture; and this was the reason that he had that aversion to the cessation, which he thought would inevitably oblige him to consent to the peace, as it should be proposed; and therefore he had countenanced an address, that had been made to him against it, by the gentlemen of several counties attending the court: and in truth they were put upon that address by the king's own private direction. Upon which the chancellor of the exchequer told him, when the business was over, that he had raised a spirit he would not be able to conjure down; and that those petitioners had now appeared in a business that pleased him, but would be as ready to appear, at another time, to cross what he desired; which proved true. For he was afterwards more troubled with application and importunity of that kind, and the murmurs that arose from that liberty, when all men would be counsellors, and censure all that the council did, than with the power of the enemy.

About the time that the treaty began, the queen landed in the north, having been chased by the parliament ships into Burlington bay, their ships discharging all their cannon upon a small village where she lodged after her landing, that she was glad to resort for shelter to some banks in the field, where she spent most part of the night, and was the next day received by the earl of Newcastle, with some troops of his army, and was by him conveyed to York. Her majesty had brought with her a good supply of arms and ammunition, which was exceedingly wanted in the king's quarters; and she resolved, with a good quantity of ammunition and arms, to make what haste she could to the king; having at her first landing expressed, by a letter to his majesty, her apprehension of an ill peace by that treaty; and declared, that she would never live in England, if she might not have a guard for the security of her person: which letter came accidentally afterwards into the hands of the parliament; of which they made use to the queen's disadvantage. And the expectation of her majesty's arrival at Oxford, was the reason that the king so much desired the prolongation of the treaty. And if it had pleased God that she had come thither time enough, as she did shortly after, she would have probably condescended to many propositions for the gratifying particular persons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reasonable peace might have been obtained.

It was some few days before the commissioners from the parliament came to Oxford to treat, that some commissioners from Scotland came likewise to the king; and, having taken London in their way, had concerted with their old friends how to behave themselves, and how they might be able, by being present there, to advance their pretences. They were sent by the council and kingdom of Scotland, and they pretended to desire his majesty to issue out his letters of summons for the convening a parliament in that kingdom, which they said the affairs of that nation required; the rather, because of the present distractions in England. The earl of Loudon, so often mentioned before, who had been so deeply engaged in the beginning, and throughout the rebellion of Scotland, and had been gratified upon the pacification, (in treaty whereof he had been a principal commissioner,) at the king's late being in Edinburgh,

with being made an earl and chancellor of Scotland, was the principal commissioner now sent to Oxford, together with Alexander Henderson, their high priest, who had modelled the church government there, after he had inflamed the people against the bishops there. In that parliament, when his majesty had been lately present, and they had obtained all those concessions from his majesty which gave them power to keep all they had got, and left the empty name of king to his majesty, there was an act passed for the dissolving that parliament, with a provision in it, that if the king should not call another parliament within three years after the dissolution of that, that then, upon such day, in such a year, summons should be sent out by the several officers, so that infallibly, on such a Tuesday, in such a year, another parliament should meet at Edinburgh according to such a model as they had carried with them from London. Now when these commissioners came to Oxford to demand a parliament, there were above two years to come to the day upon which that act of parliament would authorize them to meet; but it is true the king might, if he thought fit, convene one sooner. His majesty knew well, that, with reference to Scotland itself, there was no occasion for a parliament to meet, and knew as well, that it was desired only in order the better to support the rebellion in England; and, without a parliament, he did not believe that the disaffected party in that kingdom would have power enough to do him any notable disservice; his majesty always unhappily overvaluing the authority of those there, who he believed true to him; and therefore he gave for answer to those commissioners, that he would send out his summons time enough for a parliament to meet before that time: nor could all the importunity they could use, which was very great, nor the professions and promises which they could make, which were very many, how great benefit and service his majesty should receive by speedily calling a parliament, prevail with him to give them any other answer.

When they despaired of having his majesty's leave to have a parliament, which would have served their turn, and suspended all other propositions, they dealt more ingenuously and openly; and taking notice of the present treaty, and desiring such an end thereof as might establish peace and quiet to the nation, to the glory of God, and settlement of the true religion, they presented a long paper to the king, containing a bitter invective against bishops, and the whole government of the church; as being contrary to the word of God, and to the advancement of true religion: and concluded with a very passionate desire for the alteration of that government, as the only means to settle peace throughout his majesty's dominions. In all their other demands, concerning the kingdom of Scotland, and calling a parliament there, the king had only conferred with two or three of those he most trusted, whereof the chancellor of the exchequer was always one, and drew the answers he gave: but this last paper, which only concerned England, he brought to the council-board, and required their advice, what answer he should give to it. The king himself was very desirous to take this occasion, to shew his affection and zeal for the church; and that other men's mouths might be hereafter stopped

in that argument, and that nobody might ever make the same proposition to him again, he had a great mind to have made an answer to every expression in their paper, and to have set out the divine right of episcopacy; and how impossible it was ever for him in conscience to consent to any thing, to the prejudice of that order and function, or to the alienating their lands; enlarging himself more in the debate, than he used to do upon any other argument; mentioning those reasons which the ablest prelate could do upon that occasion; and wished that all those, and such others as might occur, should be contained in his answer.

Many of the lords were of opinion that a short answer would be best, that should contain nothing but a rejection of the proposition, without giving any reason; no man seeming to concur with his majesty; with which he was not satisfied; and replied with some sharpness upon what had been said. Upon which the lord Falkland replied, having been before of that mind, desiring that no reasons might be given; and upon that occasion answered many of those reasons the king had urged, as not valid to support the subject, with a little quickness of wit, (as his notions were always sharp, and expressed with notable vivacity,) which made the king warmer than he used to be; reproaching all who were of that mind with want of affection for the church; and declaring, that he would have the substance of what he had said, or of the like nature, digested into his answer: with which reprehension all sat very silent, having never undergone the like before. Whereupon the king recollecting himself, and observing that the chancellor of the exchequer had not yet spoke, called upon him to deliver his opinion, adding, that he was sure he was of his majesty's mind, with reference to religion and the church.

The chancellor stood up, and said, that he would have been glad to have said nothing that day, having observed more warmth than had ever been at that board, since he had the honour to sit there, (which was not many days before;) that in truth he was not of the opinion of any one who had spoken; he did not think that the answer ought to be very short, or without any reasons; and he did as little think that the reasons mentioned by his majesty ought to be applied to the paper, which the Scots had been so bold as to present to the king. He said, all those reasons were fit to be offered in a synod, or in any other place, where that subject could be lawfully ventilated; and he believed them all to be of that weight, that Mr. Henderson and all his assembly of divines could never answer; but he should be very sorry that his majesty should so far condescend to their presumption, as to give those reasons; as if he admitted the matter to be disputed. He asked his majesty, what answer he would give to the king of France, if he should send to him to alter the government of the city of London, or any other city, and that he would substitute other magistrates in the place of those who are; which, as a king, he might more reasonably demand, than these gentlemen of Scotland could do what they propose; whether his majesty would think it more agreeable to his honour, to make a reasonable discourse of the antiquity of the lord mayor of London, and of the dependence the present magistrates had upon the law, and the frame of

the government; or whether he would only send him word, that he should meddle with what he had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his majesty's answer to this paper should contain a very severe and sharp reprehension for their presumption; and take notice, how solicitous they were for the preservation of what they called the right and privilege of their country, that his majesty might not bring any thing into debate at his council-board here, that concerned the kingdom of Scotland; though it had often too much relation to the affairs and government of England: yet that they would take upon them to demand from his majesty, at least to advise him to make, an alteration in the government of England, which would quite alter the frame of it, and make such a confusion in the laws, which they could no more comprehend than they could any thing of the same kind that related to any other foreign kingdom; and therefore, that for the future they should not practise the like presumption.

The king discovered himself to be very well pleased all the time he was speaking; and when he had done, his majesty said again, he was sure the chancellor was entirely of his mind, with reference to the church; and that he had satisfied him that this was not the season, nor the occasion, in which those arguments which he had used were to be insisted on; and that he was willing to depart from his own sense; and was in truth so well pleased, that he vouchsafed to make some kind of excuse for the passion he had spoken with: and all the lords were very well satisfied with the expedient proposed; and all commended the chancellor: and the answer was given to the Scottish commissioners accordingly; who had too good intelligence not to know all that had passed: and upon their long discourses with the king, (who was always forward to enlarge upon that subject, in which he was so well versed,) expected such an answer as might give them opportunity to bring the whole matter of episcopacy upon the stage, and into public disputation. And so they returned to London, with manifest dissatisfaction, before the commissioners of the parliament; and with avowed detestation of a person, against whom they were known always to have an inveterate and an implacable displeasure. It appeared quickly that the parliament had refused to enlarge the time of the treaty, and so positively commanded the commissioners to return before the last day was expired that was assigned for the treaty. They who intended nothing but the carrying on of the war, and believed there could be no security for them but by an entire victory of the king, and a total subduing his party, had not power enough to hinder and prevent the treaty, and therefore satisfied themselves with limiting the commissioners to such propositions and by such instructions as are mentioned before. But from that time they met with little opposition in the houses; they who desired peace, and had raised their hopes upon the treaty, thinking it reasonable that all preparations should be made for the war, and they who abhorred the thought of peace, and all those who affected it, using all imaginable diligence in advancing those preparations; insomuch as, having by ordinances and seizures drawn in great supplies of money, they

had made such wonderful haste in recruiting the army, (to which the earl of Essex had contributed all his endeavours, believing that he had yet performed less than had been expected from him,) that the very day that the commissioners left Oxford, the earl of Essex had a rendezvous of his whole army, and marched towards Reading, which was about the beginning of April.

The king was much troubled [at the disunion between the princes Rupert and Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford,* after the taking of Bristol;] which he knew must exceedingly disorder and divide that army: for composing whereof, his majesty resolved, the next day after the news, to go himself to Bristol; which was very necessary in many respects. The settlement of the port, which was of infinite importance to the king in point of trade, and his customs, and with reference to Ireland, and the applying the army to some new enterprise, without loss of time, could not be done without his majesty's presence. But there was nothing more disposed his majesty to that resolution, than to be absent from his council at Oxford, when he should settle the differences between the prince and the marquis; for as he was always swayed by his affection to his nephew, which he did not think partiality; so the lords, towards whom the prince did not live with any condescension, were very solicitous that the marquis might receive no injustice or disobligation. And the king, to avoid all counsel in this particular, resolved to declare no resolution till he should come himself to Bristol; and so went from Oxford thither: taking with him, of the council, the duke of Richmond, the lord Falkland, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer. The king lodging the first night at Malmsbury; and the lord Falkland, the master of the rolls, and some other gentlemen lodging that night with the chancellor of the exchequer, at his house at Pirton, which lay in the way to Bristol; where they were the next day within an hour after the king.

The disorders at Bristol were greater than could have been imagined; the factions and jealousies ran through all kinds and degrees of men, of the army, of the city, of the country; and the loss of many officers and common men upon the assaults had weakened the army beyond imagination, and the number of the sick and wounded was very great. The natural murmurs of the Cornish were now turned into direct mutiny, and they declared positively that they would not march further southward, but would return to their own country to look to their houses, their wives, and their children, which they said were infested by the garrison at Plymouth. There was no money to give them, nor were there any officers left, who had credit and authority over them; and now all men saw the infinite loss the king had sustained in the death of Greenvil, Slanning, and Trevanion, who governed that people absolutely. It was evident, that if they were compelled to march further, many of them would run away, and the rest be full of discontent; and therefore it was resolved, that they, and all the rest who had been officers or soldiers formerly designed for the western services under the marquis and prince Maurice, should return again to the west, upon a presumption that they would be able, with the reputa-

* The account of this disunion is to be found in page 413, &c. of the History of the Rebellion.

tion they would carry back upon the taking of Bristol, in a short time to subdue those maritime places, which were possessed by small garrisons for the parliament; and being recruited by good winter quarters, an army would be ready by the next spring to attend his majesty; and all the Cornish made solemn promises that, as soon as Plymouth should be reduced, they would with great alacrity return to any service they should be required. The expectation was very reasonable, and the counsel much advanced by prince Rupert, that his brother Maurice might be in the head of an army; for he had prevailed with the king to resolve that the marquis of Hertford should be no more employed as general, though it was not discovered to him, nor his commission taken from him.

Besides the king's inclination to his nephew, he found that work not so difficult, nor the marquis so popular, as it appeared in the first consultation at Oxford. The marquis's unactivity in all things relating to the war, and his too much retirement to his ease, had lost all the reverence and devotion of the soldiers; and prince Maurice's living with them sociably and familiarly, and going with them upon all parties and in all actions, in which he had received some hurts, had made both his person and his command very acceptable to them. Then the marquis's leaning too much to the advice of his domestic officers and the stewards of his lands, and people of that condition, (many whereof were thought very disaffected to the king's service, as most of his tenants were,) made the chief persons of the country less solicitous for his command over them than they had been, whereof the lord Paulet was the chief, who was then at Bristol, and spake with great freedom to the king of the marquis's unfitness to exercise that command; which advice, besides that it was very grateful, made the more impression, because he was thought to have good affection for the marquis, and had little knowledge of the prince.

This matter being thus settled in the king's own thoughts and resolutions, he discovered it no further than by appointing those troops to be ready for their march, and prince Maurice to conduct them, whilst the marquis of Hertford attended his majesty till the business of Bristol should be settled, and some other affairs of the country; the marquis intending, when those should be settled, (in doing whereof he was willing to be present,) to make haste to the army, and his majesty, according to his natural custom of discovering any disobliging resolution as late as was possible, did not at all impart his purpose to him, and being first to resolve what obligation to confer upon him at the same time, to make the other the better digested; and to that purpose he was pleased to confer with freedom and without reservation with the chancellor of the exchequer, and bidding him inform himself of the opinion both the army and the country had of the marquis, and asking him, whether the lord Paulet and others had not spoken to him of the laziness of the marquis, and of the credit and power Hirtton had with him; and of some actions done by his secretary, who was a fellow of an ill reputation; and wished him to think of it, and to dispose the marquis to decline that employment, as less agreeable to his nature and constitution, and to remain about the person of the king, in order to which he would think upon some place, for he knew

he was weary of being governor to the prince. The chancellor had great reverence for the marquis, and knew the benefit his fidelity had brought to the king, and the insupportable damage that would accrue from his declared discontent, and had no other esteem of the prince's parts and conduct and discretion, than good manners obliged him to; and yet he had with much trouble heard the little credit the marquis had in the army, and more of his unactivity than he believed he could have been guilty of; for though he knew he was naturally lazy, and did so much love his ease, he knew too that he had a clear courage and a very good understanding; and if he had a friend by him to put him in mind of any thing that concerned his honour, he would be very counsellable. Whereupon he told the king, that though he had heard many discourses which he had not expected, and found that some persons had changed their opinions of the marquis, yet he was so apprehensive of the ill consequence that might probably attend his majesty's inclination to remove him from the command, and giving the entire trust to his nephew, that he could not give his counsel for the putting it in execution; but that when his majesty upon full thoughts had fixed himself, he would use the credit he had with the marquis to dispose him to conform himself to his majesty's determination, and that he could with a much better conscience dissuade the marquis from affecting that command, than he could persuade his majesty to take it from him.

The other matter concerning the government of Bristol was of as nice a nature, but not like to give the king so much trouble; for sir Ralph Hopton had neither set his heart upon the command, nor would embrace any title that might give any umbrage to his majesty, but laid all his pretences at the king's feet, and himself to be disposed of by him. By which unconcernedness and ingenuity the marquis was sensibly disobliged, having chosen him as a subject fit to support his authority against the pretences of the prince; and therefore this unwarm condescension was looked upon as a forsaking the marquis, who was never thoroughly reconciled to him afterwards. But that which gave the king trouble was, the clear and unquestionable credit and reputation of sir Ralph Hopton, who was now the only man left, who had out of nothing, and when the marquis had given over all hopes of the west and abandoned it, and fled into Wales, (which was now remembered with many reproaches,) raised that force, and upon the matter reduced that part of the kingdom to his majesty's obedience. He was a person of one of the best families, and one of the fairest fortunes, of all the gentlemen in that large, rich, and populous county of Somerset, and inferior to none in the love and affection of that people. He was of a very generous nature, a pious and devout man, and an exact observer of justice, which made the city infinitely desire that he might be their governor, who would not suffer them to be made a prey to the soldier. On the other side, by being himself ungrievous to them by any exactions, it was very probable he would be able to persuade and induce them cheerfully to submit to such impositions as were necessary for their own defence; and that such a man should be rejected by the king upon the prince's pretence, who could not reside there himself, and

must leave it to a deputy who would never be grateful, seemed unreasonable to the king himself in reference to his own service, and to the envy which would be increased by it towards his nephew, prince Rupert, who was already become very unpopular; but on the other side, the granting it to him would be generally looked upon as the triumph of the marquis of Hertford over prince Rupert, which his majesty could not think of with any patience. The easy temper and disposition of sir Ralph Hopton, and prince Rupert's being willing to come off from this matter with his honour, gave the king an expedient to compose this difficult affair to his own satisfaction: prince Rupert should have the name of governor of Bristol, according to his pretence, by a grant from the king, and sir Ralph Hopton should be his lieutenant governor, which he without scruple accepted: but the prince promised to the king that he would never in the least degree meddle in the government, but leave it entirely to sir Ralph Hopton; which being all concluded, two were only satisfied, the king and sir Ralph Hopton; the other two, the prince and the marquis, were both offended, the latter thinking himself injured by sir Ralph's declining his commission to be governor, and submitting to be lieutenant under prince Rupert, though he had it by commission from the king himself; and prince Rupert being as angry that he had only the title, and could not make his own lieutenant; and that the same man's having the place, who was designed to it by the marquis, as was generally known, would be believed to be put in by his authority; and from that time he never favoured sir Ralph Hopton, but always discountenanced him all he could. But the king, to publish to all the world the esteem he had of him, made him at the same time a baron, and created him lord Hopton of Witham, a noble seat of his own in the county of Somerset, of whom there will be more occasion of discourse hereafter upon several occasions.

When the king had settled these particulars, which had very much disquieted him, he considered what he was to do now this success at Bristol gave him great reputation every where; and the possessing the second city of the kingdom for trade and wealth of the inhabitants much enlarged his quarters.

The chancellor of the exchequer had undergone some mortification during the short abode at Bristol, which was the only port of trade within the king's quarters; which was like to yield a considerable benefit to the king, if it were well managed; and the direction thereof belonged entirely to his office: but when he sent to the officers of the customs, to be informed of the present state of trade, he found that some treaty was made, and order given in it by Mr. Ashburnham, a groom of the bedchamber; who, with the assistance and advice of sir John Colepepper, had prevailed with the king to assign that province to him, as a means to raise a present sum of money for the supply of the army: which the chancellor took very heavily; and the lord Falkland, out of his friendship to him, more tenderly; and expostulated it with the king with some warmth; and more passionately with sir John Colepepper and Mr. Ashburnham, as a violation of the friendship they professed to the chancellor, and an invasion of his office; which no man bears easily.

They were both ashamed of it, and made some weak excuses, of incogitance and inadvertence; and the king himself, who discerned the mischief that would ensue, if there should be an apparent schism amongst those he so entirely trusted, was pleased to take notice of it to the chancellor, with many gracious expressions; and said, "that Mr. Ashburnham being treasurer and paymaster of the army, he did believe some money might have been raised for the present occasion; and only intended it for the present, without considering it would be an invasion of his right; and therefore directed, that an account should be given to him of all that had been done, and he should do in it as he thought fit." But when he understood all that had been done, he would make no alteration in it, that his majesty might be convinced that his service was not looked after in the design. And it was discernible enough, that Mr. Ashburnham, who usually looked very far before him, had not so much intended to disoblige the chancellor, as, by introducing himself this way into the customs, to continue one of the farmers of the customs, when the war should be at an end; of which he got a promise from the king at the same time; who had great affection for him, and an extraordinary opinion of his managery. If there remained after this any jealousy or coldness between the chancellor of the exchequer and the other two, as the disparity between their natures and humours made some believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the disturbance or prejudice of the king's service; but all possible concurrence in the carrying it on was observed between them.

They who had judged only of the improbability of relieving Gloucester, by the slow progress that seemed to be made in the parliament towards it, and the small increase that was made in the army by new levies, found themselves deceived; and, before it was imagined possible, saw the earl of Essex march out of London with a much better army, and better provided for, than he had yet commanded since the beginning of the troubles. The city had supplied him with five thousand foot of their train-bands, consisting all of citizens of good account, who were commanded by their own officers; and made it appear, that their city order and discipline very well prepared and disposed men for the boldest service and enterprise. The march of the earl of Essex from London to Gloucester, over as large a campania as any in England, when the king had an army of above eight thousand horse, reputed victorious, without being put to strike one stroke; the circumstances of that siege, and the raising it; the earl's march after he had performed that great work, and when the king's army watched only to engage him in a battle, and passing over a large and open campania three days before the king had notice that he was come out of Gloucester; the overtaking his army, and the battle by Newbury; and his retreat afterwards to London; contained so many particular actions of courage and conduct, that they all deserve a very punctual and just relation; and are much above the level of this plain and foreign discourse.

In this battle of Newbury, the chancellor of the exchequer lost the joy and comfort of his life; which he lamented so passionately, that he could not in many days compose himself to any thoughts

of business. His dear friend the lord Falkland, hurried by his fate, in the morning of the battle, as he was naturally inquisitive after danger, put himself into the head of sir John Byron's regiment, which he believed was like to be in the hottest service, and was then appointed to charge a body of foot; and in that charge was shot with a musket bullet, so that he fell dead from his horse. The same day that the news came to Oxford of his death, which was the next after he was killed, the chancellor received a letter from him, written at the time when the army rose from Gloucester; but the messenger had been employed in other service, so that he came not to Oxford till that day. The letter was an answer to one the chancellor had then sent to him; in which he had told him, how much he suffered in his reputation with all discreet men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all places of danger; and that it was not the office of a privy counsellor, and a secretary of state, to visit the trenches, as he usually did; and conjured him, out of the conscience of his duty to the king, and to free his friends from those continual uneasy apprehensions, not to engage his person to those dangers which were not incumbent to him. His answer was, that the trenches were now at an end; there would be no more danger there: that his case was different from other men's; that he was so much taken notice of for an impatient desire of peace, that it was necessary that he should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of fear of the utmost hazard of war: he said some melancholic things of the times; and concluded, that in few days they should come to a battle, the issue whereof, he hoped, would put an end to the misery of the kingdom.

Much hath been said of this excellent person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful parts and virtues deserved. He died as much of the time as of the bullet: for, from the very beginning of the war, he contracted so deep a sadness and melancholy, that his life was not pleasant to him; and sure he was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well imputed, very unjustly, much of it to a violent passion he had for a noble lady; and it was the more spoken of, because she died the same day, and, as some computed it, in the same hour that he was killed: but they who knew either the lord or the lady, knew well that neither of them was capable of an ill imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished virtue; never married; of an extraordinary talent of mind, but of no alluring beauty; nor of a constitution of tolerable health, being in a deep consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many months. It is very true, the lord Falkland had an extraordinary esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her conversation, as most of the persons of eminent parts of that time did; for she was in her understanding, and discretion, and wit, and modesty, above most women; the best of which had always a friendship with her. But he was withal so kind to his wife, whom he knew to be an excellent person, that, though he loved his children with more affection and fondness than most fathers used to do, he left by his will all he had to his wife; and committed his three sons, who were all the children he had, to her sole care and bounty.

He was little more than thirty years of age when he was killed; in which time he was very accom-

plished in all those parts of learning and knowledge, which most men labour to attain till they are very old; and in wisdom, and the practice of virtue, to a wonderful perfection. From his age of twenty years, he had lived in an entire friendship with the chancellor, who was about six months elder; and who never spake of him afterwards, but with a love, and a grief, which still raised some commotion in him. And he very often used to lament him in the words of Cicero concerning Hortensius, "*Quod magna sapientium et civium bonorum penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate, alienissimo reipublicæ tempore extinctus, et auctoritatis, et prudentiæ suæ, triste nobis desiderium reliquerat.*" And without doubt, it was in a conjuncture of time, when the death of every honest and discreet person was a very sensible and terrible loss in the judgment of all good men.

After the unhappy death of the lord Falkland, the king much desired that the chancellor of the exchequer should be secretary of state in his place; which the queen did not oppose, though she rather wished that the lord Digby might have it; who had so much kindness and friendship for the chancellor, (which was at that time, and long after, as sincere as could receive harbour in his breast,) that he professed, he would not have it, if the other would receive it: but the chancellor gratified his civility, and refused the office the second time, as he had once before. And he had so much more reason now, by the coming of a very specious embassy from France, in the person of the count of Harcourt, who was already arrived in London; in which the chancellor knew his own want of ability to act that part the office of secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as far as the perfection of the French tongue could qualify him, the lord Digby was very proper; and so he was made secretary of state; professing to every body, that, as he had the office by the chancellor's refusal of it, so he would wholly advise with him in all things pertaining to it, which he always did; and the confidence and friendship between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that lord changed his religion. And he was no sooner admitted and sworn secretary of state, and privy counsellor, and consequently made of the junto, which the king at that time created, consisting of the duke of Richmond, the lord Cottington, the two secretaries of state, and sir John Colepepper, but the chancellor of the exchequer was likewise added; to the trouble, at least the surprise, of the master of the rolls; who could have been contented that he should have been excluded from that near trust, where all matters were to be consulted before they should be brought to the council-board. And this committee was appointed to treat with the count of Harcourt; whom the king believed to be sent from France, to demand any thing from the parliament in that king's name, as his majesty should direct; and therefore they were appointed to consider well what he should be directed to propose.

But the ambassador no sooner came to the town in great state and lustre, but he quickly saved them any further labour, by declaring, that he would treat with nobody but the king himself; his business being only to serve the king, with

reference to the differences between his majesty and the parliament; and pretended, that, in his short stay at London, he had already discovered that his majesty was betrayed; and that his most secret counsels were discovered: and so there was never any communication between him and the king's council; but all matters were transacted with the king himself, and queen, and lord Jermyn, who was not of the council, and the lord Digby; the queen promising herself very much from his negotiation; the ambassador being then of great reputation, having been general of the French army in two or three great actions, in which his success had been very notable; and the queen looked upon him as a person particularly devoted to her service; and being of the house of Lorrain, (the younger son of the duke d'Elbœuf,) he was not without some alliance to the king: and so he returned to London with such instructions and advice as they thought fit to intrust him with, which were too particular; and with the privacy only of the two other persons mentioned before.

But it quickly appeared after, that he was not sent with any purpose to do the king service; but that cardinal Mazarin (who was newly entered upon the ministry, after the death of cardinal Richelieu) might take such a view of the affairs of England, as the better to judge what he was to do; and that an accommodation there might not break his measures, with reference to his other designs; which the ambassador was easily satisfied it was not like to do. And so, after three or four months spent between Oxford and London, he returned to France; leaving the king's affairs so much worse than he found them, by having communicated some instructions which had been given him at Oxford, with overmuch confidence, and which less disposed some persons to peace than they had been at London.

The king called the chancellor one day to him, and told him, "that he thought there was too much honour done to those rebels at Westminster in all his declarations, by his mentioning them as part of the parliament; which as long as they should be thought to be, they would have more authority, by their continuing their sitting in the place whither they were first called, than all the other members, though so much more numerous, would have, when they should be convened any where else; (there being a thought of convening them to Oxford:) therefore he knew no reason why he should not positively declare them to be dissolved; and so forbid them to sit or meet any more there." He said, "that he knew learned men of an opinion, that that act for the continuance of the parliament was void from the beginning; and that it is not in the power of the king to bar himself from the power of dissolving it; which is to be deprived of an essential part of his sovereignty: but if the act were good and valid in law, they had dissolved themselves by their force, in driving so many members, and even his majesty himself, who was their head, from the parliament; and had forfeited their right of sitting there, and all that the act had given them, by their treason and rebellion; which the very being a parliament could not support: and therefore he wished, that a proclamation might be prepared, to declare them actually dissolved; and expressly forbidding them to meet, or any

body to own them, or submit to them as a parliament."

The chancellor told him, that "he perceived by his majesty's discourse, that he had very much considered the argument, and was well prepared in it; which for his part he was not. But he besought him to think it worth a very strict reflection; and to hear the opinion of learned men before he resolved upon it. That it was of a very nice and delicate nature, [at] which not only the people in general, but those of his own party, and even of his council, would take more umbrage, than upon any one particular that had happened since the beginning of the war. That he could not imagine that his forbidding them to meet any more at Westminster would make one man the less to meet there; but he might forbid them upon such grounds and reasons as might bring more to them: and that they who had severed themselves from them, upon the guilt of their actions, might return and be reconciled to them, upon their unity of opinion. That it had been the first powerful reproach they had corrupted the people with towards his majesty, that he intended to dissolve this parliament, notwithstanding the act for continuance thereof; and if he had power to do that, he might likewise, by the same power, repeal all the other acts made this parliament, whereof some were very precious to the people: and as his majesty had always disclaimed any such thought, so such a proclamation, as he now mentioned, would confirm all the fears and jealousies which had been infused into them, and would trouble many of his own true subjects."

"That for the invalidity of the act from the beginning, he was in his own opinion inclined to hope that it might be originally void, for the reasons and grounds his majesty had mentioned; and that the parliament itself, if this rebellion was suppressed, might be of the same judgment, and declare it accordingly; which would enable him quickly to dissolve it. But till then, he thought all the judges together, even those who were in his own quarters, and of unquestionable affection to his majesty, would not declare any such invalidity; and much less, that any private man, how learned soever, would avow that judgment: in which his majesty might easily satisfy himself, having so many of the judges, and many other excellent men of the robe then at Oxford. For their having dissolved themselves, or forfeited their right of sitting there, by their treason and rebellion," he said, "he could less understand it than the other argument of invalidity; for that the treason and rebellion could only concern and be penal to the persons who committed them: it was possible many might sit there, he was sure many had a right to sit there, who had always opposed every illegal, and every rebellious act; and therefore the faults of the others could never forfeit any right of theirs, who had committed no fault: and, upon the whole matter, concluded as he had begun, that his majesty would very thoroughly consult it, before he did so much as incline in his own wishes."

His majesty said, he had spoken more reason against it, than he had thought could have been alleged: however, he bade him confer with his

attorney general, who, he believed, was of another opinion. The chancellor moved his majesty, that since the ground of what should be resolved on in this point must be expressed in the proclamation, the attorney might put his own conceptions in writing, and then his majesty would the better judge of them. The king said, it seemed reasonable to him, and he had proposed it to him, but he had declined it, and commended the pen his majesty had used to employ, as very clear and significant; and said, if he had an hour's conference with that person, the business would be done. Whereupon the chancellor went immediately to his lodging, choosing rather to use that civility towards him, than to send for him; who did not love him so well as he had done before he was his superior officer.

After a long conference together, and many circumlocutions, (which was his natural way of discourse,) and asking questions, Why not this? and, Why not that? without expressing his own opinion; at last he confessed, that there must be no attempt to dissolve them, "though it might be even that might be lawful in many respects," but that it would be sufficient to declare the force which had been, and still was upon them, that rendered them not free; and so they ought not to be looked upon as a parliament; and that they might be required to adjourn from time to time, till all the members might with safety repair to, and sit with them: in all which the other agreed with him, and so they parted; the chancellor promising, that, against the next morning, he would prepare a proclamation agreeable to that, which he thought to be their joint meaning; for he did not observe any difference to be between them. The next morning the attorney came to his lodging, where he found the draught prepared; which, as soon as he had read, he said did in no degree express or comprehend the sense that had been agreed between them: and thereupon he entered again into the same discourse he had made before, and more perplexed than before; being most offended with the preamble, wherein it was declared, that the king neither could or intended to break the parliament: which was so contrary to what he had infused into the king, and which the chancellor thought most necessary, to contradict that reproach which naturally would be cast upon his majesty. In the end, when he had wearied himself with the debate, they came both again to mean the same thing; which was no other than was agreed before, though, as the attorney said, it was not expressed in the draught before them: whereupon it was agreed between them, that, against the next morning, either of them should make a draught apart; and then, when they came together, it would easily be adjusted.

But the next morning they were as far asunder as before, and the attorney had prepared no paper, and said, it needed not, the difference being very small, and would be rectified with changing or leaving out a word or two; which the chancellor desired him to do, and to leave out or put in what he pleased: which when he went about to do, twenty other things occurred to him; and so he entered upon new discourses, without concluding any thing; and every day entertained the king with an account, as if all were agreed; but upon conference with the chancellor, his ma-

jesty wondered at the delay, and told him, he wondered at it, for the attorney spake still as clearly to him as it was possible for any man to do, and therefore the putting it in writing could not be hard. The other answered him, that it would never be done any other way, than that which he had first proposed to him; and therefore besought his majesty, that he would oblige the attorney to put his own conceptions, which he made so clear to him, into writing; and then, his majesty having likewise what the chancellor prepared in his hands, he would easily conclude which should stand; and otherwise there would never be any conclusion.

About two days after, the chancellor came into the garden where the king was walking; and calling him shortly to him, in some disorder, his majesty told him, "he was never in that amazement in his life; that he had at last, not without a very positive command, obliged the attorney to bring him such a draught in writing, as was agreeable to his own sense; and that he had now done it; but in such a manner, that he no more understood what the meaning of it was, than if it were in Welch, which was the language of the attorney's country; only," he said, "he was very sure it contained nothing of the sense he had ever expressed to him:" and so bade him follow him into a little room at the end of the garden; where, as soon as he was entered, he shut the door, because there were many people in the garden; and then pulled a paper out of his pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the attorney's own hand, he said, "it deserved wonder indeed;" and it was so rough, perplexed, and insignificant, that no man could judge by it, or out of it, what the writer proposed to himself. And it made so great an impression upon the king, (who had before thought him a man of a master reason, and that no man had so clear notions,) that he never after had any esteem of him.

The truth is, he was a man very unlike any other man; of a very good natural wit, improved by conversation with learned men, but not at all by study and industry: and then his conversation was most with men, though much superior to him in parts, who rather admired than informed him; of which his nature (being the proudest man living) made him not capable, because not desirous. His greatest faculty was, and in which he was a master, to make difficult matters more intricate and perplexed; and very easy things to seem more hard than they were. The king considered the matter and subject of that proclamation at the council; where that draught the chancellor had provided was agreed to; and the attorney seemed to be satisfied in it, and was content to have it believed that it had been consulted with him; though he never forgave the chancellor for exposing him in that manner; by which he found he had lost much ground.

After the treaty of Uxbridge, most of the commissioners had given so good a testimony of the chancellor's diligence and industry, that the king, shortly after his return, very graciously took notice of it to him; and, above all, of his affection to the church, of which, he said, Dr. Steward had so fully informed him, that he looked upon him as one of the few who was to be relied upon in that particular:

at which, he said, himself was not at all surprised, having long known his affection and judgment in that point; but confessed he was surprised with the carriage of some others, from whom he had expected another kind of behaviour in matters of the church; and named sir Orlando Bridgman, upon whom, he said, he had always looked, being the son of a bishop, as so firm, that he could not be shaken; and therefore he was the more amazed, to hear what condescensions he had been willing to have made, in what concerned religion: and pressed the chancellor to answer some questions he asked him about that transaction: to the particulars whereof he excused himself from answering, by the protestation they had all taken before the treaty, with his majesty's approbation: though indeed himself had been very much surprised with the first discovery of that temper in that gentleman, which he had never before suspected: and ever after said, that "he was a man of excellent parts, and honestly inclined; and would choose much rather to do well than ill; but if it were not safe for him to be steady in those resolutions, he was so much given to find out expedients to satisfy unreasonable men, that he would at last be drawn to yield to any thing he should be powerfully pressed to do."

[The king at that time having resolved to separate the prince his son from himself, by sending him into the west,] the chancellor had a great desire to excuse himself from attending upon the prince in that journey; and represented to his majesty, that his office made it more proper for him to be near his majesty's person; and therefore renewed his suit again to him, that his service might be spared in that employment; which he was the less inclined to, because he had discovered, that neither the duke of Richmond or the earl of Southampton did intend to wait upon his highness in that expedition: but the king told him positively, and with some warmth, that if he would not go, he would not send his son: whereupon he submitted to do any thing which his majesty should judge fit for his service.

The chancellor speaking one day with the duke of Richmond, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill state of the king's affairs, and of the prince's journey into the west; the duke asked him, whether he was well resolved to carry the prince into France, when he should be required. He answered, that there had been no such thing mentioned to him, nor could he ever be made instrumental in it, but in one case, which was, to prevent his falling into the hands of the parliament; and in that case, he did believe every honest man would rather advise his going any whither, than to be taken by them: yet even in that case, he should prefer many places before France. The duke wished he might stay till then, implying, that he doubted it was the present design; but there was never any thing discovered to make it believed, that there was a design at that time formed to such a purpose: yet the lord Digby, who had all familiarity and confidence with the chancellor, shortly after gave him occasion to apprehend that there might even then be some such intention.

After a long discourse of the great satisfaction the king had in his (the chancellor's) service, and how much he was pleased with his behaviour in the treaty at Uxbridge, and that he had not a greater

confidence in any man's affection and fidelity; he said, his majesty had a great mind to confer with him upon a point of the last importance; but that he was kept from it by an apprehension that he was of a different judgment from his majesty in that particular. The other answered, that he was very sorry that the king was reserved for such a reason; for though he knew the chancellor did never pretend to think one thing when he did think another, and so might take the boldness to differ from his majesty in his judgment; yet the king could not believe that he would discover the secret, or refuse to do any thing that became an honest man, upon his command, though he did not believe it counsellable. Whereupon he entered upon a very reasonable consideration of the low condition of the king; of the discontent and murmur of the court, and of the camp; how very difficult a thing it was like to be, to raise such an army as would be fit to take the field; and how much more unfit it would be for the king to suffer himself to be enclosed in any garrison; which he must be, if there were no army for him to be in. If the first difficulty should be mastered, and an army made ready to march, there could be little doubt, how great soever their distractions were at London, but that the parliament would be able to send another more numerous, and much better supplied than the king's could be; and then, if the king's army was beaten, he could have no hope ever to raise another, his quarters already being very strait; and after a defeat, the victorious army would find no opposition; nor was there any garrison that could oppose them any considerable time; London would pour out more forces; that all the west would be swallowed up in an instant; and in such a case he asked him, whether he would not think it fit, and assist to the carrying the prince out of the kingdom.

The chancellor told him, he would deliver his opinion freely to him, and was willing he should let the king know it. That such a prospect as he had supposed, might and ought to be prudently considered; but that it must be with great secrecy, for that there were already, to his knowledge, some whispers of such a purpose; and that it was the true end of sending the prince into the west; which, if it should be believed, it would never be in their power to execute, though the occasion should be most pressing: therefore desired there might not be the least whisper of any contingency that might make it fit. For the matter itself, it must never be done upon any supposition of a necessity; but when the necessity should be real, and in view, it ought to be resolved and executed at once; and he would make no scruple of carrying him rather into Turkey, than suffering him to be made a prisoner to the parliament.

The lord Digby replied, that though the king would be very well pleased with this opinion of his, yet he would not be surprised with it; since he knew his affection and wisdom to be such, that in such an extremity he could not but have that resolution: therefore that was not the point that the king doubted he would differ with him in. Then he continued the discourse, that he hoped there would not such an occasion fall out, and that the divisions at London would yet open some door for a good peace to enter at; but if they should unite, and should send out a strong army,

and likewise appoint the Scots to march towards them; how the king would do between two such armies, was a terrible prospect: and then the least blow would raise so general a consternation, that the king would be more disquieted by his friends and servants, than by the enemy; that his council was so constituted, that they would look upon the prince's leaving the kingdom, as less advisable than giving himself up to the parliament; and that many men were yet so weak as to believe, that the best way the king could take for his security, and preservation of his posterity, was to deliver up both himself and all his children into the hands of the parliament; and that they would then give him better conditions than they had offered in their treaties, having it then in their power to keep all such persons from him as they were dissatisfied with.

If this opinion should once spread itself, as upon any signal defeat it would undoubtedly do, it must be expected, that the council, and most of the lords, who looked upon themselves as ruined for their loyalty, out of their natural apprehension, would imagine, that the prince being then in the west, and at liberty to do what should be thought fit, would be directed by the king to transport himself into parts beyond the sea; and the queen his mother being then in France, most probably thither; which was a circumstance that would likewise make his transportation more universally odious. So that upon this reflection and erroneous animadversion, the king would be, in the first unfortunate conjuncture, importuned by all about him to send for the prince; or at least to send such orders to those to whose care he was intrusted, that they should not presume to transport him beyond the seas, in what exigent soever. Most men would believe, that they should merit of the parliament by this advice, and would prosecute it with the more earnestness and importunity; whilst those few who discerned the mischief and ruin that must flow from it, would not have the courage to deliver their opinions in public, for fear of being accused of the counsel; and by this means the king might be so wearied and tired with importunity, that, against his judgment, he might be prevailed with to sign such a direction and order as is before mentioned; though his majesty was clearly satisfied in his understanding, that if both himself and the prince were in their hands together, the best that could happen would be murdering him and crowning his son; whereas if his son were at liberty, and out of their reach, they would get nothing by his death, and consequently would not attempt it.

This, he said, was the fatal conjuncture the king apprehended; and he then asked the chancellor, what he would do. To which he answered, without pausing, that he hoped the king had made up a firm resolution never to depart from his own virtue, upon which his fate depended; and that if he forsook himself, he had no reason to depend upon the constancy of any other man, who had nothing to support that confidence but the conscience of doing what was just: that no man could doubt the lawfulness of obeying him, in carrying the prince out of the kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the rebels; and he was not only ready to obey in that case, but would confidently advise it, as a thing in policy and prudence necessary to be done. But if the king, being at liberty, and

with his own counsellors and servants, should under his hand forbid the prince to transport himself, and forbid all about him to suffer it to be done, he would never be guilty of disobeying that express command; though he should be very sorry to receive it. He wished the king would speak with him of it, that he might take the boldness to conjure him never to put an honest and a faithful servant to that unjust strait, to do any thing expressly contrary to his plain and positive command, upon pretence of knowing his secret pleasure; which is exposing him to public justice and reproach, which can never be wiped out by the conscience of the other; and that the artifice was not worthy the royal breast of a great monarch. This, he said, was still upon the supposition of the king's liberty; but if he were a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, (though that should not shake his resolution, or make him say things he doth not intend, upon imagination that others will know his meaning,) the case would be different; and honest men would pursue former resolutions, though they should be countermanded, according to circumstances.

The conference ended; and was never after resumed: nor did the king ever, in the least degree, enter upon the argument with the chancellor, though he had many private conferences with him upon all that occurred to him, with reference to what the prince should do in the west; and of all the melancholic contingencies which might fall out in his own fortune. And it was generally believed, that his majesty had a much greater confidence in the chancellor than in the other, whose judgment he had no reverence for; and this made the chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other discourse from the lord Digby proceeded rather from some communication of counsels he had with the queen, than any directions from the king. And he did upon concurrent circumstances ever think, that the queen did, from the first minute of the separation of the prince from the king, intend to draw his highness into France, that he might be near her, and under her tuition, before any thing in the declension of the king's fortune required it, or made it counsellable; and therefore had appointed the lord Digby, her creature, who she knew had great friendship with the chancellor, to feel his pulse, and discover, whether he (in whom she had never confidence) might be applicable to her purposes. But he often declared, that the king himself never intimated the least thought of the prince's leaving the kingdom, till after the battle of Naseby; and when Fairfax was marched with his army into the west, and himself was in despair of being able to raise another army; and even then, when he signified his pleasure to that purpose, he left the time, and the manner, and the place to them, who were especially trusted by him about the prince; as will appear by the particular papers which are preserved of that affair; and wherein it will likewise appear, that his majesty received infinite satisfaction and content in the whole management of that affair, and the happy and secure transportation of the prince, in the just and proper season, and when all the kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his majesty was more particularly gracious to the chancellor from the time of the treaty at Uxbridge; so there was no day passed without his conferring with him in private upon his most

secret considerations and apprehensions, before his departure with the prince for the west. One day he told him, he was very glad of what the duke of Richmond had done the day before; and indeed he had done somewhat the day before which very much surprised the chancellor. When his majesty arose from council, the duke of Richmond whispered somewhat privately to him, upon which the king went into his bedchamber; and the duke called the chancellor, and told him, the king would speak with him, and so took him by the hand, and led him into the bedchamber; the privilege and dignity of which room was then so punctually preserved, that the king very rarely called any privy counsellor to confer with him there, who was not of the bedchamber: which maintained a just reverence to the place, and an esteem of those who were admitted to attend there.

As soon as he came into the room, before he said any thing to the king, who was there alone, the duke spake to the chancellor, and told him, that he had been brought up from his childhood by the crown, and had always paid it the obedience of a child; that as he had taken a wife with the approbation and advice of the crown, so he had never made a friendship, which he took to be a kind of marriage, without the king's privy and particular approbation; that he had long had a kindness for him, but had taken time to know him well, which he thought he now did; and therefore had asked his majesty's consent, that he might make a friendship with him: and then said to the king, "Sir, have I not your approbation to this conjunction?" to which his majesty said, "Yes, my lord, I am very glad of it; and I will pass my word to you for the chancellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious expressions to them both: and so the duke led him out of the room again, saying, "Now, Mr. Chancellor, it is in your power to deceive me." And to this it was, that his majesty's discourse related the next day, when he told him he was glad of what had passed, &c. and said, he hoped he would give him good counsel; for he had not of late lived towards him in the manner he was used to do; that he knew well the duke was a very honest and worthy man, and had all the kindness, as well as duty for his majesty; but that he was grown sullen, or discontented, and had not the same countenance he used to have; for which he could imagine no other reason, but that his man Webb gave him ill counsel: he said, he was well contented that he should take notice, that his majesty was not well satisfied; and asked him suddenly, when the duke was at Oriel college with them; (Oriel college was the lodging of the lord treasurer, where that committee for secret affairs, of which the duke was one, used to meet.) The chancellor answered, that indeed the duke had not been there lately, which he thought had proceeded from his attendance upon his majesty, or some other necessary divertisement. The king said, it proceeded not from thence; and that he might take occasion from his absence from thence, to let himself into that discourse, and afterwards proceed as he thought fit.

The duke was a person of a very good understanding; and of so great perfection and punctuality in all matters of honesty and honour, that he was infinitely superior to any kind of temptation. He had all the warmth and passions of a subject,

and a servant, and a friend for the king, and for his person; but he was then a man of a high spirit, and valued his very fidelity at the rate it was worth; and not the less, for that it had almost stood single for some time. The chancellor was very sorry for this discovery; and chose to wait upon the duke the same day, near the hour when the meeting used to be at Oriel college: and when he had spent a short time with him, he said, he thought it was time to go to Oriel college, and asked his grace, whether he would please to go thither; for which he making some excuse, the other pressed him with some earnestness, and said, it was observed that he had a good time declined that meeting, and if he should not now go thither, he should be doubtful there was some reason for it.

The duke replied, that he had indeed been absent from thence for some time, and that he would deal clearly with him as his friend, but desired it should not be known; that he was resolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the king was not kind to him; at least, had not that confidence in him which he had used to have: and then spake of many particulars loosely; and especially, that before the treaty, he had advised the king to use all the means he could to draw them to a treaty, for many advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that purpose produced a letter that he had newly received from the countess of Carlisle, and read it to his majesty, who then seemed not to be moved with the contents; but afterwards, in several discourses, reflected upon it in such a manner, as if he were jealous that the duke held too much correspondence with that people: which he looked upon as such a point of diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be present where the secret part of his affairs was transacted; and so he had and would forbear to meet in that place, till his majesty should entertain a better opinion of him: yet he concealed the trouble of mind which he sustained; and wished that no notice might be taken of it.

The chancellor told him, it was too late for that caution; that the lords themselves could not but observe his long absence, who before used to be the most punctual; and confessed to him, that the king himself had spoken to him of it with a sense of wonder and dislike; which, he said, he was to blame himself for; since the honour he had done him to the king, had likewise disposed his majesty to trust him so far, as to express some dissatisfaction he had in his grace's late carriage and behaviour. The duke seemed not displeased with the communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller and warmer discourse than before; how much the king had withdrawn his confidence from him, and trusted others much more than him. In sum, it was easy to discern, that the thing that troubled him was the power and credit that John Ashburnham had with the king; which his vanity made him own to that degree, that he was not content to enjoy the benefit of it, except he made it public, and to be taken notice of by all men; which could not but reflect upon his honour: and when the chancellor seemed to think it impossible, that himself could believe that the king could prefer a man of Mr. Ashburnham's talent before his grace, he proceeded with many instances, and insisted with most indignation upon one.

That about a year before, sir John Lucas, who was well known to his grace, having met him abroad in his travels, and ever after paid a particular respect to him, had applied himself to him, and desired his favour; that when there should be any opportunity offered, he would recommend him to the king, to whom he was not unknown: that his affection to his majesty's service was notorious enough, and that his sufferings were so likewise, his house being the first that was plundered in the beginning of the war; by which, the loss he sustained in furniture, plate, money, and stock, was very considerable; so that he might modestly hope, that when his majesty scattered his favours upon others of his own rank, his poor service might likewise be remembered: but he had seen men raised to dignities, who he was sure had not the advantage over him in their sufferings, whatever they might have in their actings; and he desired no more, but (since it was too evident that his majesty's wants were great, and that money would do him some service) that he might receive that degree of honour which others had, and he would make such a present to him as should manifest his gratitude; and he desired to owe the obligation to his grace, and to receive it only by his mediation.

He said, he had moved this matter, with the relation of all the circumstances, to his majesty, who spake very graciously of the gentleman, as a person of merit, but said, he was resolved to make no more lords; which he received as a very good answer, and looked upon as a good resolution, and commended it; desiring only, that if at any time his majesty found it necessary to vary from that resolution, he would remember his proposition, and gratify that gentleman; which he promised to do; and with all which he acquainted the person concerned; thinking it could not but well satisfy him. But he told him, that he was sorry that he could not receive the honour by his grace's recommendation; but for the thing itself, he could have it when he would; and shortly after it was despatched by Mr. Ashburnham: he asked, whether this was not preferring Mr. Ashburnham very much before him. The chancellor told him, he was preferred as the better market man; and that he ought not to believe that the king's affection swayed him to that preference, but an opinion that the other would make the better bargain. He replied, his majesty was deceived in that, for he had told him what the other meant to give, without the least thought of reserving any thing for himself; whereas his majesty had now received five hundred pounds less, and his market man had gotten so much for his pains.

In conclusion, he prevailed so far with him, that they went that afternoon together to the committee to Oriel college; and the next day the chancellor spake with the king again, and told him, that the duke had been in the afternoon with the committee, where many things had been consulted; and that he found all his trouble proceeded from an apprehension, that his majesty had withdrawn his affection from him; at least, that he, the duke, had not the same credit with his majesty which he had formerly had; and that the sense and fear of that, could not but make an impression upon a good servant, who loved his master as well as he did. His majesty said, they two should not live as well together as they had done,

as long as the duke kept his man Webb; who made him believe that the king was wholly governed by Ashburnham, and cared not for anybody else. He said, nobody who knew him could believe he could be governed by Ashburnham; who, though an honest man, and one that he believed loved him well, no man thought was of an understanding superior to his majesty; and enlarged himself upon this argument so much, that he seemed as it were glad of the opportunity to clear himself from that aspersion or imputation.

It is a very great misfortune for any prince to be suspected to be governed by any man; for as the reproach is of all others the most grievous, so they think the trusting weak men, who are much short of their own vigour of wit and understanding, is a sufficient vindication from that calumny; and so, before they are aware of it, they decline wiser men, who are fit to advise them, and give themselves to weaker, upon an imagination, that nobody will ever suspect they can be governed by them. In fine, he found the work too hard for him; the king being so much incensed against Webb, that he expected the duke should turn him away: and the duke himself looked upon the king's prejudice as infused into him by Ashburnham, upon particular malice; having often desired, that some accuser might charge Webb, and he be heard to answer for himself; which the king not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to dismiss a servant, his secretary, who had served him long, and was very useful to him; and who indeed was never suspected for any infidelity or want of affection to his master: and so the chancellor, to his great trouble, was not able to remove that cloudiness that remained in both their countenances; which never produced the least ill effect in the view or observation of any; the duke's duty being never in any degree diminished; and the king's kindness to him continuing with many gracious evidences to his death.

The last conference his majesty had with the chancellor was the very day the prince began his journey towards the west, and indeed after he had received his blessing; when his majesty sent for him into his bedchamber, and repeated some things he had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many things which had troubled him, with reference to his son's absence from him; for all which, but one, he had satisfied himself: the one was, the inconvenience which might arise from the weakness and folly of his governor; against which he had provided, as well as he could, by obliging the prince to follow the advice of his council in all things; which he was well assured he would do; and he had given them as much authority as they could wish: another was, that there was one servant about the prince, who he thought had too much credit with him, which was Elliot; who he did not intend should be with him in the journey; and had therefore sent him into France to the queen, with direction to her majesty, to keep him there; and if he should return whilst the prince remained in the west, that he should be sent to his majesty, and not suffered to stay with his highness; and that was all the care he could take in those two particulars: but there was a third, in which he knew not what to do, and that troubled him much more than the other

“two.” When the chancellor seemed full of expectation to know what that might be, the king said, “I have observed of late some kind of sharpness, upon many occasions, between Colepepper and you; and though you are joined with other honest men, yet my great confidence is upon you two: I know not that the fault is in you; nay, I must confess, that it is very often in him; but let it be where it will, any difference and unkindness between you two must be at my charge; and I must tell you, the fear I have of it gives me much trouble: I have spoken very plainly to him my apprehension in this point, within this hour; and he hath made as fair promises to me as I can wish; and upon my conscience I think he loves you, though he may sometimes provoke you to be angry.”

The king here making a pause, the chancellor, out of countenance, said, “he was very sorry that he had ever given his majesty any occasion for such an apprehension, but very glad that he had vouchsafed to inform him of it; because he believed he should give his majesty such assurance in that particular as would fully satisfy him: he assured his majesty, that he had a great esteem of the lord Colepepper; and though he might have at some times passions which were inconvenient, he was so confident of him-

self, that they should not provoke or disturb him, that he was well content that his majesty should condemn, and think him in the fault, if any thing should fall out, of prejudice to his service, from a difference between them two.” With which his majesty appeared abundantly satisfied and pleased; and embracing him, gave him his hand to kiss; and he immediately went to horse, and followed the prince: and this was the last time the chancellor ever saw that gracious and excellent king.

It was upon the fourth of March, in the year 1644, that the prince parted from the king his father. He lodged that night at Farringdon, having made his journey thither in one continued storm of rain from the minute he left Oxford; and from thence went the next day to the garrison of the Devizes; and the third to the city of Bath; which being a safe place, and within seven or eight miles of Bristol, he stayed there two or three days. And in this journey the chancellor was first assaulted with the gout, having never had the least apprehension of it before; but from his coming to Bath, he was not able to stand, and so went by coach to Bristol; where in few days he recovered that first lameness, which ever after afflicted him too often. And so the year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this part.

Montpelier, November 6, 1669.

PART IV.

A VERY particular memorial of all material affairs in the west, during the subsequent year of 1645, during the prince's residence in the west—The state and temper of that country, after the defeat of his majesty's army at Naseby—The several plots and devices of the lord Goring, to get the prince into his power—The debauchery of that army and amongst the officers of it, and the defeats it suffered from the enemy through that debauchery—Goring's departure out of the kingdom, and the posture he left his army in—The beating up of their quarters afterwards—The entering of Fairfax into the west with his army; and his sudden taking the towns there—The mutinous behaviour of sir Richard Grenvil, and the quarrels and conflicts between the troops under his command with those under the lord Goring—The prince's retreat by degrees backward into Cornwall, as Fairfax advanced—The several messages and orders from the king, for the transporting the prince out of England, and all the directions and resolutions thereupon; and the several messages from the queen and the earl of St. Alban's; with the assurance of a supply of six thousand foot, under the command of Ruvignie, promised confidently to be landed in Cornwall within one month, when there was not any such thing in nature, nor one company raised, or ship in readiness, or in view for such an expedition, &c.—The king's obliging the lord Hopton to take charge of those broken and dissolute troops—The commitment of sir Richard Grenvil, for not submitting to be commanded by him, and for endeavouring to raise a party in the country to treat with the enemy for

the security and neutrality of Cornwall, and the routing the lord Hopton's troops at Torrington—The prince's retreat thereupon to Pendennis; and the factions and conspiracies between some of his own servants, and some gentlemen of the country, to hinder the prince from going out of the kingdom; and the departure of his highness from Pendennis, in the end of that year 1645, and his arrival in the island of Scilly, is contained in papers, orderly and methodically set down; which papers and relation are not now at hand, but are safe, and will be easily found; together with his highness's stay in the island of Scilly: from whence, the next day, the lord Colepepper was despatched with letters to the queen to Paris, to give notice of his highness's being in that island; and to desire money, arms, and ammunition for the defence thereof: and at the same time another vessel was sent into Ireland, to give the marquis of Ormond likewise information of it, and to desire that two companies of foot might be sent thither, to increase that garrison, and to defend it, in case the enemy should attack it—His highness's stay in Scilly near six weeks, until the lords Capel and Hopton came thither, after they had made conditions for the disbanding their troops with Fairfax; which Goring's troops made it necessary to do; they not only refusing to obey all orders, but mingling every day with the troops of the enemy, and remaining quietly together in the same quarters, drinking and making merry with each other—The report of a fleet designed from the parliament for Scilly, and those lords viewing the island, and not looking upon it as

tenable, caused a new consultation to be held, whether it were fit for his highness to remain there, till the return of the lord Colepepper, or to remove sooner; and whither he should remove; the frigate which brought the prince from Pendennis being still kept in readiness at Scilly, upon the foresight that his remove might come to be necessary—That upon this consultation it was resolved, that it would not be safe for his highness to remain there, but that he should transport himself from thence into the island of Jersey; which was done accordingly—And his highness's arrival there about the beginning of April, 1645—The prince's reception in Jersey, by sir George Carteret; and the universal joy of the island for his arrival; with the situation and strength of the island—The lord Digby's arrival in Jersey, with two frigates from Ireland, and with two hundred soldiers; having been at Scilly, and there heard of his highness's departure for Jersey—His earnest advice for the prince's going for Ireland; and when he could not obtain his highness's consent, till the return of the lord Colepepper, his going to Paris, to persuade the queen, and to protest against the prince's going for France; against which he inveighed with more passion than any man—The arrival of Mr. Thomas Jermyn from Paris, with very positive orders for the prince's repair thither, from the queen—And shortly after, the lord Colepepper's arrival, who had been despatched from her majesty to return to Scilly, before she knew of his highness's remove from thence; which advertisement overtook the lord Colepepper at Havre de Grace, after he was embarked; and so he bent his course thither, and had the same orders for the prince's going to Paris, as Mr. Jermyn had likewise brought.

There was none of the council inclined that his highness, being in a place of unquestionable safety, should suddenly depart from thence, till the state and condition in which his majesty was, and his pleasure might be known: it was then understood that his majesty had left Oxford, and was with the Scottish army before Newark; which he had caused to be rendered, that the army might retire; which it presently did, and the king in it, to Newcastle: the prince was yet in his father's dominions; some places in England still holding out, as Oxford, Worcester, Pendennis, and other places; that it would be easy, in a short time, to understand the king's pleasure, and that there could be no inconvenience in expecting it, the prince's person being in no possible danger; but that the mischief might be very great, if, without the king's direction, it were done, whether his majesty should be well or ill treated by the Scots; and that the parliament might make it a new matter of reproach against the king, that he had

sent the heir apparent of the crown out of the kingdom; which could be no otherwise excused, at least by those who attended him, than by evident and apparent necessity: those reasons appeared of so much weight to the prince himself, (who had not a natural inclination to go into France,) and to all the council, that the lord Capel and the lord Colepepper were desired to go to Paris, to satisfy the queen why the prince had deferred yielding a present obedience to her command.

The treatment they received at Paris, and their return again to Jersey, together with the lord Jermyn and lord Digby, and some other persons of quality: the lord Digby being to return to Ireland with eight thousand pistoles, which the cardinal sent towards the supply of the king's service there; and being by it and the cardinal so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the prince's going for France, that he was more positive for it than any of the rest; and had promised the queen that he would convert the chancellor, and make him consent to it; with whom he had a great friendship—The debate at Jersey upon their coming back—The lord Capel adhering to his former opinion, that we might first know the king's opinion; towards the receiving of which he had offered the queen, and now offered again, to go himself to Newcastle, where the king still was; nobody knowing what would be the issue of the controversy between the Scots and the parliament; and if the king should direct it, every man would willingly attend his highness, and punctually observe whatsoever the king commanded; and because the objection might be removed, of his being taken prisoner by the parliament, or his being not suffered by the Scots to speak with the king, he did offer, and all who were of his opinion consented to it, that if he did not return to Jersey within one month, the prince should pursue the queen's orders, and every man would attend his highness into France; and a month's delay could be of no ill consequence—The prince's resolution to go presently for Paris—and the reasons which moved the lords Capel and Hopton, and the chancellor, to excuse themselves—and his highness's permission to remain in Jersey; from whence they would attend his commands, when he had any service for them—And the sudden reservedness and strangeness that grew between those who advised the going, and those who were for staying—and the prince's embarking himself for France about July, in the year 1646—

All these particulars are so exactly remembered in those papers, remaining in a cabinet easy to be found, that they will quickly be put into a method; and contain enough to be inserted in the fourth part of this relation^a.

Montpelier, November 9, 1669.

^a These materials were afterwards made use of by the author, when he completed the History of the Rebellion, where these occurrences are treated of more at large.

PART V.

THE prince having left Jersey about July in the year 1646, the chancellor of the exchequer remained there about two years after; where he presently betook himself to his study; and enjoyed, as he was wont to say, the greatest tranquillity of mind imaginable. Whilst the lords Capel and Hopton stayed there, they lived and kept house together in St. Hilary's; which is the chief town of the island: where, having a chaplain of their own, they had prayers every day in the church, at eleven of the clock in the morning; till which hour they enjoyed themselves in their chambers, according as they thought fit; the chancellor betaking himself to the continuance of the History, which he had begun at Scilly, and spending most of his time at that exercise. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as they were disposed; but at the hour of prayers they always met; and then dined together at the lord Hopton's lodging, which was the best house; they being lodged at several houses, with convenience enough. Their table was maintained at their joint expense only for dinners; they never using to sup; but met always upon the sands in the evening to walk, often going to the castle to sir George Carteret; who treated them with extraordinary kindness and civility, and spent much time with them; and, in truth, the whole island shewed great affection to them, and all the persons of quality invited them to their houses, to very good entertainments; and all other ways expressed great esteem towards them; and appeared very unanimous and resolute to defend the island against any attempt the parliament should make against it.

[And from hence they writ a joint letter to the king, which they sent to him by Mr. Fanshaw; in which they made great profession of their duty to his majesty, and their readiness to proceed in his service, and to wait upon the prince upon the first occasion; with such reasons for their not attending him into France, as they thought could not but be satisfactory to his majesty; declaring, that they had only desired that he would stay so long in a place of his own, of unquestionable security, as that they might receive the signification of his majesty's pleasure for his remove; upon which they were all resolved to have waited upon him: though it was evident enough to them, that their advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his highness should arrive with the queen.]—(See *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 604.)

In England, men's hopes and fears were raised according to their tempers; for there was argument for both affections in the transactions and occurrences of every day; it being no easy matter to make a judgment which party would prevail, nor what they would do if they did. The lord Capel received advice from his friends in England, to remove from Jersey into some part of the United Provinces; that so, being in a place to which there could be no prejudice, his friends might the more hopefully solicit for liberty for him to return into his own country, and that he

might live in his own house; which they had reason to hope would not be denied to a person who had many friends, and could not be conceived to have any enemies, his person being worthily esteemed by all. Whereupon, with the full concurrence and advice of his two friends, from whom he had great tenderness to part, and with whom he renewed his contract of friendship at parting in a particular manner, upon foresight of what might happen; he went from thence, and first waited upon the prince at Paris, that he might have his royal highness's approbation for his return into England, if he might do it upon honourable conditions: and from thence, with all possible demonstration of grace from the prince, he transported himself to Middleburgh in Zealand; where he remained till his friends procured liberty for him to return, and remain at his own house. The worthy and noble things he did after, will be mentioned in order, and deserve to be transmitted to posterity in some more illustrious testimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

The lord Capel thus leaving Jersey, the lord Hopton and the chancellor remained still there, in the same conjunction, until, some few months after, the lord Hopton received the news of the death of his wife, and of the arrival in France of his uncle, sir Arthur Hopton; who, having been ambassador from the king in Spain, had left that court, and retired to Paris; from whence he shortly after removed to Rouen, with a purpose, as soon as he had at large conferred with his nephew, to go into England, for the good and benefit of both their fortunes: and upon this occasion the lord Hopton likewise left Jersey, with all possible professions of an entire friendship to the chancellor, which was never violated in the least degree to his death. And the chancellor being thus left alone, he was with great civility and friendship invited by sir George Carteret to remove from the town, (where he had lived with his friends till then,) and to live with him in the castle Elizabeth; whither he went the next day after the departure of the lord Hopton, and remained there, to his wonderful contentment, in the very cheerful society of sir George Carteret and his lady; in whose house he received all the liberty and entertainment he could have expected in his own family; of which he always retained so just a memory, that there was never any intermission or decay of that friendship he then made: and he remained there till he was sent for again to attend the prince, which will be mentioned in its time.

He built a lodging in the castle, of two or three convenient rooms, to the wall of the church, which sir George Carteret had repaired and beautified; and over the door of his lodging he set up his arms, with this inscription, *Bene vixit, qui bene latuit*: and he always took pleasure in relating, with what great tranquillity of spirit (though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children) he spent his time here, amongst his books (which he got from Paris) and his papers; between which

he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day : and it can hardly be believed how much he read and writ there ; insomuch as he did usually compute, that during his whole stay in Jersey, which was some months above two years, he writ [daily] little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand ; most of which are still to be seen amongst his papers.

From Hampton Court, his majesty writ to the chancellor of the exchequer with his own hand ; in which he took notice, that he was writing the *History of the late Troubles* ; for which he thanked him, saying, that he knew no man could do it so well ; and that he would not do it the worse, by the helps that he would very speedily send him : (as his majesty shortly after did, in two manuscripts very fairly written, containing all matters of importance that had passed from the time that the prince of Wales went from his majesty into the west, to the very time that his majesty himself went from Oxford to the Scottish army ; which were all the passages in the years 1645 and 1646.) He used many gracious expressions in that letter to him ; and said, he looked upon him as one of those who had served him with most fidelity, and therefore he might be confident of his kindness ; and that he would bring him to him with the first ; though, he said, he did not hold him to be infallible, as he might discern by what he had commanded Dr. Sheldon, who was then clerk of his closet, to write to him ; and at the same time the doctor writ him word, that the king was sorry that he, the chancellor, stayed at Jersey, and did not attend the prince into France ; and that if he had been there, he would have been able to have prevented the vexation his majesty had endured at Newcastle, by messages from Paris.

The doctor likewise sent him word, that great pains had been taken from Paris to incense the king against him ; but that it had so little prevailed, that his majesty had with some sharpness reprehended those who blamed him, and had justified the chancellor. He made haste to answer his majesty's letter, and gave him so much satisfaction, that his majesty said, he was too hard for him. And about the same time the lord Capel came into England ; and though he was under security to the parliament for behaving himself peaceably, he was not restrained from seeing the king ; and so gave him a very particular information of all that had passed at Jersey ; and many other things, of which his majesty had never been informed before ; which put it out of any body's power to make any ill impressions in him towards the chancellor.

[Upon the king's refusing to give his assent to the four acts sent to him from the parliament when he was in the Isle of Wight, they voted, " that no more addresses should be made to the king ;" and published a declaration to that effect, which contained severe charges against his majesty.]—(See p. 630.)

The chancellor of the exchequer no sooner received a copy of it in Jersey, than he prepared a very large and full answer to it ; in which he made the malice and the treason of that libellous declaration to appear ; and his majesty's innocence in all the particulars charged upon him, with such pathetical applications and insinuations, as were most like to work upon the affections of the people : all which was transmitted (by the care of Mr.

Secretary Nicholas, who resided at Caen in Normandy, and held a constant correspondence with the chancellor) to a trusty hand in London ; who caused it to be well printed and divulged, and found means to send it to the king : who, after he had read it, said he durst swear it was writ by the chancellor, if it were not that there was more divinity in it than he expected from him, which made him believe he had conferred with Dr. Steward. But some months after, being informed by secretary Nicholas, he sent the chancellor thanks for it ; and expressed upon all occasions, that he was much pleased with that vindication.

[The lord Capel had written to the chancellor of the exchequer, who remained still in Jersey, signifying the king's commands, that as soon as the chancellor should be required to wait upon the prince, he should without delay obey the summons. The king had writ to the queen, that when it should be necessary for the prince to remove out of France, the chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of April, in the year 1648, the lord Capel writ again to the chancellor, giving him notice, that he would probably be sent for soon, and desiring him to be ready. About the middle of May, the queen sent to the chancellor of the exchequer to Jersey, commanding, that he would wait upon the prince at Paris, upon a day that was past before the letter came to his hands ; but as soon as he received the summons, he immediately transported himself into Normandy, and went to Caen ; from thence he hastened to Rouen, where he found the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and secretary Nicholas, who had received the same commands. They were informed that the prince was passed by towards Calais ; and direction was sent, that the chancellor and the rest should stay at Rouen till they should receive new orders from Calais. Within few days they received advice, that the prince had put himself on board a ship that he found at Calais bound for Holland, where they were to hear from him ; whereupon they removed from Rouen to Dieppe ; from whence they might embark for Holland when required.]—(See p. 645.)

After the lord Cottington, the earl of Bristol, and the chancellor of the exchequer had stayed at Dieppe some days, and were confirmed by reports every day that the prince was in Holland, and that the fleet wanted some provisions, without which it could not put out to sea ; they resolved to make use of the first vessel, of which there were many then in the harbour, that should be bound for Holland, and to transport themselves thither ; and there was one which within two or three days would set out for Flushing. The earl of Bristol had no mind to venture himself in such a vessel ; and since the fleet that had declared for the king was then in Holland, he apprehended that the parliament might have other vessels abroad, that might easily seize upon that small bark ; and so, after some debate with the lord Cottington, (they two being seldom of one mind,) the earl resolved to return to his old habitation at Caen, and expect another occasion.

The chancellor, who knew nothing of the sea, nor understood the hazards thereof, (being always so afflicted upon that element with sickness, that he considered nothing about it ; and holding himself obliged to make what haste he could to the

prince,) committed himself entirely to the lord Cottington: and when they resolved to embark themselves in the vessel bound for Flushing, a French man of war, which was called the king's ship, came into the road of Dieppe, and offered to carry them the next day to Dunkirk; which they took to be the safer passage: and so giving the captain as much money as he demanded, they put themselves upon his miserable frigate, where they had no accommodations but the open deck; and were safely set on shore at Dunkirk, where marshal Ranzaw was then governor. And they no sooner landed in the evening, but Carteret, a servant of the prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the prince was entered the river of Thames with the fleet; and that he was sent by his highness to the marshal for a frigate, which he had offered to lend the prince: and that he had delivered the letter, and the marshal (who had been out all the night before upon a design upon the enemy, and was newly arrived, and gone to bed) had promised him that the frigate should be ready the next day. This seemed an extraordinary good fortune to them, that they might now embark directly for the fleet without going into Holland, which they were willing to avoid; and so resolved to speak with the marshal as soon as they could, that they might be confirmed by him, that his frigate should be ready the next day; and thereupon sent a servant to wait at the marshal's lodging, that they might know when he waked, and was to be spoken with.

The marshal had notice of their arrival before the servant came to him, and of their desire to go to the prince; and sent one of his officers to welcome them to the town, and to see them well accommodated with lodging; and to excuse him, that he did not wait upon them that night, by reason of the fatigue he had undergone the night before, and that day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next day, against which time the vessel would be made ready to receive them, and transport them to the prince's fleet; with which they were abundantly satisfied; and betook themselves to their rest for that night: and were early up the next morning to see the marshal; but it was late before he rose.

He received them with great civility, being a very proper man, of a most extraordinary presence and aspect, and might well be reckoned a very handsome man, though he had but one leg, one hand, one eye, and one ear, the other being cut off with that side of his face; besides many other cuts on the other cheek, and upon his head, with many wounds in the body; notwithstanding all which, he stood very upright, and had a very graceful motion, a clear voice, and a charming delivery; and if he had not, according to the custom of his nation, (for he was a German,) too much indulged to the excess of wine, he had been one of the most excellent captains of that age. He professed great affection to the prince, and much commended the frigate he intended to send to him; which, for the swiftness of it, was called the Hare, and outsailed, as he said, all the vessels of that coast: and after he had treated them with a very excellent and a jovial dinner, about four of the clock in the afternoon he brought them to their boat, that put them on board their frigate; which was but a small vessel of twenty guns, much inferior to what they expected, by the description

the marshal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the use they were to make of it, to be delivered at the fleet; and so, the moon shining very fair, they weighed anchor about sunset, with a very small gale of wind.

The prince being master at sea, they had no manner of apprehension of an enemy; not knowing or considering that they were very near Ostend, and so, in respect of the vessel they were in, liable to be made a prize by those men of war; as it fell out: for about break of day, in a dead calm, they found themselves pursued by six or seven ships, which, as they drew nearer, were known by the seamen to be the frigates of Ostend. There was no hope to escape by the swiftness of the vessel, for there was not the least breath of wind; and it was to no purpose to resist; for, besides that the vessel was not half manned, four or five of the pursuers were stronger ships; so that it was thought best to let the sails fall, that they might see there was no purpose of resistance; and to send Carteret in the boat, to inform the ships who the persons were that were on board, and that they had a pass from the archduke: for an authentic copy of a pass the archduke had sent to the prince, had been sent to them. All the ships, though they had the king of Spain's commission, were freebooters, belonging to private owners, who observed no rules or laws of nations; but they boarded the vessel with their swords drawn and pistols cocked, and without any distinction plundered all the passengers with equal rudeness; save that they stripped some of the servants to their very shirts: they used not the rest with that barbarity, being satisfied with taking all they had in their pockets, and carefully examined all their valises and trunks, in which they found good booty.

The lord Cottington lost in money and jewels above one thousand pounds; the chancellor, in money about two hundred pounds, and all his clothes and linen; and sir George Ratcliff and Mr. Wansford, who were in the company, above five hundred pounds in money and jewels. And having pillaged them in this manner, they carried them all, with the frigate they had been in, prisoners to Ostend; where they arrived about two of the clock in the afternoon; all the men and women of the town being gathered together to behold the prize that was brought in within so few hours: for intelligence had been sent from Dunkirk the night before, (according to the custom and good intelligence observed in those places,) of the going out of this vessel, which had such persons on board. When they were on shore, they were carried through all the spectators to a common inn; from whence they sent to the magistrates, to inform them of what condition they were, and of the injuries they had received, by having been treated as enemies; and demanded restitution of ship and goods.

The magistrates, who were called the lords of the admiralty, came presently to them; and when they were fully informed of the whole matter, and had seen the archduke's pass, they seemed very much troubled; and with much civility assured them, that they should not only receive all that had been taken from them, but that the men should be severely punished for their transgression. They immediately discharged those guards that kept them as prisoners, and provided the

best lodgings in the town for them: and because it was growing towards the evening, and the frigates were not yet come in, they excused themselves that they could do no more that night, but promised to go themselves on board the ships the next morning early; and desired that some of the gentlemen of their company might go with them, to the end that they might discover at least some of those who had been most rude towards them; who should be sure to be imprisoned till full satisfaction were made by the rest.

As soon as the lords of the admiralty were gone, the governor, an old Spaniard, came to visit them, with all professions of civility and service, and seemed to abhor the barbarity with which they had been treated; asked very particularly of the manner of them, and of every particular that had been taken from them; and told them, they should be sure to have it all returned; for that they did not trouble themselves in such cases to find out the seamen who were the plunderers, but resorted always to the owners of the ships, who lived in the town, and were substantial men, and bound to answer and satisfy for all misdemeanours committed by the company; and said, he would be with them the next day, and take care that all should be done that was just. These professions and assurances made them believe that they should receive full reparation for the damages they had received; and the lord Cottington began to commend the good order and discipline that was observed under the Spanish government, much different from that in other places; and in how much better condition they were, after such usage, to be brought into Ostend, than if they had been so used by the French, and carried into any of their ports.

The next morning two of the lords of the admiralty called upon them in their way to the ships, retaining the same professions they had made the night before; and sir George Ratcliff, Mr. Wansford, and some of their servants accompanied them according to their desire; and as soon as they were on board the admiral's vessel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, they knew some of those seamen who had been most busy about them; which were immediately seized on and searched; and about some of them some pieces of chains of gold, and other things of value belonging to the lord Cottington were found; and some mails, in which were linen and clothes; all which were presently restored and delivered to some of the servants who were present, and brought them to their masters. The chancellor was more solicitous for some papers he had lost, than for his money; and he was used to say, that he looked upon it as a singular act of Providence, that those officers prevailed with a seaman, who had taken it out of his pocket, to restore a little letter which he had lately received from the king whilst he was in the hands of the army; which, for the grace and kindness contained in it, he did ever exceedingly value.

Those of the admiralty, though they had not yet found out either any of the jewels or money of which they had been robbed, thought they had done enough for the morning, and so returned to dinner; declaring that they would return in the afternoon; and directed the ships to be drawn nearer together, to the end they might visit them together: and they did return in the afternoon,

accompanied as before, but their reception by the seamen was not as in the morning. The captains answered those questions which were asked of them negligently and scornfully; and those seamen who had been searched in the morning, and were appointed to be produced in the afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and instead of bringing the ships nearer together, some of them were gone more out to sea; and the rest declared, that they would go all out to sea that night: and when the magistrates seemed to threaten them, they swore they would throw both them and all who came with them overboard; and offered to lay hands upon them in order to it; so that they were all glad to get off; and returned to the town, talking loud what vengeance they would take upon the captains and seamen when they returned again into port, (for they already stood out to sea in their sight;) and in the mean time they would prosecute the owners of the vessels, who should satisfy for the damage received: but from this time the governor nor the lords of the admiralty cared to come near them; and they quickly found that the reason of all the governor's civility the first night, and the many questions he had asked concerning all the particulars they had lost of any kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his share from the seamen; and that the lords of the admiralty were the owners of the several vessels, or had shares in them, and in the victualling, and so were to divide the spoil, which they pretended should be restored. So that after they had remained there four or five days, they were contented to receive one hundred pistoles for discharging the debts they had contracted in the town, (for there was not any money left amongst them,) and to carry them to the prince; which those of the admiralty pretended to have received from some of the owners, and to wait for further justice when the ships should return, which they doubted not should be effectually called for by the commands of the archduke, when he should be informed: and so they prosecuted their journey to the prince, making their way by Bruges, and from thence by the way of Sluys to Flushing; and those hundred pistoles were the only recompense that they ever received for that affront and damage they had sustained, which in the whole amounted to two thousand pounds at the least; though the king's resident, De Vic, at Brussels prosecuted the pretence with the archduke as long as there was any hope.

The chancellor was often used to relate an observation that was generally made and discoursed at Ostend at that time, that never any man who adventured in setting out those frigates of rapine, which are called men of war, or in victualling or bearing any share in them, died rich, or possessed of any valuable estate: and that as he walked one morning about the town and upon the quay with an English officer, who was a lieutenant in that garrison, they saw a poor old man walk by them, whom the lieutenant desired the chancellor to observe; and when he was passed by, he told him, that he had known that man the richest of any man in the town; that he had been the owner of above ten ships of war at one time, without any partner or sharer with him; that he had had in his warehouses in the town as much goods and merchandise together as amounted to the value of one hundred thousand pounds, within seven years

before the time he was then speaking; and after the loss of two or three frigates, he insensibly decayed so fast, that having begun to build another frigate, which he shewed him as they walked, and which lay then not half finished, he was not able to go through with it; and that he was at that time so poor, that he had not wherewith to maintain him, but received the charity of those who had known him in a plentiful estate: and this relation he made in confirmation of that discourse and observation; and it made so deep an impression upon the chancellor, that afterwards, when the war was between England, and Holland, and France, and when many gentlemen thought it good husbandry to adventure in the setting out such ships of war, he always dissuaded his friends from that traffic, relating to them this story, of the truth whereof he had such evidence; and did in truth moreover in his own judgment believe, that all engagements of that kind were contrary to the rules of justice and a good conscience.

When they came to Flushing, they thought it best to stay there, as the most likely place to have commerce with the fleet; and they found there colonel William Vavasour, who had, by the prince's commission, drawn some companies of foot together, and expected some vessel to be sent from the fleet for their transportation; and Carteret was already despatched, to inform the prince of what had befallen the treasurer and chancellor, and that they waited his commands at Flushing: and because Middleburgh would be as convenient to receive intelligence, and more convenient for their accommodation, they removed thither, and took a private lodging; where, by having a cook, and other servants, they might make their own provisions. They had been at Middleburgh very few days, before the *Hind* frigate was sent by the prince to bring them to the fleet, with direction that they should make as much haste as was possible; and they had no occasion to delay, but the wind was so directly against them for two or three days, that they could not put themselves on board. It was now about the middle of July, when the wind appeared fair, and they presently embarked, and weighed anchor, and sailed all the night; but in the morning the wind changed, and blew so hard a gale, that they were compelled to turn about, and came before night again to Flushing; whence they endeavoured three times more to get into the Downs, from whence they might easily have got to the fleet; but as often as they put to sea, so often they were driven back, and once with so violent a storm that their ship was in danger, and was driven in under the Ramekins, a fort near the mouth of the river that goes to Middleburgh; whither they again repaired: and the winds were so long contrary, that they received order from the prince to repair into Holland; for that his highness resolved within very few days, it being now towards the end of August, to carry the fleet thither; as he shortly after did. And by this means the lord Cottington and the chancellor were not able to attend the prince whilst he remained with the fleet within the river of Thames; but were well informed, when they came to him, of all that had passed there.

The lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer, as soon as they received advertisement at Middleburgh that the prince resolved to return with the fleet into Holland, made all the haste

they could to the Hague; it being then about the end of August; and came thither within one day after the prince's arrival there.

[The next morning after the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer came to the Hague, the prince appointed his council to meet together, to receive and deliberate upon a message the lord Lautherdale had brought from the parliament of Scotland, earnestly pressing him to repair forthwith to their army; which was already entered into England, under the command of the duke of Hamilton—the chancellor reproves the lord Lautherdale for his insolent behaviour before the council.]—(See p. 660.)

[The factions in the prince's family, and the great animosity which prince Rupert had against the lord Colepepper, infinitely disturbed the counsels, and perplexed the lord Cottington and the chancellor of the exchequer—Colepepper had passions and infirmities which no friends could restrain; and prince Rupert, though very well inclined to the chancellor, was absolutely governed by Herbert the attorney general, who industriously cultivated his prejudice to Colepepper.]—(See p. 670.)

[Whilst the prince was at the Hague, he received the shocking account of the murder of the king his father; and soon after, the queen wrote to him from Paris, advising him to repair into France as soon as possible, and desiring him not to swear any persons to be of his council, till she could speak with him: but before he received her letter, he had already caused those of his father's council who had attended him to be sworn of his privy council; adding only Mr. Long his secretary. He had no mind to go into France; and it was evident that he could not be long able to reside at the Hague, an agent from the parliament being there at that very time: so that it was time to think of some other retreat. Ireland was then thought most advisable; some favourable accounts having been received from thence of the transactions of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchiquin, and of the arrival of prince Rupert at Kinsale with the fleet.]—(See p. 706.)

[The chancellor of the exchequer was sent to confer with the marquis of Mountrose in a village near the Hague upon the state of affairs in Scotland. The marquis came now into Holland to offer his service to his majesty; expecting that he would presently send him to Scotland with some forces, to prepare the way for his majesty to follow after.]—(See p. 708.)

[The king declared his resolution of going into Ireland, and preparations were made for that expedition; which however, from accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take effect. The lord Cottington, wishing to avoid the fatigue of such expeditions, took that occasion to confer with the chancellor of the exchequer upon the expediency of the king's sending an embassy into Spain; and proposed, that himself and the chancellor should be appointed ambassadors to that court; to which the chancellor consented: and upon the lord Cottington's representation of the matter to the king, his majesty soon after publicly declared his resolution to send those two, ambassadors extraordinary into Spain.]—(See p. 714.)

This was no sooner known, but all kind of people, who agreed in nothing else, murmured and complained of this counsel; and the more,

because it had never been mentioned or debated in council. Only the Scots were very glad of it, (Mountrose excepted,) believing that when the chancellor was gone, their beloved covenant would not be so irreverently mentioned; and that the king would be wrought upon to withdraw all countenance and favour from the marquis of Mountrose; and the marquis himself looked upon it as a deserting him, and complying with the other party: and from that time, though they lived with civility towards each other, he withdrew very much of his confidence, which he had formerly reposed in him. They who loved him were sorry for him and themselves; they thought he deserted a path he had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move "extra sphæram activitatis," in an office he had not been acquainted with; and then they should want his credit to support and confirm them in the king's favour and grace: and there were many who were very sorry when they heard it, out of particular duty to the king; who, being young, they thought might be without that counsel and advertisement, which they knew well he would still administer to him.

No man was more angry and offended with the counsel than the lord Colepepper, who would have been very glad to have gone himself in the employment, if he could have persuaded the lord Cottington to have accepted his company; which he would by no means do; and though he and the chancellor were not thought to have the greatest kindness for each other, yet he knew he could agree with no other man so well in business; and was very unwilling he should be from the person of the king. But the chancellor himself, from the time that the king had signified his own pleasure to him, was exceedingly pleased with the commission; and did believe that he should in some degree improve his understanding, and very much refresh his spirits, by what he should learn by the one, and by his absence from being continually conversant with those wants which could never be severed from that court, and that company which would be always corrupted by those wants. And so he sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp, where he intended they should reside whilst he continued in Spain, and where they were like to find some civilities in respect of his employment.

[The ambassadors took leave of the king before the middle of May, and went to Antwerp, where the chancellor's wife and family were arrived, who were to remain there during his embassy—After staying two or three days at Antwerp, they went to Brussels, to deliver their credentials to the archduke and to the duke of Lorraine, and to visit the Spanish ministers there, &c.]—(See p. 718.)

[When the ambassadors had despatched all their business at Brussels, they returned to Antwerp, to negotiate the remittance of their money to Madrid.]—(See p. 719.)

[The queen is much displeased that the king had taken any resolutions before she was consulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the chancellor of the exchequer; suspecting he meant to exclude her from meddling in the affairs.]—(See p. 719.)

[Lord Cottington and the chancellor, hearing that the king was on his way to France, resolve to defer going to St. Germain's till the king's

first interview with the queen should be over.]—(See p. 730.)

[About a week after the king left Brussels, the two ambassadors prosecuted their journey to Paris; stayed only one day there, and then went to St. Germain's; where the king, and the queen his mother, with both their families, and the duke of York then were—They found that court full of jealousy and disorder—The queen much troubled at the king's behaviour to her, as if he had no mind that she should interfere in his affairs—She now attributes this reservedness of the king towards her, more to the influence of somebody else than to the chancellor of the exchequer—He had a private audience of the queen—She complained of the king's unkindness to her, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot (one of his majesty's grooms of the bedchamber) had with the king.]—(See p. 725.)

[About the middle of September, the king left St. Germain's, and began his journey towards Jersey, and the queen removed to Paris—The two ambassadors attended her majesty thither, and prepared for their journey into Spain.]—(See p. 725.)

During the time of their short stay at Paris, the queen used the chancellor very graciously; but still expressed trouble that he was sent on that embassy, which, she said, would be fruitless, as to any advantage the king would receive from it; and, she said, she must confess, that though she was not confident of his affection and kindness towards her, yet she believed that he did wish that the king's carriage towards her should be always fair and respectful; and that she did desire that he might be always about his majesty's person; not only because she thought he understood the business of England better than any body else, but because she knew that he loved the king, and would always give him good counsel towards his living virtuously; and that she thought he had more credit with him than any other, who would deal plainly and honestly with him.

There was a passage at that time, of which he used to speak often, and looked upon as a great honour to him. The queen one day, amongst some of her ladies in whom she had most confidence, expressed some sharpness towards a lord of the king's council, whom she named not; who, she said, always gave her the fairest words, and promised her every thing she desired, and had persuaded her to affect somewhat that she had before no mind to; and yet she was well assured, that when the same was proposed to the king on her behalf, he was the only man who dissuaded the king from granting it. Some of the ladies seemed to have the curiosity to know who it was; which the queen would not tell: one of them, who was known to have a friendship for him, said, she hoped it was not the chancellor; to which her majesty replied with some quickness, that she might be sure it was not he, who was so far from making promises, or giving fair words, and flattering her, that she did verily believe, that "if he" thought her to be a whore, he would tell her of "it;" which when that lady told him, he was not displeased with the testimony.

[The two ambassadors began their journey from Paris on Michaelmas day, and continued it without one day's rest to Bourdeaux.]—(See p. 725.)

[They continued their journey to Bayonne; and from thence to St. Sebastian's; where they were told by the corregidor that he had received direc-

tions from the secretary of state, to persuade them to remain there till the king's further pleasure might be known; and they received a packet from sir Benjamin Wright at Madrid, enclosing a pass for them, under the title of ambassadors from the prince of Wales. They immediately sent an express to the court, complaining of their treatment, and desiring to know whether their persons were unacceptable to his catholic majesty; and if otherwise, they desired they might be treated in the manner due to the honour and dignity of the king their master. They received an answer full of civility, imputing the error in the style of their pass to the negligence or ignorance of the secretary; and new passes were sent to them in the proper style; with assurance, that they should find a very good welcome from his majesty.—They left St. Sebastian's about the middle of November.]—(See p. 726.)

When they came to Alcavendas, within three leagues of Madrid, sir Benjamin Wright came to them, and informed them that all things were in the state they were when he writ to them at St. Sebastian's; that no house was yet prepared for their reception; and that there was an evident want of attention for them in the court; the Spanish ambassador in England having done them ill offices, lest their good reception in Spain might incense the parliament.—After a week's stay in that little town, they accepted of sir Benjamin Wright's invitation to his house at Madrid; they went privately thither, to reside *incognito*—The court knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it—Lord Cottington desired and obtained a private audience of don Lewis de Haro—Don Lewis excused the omissions towards the ambassadors, on pretence that the *fiestas* for their new queen's arrival had engrossed the whole attention of all the officers about the court; and promised immediate reparation—Lord Cottington returned home well satisfied—The ambassadors are invited to see the exercises of the *fiestas*; and the chancellor accordingly went to the place assigned.]—(See p. 727.)

The masquerade is an exercise they learned from the Moors, performed by squadrons of horse, seeming to charge each other with great fierceness, with bucklers in their left hands, and a kind of cane in their right; which, when they come within little more than a horse's length, they throw with all the strength they can; and against them they defend themselves with very broad bucklers; and as soon as they have thrown their darts, they wheel about in a full gallop, till they can turn to receive the like assault from those whom they had charged; and so several squadrons of twenty or five and twenty horse run round and charge each other. It hath at first the appearance of a martial exercise; the horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the men richly clad, and must be good horsemen, otherwise they could not obey the quick motions and turns of their horses; all the rest is too childish, the darts being nothing else but plain bulrushes of the biggest growth. After this, they run the course; which is like our running at the ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter hath the prize; a post dividing them at the end: from the start they run their horses full speed about fifty paces, and the judges are at that post to determine who is first at the end. There the king and don

Lewis ran several courses, in all which don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize; though he always lost it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich show, otherwise the show itself had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be some sudden sharp words between the admirante of Castile, a haughty young man, and the marquis de Liche, the eldest son of don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both dismissed the squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their chambers.—(See p. 729.)

The next day, and so for two or three days together, both the ambassadors had a box prepared for them to see the *toros*; which is a spectacle very wonderful; different from what they had seen at Burgos, where the bulls were much tamer, and where they were not charged by men on horseback, and little harm done. Here the place was very noble, being the market-place, a very large square, built with handsome brick houses, which had all balconies, which were adorned with tapestry and very beautiful ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first story; the lower rooms being shops, and for ordinary use; and in the division of those scaffolds, all the magistrates and officers of the town knew their places. The pavement of the place was all covered with gravel, which in summer time was upon those occasions watered by carts charged with hogsheads of water. As soon as the king comes, some officers clear the whole ground from the common people; so that there is no man seen upon the plain, but two or three alguazils, magistrates with their small white wands. Then one of the four gates which lead into the streets is opened; at which the *torreadors* enter, all persons of quality richly clad, and upon the best horses in Spain; every one attended by eight, or ten, or more lackeys, all clinquant with gold and silver lace; who carry the spears which their masters are to use against the bulls; and with this entry many of the common people break in, for which sometimes they pay very dear. The persons on horseback have all cloaks folded up upon their left shoulder; the least disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great disgrace; and in that grave order they march to the place where the king sits, and after they have made the reverences, they place themselves at a good distance from one another, and expect the bull.

The bulls are brought in the night before from the mountains, by people used to that work; who drive them into the town when nobody is in the streets, into a pen made for them, which hath a door that opens into that large space, the key whereof is sent to the king; which the king, when he sees every thing ready, throws to an alguazil, who carries it to the officer that keeps the door; and he causes it to be opened when a single bull is ready to come out. When the bull enters, the common people who sit over the door, or near it, strike him, or throw short darts with sharp points of steel, to provoke him to rage: he commonly runs with all his fury against the first man he sees on horseback; who watches him so carefully, and avoids him so dexterously, that when the spectators believe him to be even between the horns of the bull, he avoids him by the quick turn of his horse; and with his lance

strikes the bull upon a vein that runs through his pole, with which in a moment he falls down dead. But this fatal stroke can never be struck, but when the bull comes so near upon the turn of the horse, that his horn even touches the rider's leg; and so is at such a distance, that he can shorten his lance, and use the full strength of his arm in the blow; and they who are the most skilful in the exercise, do frequently kill the beast with such an exact stroke; insomuch as in a day, two or three fall in that manner: but if they miss the vein, it only gives a wound that the more enrages him.

Sometimes the bull runs with so much fierceness, (for if he escapes the first man, he runs upon the rest as they are in his way,) that he gores the horse with his horns, so that his guts come out, and he falls before the rider can get from his back. Sometimes, by the strength of his neck, he raises horse and man from the ground, and throws both down; and then the greatest danger is another gore upon the ground. In any of these disgraces, or any other by which the rider comes to be dismounted, he is obliged in honour to take his revenge upon the bull by his sword, and upon his head; towards which the standers-by assist him, by running after the bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder legs; but before that execution can be done, a good bull hath his revenge upon many poor fellows. Sometimes he is so unruly that nobody dares to attack him; and then the king calls for the mastiffs, whereof two are let out at a time; and if they cannot master him, but are themselves killed, as frequently they are, the king then, as the last refuge, calls for the English mastiffs; of which they seldom turn out above one at a time, and he rarely misses taking the bull, and holding him by the nose till the men run in; and after they have hocked him, they quickly kill him.

In one of those days there were no fewer than sixteen horses, as good as any in Spain, the worst of which would that very morning have yielded three hundred pistoles, killed, and four or five men; besides many more of both hurt, and some men remained perpetually maimed: for after the horsemen have done as much as they can, they withdraw themselves, and then some accustomed nimble fellows, to whom money is thrown, when they perform their feats with skill, stand to receive the bulls, whereof the worst are reserved till the last; and it is a wonderful thing to see with what steadiness those fellows will stand a full career of the bull, and by a little quick motion upon one foot, avoid him, and lay a hand upon his horn, as if they guided him from them; but then the next standers-by, who have not the same activity, commonly pay for it; and there is no day without much mischief. It is a very barbarous exercise and triumph, in which so many men's lives are lost, and always ventured; but so rooted in the affections of that nation, that it is not in the king's power, they say, to suppress it; though if he disliked it enough, he might forbear to be present at it.

There are three festival days in the year, whereof midsummer is one, on which the people hold it to be their right to be treated with these spectacles; not only in great cities, where they are never disappointed, but in very ordinary towns, where there are places provided for it. Besides those ordinary annual days, upon any extraordinary accidents of

joy, as at this time for the arrival of the queen, upon the birth of the king's children, or any signal victory, these triumphs are repeated; which no ecclesiastical censures or authority can suppress or discountenance: for pope Pius the Fifth, in the time of Philip the Second, and very probably with his approbation, if not upon his desire, published a bull against the *toros* in Spain, which is still in force; in which he declared, that nobody should be capable of Christian burial who lost his life at those spectacles; and that every clergyman who should be present at them stood excommunicated *ipso facto*: and yet there is always one of the largest galleries assigned to the office of the inquisition, and the chief of the clergy, which is always filled; besides that many religious men in their habits get other places; only the Jesuits, out of their submission to the supreme authority of the pope, are never present there; but on those days do always appoint some such solemn exercise to be performed that obliges their whole body to be together.

Though it is not the course for the ambassadors to make their visits to those who come last, before they receive their first audience from the king; yet the very night they came to the town, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate their arrival, and to know what hour they would assign of the next day to receive a visit from him: to which they returned their acknowledgments; and that when they had obtained their audience of the king, they would be ready to receive that honour from him. However, the very next day he came to visit them; and he was no sooner gone, but the German ambassador, not sending notice till he was at the bottom of the stairs, likewise came to them; and then the other ambassadors and public ministers took their times to make their visits, without attending the audience.

There was one thing very notable, that all the foreign ministers residing then in Madrid (the English ambassadors and the resident of Denmark only excepted) were Italians; and all, but the Venetian, subjects of the great duke. Julio Rospigliosi, nuncio for the pope, was of Pistoja, and so a subject to the duke of Florence; a grave man, and at that time, save that his health was not good, like to come to be, what he was afterwards, pope, as he was Clement the Ninth. The emperor's ambassador, the marquis of Grana, was likewise an Italian, and a subject of Florence; he had been general of one of the emperor's armies, and was sent afterwards ambassador to Madrid; he was a man of great parts; and the removing the conde-duke Olivarez from court was imputed to his artifice. He made the match between the king and the present queen, for which he expected to have the cap of a cardinal; and had received it, if he had not died before the following creation; the cardinal of Hesse being nominated by the emperor upon his death. He was a man of an imperious and insolent nature, and capable of any temptation; and nobody was more glad of his death than his own servants, over whom he was a great tyrant.

The ambassador of Venice, [Pietro Basadonna,] a noble Venetian, was a man, as all that nation is, of great civility, and much profession; he was the first who told the ambassadors that the king their master had a resident at Venice; which was

Mr. Killigrew; which they did not at first believe, having before they left St. Germain's dissuaded the king from that purpose; but afterwards his majesty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that capacity he might borrow money of English merchants for his own subsistence; which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master; but was at last compelled to leave the republic for his vicious behaviour; of which the Venetian ambassador complained to the king, when he came afterwards to Paris.

The ambassador of the king of Poland was likewise a Florentine, who was much in favour with the king Uladislaus, from whom he was sent; and continued by king Casimir. He had lived in great splendour; but by his vicious course of life, and some miscarriages, he fell very low, and was revoked with some circumstances of dishonour. He was a man of a great wit, if it had not served him to very ill purposes. The ambassador of Florence was a subject of his master, and an abbot, a grave man; and though he was frequently called ambassador, he was in truth but resident; which was discovered by a contest he had with the Denmark resident for place; who alleged, that the other was no more than resident; which was true, and made the discovery that the Florentines send no ambassadors to Madrid, because they are not suffered to cover, which they use to do in many other courts. The archduke of Inspruck's minister was likewise a Florentine, and had been bred in Spain, and was a knight of the order; and supported that character upon a small assignation from his master, for some benefit and advantage it gave him in negotiations and pretences he had in that court.

The resident of Denmark was don Henrique Williamson, (he was afterwards called Rosewell,) who came secretary to Hannibal Zested; who had been the year before ambassador in that court, and lived in extraordinary splendour, as all the northern ministers do; who have not their

allowance from the king, but from a revenue that is purposely set aside for that kind of service. When he went away, he left this gentleman to remain there as resident. He was a grave and a sober man, wiser than most of his nation; and lived with much more plenty, and with a better retinue than any other minister of that rank in that court.

They had not been many days in Madrid, when don Lewis sent them the news of the imprisonment of the prince of Condé, prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville, and that marshal Turenne was fled into Flanders; so much the cardinal had improved his condition from the time that they had left Paris. There was yet no house provided for them, which they took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that business, if they had once a public reception as ambassadors; and therefore they resolved to demand an audience. Don Lewis came to be advertised that the ambassadors had prepared mourning for themselves, and all their train, against their audience; which was true; for they thought it the most proper dress for them to appear in, and to demand assistance to revenge the murder of their master, it being yet within the year: but don Lewis sent to them, that he hoped that when the whole court was *in gala*, upon the joy of the marriage of the king, and to give the queen a cheerful reception, they would not dishonour the festival by appearing *in luto*, which the king could not but take unkindly; which, he said, he thought fit to advertise them of, out of friendship, and without any authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an affair which seemed to have somewhat of reason in it, as out of apprehension, that from hence they might take occasion to defer their audience, they changed their purpose, and caused new clothes to be made; and then sent to demand their audience: upon the subject whereof, and what followed of the negotiation, the relation shall be continued.

Montpelier, March 1, 1670.

PART VI.

[THE ambassadors were conducted in form to their audience of the king of Spain; and afterwards of the queen and infanta; and at last a house was provided for them.]—(See p. 732.)

[They perceived that court was more inclined to cultivate a strict friendship with the new commonwealth of England, than with the king their master, from an opinion of his condition being irrecoverable—After all ceremonies were over, the ambassadors had a private audience of the king, to whom they delivered a memorial containing their propositions and demands—They received shortly after such an answer as was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown—They rested for some time without giving the court any further trouble,] (see p. 735,) and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if

they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concerns in their own country. The chancellor betook himself to the learning their language, by reading their books; of which he made a good collection; and informing himself the best he could of their government, and the administration of their justice: and there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which he finished in another banishment.

[Prince Rupert came upon the coast of Spain with the fleet under his command; and wrote to the chancellor, acquainting him, that he had brought away all the fleet from Ireland; and desiring him to procure orders from the court, that he might find a good reception in all the Spanish ports, if his occasions brought him thither—The news of a fleet of the king of England being on

their coast at a time when their galleons were expected home, occasioned great alteration in the behaviour of that court; and all that the ambassadors asked was easily granted: but that seeming favourable disposition was of short duration; for on the arrival afterwards of a strong fleet sent out by the parliament, and the commander thereof writing an insolent letter to the king of Spain, the ambassadors found themselves less regarded.] (See p. 735.)

[The king had now determined to go into Scotland, upon the invitation of the council and parliament of that kingdom; and the ambassadors, who in reality disapproved of that measure, notified it to the court of Spain as a happy turn in the king's affairs; setting forth, that his majesty was now master of that kingdom, and therefore might reasonably hope to be restored to the possession of the rest of his dominions—The court of Spain then began again to treat the ambassadors with more regard.] (See p. 753.)

[Upon the news of Cromwell's victory over the marquis of Argyle's army in Scotland, the ambassadors received a message from the king of Spain, desiring them to depart, since their presence in the court would be prejudicial to his affairs—They imagined this proceeded from the expectation of the arrival of an ambassador from the commonwealth of England, which was then reported; but they knew afterwards that the true cause of this impatience to get rid of them was, that their minister in England having purchased many of the king's pictures, and rich furniture, had sent them to the Groyne; from whence they were expected to arrive about that time at Madrid: which they thought could not decently be brought to the palace while the ambassadors remained at the court.] (See p. 752.)

[Lord Cottington resolves, and obtains leave to stay as a private man in Spain; but is not permitted to reside at Madrid.]—(See p. 753.)

The other ambassador made his journey by Alcala; and stayed a day there to see that university; where the college and other buildings made by the cardinal Ximenes are well worth the seeing; and went through the kingdom of Navarre to Pampeluna, where the vice-king, the duke of Escalona, received him; and lodged him two days in the palace, and treated him with great civility. There he was seized upon with the gout; yet he continued his journey by mules, there being no passage by coach or litter, over the Pyrenees to Bayonne; where he was forced to keep his bed, and to bleed, for many days: but was so impatient of delay, that after a week's rest, and before he was fit for the journey, he put himself into a litter, and reached Bourdeaux; where he was forced to follow the prescription of Dr. Lopez, a very learned Jew and physician; and yet went too soon from thence too; so that when he came to Paris, he was cast into his bed by a new defluxion of the gout, more violent than ever.

As soon as he had recovered any strength, he waited upon the queen mother, who received him very graciously; complained very much to him of the duke of York; who having been left with her by the king when he parted with her majesty at Beauvais, had, expressly against her consent and command, transported himself to Brussels, upon imaginations which had no foundation, and upon some treaty with the duke of Lorrain, which

she was sure could produce no good effect. Her majesty seemed most offended with sir Edward Herbert, the attorney general, and sir George Ratcliff, as the two persons who prevailed with the duke, and had engaged him in that journey, and governed him in it, against the advice of the lord Byron, who was his governor; and that being disappointed of what they had unreasonably looked for at Brussels, they had carried his royal highness into Holland, to his sister; who suffered much by his presence, the States of Holland being resolved not to suffer him to reside within their province; the prince of Orange being lately dead of the smallpox, and his son, who was born after his death, being an infant, and depending so entirely upon the good-will of the States: and therefore the princess royal was much troubled that the coming of the duke her brother into those parts gave the States any occasion of offence. The queen said, that she had writ to the duke to return into France, but had received no answer; and therefore she desired the ambassador, as soon as he should come into those parts, (for he meant to go to Antwerp, where his wife and children then were,) that he would make a journey to the Hague, to reduce the duke, and to prevail with him to return into France; which the ambassador could not refuse to promise.

He found there the queen's own family in some disorder, upon some declaration she had made, that the protestant chaplain should be no more permitted to perform his function in the Louvre; where the queen's court resided, and where there was a lower room, which had been always used as a chapel, from the time of the princes first coming thither to that time; and where twice a day the common prayer was read to those who were protestants, in both families; and now the queen had signified to Dr. Cosins (who was the chaplain assigned by the late king to attend in her majesty's family, for the protestant part of it) that he should be no more permitted to have the use of that room.

The chancellor of the exchequer took this occasion to speak with the queen; and put her in mind of some promise she had made him, when he took his leave of her to go for Spain, that she would not withdraw her stipend which she allowed to Dr. Cosins; whereby he must be compelled to withdraw; and so the protestant part of her family would be deprived of their public devotions; which promise she had observed to that time: but if now the room should be taken from that use, it would be the same thing as if the chaplain was turned away. He put her majesty in mind of the ill impression it might make in the hearts of the protestants in England, who retained their respects and duty for her majesty; and of what pernicious consequence it might prove to the king, who was still in Scotland, in a hopeful condition, and depended most upon the affections of his protestant subjects of England; and in the last place, whether it might not prove a better argument to those who were suspected by her to mislead the duke of York, to dissuade him from returning to her, since she would not permit him to have the exercise of his religion. The queen seemed to think that what he said was not without reason, and confessed that she was not the author of this new resolution, which she did not believe to be seasonable.

Mr. Walter Mountague, who had some years ago changed his religion, and was become catholic, after he had sustained a long imprisonment in the Tower of London, procured his release from thence, upon assurance that he would no more return into England; and so came into France; where he was very well known in the French, as well as the English court, and in great reputation and esteem with both queens. He appeared a man wholly restrained from all the vanity and levity of his former life; and perfectly mortified to the pleasures of the world, which he had enjoyed in a very great measure and excess.

He dedicated himself to his studies with great austerity, and seemed to have no affection or ambition for preferment, but to live within himself upon the very moderate exhibition he had left to him by his father; and in this melancholic retreat he had newly taken the order of priesthood; which was, in truth, the most reasonable way to satisfy his ambition, if he had any left; for both the queen regent and the cardinal could not but liberally provide for his support in that profession; which they did very shortly after: and this devout profession and new function much improved the interest and credit he always had in his old mistress; who very much hearkened to him in cases of conscience: and she confessed to the chancellor, that he was a little too bigotted in this affair; and had not only pressed her very passionately to remove the scandal of having a protestant chapel in her house, as inconsistent with a good conscience, but had likewise inflamed the queen regent with the same zeal; who had very earnestly pressed and importuned her majesty no longer to permit that offence to be given to the catholic religion. And upon this occasion she lamented the death of her late confessor, father Phillips, who, she said, was a very discreet man, and would never suffer her to be troubled with such infusions and scruples. In conclusion, she wished him to confer with Mr. Mountague, and to try if he could withdraw him from that asperity in that particular; to which purpose the chancellor conferred with him, but without any effect.

He said, the house was the king of France's, who only permitted the queen to live there; and that the queen regent thought herself bound in conscience no longer to suffer that reproach, of which she had never had information till very lately: that if the duke of York came thither, there was no thought or purpose to deny him the exercise of his religion; he might have his chaplain say prayers to him in his own chamber, or in some room adjacent, which served likewise to all other purposes; but that the setting a room apart, as this was, for that service, was upon the matter dedicating it as a chapel for the exercise of a religion contrary to what was established in that kingdom; which the king of France would not suffer to be done in a house of his, though the king should return thither again. He undervalued all the considerations which were offered of England, or of a protestant interest, as if he thought them all, as no doubt he did, of no importance to the king's restoration, which could never be effected but by that interest which was quite opposite to it. When he gave the queen an account of this discourse, he prevailed so far with her, that she promised, in case she should be

compelled to take away that room, as she foresaw she should be, the family should be permitted to meet in some other room; and if the duke of York came, the place that should be appointed for his devotions, should serve for all the rest to resort to.

As soon as the chancellor had recovered his strength, he took leave of the queen, and pursued his journey for Flanders. At Brussels he stayed till he had an audience of the archduke, to whom he had letters from the king of Spain and don Lewis; by which the king signified his pleasure that he should reside any where in those provinces he best liked, until he could conveniently repair to the king his master; and that in the mean time he should enjoy all the privileges due to an ambassador: and so he had his audience in that quality. He spake in Latin; and the archduke, answering in the same, assured him of all the respects he could pay him whilst he stayed in those parts: and thereupon he went to his family at Antwerp, and kept that character till the king's coming into France, and his return to him; by means whereof he enjoyed many privileges and exemptions in the town; and had the freedom of his chapel, not only for his own devotions, but for the resort of all the protestants who were then in the town; whereof the marquis of Newcastle, the earl of Norwich, and sir Charles Cavendish were the principal; who came always on the Sundays, and frequently on the week days, to the common prayer, to the grief of many English and Irish Roman catholics; who used all the malicious artifices they could to procure that liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other concession than by the privilege of an ambassador.

Whilst he was preparing to make a journey to the Hague, to wait upon the duke of York, according to the promise he had made to the queen, he received information from the Hague, that his royal highness would be at Breda such a day; whereupon he was glad to shorten his journey, and at the day to kiss his hands there; where he found his highness newly arrived, and in an inclination enough to return to the queen; so that the chancellor had no great task to confirm him in that resolution; nor in truth did he know what else to do: however, all about him were very glad of the chancellor's presence, every body hoping to get him to their party, that he might be ready to make a fair report of their behaviour to the king; whom they knew the queen would endeavour to incense against them.

Never little family was torn into so many pieces and factions. The duke was very young, yet loved intrigues so well, that he was too much inclined to hearken to any men who had the confidence to make bold propositions to him. The king had appointed him to remain with the queen, and to obey her in all things, religion only excepted. The lord Byron was his governor, ordained to be so by his father, and very fit for that province; being a very fine gentleman; well bred both in France and Italy, and perfectly versed in both languages; of great courage and fidelity; and in all respects qualified for the trust; but his being absent in the king's service when the duke made his escape out of England, and sir John Berkley being then put about him, all pains had been taken to lessen his esteem of the lord Byron: and

sir John Berkley, knowing that he could no longer remain governor when the lord Byron came thither, and hearing that he was in his journey, infused into the duke's mind, that it was a great lessening of his dignity at that age (when he was not above fourteen years of age, and backward enough for that age) to be under a governor; and so, partly by disesteeming the person, and partly by reproaching the office, he grew less inclined to the person of that good lord than he should have been.

But what title soever any body had, the whole authority was in the queen, not only by the direction of the king, but by inevitable necessity; for there was no kind of fund assigned for the support of the duke; but he depended entirely upon the queen his mother's bounty, who had no more assigned for herself than they, to whom the management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their occasions; so that her majesty herself certainly spent less upon her own person, or in any thing relating to herself, than ever any queen or lady of a very eminent degree did. This visible and total dependence of the duke upon his mother made her majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that care for the general part of his education, nor that indulgence to his person, as ought to have been; and the queen's own carriage and behaviour towards him was at least severe enough, as it had been before to the king, in the time that he was prince; which then and now gave opportunity to those who were not themselves at ease, to make many infusions; which, how contrary soever to their duties, were not so unreasonable as to be easily rejected, or to make no impression.

The king, at his going from Beauvais in his voyage for Scotland, had given some recommendation to the duke his brother of sir George Ratcliff; to whose care his father had once designed to commit him, when he meant to have sent him into Ireland; and his majesty had likewise, at the same time at Beauvais, made some promise to sir George Ratcliff of some place about his brother, when his family should be settled, of which there was then little appearance: however, it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent attendance upon the duke; and the general reputation he had of having been the person of the nearest trust with the earl of Strafford, might well dispose the duke to think him a wise man, and the better to esteem any thing he said to him.

Sir Edward Herbert thought himself the wisest man that followed the king's fortune, and was always angry that he had no more to do; and now prince Rupert was absent, endeavoured all he could to get credit with the duke of York; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long whispers, which the duke easily indulged to him, out of a real belief that he was a man of great wisdom and experience. The queen liked neither of these two; which they well enough discerning, grew into a friendship, or rather a familiarity together, though they were of the most different natures and humours imaginable: Ratcliff being a man very capable of business; and if the prosperity of his former fortune had not raised in him some fumes of vanity and self-conceitedness, was very fit to be advised with, being of a nature constant and sincere; which the other

was not: yet they agreed well in the design of making the duke of York discontented and weary of his condition; which was not pleasant enough to be much delighted in.

The news from England, of the state of the king's affairs in Scotland, made most men believe that his majesty was irrecoverably lost; and there was for some time a rumour scattered abroad, and by many believed, that the king was dead. These two gentlemen, upon the fame of this, consulted together, whether, if the news were or should be true, the duke of York, who must succeed, were in a good place; and both concluded, that in that case it would not be fit that he should be with his mother. Hereupon they persuaded the duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in France, but to employ himself abroad; whereby his experience might be improved, and he might put himself into a posture to be able to assist the king his brother; or if any misfortune should befall him, in some degree to provide for himself; and proposed to him, that he would resolve to make a journey to Brussels, to advise and consult with the duke of Lorraine, who was a prince of great wisdom, wealth, and courage; and being driven out of his own country by too powerful and potent a neighbour, had yet, by his own activity and virtue, made himself so considerable, that Spain depended upon his army, and France itself would be glad of his friendship; that he was very rich, and would not be only able to give the duke good counsel, but assistance to make it effectual.

The duke, without further examining the probability of the design, which he concluded had been thought upon enough by two such wise men, gave his full consent to it; and they having likewise found credit for so much money as would defray the charges of the journey, and really believing that the king was dead, the duke one day told the queen, that he was resolved to make a journey to Brussels to see the duke of Lorraine; with which the queen being surprised, used both her reason and her authority to dissuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his highness telling her very obstinately, that he would begin his journey within two days. She found that none of his servants were privy to the design, or were at all acquainted with the purpose; and quickly discovered the two counsellors; who, having no relation to his service that she knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. Steward (who was dean of the chapel to the king, and left behind when his majesty went for Scotland, with direction to be with the duke of York) to be of their party.

The doctor was a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the church; upon which his heart was most entirely set; not without some prejudice to those who thought there was any other object to be more carefully pursued. Sir George Ratcliff seemed to be of his mind, and so was looked upon by him as one of the best friends of the church; which was virtue enough to cover many defects. He told him of the rumour of the death of the king, and what conference had been between him and the attorney general upon it, which they both believed; and how necessary they thought it was for the duke to be out of France when the cer-

tainty of that news should arrive: that they had spoken with the duke of it, who seemed very well disposed; yet they knew not how his mother's authority might prevail over his obedience; and therefore wished that he would speak with the duke, who had great reverence for him in all matters of conscience, and remove any scruples which might arise. The doctor did not think himself so much regarded by the queen as he expected to be, and did really believe the case to be such as the other had informed him; and confirmed the duke in his resolution, notwithstanding any thing his mother should say to the contrary; and the queen could neither say or do any thing to dissuade him from the journey.

The lord Byron his governor, and Mr. Bennet his secretary, both well liked by the queen, and of great confidence in each other, thought it their duty to attend upon him. Sir John Berkley stayed behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which he always abhorred, as to prosecute an amour which he was newly embarked in; and sir George Ratcliff, and sir Edward Herbert, and the good doctor, were so to improve their interest, that neither the queen or any who depended on her might have any credit with the duke. Most of the inferior servants depended upon them, because they saw they had most interest with their master; and with these thoughts and resolutions they all set out for Brussels: and these wild notions were the true reasons and foundation of that journey, which many sober men so much wondered at then, and so much censured afterwards.

When his highness came to Brussels, he was accommodated in the house of sir Henry de Vic, the king's resident there: and he was no sooner there, but they began to model his house and regulate his family; towards which sir George Ratcliff was designed to manage all the affairs of money; the attorney contenting himself with having the greatest power in governing the councils; and all looking for other stations upon the arrival of the news from Scotland. But in a short time the intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what they expected; the king was not only in good health, but his affairs in no desperate condition; all factions seemed reconciled, and he was at the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face.

Hereupon they were at a great stand in their councils. The duke of Lorraine had been civil to the duke, and had at his first coming lent him some money; but when he found he was without any design, and by what persons his counsels were directed, he grew colder in his respects; and they who had gone thus far, took upon them the presumption to propose a marriage between the duke of York and a natural daughter of the duke of Lorraine; his marriage with madame de Cantecroy, the mother of the said lady, being declared void in the court of Rome: but the duke of Lorraine was so wise as not to entertain the motion, except it should be made with the king's privacy. So apt are unexperienced men, when they are once out of the way, to wander into bogs and precipices, before they will be sensible of their false conduct. When they found there was nothing to be done at Brussels, they persuaded the duke to go to the Hague, with as little design; and when they had wearied all people there, they

came to Breda, where the chancellor had met them.

The duke himself was so young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not entered upon them with reason enough; and they had fortified him with a firm resolution, never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. But his counsellors had lost all the pleasure of their combination, and reproached each other of their follies and presumptions with all the animosity imaginable. The lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who had comforted each other in their sufferings, were glad enough to see that there was some end put to their peregrinations, and that by returning to the queen they were like to find some rest again; and they entertained the chancellor with many ridiculous relations of the politics of the attorney and sir George Ratcliff, and of the pleasant discourses the duke of Lorraine made of the Latin orations sir George Ratcliff had entertained him with.

On the other hand, sir George was well pleased with the grace he had received from the duke of Lorraine, and with the testimony he had given of him to some men who had told him of it again, that he was a very grave and a wise man, and that he wished he had such another to look after his affairs. He and Dr. Steward continued their affections towards each other, and concurred in most bitter invectives against sir Edward Herbert, as a madman, and of that intolerable pride, that it was not possible for any man to converse with him; and the attorney as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no understanding, no learning, no principles, and no resolution; and was so just to them all, as to condemn every man alike; and in truth had rendered himself so grievous to them all, and behaved himself so insolently towards all, that there was not a man who desired to be in his company: yet by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason, and not it, he retained still great credit with the duke; who being still confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easy to be understood.

The duke upon the receipt of the queen's letters, which the chancellor delivered to him, resolved upon his journey to Paris without further delay; and the chancellor waiting upon his highness as far as Antwerp, he prosecuted his journey with the same retinue he had carried with him; and was received by his mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those who she thought had the credit and power to seduce him.

The chancellor was now at a little rest again with his own family in Antwerp; and had time to be vacant to his own thoughts and books; and in the interval to enjoy the conversation of many worthy persons of his own nation, who had chosen that place to spend the time of their banishment in. There was the marquis of Newcastle, who having married a young lady, confined himself most to her company; and lived as retired as his ruined condition in England obliged him to; yet with honour, and decency, and with much respect paid him by all men, as well foreigners as those of his own country. The conversation the chancellor took most delight in was that of sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the marquis; who was one of the

most extraordinary persons of that age, in all the noble endowments of the mind. He had all the disadvantages imaginable in his person; which was not only of so small a size that it drew the eyes of men upon him, but with such deformity in his little person, and an aspect in his countenance, that was apter to raise contempt than application: but in this unhandsome or homely habitation, there was a mind and a soul lodged that was very lovely and beautiful; cultivated and polished by all the knowledge and wisdom that arts and sciences could supply it with. He was a great philosopher, in the extent of it; and an excellent mathematician; whose correspondence was very dear to Gassendus and Descartes; the last of which dedicated some of his works to him. He had very notable courage; and the vigour of his mind so adorned his body, that being with his brother the marquis in all the war, he usually went out in all parties, and was present, and charged the enemy in all battles with as keen a courage as could dwell in the heart of man. But then the gentleness of his disposition, the humility and meekness of his nature, and the vivacity of his wit was admirable. He was so modest, that he could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himself on subjects he understood better than other men, except he were pressed by his very familiar friends; as if he thought it presumption to know more than handsomer men use to do. Above all, his virtue and piety was such, that no temptation could work upon him to consent to any thing that swerved in the least degree from the precise rules of honour, or the most severe rules of conscience.

When he was exceedingly importuned by those whom he loved best to go into England, and compound for his estate, which was very good, that thereby he might be enabled to help his friends, who were reduced into great straits; he refused it, out of apprehension that he might be required to take the covenant or engagement, or to do somewhat else which his conscience would not permit him to do: and when they endeavoured to undervalue that conscience, and to persuade him not to be governed by it, that would expose him to famine, and restrain him from being charitable to his best friends; he was so offended with their argumentation, that he would no more admit any discourse upon the subject. Upon which they applied themselves to the chancellor; who they thought had most credit with him; and desired him to persuade him to make a journey into England; the benefit whereof to him and themselves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his refusal, and the arguments they had used to convert him.

The next time they met, which they usually did once a day, the chancellor told him, he heard he had a purpose to make a journey into England; to which he suddenly answered, that indeed he was desired to do so, but that he had positively refused; and thereupon, with much warmth and indignation, related what importunity and what arguments had been used to him, and what he had answered: and thereupon said, that his present condition was in no degree pleasant or easy to him, (as in truth it was not, he being in very visible want of ordinary conveniences,) but, he protested, that he would rather submit to nakedness, or starving in the street, than subscribe to

the covenant or engagement, or do any thing else that might reflect upon his honour or his conscience. To which the chancellor replied, that his resolution became him, and was worthy of his wisdom and honesty; and that if he found him inclined to do any thing that might trench upon either, he was so much his friend, that he would put him in mind of his obligations to both; that indeed the arguments which had been used to him could never prevail upon a virtuous mind: however, he told him, he thought the motion from his friends might be a little more considered before it was rejected; and confessed to him, that he was desired to confer with him about it, and to dispose him to it, without being informed that any attempt had been already made: and then asked him, whether he did in truth believe that his journey thither might probably produce those benefits to himself and his friends as they imagined; and then it would be fit to consider, whether those conveniences were to be purchased at a dearer price than they were worth.

He answered, there could be no doubt, but that if he could go thither with safety, and be admitted to compound for his estate, as others did, he could then sell it at so good a price, that he could not only provide for a competent subsistence for himself, when he returned, but likewise assist his friends for their better support; and that he could otherwise, out of lands that were in trust, and not known to be his, and so had not been yet sequestered, raise other sums of money, which would be attended with many conveniences; and he confessed nothing of all this could be done without his own presence. But then that which deprived him of all this was, in the first place, the apprehension of imprisonment; which, he said, his constitution would not bear; but especially, because by their own ordinance nobody was capable to compound till he had subscribed to the covenant and engagement; which he would not do to save his life; and that in what necessity soever he was, he valued what benefit he could possibly receive by the journey only as it might consist with his innocence and liberty to return; and since he could not reasonably presume of either, he had no thought of going.

The chancellor told him, that they were both of the same mind in all things which related to conscience and honour; but yet, since the benefits that might result from this journey were great, and very probable, and in some degree certain, and the mischiefs he apprehended were not certain, and possibly might be avoided, he thought he was not to lay aside all thoughts of the journey, which he was so importuned to undertake by those who were so dear to him. That he was of the few who had many friends, and no enemies; and therefore had no reason to fear imprisonment, or any other rigour extraordinary; which was seldom used, but to persons under some notable prejudice. That after he once came to London, he would not take much pleasure in going abroad; but might despatch his business by others, who would repair to him: and that for the covenant and engagement, they were so contrary, that both were rarely offered to the same person; and they had now so much jostled and reviled each other, that they were neither in so much credit as they had been, and were not pressed but upon such persons against whom they had a particular de-

sign; however, he went well armed, as to that point, with a resolution not to submit to either; and the worst that could happen, was to return without the full effect of his journey. Whereas if those mischiefs could be avoided, which the skilful upon the place could only instruct him in, he would return with great benefit and satisfaction to himself and his friends; and if he were subjected to imprisonment, (which he ought not to apprehend, and could be but short,) even in that case his journey could not be without fruit, by the conference and transactions with his friends; though no composition could be made. Upon revolving these considerations, he resolved to undertake the journey; and performed it so happily, without those obstructions he feared, that he finished all he proposed to himself, and made a competent provision to support his brother during his distress; though when he had despatched it, he lived not to enjoy the repose he desired, but died before he could return to Antwerp: and the marquis ever after publicly acknowledged the benefit he received hereby to the chancellor's advice.

As soon as the chancellor had reposed himself at Antwerp, after so much fatigue, he thought it necessary to give some account of himself to the king; and though the prohibition before his going into Scotland, and the sending away many of the servants who attended him thither out of the kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himself, he resolved to send his secretary, (a man of fidelity, and well known to the king,) to inform his majesty of all that had passed, and to bring back his commands; but when he was at Amsterdam, ready to embark, upon a ship bound for Scotland, the news arrived there of his majesty's being upon his march for England; upon which he returned to Antwerp; where he found the spirits of all the English exalted with the same advertisement.

[As soon as the king came to Paris, (after his wonderful deliverance from the battle of Worcester,) and knew that the chancellor of the exchequer was at Antwerp, his majesty sent to him to repair thither, which he accordingly did; and for the first four or five days after his arrival, the king spent many hours with him in private; and informed him of many particulars of the treatment he had met with in Scotland; of his march into England; of the confusion at Worcester; and all the circumstances of his happy escape and deliverance.] (See p. 772.)

The chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious eye by her majesty; only the lord Jermyn knew well he would never resign himself to be disposed of, which was the temper that could only endear any man to him: for besides former experience, an attempt had been lately made upon him by sir John Berkley; who told him, that the queen had a good opinion of him; and knew well in how ill a condition he must be, in respect of his subsistence; and that she would assign him such a competent maintenance, that he should be able to draw his family to him out of Flanders to Paris, and to live comfortably together, if she might be confident of his service, and that he would always concur with her in his advice to the king. To which he answered, that he

should never fail in performing his duty to the queen, whom he acknowledged to be his most gracious mistress, with all possible integrity: but as he was a servant and counsellor to the king, so he should always consider what was good for his service; and never decline that out of any compliance whatsoever; and that he did not desire to be supported from any bounty but the king's; nor more by his, than in proportion with what his majesty should be able to do for his other servants. And shortly after the queen herself speaking with him, and complaining that she had no credit with the king; the chancellor desired her not to think so; he knew well the king had great duty for her, which he would still preserve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect such an interest as to be thought to govern, so nothing could be more disadvantageous to the king, and to his interest, than that the world should believe that he was absolutely governed by his mother; which he found (though she seemed to consent to it) was no acceptable declaration to her. However, she did often employ him to the king, upon such particulars as troubled or offended her; as once, for the removal of a young lady out of the Louvre, who had procured a lodging there without her majesty's consent; and with whom her majesty was justly offended, for the little respect she shewed towards her majesty: and when the chancellor had prevailed so far with the king, that he obliged the lady to remove out of the Louvre, to satisfy his mother, the queen was well content that the lady herself and her friends should believe, that she had undergone that affront merely by the malice and credit of the chancellor.

[The king remained at Paris till the year 1654; when, in the month of June, he left France; and passing through Flanders, went to Spa; where he proposed to spend two or three months with his sister, the princess royal. His stay at Spa was not so long as he intended, the smallpox breaking out there. His majesty and his sister suddenly removed to Aix-la-Chapelle.]—(See p. 815, &c.)

^a At this time there fell out an accident not pertinent to the public history of that time, but necessary to be inserted in the particular relation of the chancellor's life; which had afterwards an influence upon his fortune, and a very great one upon the peace and quiet of his mind, and of his family. Mr. O'Neile, who professed much kindness to the chancellor, and by his friendship with the lady Stanhope had much credit in the family of the princess, came to him and told him that the princess royal had a very good opinion of him, and kind purposes towards his family; which she knew suffered much for his fidelity to the king; and therefore that she was much troubled to find that her mother the queen had less kindness for him than he deserved; that by the death of Mrs. Killigrew there was a place now fallen, which very many would desire; and that it would no sooner be known at Paris, than the queen would undoubtedly recommend some lady to the princess; but he was confident that, if the chancellor would move the king to recommend his daughter, who was known to the princess, her highness would willingly receive her. He thanked

^a For a more circumstantial account of the entrance of the chancellor's daughter into the family of the princess royal, the reader is referred to p. 1007.

him for his particular kindness, but conjured him not to use his interest to promote any such pretence; and that "himself would not apply the king's favour to such a request; that he had but one daughter, (for he had then no more,) who was all the company and comfort her mother had in her melancholic retirement, and therefore he was resolved not to separate them, nor to dispose his daughter to a court life;" which he did in truth perfectly detest. O'Neile, much disappointed with the answer, and believing that the proposition would have been very grateful to him, confessed, that the princess had been already moved in it by the lady Chesterfield; and that it was her own desire that the king should move it to her, to the end that she might be thereby sheltered from the reproach which she expected from the queen; but that the princess herself had so much kindness for his daughter, that she had long resolved to have her upon the first vacancy. The chancellor was exceedingly perplexed, and resolved nothing more, than that his daughter should not live from her mother; and therefore renewed his conjurations to Mr. O'Neile, that he would not further promote it, since it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no application, and the importunity of others who desired the honour, would put an end to the pretence.

The king had heard of the matter from the princess, and willingly expected when the chancellor would move him for his recommendation; which when he saw he forbore to do, he spake himself to him of it, and asked him why he did not make such a suit to him: upon which the chancellor told him all that had passed between O'Neile and him; and that for many reasons he declined the receiving that obligation from the princess; and therefore he had no use of his majesty's favour in it. The king told him plainly, that "his sister, upon having seen his daughter some days, liked her so well, that she desired to have her about her person; and had herself spoken to him to move it to her, for the reason aforesaid, and to prevent any displeasure from the queen; and he knew not how the chancellor could, or why he should, omit such an opportunity of providing for his daughter in so honourable a way." The chancellor told him, "he could not dispute the reasons with him; only that he could not give himself leave to deprive his wife of her daughter's company, nor believe that she could be more advantageously bred than under her mother." Hereupon he went to the princess, and took notice of the honour she was inclined to do him; but, he told her, the honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the conjuncture seasonable for her royal highness to confer it; that she could not but know his condition, being deprived of his estate; and if her highness's bounty had not assigned a house at Breda, where his wife and family lived rent free, they had not known how to have subsisted: but by that her favour, the small supplies his friends in England secretly sent over to them sustained them in that private retirement in which they lived; so that it was not in his power to make his daughter such an allowance as would enable her to live in her court in that manner as would become her relation.

The princess would not permit him to enlarge;

but very generously told him, that she knew well the straitness of his condition, and how it came to be so low; and had no thought that he should be at the charge to maintain his daughter in her service; that he should leave that to her; and so used many expressions of esteem of him, and of kindness and grace to his daughter. He, foreseeing and expecting such generosity, replied to her, that since her goodness disposed her to such an act of charity and honour, it became his duty and gratitude to provide, that she should bring no inconvenience upon herself; that he had the misfortune (with all the innocence and integrity imaginable) to be more in the queen her mother's disfavour, than any gentleman who had had the honour to serve the crown so many years in some trust; that all the application he could make, nor the king's own interposition, could prevail with her majesty to receive him into her gracious opinion; and that he could not but know, that this unseasonable act of charity, which her highness would vouchsafe to so ungracious a family, would produce some resentment and displeasure from the queen her mother towards her highness, and increase the weight of her severe indignation against him, which so heavily oppressed him already; and therefore he resolved to prevent that mischief, which would undoubtedly befall her highness; and would not submit to the receiving the fruits of her favourable condescension.

To this the princess answered with some warmth, that she had always paid that duty to the queen her mother which was due to her, and would never give her a just cause to be offended with her: but that she was mistress of her own family, and might receive what servants she pleased; and that she should commit a great fault against the queen, if she should forbear to do a good and a just action, to which she was inclined, out of apprehension that her majesty would be offended at it. She said, she knew some ill offices had been done him to her mother, for which she was sorry; and doubted not, but her majesty would in due time discern that she had been misinformed and mistaken; and then she would like and approve of what her highness should now do. In the mean time she was resolved to take his daughter, and would send for her as soon as she returned into Holland. The chancellor, not in any degree converted, but confounded with the gracious and frank discourse of the princess royal, knew not what more to say; replied only, that he hoped her highness would think better of what she seemed to undervalue, and that he left his daughter to be disposed of by her mother, who he knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her highness answered, "I'll warrant you, my lady and I will agree upon the matter." To conclude this discourse, which, considering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered; he knew his wife had no inclination to have her daughter out of her own company; and when he had by letter informed her of all that had passed, he endeavoured to confirm her in that resolution: but when the princess, after her return into Holland, sent to her, and renewed her gracious offer, she, upon consultation with Dr. Morley, (who upon the old friendship between the chancellor and him, chose in his banishment, from the mur-

der of the king, to make his residence for the most part in his family, and was always perfectly kind to all his interests,) believed it might prove for her daughter's benefit, and writ to her husband her opinion, and that the doctor concurred in the same.

The chancellor looked upon the matter itself, and all the circumstances thereof, as having some marks of divine Providence, which he would not resist, and so referred it wholly to his wife; who when she had presented her daughter to the princess, came herself to reside with her husband, to his great comfort; and which he could not have enjoyed if the other separation had not been made; and possibly that consideration had the more easily disposed her to consent to the other. We have now set down all the passages and circumstances which accompanied or attended that lady's first promotion to the service of the princess royal; which the extreme averseness in her father and mother from embracing that opportunity, and the unusual grace and importunity from them who conferred the honour being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary operation of Providence in giving the first rise to what afterwards succeeded; though of a nature so transcendent, as cannot be thought to have any relation to it.

[After an unsuccessful insurrection of some of the king's friends in England, Cromwell exercised the utmost severity and cruelty against them; putting many to death, and transporting others as slaves to Barbadoes; and by his own authority, and that of his council, made an order, that all persons who had ever borne arms for, or declared themselves of, the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of all the estate they had left, to support the charge of the commonwealth; and published a declaration to justify his proceedings, (See p. 823-830.) which confidently set down such maxims, as made it manifest to all who had ever served the king, or would not submit to Cromwell's power and government, that they

had nothing that they could call their own, but must be disposed of at his pleasure; which as much concerned all other parties as the king's, in the consequence; though for the present none but that party underwent that insupportable burden of the decimation, which brought in a vast incredible sum of money into his coffers, the greater part whereof was raised upon those who never did, nor ever would have given his majesty the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of the king's party, because they had not assisted the rebels to any considerable proportion, but had a good mind to have sat neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party.

This declaration, as soon as printed, was sent over to Cologne, [where the king then was,] and the chancellor was commanded by the king to write some discourse upon it, to awaken the people, and shew them their concernment in it; which he did by way of "a Letter to a Friend;" which was likewise sent into England, and there printed; and when Cromwell called his next parliament, it was made great use of to inflame the people, and make them sensible of the destruction that attended them; and was thought then to produce many good effects. And so we conclude this part.

Montpelier, May 27, 1670.

[The seventh and last part of the manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August 1, 1670, and continues the history from the king's residence at Cologne, to the restoration of the royal family in 1660; containing the substance of what is printed in the two last books of *The History of the Rebellion*. The only remarkable circumstance of the author's life during that period is, that in the year 1657, while the king was at Bruges, his majesty appointed the chancellor of the exchequer to be lord high chancellor of England; and delivered the great seal into his custody, upon the death of sir Edward Herbert, the last lord keeper thereof.] (See p. 831-910.)

THE
CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE
OF
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

Moulins, June 8, 1672.

Reflections upon the most material passages which happened after the king's restoration to the time of the chancellor's banishment; out of which his children, for whose information they are only collected, may add some important passages to his Life, as the true cause of his misfortunes.

THE easy and glorious reception of the king, in the manner that hath been mentioned, without any other conditions than what had been frankly offered by himself in his declaration and letters from Breda; the parliament's casting themselves in a body at his feet, in the minute of his arrival at Whitehall, with all the professions of duty and submission imaginable; and no man having authority there, but they who had either eminently served the late king, or who were since grown up out of their nonage from such fathers, and had thoroughly manifested their fast fidelity to his present majesty; the rest, who had been enough criminal, shewing more animosity towards the severe punishment of those, who having more power in the late times had exceeded them in mischief, than care for their own indemnity: this temper sufficiently evident, and the universal joy of the people, which was equally visible, for the total suppression of all those who had so many years exercised tyranny over them, made most men believe, both abroad and at home, that God had not only restored the king miraculously to his throne, but that he had, as he did in the time of Hezekiah, "prepared the people, for the thing was done suddenly," (2 Chron. xxix. 36.) in such a manner that his authority and greatness would have been more illustrious than it had been in any of his ancestors. And it is most true, and must never be denied, that the people were so admirably disposed and prepared to pay all the subjection, duty, and obedience, that a just and prudent king could expect from them, and had a very sharp aversion and detestation of all those who had formerly misled and corrupted them; so that, except the general, who seemed to be possessed entirely of the affection of the army, and whose fidelity was now above any misapprehension, there appeared no man whose power and interest could in any degree shake or endanger the peace and security the king was in; the congratulations for his return being so universal from all the counties of England, as well as from the parliament and city; from all those who had most signally disserved and disclaimed him, as well as from those of his own party, and those who were descended from them: insomuch as the king was wont merrily to say, as hath been mentioned be-

fore, "that it could be nobody's fault but his own that he had stayed so long abroad, when all mankind wished him so heartily at home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the standers-by, and the spectators of this wonderful change and exclamation of all degrees of men, that there must be some wonderful miscarriages in the state, or some unheard of defect of understanding in those who were trusted by the king in the administration of his affairs; that there could in so short a time be a new revolution in the general affections of the people, that they grew even weary of that happiness they were possessed of and had so much valued, and fell into the same discontents and murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worst times. From what fatal causes these miserable effects were produced, is the business of this present disquisition to examine, and in some degree to discover; and therefore must be of such a nature, as must be as tenderly handled, with reference to things and persons, as the discovery of the truth will permit; and cannot be presumed to be intended ever for a public view, or for more than the information of his children of the true source and grounds from whence their father's misfortunes proceeded, in which nothing can be found that can make them ashamed of his memory.

The king brought with him from beyond the seas that council which had always attended him, and whose advice he had always received in his transactions of greatest importance; and his small family, that consisted of gentlemen who had for the most part been put about him by his father, and constantly waited upon his person in all his distresses, with as much submission and patience undergoing their part in it, as could reasonably be expected from such a people; and therefore had the keener appetites, and the stronger presumption to push on their fortunes (as they called it) in the infancy of their master's restoration, that other men might not be preferred before them, who had not "borne the heat of the day," as they had done.

Of the council were the chancellor, the marquis of Ormond, the lord Colepepper, and secretary Nicholas, who lived in great unity and concurrence in the communication of the most secret

counsels. There had been more of his council abroad with him, who, according to the motions he made, and the places he had resided in, were sometimes with him, but other remained in France, or in some parts of Holland and Flanders, for their convenience, ready to repair to his majesty when they should be called. The four nominated above were they who constantly attended, were privy to all counsels, and waited upon him in his return.

The chancellor was the highest in place, and thought to be so in trust, because he was most in private with the king, had managed most of the secret correspondence in England, and all despatches of importance had passed through his hands; which had hitherto been with the less envy, because the indefatigable pains he took were very visible, and it was as visible that he gained nothing by it. His wants and necessities were as great as any man's, nor was the allowance assigned to him by the king in the least degree more, or better paid, than every one of the council received. Besides, the friendship was so entire between the marquis of Ormond and him, that no arts that were used could dissolve it; and it was enough known, that as he had an entire and full confidence from the king, and a greater esteem than any man, so, that the chancellor so entirely communicated all particulars with him, that there was not the least resolution taken without his privity and approbation. The chancellor had been employed by the last king in all the affairs of the greatest trust and secrecy; had been made privy counsellor and chancellor of the exchequer in the very beginning of the troubles; and had been sent by that king into the west with his son, when he thought their interest would be best preserved and provided for by separating their persons. A greater testimony and recommendation a servant could not receive from his master, than the king gave of him to the prince, who from that time treated him with as much affection and confidence as any man, and which (notwithstanding very powerful opposition) he continued and improved to this time of his restoration; and even then rejected some intimations rather than propositions, which were secretly made to him at the Hague, that the chancellor was a man very much in the prejudice of the presbyterian party, as in truth he was, and therefore that his majesty would do best to leave him behind, till he should be himself settled in England: which the king received with that indignation and disdain, and answered the person, who privately presumed to give the advice, in such a manner, that he was troubled no more with the importunity, nor did any man ever own the advice. Yet the chancellor had besought the king, upon some rumours which had been spread, that if any exception or prejudice to his person should be so insisted on, as might delay his return one hour, he would decline giving him any protection, till he should find it more in his power, after his arrival in England: which desire of his, though it found no reception with the king, proceeded from so much sincerity, that it is well known the chancellor did positively resolve, that if any such thing had been urged by any authority, he would render the king's indulgence and grace of no inconvenience to his majesty, by his secret and voluntary withdrawing himself,

without his privity, and without the reach of his discovery for some time: so far he was from being biassed by his own particular benefit and advantage.

The marquis of Ormond was the person of the greatest quality, estate, and reputation, who had frankly engaged his person and his fortune in the king's service from the first hour of the troubles, and pursued it with that courage and constancy, that when the king was murdered, and he deserted by the Irish, contrary to the articles of the peace which they had made with him, and when he could make no longer defence, he refused all the conditions which Cromwell offered, who would have given him all his vast estate, if he would have been contented to have lived quietly in some of his own houses, without further concerning himself in the quarrel; and transported himself, without so much as accepting a pass from his authority, in a little weak vessel into France, where he found the king, from whom he never parted till he returned with him into England. And having thus merited as much as a subject can do from a prince, he had much more credit and esteem with the king than any other man: and the lustre the chancellor was in, was no less from the declared friendship the marquis had for him, than from the great trust his majesty reposed in him.

The lord Colepepper was a man of great parts, a very sharp and present wit, and an universal understanding; so that few men filled a place in council with more sufficiency, or expressed themselves upon any subject that occurred with more weight and vigour. He had been trusted by the late king (who had a singular opinion of his courage and other abilities) to wait upon the prince when he left his father, and continued still afterwards with him, or in his service, and in a good correspondence with the chancellor.

Secretary Nicholas was a man of general good reputation with all men, of unquestionable integrity and long experience in the service of the crown; whom the late king trusted as much as any man to his death. He was one of those who were excepted by the parliament from pardon or composition, and so was compelled to leave the kingdom shortly after Oxford was delivered up, when the king was in the hands of the Scots. The present king continued him in the office of secretary of state, which he had so long held under his father. He was a man of great gravity, and without any ambitious or private designs; and had so fast a friendship with the chancellor for many years, that he was very well content, and without any jealousy for his making many despatches and other transactions, which more immediately related to his office, and which indeed were always made with his privity and concurrence.

This was the state and constitution of the king's council and his family, when he embarked in Holland, and landed at Dover: the additions and alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their place.

It will be convenient here, before we descend to those particulars which had an influence upon the minds of men, to take a clear view of the temper and spirit of that time; of the nature and inclination of the army; of the disposition and interest of the several factions in religion; all which appeared in their several colours, without

dissembling their principles, and with equal confidence demanded the liberty of conscience they had enjoyed in and since the time of Cromwell; and the humour and the present purpose and design of the parliament itself, to whose judgment and determination the whole settlement of the kingdom, both in church and state, stood referred by the king's own declaration from Breda, which by God's inspiration had been the sole visible motive to that wonderful change that had ensued. And whosoever takes a prospect of all those several passions and appetites and interests, together with the divided affections, jealousies, and animosities of those who had been always looked upon as the king's party, which, if united, would in that conjuncture have been powerful enough to have balanced all the other; I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this composition of contradictory wishes and expectations, must confess that the king was not yet the master of the kingdom, nor his authority and security such as the general noise and acclamation, the bells and the bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no conjuncture more need, that the virtue and wisdom and industry of a prince should be evident, and made manifest in the preservation of his dignity, and in the application of his mind to the government of his affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him should be men of unquestionable sincerity, who with industry and dexterity should first endeavour to compose the public disorders, and to provide for the peace and settlement of the kingdom, before they applied themselves to make or improve their own particular fortunes. And there is little question, but if this good method had been pursued, and the resolutions of that kind, which the king had seriously taken beyond the seas, when he first discerned his good fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the hearts and affections of all degrees of men were so prepared by their own natural inclinations and integrity, by what they had seen and what they had suffered, by their observations and experience, by their fears, or by their hopes; that they might have been all kneaded into as firm and constant an obedience and resignation to the king's authority, and to a lasting establishment of monarchic power, in all the just extents which the king could expect, or men of any public or honest affections could wish or submit to.

The first mortification the king met with was as soon as he arrived at Canterbury, which was within three hours after he landed at Dover; and where he found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own sufferings or those of their fathers, and their constant adhering to the same principles, as of the king's party; who with joy waited to kiss his hand, and were received by him with those open arms and flowing expressions of grace, calling all those by their names who were known to him, that they easily assured themselves of the accomplishment of all their desires from such a generous prince. And some of them, that they might not lose the first opportunity, forced him to give them present audience, in which they reckoned up the insupportable losses undergone by themselves or their fathers, and some services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present grant or promise

of such or such an office. Some, for the real small value of one, though of the first classis, pressed for two or three with such confidence and importunity, and with such tedious discourses, that the king was extremely nauseated with their suits, though his modesty knew not how to break from them; that he no sooner got into his chamber, which for some hours he was not able to do, than he lamented the condition to which he found he must be subject; and did in truth from that minute contract such a prejudice against the persons of some of those, though of the greatest quality, for the indecency and incongruity of their pretences, that he never afterwards received their addresses with his usual grace or patience, and rarely granted any thing they desired, though the matter was more reasonable, and the manner of asking much more modest.

But there was another mortification, which immediately succeeded this, that gave him much more trouble, and in which he knew not how to comport himself. The general, after he had given all necessary orders to his troops, and sent a short despatch to the parliament of the king's being come to Canterbury, and of his purpose to stay there two days, till the next Sunday was passed, he came to the king in his chamber, and in a short secret audience, and without any preamble or apology, as he was not a man of a graceful elocution, he told him, "that he could not do him better service, than by recommending to him such persons who were most grateful to the people, and in respect of their parts and interests were best able to serve him;" and thereupon gave him a large paper full of names, which the king in disorder enough received, and without reading put it into his pocket, that he might not enter into any particular debate upon the persons; and told him, "that he would be always ready to receive his advice, and willing to gratify him in any thing he should desire, and which would not be prejudicial to his service." The king, as soon as he could, took an opportunity, when there remained no more in his chamber, to inform the chancellor of the first assaults he had encountered as soon as he alighted out of his coach, and afterwards of what the general had said to him; and thereupon took the paper out of his pocket and read it. It contained the names of at least threescore and ten persons, who were thought fittest to be made privy counsellors; in the whole number whereof, there were only two who had ever served the king, or been looked upon as zealously affected to his service, the marquis of Hertford and the earl of Southampton; who were both of so universal reputation and interest, and so well known to have the very particular esteem of the king, that they needed no such recommendation. All the rest were either those counsellors who had served the king, and deserted him by adhering to the parliament; or of those who had most eminently disserved him in the beginning of the rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all fierceness and animosity, until the new model, and dismissing the earl of Essex: then, indeed, Cromwell had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the king were again possessed of his regal power; and which they did but wish. There were then the names of the principal persons of the presbyterian party, to which the general was thought to be most

inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly inclinations of his wife. There were likewise the names of some who were most notorious in all the other factions; and of some who, in respect of their mean qualities and meaner qualifications, nobody could imagine how they could come to be named, except that by the very odd mixture any sober and wise resolutions and concurrence might be prevented.

The king was in more than ordinary confusion with the reading this paper, and knew not well what to think of the general, in whose absolute power he now was. However, he resolved in the entrance upon his government not to consent to such impositions, which might prove perpetual fetters and chains upon him ever after. He gave the paper therefore to the chancellor, and bade him "take the first opportunity to discourse the matter with the general," (whom he had not yet saluted,) "or rather with Mr. Morrice, his most intimate friend;" whom he had newly presented to the king, and "with both whom he presumed he would shortly be acquainted," though for the present both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual visits had passed between them, and such professions as naturally are made between persons who are like to have much to do with each other, and Mr. Morrice being in private with him, the chancellor told him "how much the king was surprised with the paper he had received from the general, which at least recommended (and which would have always great authority with him) some such persons to his trust, in whom he could not yet, till they were better known to him, repose any confidence." And thereupon he read many of their names, and said, "that if such men were made privy counsellors, it would either be imputed to the king's own election, which would cause a very ill measure to be taken of his majesty's nature and judgment; or (which more probably would be the case) to the inclination and power of the general, which would be attended with as ill effects." Mr. Morrice seemed much troubled at the apprehension, and said, "the paper was of his handwriting, by the general's order, who, he was assured, had no such intention; but that he would presently speak with him and return;" which he did within less than an hour, and expressed "the trouble the general was in upon the king's very just exception; and that the truth was, he had been obliged to have much communication with men of all humours and inclinations, and so had promised to do them good offices to the king, and could not therefore avoid inserting their names in that paper, without any imaginations that the king would accept them; that he had done his part, and all that could be expected from him, and left the king to do what he had thought best for his own service, which he would always desire him to do, whatever proposition he should at any time presume to make to his majesty, which he would not promise should be always reasonable. However, he did still heartily wish that his majesty would make use of some of those persons," whom he named, and said, "he knew most of them were not his friends, and that his service would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out."

The king was abundantly pleased with this good

temper of the general, and less disliked those who he discerned would be grateful to him than any of the rest: and so the next day he made the general knight of the garter, and admitted him of the council; and likewise at the same time gave the signet to Mr. Morrice, who was sworn of the council, and secretary of state; and sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had been presented by the general under a special recommendation, was then too sworn of the council; and the rather, because having lately married the niece of the earl of Southampton, (who was then likewise present, and received the garter, to which he had been elected some years before,) it was believed that his slippery humour would be easily restrained and fixed by the uncle. All this was transacted during his majesty's stay at Canterbury.

Upon the 29th of May, which was his majesty's birthday, and now again the day of his restoration and triumph, he entered London the highway from Rochester to Blackheath, being on both sides so full of acclamations of joy, and crowded with such a multitude of people, that it seemed one continued street wonderfully inhabited. Upon Blackheath the army was drawn up, consisting of above fifty thousand men, horse and foot, in excellent order and equipage, where the general presented the chief officers to kiss the king's hands, which grace they seemed to receive with all humility and cheerfulness. Shortly after, the lord mayor of London, the sheriffs, and body of the aldermen, with the whole militia of the city, appeared with great lustre; whom the king received with a most graceful and obliging countenance, and knighted the mayor, and all the aldermen, and sheriffs, and the principal officers of the militia: an honour the city had been without near eighteen years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the husbands and their wives. With this equipage the king was attended through the city of London, where the streets were railed in on both sides, that the livery of all the companies of the city might appear with the more order and decency, till he came to Whitehall; the windows all the way being full of ladies and persons of quality, who were impatient to fill their eyes with a beloved spectacle, of which they had been so long deprived. The king was no sooner at Whitehall, but (as hath been said) the speakers and both houses of parliament presented themselves with all possible professions of duty and obedience at his royal feet, and were even ravished with the cheerful reception they had from him. The joy was universal; and whosoever was not pleased at heart, took the more care to appear as if he was; and no voice was heard but of the highest congratulation, of extolling the person of the king, admiring his condescensions and affability, raising his praises to heaven, and cursing and detesting the memory of those villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a prince, and thereby withheld that happiness from them, which they should enjoy in the largest measure they could desire or wish. The joy on all sides was with the greatest excess, so that most men thought, and had reason enough to think, that the king was even already that great and glorious prince which the parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his father to be.

The chancellor took his place in the house of

peers with a general acceptation and respect; and all those lords who were alive and had served the king his father, and the sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by ordinances of parliament, together with all those who had been created by this king, took their seats in parliament without the least murmur or exception. The house of commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many presbyterian members, and some of all other factions in religion, who did all promise themselves some liberty and indulgence for their several parties, yet they all professed great zeal for the establishing the king in his full power. And the major part of the house was of sober and prudent men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the king's return. And there were many who had either themselves been actual and active malignants and delinquents in the late king's time, or the sons of such, who inherited their fathers' virtues. Both which classes of men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in parliament, not only by former ordinances, but by express caution in the very writs which were sent out to summon this parliament; and were notwithstanding made choice of, and returned by the country, and received without any hesitation in the house, and treated by all men with the more civility and respect for their known malignity: so that the king, though it was necessary to have patience in the expectations of their resolutions in all important points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular assembly, was very reasonably assured, that he should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with reference to the church or state.

It is true, the presbyterians were very numerous in the house, and many of them men of good parts, and had a great party in the army, and a greater in the city, and, except with reference to episcopacy, were desirous to make themselves grateful to the king in the settling all his interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the odious murder of the king by loud and passionate inveighing against that monstrous parricide, and with the highest animosity denouncing the severest judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal persons who had most notoriously adhered to Cromwell in the administration of his government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their faction. They took all occasions to declare, "that the power and interest of their party had been the chief means to bring home the king;" and used all possible endeavours that the king might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very covenant had at last done him good and expedited his return, by the causing it to be hung up in churches, from whence Cromwell had cast it out; and their ministers pressing upon the conscience of all those who had taken it, "that they were bound by that clause which concerned the defence of the king's person, to take up arms, if need were, on his behalf, and to restore him to his rightful government;" when the very same ministers had obliged them to take up arms against the king his father by virtue of that covenant, and to fight against him

till they had taken him prisoner, which produced his murder. This party was much displeased that the king declared himself so positively on behalf of episcopacy, and would hear no other prayers in his chapel than those contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that all those formalities and solemnities were now again resumed and practised, which they had caused to be abolished for so many years past. Yet the king left all churches to their liberty, to use such forms of devotion which they liked best; and such of their chief preachers who desired it, or were desired by their friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the surplice, or any other habit than they made choice of. But this connivance would not do their business; their preaching made no proselytes who were not so before; and the resort of the people to those churches where the Common Prayer was again introduced, was evidence enough of their inclinations; and they saw the king's chapel always full of those who had used to possess the chief benches in their assemblies; so that it was manifest that nothing but the supreme authority would be able to settle their discipline: and therefore, with their usual confidence, they were very importunate in the house of commons, "that the ecclesiastical government might be settled and remain according to the covenant, which had been practised many years, and so the people generally well devoted to it; whereas the introducing the Common Prayer (with which very few had ever been acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the people, and give great interruption to the composing the peace of the kingdom." This was urged in the house of commons by eminent men of the party, who believed they had the major part of their mind. And their preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same doctrine to the principal persons who had returned with the king, and every day resorted to the court as if they presided there, and had frequent audiences of the king to persuade him to be of the same opinion; from whom they received no other condescensions than they had formerly had at the Hague, with the same gracious affability and expressions to their persons.

That party in the house that was in truth devoted to the king and to the old principles of church and of state, which every day increased, thought not fit so to cross the presbyterians, as to make them desperate in their hopes of satisfaction; but, with the concurrence with those who were of contrary factions, diverted the argument by proposing other subjects of more immediate relation to the public peace, (as the act of indemnity, which every man impatiently longed for, and the raising money towards the payment of the army and the navy, without which that insupportable charge could not be lessened,) to be first considered and despatched; and the model for religion to be debated and prepared by that committee which had been nominated before his majesty's return to that purpose; they not doubting to cross and puzzle any pernicious resolutions there, till time and their own extravagant follies should put some end to their destructive designs.

In the mean time there were two particulars which the king, with much inward impatience,

though with little outward communication, did most desire; the disbanding the army, and the settling the revenue, the course and receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great part extinguished by the sale of all the crown lands, that the old officers of the exchequer, auditors or receivers, knew not how to resume their administrations. Besides that the great receipt of excise and customs was not yet vested in the king; nor did the parliament make any haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old way, and not to divert it from those assignments which had been made for the payment of the army and navy; for which, until some other provision could be made, it was to no purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the charge of both was so vast and insupportable, that the kingdom must in a short time sink under the burden. For what concerned the revenue and raising money, the king was less solicitous; and yet there was not so much as any assignation made for the support of his household, which caused a vast debt to be contracted before taken notice of, the mischief of which is hardly yet removed. He saw the parliament every day doing somewhat in it; and it quickly dissolved all bargains, contracts, and sales, which had been of any of the crown lands, so that all that royal revenue (which had been too much wasted and impaired in those improvident times which had preceded the troubles) was entirely remitted to those to whom it belonged, the king and the queen his mother; but very little money was returned out of the same into the exchequer in the space of the first year: so difficult it was to reduce any payments, which had been made for so many years irregularly, into the old channel and order. And every thing else of this kind was done, how slowly soever, with as much expedition as [from] the nature of the affair, and the crowd in which it was necessary to be agitated, could reasonably be expected; and therefore his majesty was less troubled for those inconveniences which he foresaw must inevitably flow from thence.

But the delay in disbanding the army, how unavoidable soever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, because for many reasons he could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill constitution of the army, the distemper and murmuring that was in it, and how many diseases and convulsions their infant loyalty was subject to; that how united soever their inclinations and acclamations seemed to be at Blackheath, their affections were not the same: and the very countenances then of many officers as well as soldiers did sufficiently manifest, that they were drawn thither to a service they were not delighted in. The general, before he had formed any resolution to himself, and only valued himself upon the presbyterian interest, had cashiered some regiments and companies which he knew not to be devoted to his person and greatness; and after he found it necessary to fix his own hopes and dependence upon the king, he had dismissed many officers who he thought might be willing and able to cross his designs and purposes when he should think fit to discover them, and conferred their charges and commands upon those who had been disfavoured by the late powers; and after the parliament had declared

for and proclaimed the king, he cashiered others, and gave their offices to some eminent commanders who had served the king; and gave others of the loyal nobility leave to list volunteers in companies to appear with them at the reception of the king, who had all met and joined with the army upon Blackheath in the head of their regiments and companies: yet, notwithstanding all this providence, the old soldiers had little regard for their new officers, at least had no resignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected mixtures of sullen and melancholic parties of officers and soldiers, that as ill-disposed men of other classes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater part so much abounded with ill humours, that it was not safe to administer a general purgation. It is true that Lambert was close prisoner in the Tower, and as many of those officers who were taken and had appeared in arms with him when he was taken were likewise there, or in some other prisons, with others of the same complexion, who were well enough known to have the present settlement that was intended in perfect detestation: but this leprosy was spread too far to have the contagion quickly or easily extinguished. How close soever Lambert himself was secured from doing mischief, his faction was at liberty, and very numerous; his disbanded officers and soldiers mingled and conversed with their old friends and companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same spirit; they concurred in the same reproaches and revilings of the general, as the man who had treacherously betrayed them, and led them into an ambuscade from whence they knew not how to disentangle themselves. They looked upon him as the sole person who still supported his own model, and were well assured that if he were removed, the army would be still the same, and appear in their old retrenchments; and therefore they entered into several combinations to assassinate him, which they resolved to do with the first opportunity. In a word, they liked neither the mien nor garb nor countenance of the court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious aspect and benignity of the king himself.

All this was well enough known to his majesty, and to the general, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleased with the temper and disposition of his army, and therefore no less desired it should be disbanded than the king did. In the mean time, very diligent endeavours were used to discover and apprehend some principal persons, who took as much care to conceal themselves; and every day many dangerous or suspected men of all qualities were imprisoned in all counties: spies were employed, who for the most part had the same affections which they were to discover in others, and received money on both sides to do, and not to do, the work they were appointed to do. And in this melancholic and perplexed condition the king and all his hopes stood, when he appeared most gay and exalted, and wore a pleasantness in his face that became him, and looked like as full an assurance of his security as was possible to be put on.

There was yet added to this slippery and uneasy posture of affairs, another mortification, which made a deeper impression upon the king's spirit than all the rest, and without which the

worst of the other would have been in some degree remediable; that was, the constitution and disunion of those who were called and looked upon as his own party, which without doubt in the whole kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the law to all the rest; which had been the ground of many unhappy attempts in the late time; that if any present force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such place in which they might make a stand without being overrun in a moment, the general concurrence of the kingdom would in a short time reduce the army, and make the king superior to all his enemies; which imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguished, by the dearbought experience in the woful enterprise at Worcester. However, it had been now a very justifiable presumption in the king, to believe as well as hope, that he could not be long in England without such an apparency of his own party, that wished all that he himself desired, and such a manifestation of their authority, interest, and power, that would prevent, or be sufficient to subdue, any froward disposition that might grow up in the parliament, or more extravagant demands in the army itself. An apparency there was of that people, great enough, who had all the wishes for the king which he entertained for himself. But they were so divided and disunited by private quarrels, factions, and animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse, so jealous of each other; the understandings and faculties of many honest men were so weak and shallow, that they could not be applied to any great trust; and others, who wished and meant very well, had a peevishness, frowardness, and opiniatrety, that they would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any thing with such and such men whom they disliked. The severe and tyrannical government of Cromwell and the parliament had so often banished and imprisoned them upon mere jealousies, that they were grown strangers to one another, without any communication between them: and there had been so frequent betrayings and treacheries used, so many discoveries of meetings privately contrived, and of discourses accidentally entered into, and words and expressions rashly and unadvisedly uttered without any design, upon which multitudes were still imprisoned and many put to death; so that the jealousy was so universal, that few men who had never so good affections for the king, durst confer with any freedom together.

Most of those of the nobility who had with constancy and fidelity adhered to the last king, and had greatest authority with all men who professed the same affections, were dead; as the duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorset, the lord Capel, the lord Hopton, and many other excellent persons. And of that classis, that is, of a powerful interest and unsuspected integrity, (for there were some very good men, who were without any cause suspected then, because they were not equally persecuted upon all occasions,) there were only two who survived, the marquis of Hertford and earl of Southampton; who were both great and worthy men, looked upon with great estimation by all the most valuable men who could contribute most to the king's restoration, and with reverence by their greatest enemy, and had been courted by Crom-

well himself till he found it to no purpose. And though the marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a visit, the other, the earl, could never be persuaded so much as to see him; and when Cromwell was in the New Forest, and resolved one day to visit him, he being informed of it or suspecting it, removed to another house he had at such a distance as exempted him from that visitation. But these two great persons had for several years withdrawn themselves into the country, lived retired, sent sometimes such money as they could raise out of their long-sequestered and exhausted fortunes, by messengers of their own dependence, with advice to the king, "to sit still, and expect a reasonable revolution, without making any unadvised attempt;" and industriously declined any conversation or commerce with any who were known to correspond with the king: so that now, upon his majesty's return, they were totally unacquainted with any of those persons, who now looked as men to be depended upon in any great action and attempt. And for themselves, as the marquis shortly after died, so the other with great abilities served him in his most secret and important councils, but had been never conversant in martial affairs.

There had been six or eight persons of general good and confessed reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the most eminent charges in the war, and executed them with great courage and discretion; so that few men could with any reasonable pretence refuse to receive orders from them, or to serve under their commands. They had great affection for and confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an express of their own number, whilst the king remained in France, "that if they were approved and qualified by his majesty, they would by joint advice intend the care of his majesty's service; and as they would not engage in any absurd and desperate attempt, but use all their credit and authority to prevent and discountenance the same, so they would take the first rational opportunity, which they expected from the divisions and animosities which daily grew and appeared in the army, to draw their friends and old soldiers who were ready to receive their commands together, and try the utmost that could be done, with the loss or hazard of their lives:" some of them having, beside their experience in war, very considerable fortunes of their own to lose, and were relations to the greatest families in England. And therefore they made it their humble suit, "that this secret correspondence might be carried on, and known to none but to the marquis of Ormond and to the chancellor; and that if any other counsels were set on foot in England by the activity of particular persons, who too frequently with great zeal and little animadversion embarked themselves in impossible undertakings, his majesty upon advertisement thereof would first communicate the motives or pretences which would be offered to him, to them; and then they would find opportunity to confer with some sober man of that fraternity," (as there was no well-affected person in England, who at that time would not willingly receive advice and direction from most of those persons,) "and thereupon they would present their opinion to his majesty; and if the design should appear practicable to his majesty,

“they would cheerfully embark themselves in it, otherwise use their own dexterity to divert it.” These men had been armed with all necessary commissions and instructions, according to their own desires; the king consented to all they proposed; and the cyphers and correspondence were committed to the chancellor, in whose hands, with the privity only of the marquis of Ormond, all the intelligence with England, of what kind soever, was intrusted.

Under this conduct, for some years all things succeeded well; many unseasonable attempts were prevented, and thereby the lives of many good men preserved: and though (upon the cursory jealousy of that time, and the restless apprehension of Cromwell, and the almost continual commitments of all who had eminently served the king, and were able to do it again) these persons who were thus trusted, or the major part of them, were seldom out of prison, or free from the obligation of good sureties for their peaceable behaviour; yet all the vigilance of Cromwell and his most diligent inquisitors could never discover this secret intercourse between those confidants and the king, which did always pass and was maintained by expresses made choice of by them, and supported at their charge out of such monies as were privately collected for public uses, of which they who contributed most knew little more than the integrity of him who was intrusted, who did not always make skilful contributions.

It fell out unfortunately, that two of these principal persons fell out, and had a fatal quarrel, upon a particular less justifiable than any thing that could result from or relate to the great trust they both had from the king, which ought to have been of influence enough to have suppressed or diverted all passions of that kind: but the animosities grew suddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the affections of the whole knot, at least interrupted or suspended their constant intercourse and confidence in each other, and so the diligent accounts which the king used to receive from them. And the cause growing more public and notorious, though not known in a long time after to the king, exceedingly lessened both their reputations with the most sober men; insomuch as they withdrew all confidence in their conduct, and all inclination to embark in the business which was intrusted in such hands. And which was worse than all this, one person amongst them, of as unblemished a reputation as either of them, and of much better abilities and faculties of mind, either affected with this untoward accident, or broken with frequent imprisonments and despair of any resurrection of the king's interest, about this time yielded to a foul temptation; and for large supplies of money, which his fortune stood in need of, engaged to be a spy to Cromwell, with a latitude which he did not allow to others of that ignominious tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any design to prevent the mischief thereof, without exposing any man to the loss of his life, or ever appearing himself to make good and justify any of his discoveries. The rest of his associates neither suspected their companion, nor lessened their affection or utmost zeal for the king; though they remitted some of their diligence in his service by the other unhappy interruption.

This falling out during his majesty's abode in

Cologne, he was very long without notice of the grounds of that jealousy which had obstructed his usual correspondence; and the matter of infidelity being not in the least degree suspected, he could not avoid receiving advice and propositions from other honest men, who were of known affection and courage, and who conversed much with the officers of the army, and were unskilfully disposed to believe that all they, who they had reason to believe did hate Cromwell, would easily be induced to serve the king: and many of the officers in their behaviour, discourses, and familiarity, contributed to that belief; some of them, not without the privity and allowance of Cromwell, or his secretary Thurlow. And upon overtures of this kind, and wonderful confidence of success, even upon the preparations which were in readiness, of and by his own party, several messengers were sent to the king; and by all of them sharp and passionate complaints against those persons, who were so much and still in the same confidence with him, as men who were at ease, and uninclined to venture themselves upon dangerous or doubtful enterprises. They complained, “that when they imparted to them or any one of them,” (for they knew not of his majesty's reference to them, but had of themselves resorted to them as men of the greatest reputation for their affections and experience,) “a design which had been well consulted and deliberated by those who meant to venture their own lives in the execution of it, they made so many excuses and arguments and objections against it, as if it were wholly unadvisable and unpracticable; and when they proposed the meeting and conferring with some of the officers, who were resolved to serve his majesty, and were willing to advise with them, as men of more interest and who had managed greater commands, upon the places of rendezvous, and what method should be observed in the enterprises, making no scruple themselves to receive orders from them, or to do all things they should require which might advance his majesty's service, these gentlemen only wished them to take heed they were not destroyed, and positively refused to meet or confer with any of the officers of the army: and hereupon,” they said, “all the king's party was so incensed against them, that they no more would have recourse to them, or make any conjunction with them.” They informed his majesty at large of the animosity that was grown between two of the principal persons, and the original cause thereof, and therefore desired “that some person might be sent, to whom they might repair for orders, until the king himself discerned that all preparations were in such a readiness, that he might reasonably venture his royal person with them.”

Though he was not at all satisfied with the grounds of their expectation and proceedings, and therefore could not blame the wariness and reservedness of the other, and thought their apprehension of being betrayed, (which in the language of that time was called *trepanned*,) which befell some men every day, very reasonable; yet the confidence of many honest men, who were sure to pay dear for any rash undertaking, and their presumption in appointing a peremptory day for a general rendezvous over the kingdom, but especially the division of his friends, and sharpness against those upon whom he principally relied, was

the cause of his sending over the lord Rochester, and of his own concealment in Zealand; the success whereof, and the ill consequence of those precipitate resolutions, in the slaughter of many worthy and gallant gentlemen with all the circumstances of insolence and barbarity, are mentioned in their proper places.

But these unhappy and fatal miscarriages, and the sad spectacles which ensued, made not those impressions upon the affections and spirits of the king's friends as they ought to have done; nor rendered the wariness and discretion of those who had dissuaded the enterprise, and who were always imprisoned upon suspicion, how innocent soever, the more valued and esteemed: on the contrary, it increased the reproaches against the knot, as if their lâcheté and want of appearance and engaging had been the sole cause of the misfortune. And after some short fits of dejection and acquiescence, upon the shedding so much blood of their friends and confederates, and the notorious discovery of being betrayed by those, who had been trusted by them, of the army; they began again to resume courage, to meet and enter upon new counsels and designs, imputing the former want of success to the want of skill and conduct in the undertakers, not to the all-seeing vigilance of Cromwell and his instruments, or to the formed strength of his government, not to be shaken by weak or ill-seconded conspiracies. Young men were grown up, who inherited their fathers' malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their death, or to be even with their oppressors, and so entered into new combinations as unskilful, and therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being discovered even before they were formed, Cromwell had occasion given him to make himself more terrible in new executions, and to exercise greater tyranny upon the whole party, in imprisonments, penalties, and sequestrations; making those who heartily desired to be quiet, and who as much abhorred any rash and desperate insurrection, to pay their full shares for the folly of the other, as if all were animated by the same spirit. And this unjust and unreasonable rigour increased the reproaches and animosities in the king's friends against each other: the wiser and more sober part, who had most experience, and knew how impossible it was to succeed in such enterprises, and had yet preserved or redeemed enough of their fortunes to sit still and expect some hopeful revolution, were unexpressibly offended, and bitterly inveighed against those, who without reason disturbed their peace and quiet, by provoking the state to fresh persecutions of them who had given them no offence: and the other stirring and enraged party, with more fierceness and public disdain, protested against and reviled those who refused to join with them, as men who had spent all their stock of allegiance, and meant to acquiesce with what they had left under the tyranny and in the subjection of Cromwell. And thus they who did really wish the same things, and equally the overthrow of that government, which hindered the restoration of the king, grew into more implacable jealousies and virulencies against each other, than against that power that oppressed them both, and "poured out their blood like water." And either party conveyed their apologies and accusations to the king: one insisting upon the impertinency of

all such attempts; and the other insisting that they were ready for a very solid and well-grounded enterprise, were sure to be possessed of good towns, if, by his majesty's positive command, the rest, who professed such obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this time, and upon these reasons, that the king sent the marquis of Ormond into England, to find out and discover whether in truth there were any sober preparations and readiness for action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compose the several distempers, and unite, as far as was possible, all who wished well, to concur in the same patience for the present, and in the same activity when it should be seasonable. And he, upon full conference with the principal persons of the most contradictory judgments, quickly found that they who were accused to be lazy and unactive were in truth discreet men, and as ready vigorously to appear as the other, when the season should be advisable, which he clearly discerned it was not then; and that the presumption of the other, upon persons as well as places, was in no degree to be depended upon. And so, after he had done what was possible towards making a good intelligence between tempers and understandings so different, the marquis had the same good fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the king; which was the more wonderful preservation, in that, during the whole time of his abode in London, he had trusted no man more, nor conferred with any man so much, as with that person of the select knot, who had been corrupted to give all intelligence to Cromwell: and as he had now blasted and diverted some ill laid designs, so he had discovered the marquis's arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every change, or to contrive any way for his apprehension: on the contrary, as in all his conferences with him he appeared a man of great judgment and perspicacity, and the most ready to engage his person in any action that might be for his majesty's advantage, so he seemed best to understand the temper of the time, and the parts, faculties, and interest of all the king's party; and left the marquis abundantly satisfied with him, and of the general good reputation he had with all men: which had afterwards an ill effect, for it kept the king and those who were trusted by him from giving credit to the first information he received, from a person who could not be deceived, of his tergiversation; his late fidelity to the marquis of Ormond weighing down with them all the intimations, until the evidence was so pregnant that there was no room for any doubt.

After all these endeavours by the king to discountenance and suppress all unseasonable action amongst his party, and to infuse into them a spirit of peace and quiet till he himself could appear in the head of some foreign forces, which he looked upon as the only reasonable encouragement that could animate his friends to declare for him, the generous distemper and impatience of their nature was incorrigible. They thought the expectation of miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and stupid a confidence, and that God no less required their endeavours and activity, than they hoped for his benediction in their success. New hopes were entertained, and counsels suitable entered upon.

Mr. Mordaunt, the younger son and brother to the earls of Peterborough, who was too young in the time of the late war to act any part in it, had lately undergone, after Cromwell himself had taken great pains in the examination of him, a severe trial before the high court of justice; where by his own singular address and behaviour, and his friends having wrought by money upon some of the witnesses to absent themselves, he was by one single voice acquitted; and after a longer detention in prison by the indignation of Cromwell, who well knew his guilt, and against the rules and forms of their own justice, he was discharged, after most of his associates were publicly and barbarously put to several kinds of death. And he no sooner found himself at liberty, than he engaged in new intrigues, how he might destroy that government that was so near destroying him. The state of the kingdom was indeed altered, and he had encouragement to hope well, which former undertakers, and himself in his, had been without. Cromwell had entered into a war with Spain; and the king was received and permitted to live in Flanders, with some exhibition from that king for his support, and assurance of an army to embark for England, (which made a great noise, and raised the broken hearts of his friends after so many distresses,) which his majesty was contented should be generally reputed to be greater and in more forwardness than there was cause for. He had likewise another advantage, much superior and of more importance than the other, by the death of Cromwell, which fell out without or beyond expectation, which seemed to put an end to all his stratagems, and to dissolve the whole frame of government in the three kingdoms, and to open many doors to the king to enter upon that which every body knew to be his own. And though this reasonable hope was, sooner than could be imagined, blasted and extinguished by an universal submission to the declaration that Cromwell had made at his death, "that his son Richard should succeed him;" upon which he was declared protector by the council, army, navy, with the concurrence of the forces of the three kingdoms, and the addresses of all the counties in England, with vows of their obedience; insomuch as he appeared in the eyes of all men as formidably settled as his father had been: yet Mr. Mordaunt proceeded with alacrity in his design, contrary to the opinion and advice of those with whom he was obliged to consult, who thought the conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was past, and looked upon Mr. Mordaunt as a rash young man, of a daring spirit, without any experience in military affairs, and upon themselves as unkindly treated by those about the king, in being exposed to the importunity of a gentleman who was a stranger to them, and who was equally qualified with them for the forming any resolution which they could not concur in.

But the intermission of the severe persecution which had been formerly practised against the royal party, in this nonage of Richard's government, gave more liberty to communication; and the Presbyterian party grew more discontented and daring, and the Independent less concerned to prevent any inconvenience or trouble to the weak son of Oliver, whom they resolved not to obey. Mr. Mordaunt, who had gained much re-

putation by his steady carriage in his late mortification, and by his so brisk carriage so soon after, found credit with many persons of great fortune and interest; as sir George Booth and sir Thomas Middleton, the greatest men in Cheshire and North Wales, who were reputed Presbyterians, and had been both very active against the king, and now resolved to declare for him; sir Horatio Townsend, who was newly become of age, and the most powerful person in Norfolk, where there were many gallant men ready to follow him; and many others the most considerable men in most of the counties of England: who all agreed, in so many several counties of England, to appear upon a day, in such bodies as they could draw together; many considerable places being prepared for their reception, or too weak to oppose them. And Mr. Mordaunt secretly transported himself and waited upon the king at Brussels, with that wariness that he was known to none but to them with whom he was to consult. The king received by him a full information of the engagement of all those persons to do him service with the utmost hazard, and of the method they meant to proceed in, and the probability, most like assurance, of their being to be possessed of Gloucester, Chester, Lynne, Yarmouth, all Kent, and the most considerable places in the west, where indeed his own friends were very considerable.

Upon the whole matter the king thought it so reasonable to approve the whole design, that he appointed the day, with a promise to be himself, with his brother the duke of York, concealed at Calais or thereabout, that they might divide themselves to those parts which should be thought most proper for the work in hand. Mr. Mordaunt lamented the wariness and want of confidence in those persons upon whom the king depended, and acknowledged them most worthy of that trust, and of much reputation in the nation; and imputed their much reservation to the troubles and imprisonments which they had been seldom free from, and their observation how little ground there had been for former enterprises, without the least suspicion of want of affection and resolution in any one of them, and less of integrity. But the king was by this time fully convinced where the treachery was, without any blemish to any one of the rest, who needed not to be ashamed of being deceived by a man whom all the kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous dethroning of Richard by the army, and the reassembling that part of the old parliament which was called the Rump, and which was more terrible than any single person could be, because they presently returned into their old track, and renewed their former rigour against their old more than their new enemies, rather advanced than restrained this combination; too much being known to too many to be secure any other way than by pursuing it. So the king and duke, according to their former resolution, went to Calais and Boulogne, and prepared as well to make a descent into Kent with such numbers of men as the condition they were in would permit. How many of those designs came to be wonderfully and even miraculously disappointed, and sir George Booth defeated by Lambert, are particularly set down by those who have taken upon them to mention the transactions of those times. And from thence the universality

of all who were, or were suspected to be, of the king's party, were, according to custom, imprisoned, or otherwise cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new fire kindled amongst themselves: they who had done nothing reproaching them who had brought that storm upon them; and they who had been engaged more loudly and bitterly cursing the other, as deserters of the king, and the cause of the ruin of his cause through their want of courage, or, what was worse, of affection. And so all men's mouths were opened wider to accuse and defame each other, than to defend their own integrity and their lives.

I have thought myself obliged to renew the memory of all these particulars, that the several vicissitudes and stages may be known, by which the jealousies, murmurs, and disaffections in the royal party amongst themselves, and against each other, had mounted to that height which the king found them at when he returned; when in truth very few men of active minds, and upon whom he could depend in any sudden occasion that might probably press him, can be named, who had any confidence in each other. All men were full of bitter reflections upon the actions and behaviour of others, or of excuses and apologies for themselves for what they thought might be charged upon them. The woful vice of drinking, from the uneasiness of their fortune, or the necessity of frequent meetings together, for which taverns were the most secure places, had spread itself very far in that class of men, as well as upon other parts of the nation, in all counties; and had exceedingly weakened the parts, and broken the understandings of many, who had formerly competent judgments, and had been in all respects fit for any trust; and had prevented the growth of parts in many young men, who had good affections, but had been from their entering into the world so corrupted with that excess, and other license of the time, that they only made much noise, and, by their extravagant and scandalous debauches, brought many calumnies and disestimation upon that cause which they pretended to advance. They who had suffered much in their fortunes, and by frequent imprisonments and sequestrations and compositions, expected large recompenses and reparations in honours which they could not support, or offices which they could not discharge, or lands and money which the king had not to give; as all dispassioned men knew the conditions which the king was obliged to perform, and that the act of indemnity discharged all those forfeitures which could have been applied to their benefit: and therefore they who had been without comparison the greatest sufferers in their fortunes, and in all respects had merited most, never made any inconvenient suits to the king, but modestly left the memory and consideration of all they had done or undergone, to his majesty's own gracious reflections. They were observed to be most importunate, who had deserved least, and were least capable to perform any notable service; and none had more esteem of themselves, and believed preferment to be more due to them, than a sort of men, who had most loudly began the king's health in taverns, especially if for any disorders which had accompanied it other pretence of merit, or running any other

they had suffered imprisonment, without any hazard.

Though it was very evident, humanly speaking, that the late combination entered into, and the brave attempt and engagement of sir George Booth, how unsuccessful soever in the instant, had contributed very much to the wonderful change that had since ensued, by the discovery of the general affections and disposition of the kingdom, and their aversion from any kind of government that was not founded upon the old principles; and the public or private engagement of very many persons, who had never been before suspected, whereof, though many of the most considerable persons had been, by the treachery heretofore mentioned, committed to several prisons, yet many others of equal interest remained still in liberty, and had a great influence upon the counsels both in the parliament and army: yet, I say, notwithstanding this was notorious, a greater animosity had been kindled in the royal party, and was still pursued and improved amongst them from that combination and engagement, than from all the other accidents and occasions, and gave the king more trouble and perplexity. It had introduced a great number of persons, who had formerly no pretence of merit from the king, rather might have been the objects of his justice, to a just title to the greatest favours the king could confer; and which, from that time, they had continually improved by repeated offices and services, which, being of a later date, might be thought to cloud and eclipse the lustre of those actions, which had before been performed by the more ancient cavaliers, especially of those who had been observed to be remiss in that occasion: and therefore they were the more solicitous in undervaluing the undertaking, and the persons of the undertakers, whom they mentioned under such characters, and to whom they imputed such weakness and levities as they had collected from the several parts of their lives, as might render them much disadvantage; and would by no means admit, "that any of the good that afterwards befell the king, resulted in any degree from that rash enterprise; but that thereby the king's friends were so weakened, and more completely undone, that they were disabled to appear in that conjuncture when the army was divided, and in which they might otherwise have been considerable enough to have given the law to all parties."

Mr. Mordaunt, whom the king had created a viscount before his return into England, and who had been most eminent in the other contrivances, in a time when a general consternation had seized upon the spirits of those who wished best to his majesty; for when he resumed his former resolutions, so soon after his head was raised from the block, and when the blood of his confederates watered so many streets in the city and the suburbs, the most trusted by the king had totally withdrawn their correspondence, and desired, that for some time no account or information might be expected from them; and therefore it must not be denied, that his vivacity, courage, and industry, revived the hearts which were so near broken before Cromwell's death, and afterwards prevailed with many to have more active spirits than they had before appeared to have: this gentleman, I say, most unjustly underwent the heavi-

est weight of all their censures and reproaches. He was the butt, at which all their arrows of envy, malice, and jealousy, were aimed and shot; he was the object and subject of all their scurrilous jests, and depraving discourses and relations; and they, who agreed in nothing else, were at unity and of one mind, in telling ridiculous stories to the king himself of his vanity and behaviour; and laying those aspersions upon him, as were most like to lessen the king's opinion of him; and to persuade him, that the recompenses he had already received were abundantly more than the services he had performed: which kind of insinuations from several persons, who seemed not to do it by concert, together with some prejudice the noble person did himself by some unseasonable importunities, as if he thought he had deserved very much, did for some time draw a more ungracious countenance from the king towards him, than his own nature disposed him to, or than the other's singular and useful activity, though liable to some levity or vanity, did deserve; and which the same persons, who procured it, made use of against those who were in most trust about the king, as arguments of the little esteem they had of those who had done the king most service, when a man of so eminent merit as Mr. Mordaunt was so totally neglected; and did all they could to infuse the same apprehensions into him. When the truth is, most men were affected, and more grieved and discontented for any honour and preferment which they saw conferred upon another man, than for being disappointed in their own particular expectations; and looked upon every obligation bestowed upon another man, how meritorious soever, as upon a reproach to them, and an upbraiding of their want of merit.

This unhappy temper and constitution of the royal party, with whom he had always intended to have made a firm conjunction against all accidents and occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully displease and trouble the king; and, with the other perplexities, which are mentioned before, did so break his mind, and had that operation upon his spirits, that finding he could not propose any such method to himself, by which he might extricate himself out of those many difficulties and labyrinths in which he was involved, nor expedite those important matters which depended upon the goodwill and despatch of the parliament, which would proceed by its own rules, and with its accustomed formalities, he grew more disposed to leave all things to their natural course, and God's providence; and by degrees unbent his mind from the knotty and ungrateful part of his business, grew more remiss in his application to it, and indulged to his youth and appetite that license and satisfaction that it desired, and for which he had opportunity enough, and could not be without ministers abundant for any such negotiations; the time itself, and the young people thereof of either sex having been educated in all the liberty of vice, without reprehension or restraint. All relations were confounded by the several sects in religion, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as relics and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents; nor did they concern themselves in the education of their children; but were well content that they should take any course to maintain

themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and common eatinghouses; and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment, became the wives of the seditious preachers, or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but "every one did that which was good in his own eyes." This unnatural antipathy had its first rise from the beginning of the rebellion, when the fathers and sons engaged themselves in the contrary parties, the one choosing to serve the king, and the other the parliament; which division and contradiction of affections was afterwards improved to mutual animosities and direct malice, by the help of the preachers and the several factions in religion, or by the absence of all religion: so that there were never such examples of impiety between such relations in any age of the world, Christian or heathen, as that wicked time, from the beginning of the rebellion to the king's return; of which the families of Hotham and Vane are sufficient instances; though other more illustrious houses may be named, where the same accursed fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the world. The relation between masters and servants had been long since dissolved by the parliament, that their army might be increased by the prentices against their masters' consent, and that they might have intelligence of the secret meetings and transactions in those houses and families which were not devoted to them; from whence issued the foulest treacheries and perfidiousness that were ever practised: and the blood of the master was frequently the price of the servant's villany.

Cromwell had been most strict and severe in the forming the manners of his army, and in chastising all irregularities; insomuch that sure there was never any such body of men so without rapine, swearing, drinking, or any other debauchery, but the wickedness of their hearts: and all persons cherished by him, were of the same leaven, and to common appearance without the practice of any of those vices which were most infamous to the people, and which drew the public hatred upon those who were notoriously guilty of them. But then he was well pleased with the most scandalous lives of those who pretended to be for the king, and wished that all his were such, and took all the pains he could that they might be generally thought to be such; whereas in truth the greatest part of those who were guilty of those disorders were young men, who had never seen the king, and had been born and bred in those corrupt times, "when there was no king in Israel." He was equally delighted with the luxury and voluptuousness of the presbyterians, who, in contempt of the thrift, sordidness, and affected ill-breeding of the independents, thought it became them to live more generously, and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate appetite of flesh and blood, but indulged it with too much and too open scandal, from which he reaped no small advantage; and wished all those, who were not his friends, should not only

be infected, but given over to the practice of the most odious vices and wickedness.

In a word, the nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generosity, that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded. The tenderness of the bowels, which is the quintessence of justice and compassion, the very mention of good nature was laughed at and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool; and a roughness of manners, or hardheartedness and cruelty was affected. In the place of generosity, a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and any thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather a final expiration of all friendship; and to dissuade a man from any thing he affected, or to reprove him for any thing he had done amiss, or to advise him to do any thing he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wise man, and received with reproach and contempt. These dilapidations and ruins of the ancient candour and discipline were not taken enough to heart, and repaired with that early care and severity that they might have been; for they were not then incorrigible; but by the remissness of applying remedies to some, and the unwariness in giving a kind of countenance to others, too much of that poison insinuated itself into minds not well fortified against such infection: so that much of the malignity was transplanted, instead of being extinguished, to the corruption of many wholesome bodies, which, being corrupted, spread the diseases more powerfully and more mischievously.

That the king might be the more vacant to those thoughts and diversions which pleased him best, he appointed the chancellor and some others to have frequent consultations with such members of the parliament who were most able and willing to serve him; and to concert all the ways and means by which the transactions in the houses might be carried with the more expedition, and attended with the best success. These daily conferences proved very beneficial to his majesty's service; the members of both houses being very willing to receive advice and direction, and to pursue what they were directed; and all things were done there in good order, and succeeded well. All the courts of justice in Westminster hall were presently filled with grave and learned judges, who had either deserted their practice and profession during all the rebellious times, or had given full evidence of their affection to the king and the established laws, in many weighty instances: and they were then quickly sent in their several circuits, to administer justice to the people according to the old forms of law, which was universally received and submitted to with all possible joy and satisfaction. All commissions of the peace were renewed, and the names of those persons inserted therein, who had been most eminent sufferers for the king, and were known to have entire affections for his majesty and the laws; though it was not possible, but some would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful inclinations, by their not being known to him, whose province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, sooner than was thought possible, a general settlement in the civil

justice of the kingdom; that no man complained without remedy, and "every man dwelt again under the shadow of his own vine," without any complaint of injustice and oppression.

The king exposed himself with more condescension than was necessary to persons of all conditions, heard all that they had a mind to say to him, and gave them such answers as for the present seemed full of grace. He was too well pleased to hear both the men and the women of all factions and fancies in religion discourse in their own method, and enlarged himself in debate with them; which made every one believe that they were more favoured by him than they had cause: which kind of liberty, though at first it was accompanied with acclamations, and acknowledgment of his being a prince of rare parts and affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill consequences, and gave many men opportunity to declare and publish, that the king had said many things to them which he had never said; and made many concessions and promises to them which he had never uttered or thought upon.

The chancellor was generally thought to have most credit with his master, and most power in the counsels, because the king referred all matters of what kind soever to him. And whosoever repaired to him for his direction in any business was sent to the chancellor, not only because he had a great confidence in his integrity, having been with him so many years, and of whose indefatigable industry he and all men had great experience; but because he saw those men, whom he was as willing to trust, and who had at least an equal share in his affections, more inclined to ease and pleasure, and willing that the weight of the work should lie on the chancellor's shoulders, with whom they had an entire friendship, and knew well that they should with more ease be consulted by him in all matters of importance. Nor was it possible for him, at the first coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the counsels, of how distinct a nature soever, because he had been best acquainted with all transactions whilst the king was abroad; and therefore communication with him in all things was thought necessary by those, who were to have any part in them. Besides that, he continued still chancellor of the exchequer, by virtue of the grant formerly made to him by the last king, during whose time he executed that office, but resolved to surrender it into the king's hand as soon as his majesty should resolve on whom to confer it; he proposing nothing to himself, but to be left at liberty to intend only the discharge of his own office, which he thought himself unequal to, and hoped only to improve his talent that way by a most diligent application, well knowing the great abilities of those, who had formerly sat in that office, and that they found it required their full time and all their faculties. And therefore he did most heartily desire to meddle with nothing but that province, which though in itself and the constant perquisites of it is not sufficient to support the dignity of it, yet was then, upon the king's return; and, after it had been so many years without a lawful officer, would unquestionably bring in money enough to be a foundation to a future fortune, competent to his ambition, and enough to provoke the envy of many, who believed they deserved better than he. And that this was the temper and resolution he

brought with him into England, and how unwillingly he departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three instances, which shall be given in their proper place. However, he could not expect that freedom till the council should be settled, (into which the king admitted all who had been counsellors to his father, and had not eminently forfeited that promotion by their revolt, and many of those who had been and still were recommended by the general, amongst whom there were some who would not have been received upon any other title,) and until those officers could be settled, who might take particular care of their several provinces.

The king had upon great deliberation whilst he was beyond the seas, after his return appeared in view, firmly resolved to reform those excesses which were known to be in great offices, especially in those of his household, whilst the places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant expenses there; and first himself to gratify those, who had followed and served him, in settling them in such inferior offices and places, as custom had put in the disposal of the great officers, when they should become vacant after their admission. And of this kind he had made many promises, and given many warrants under his sign manual to persons, who to his own knowledge had merited those obligations. But most of those predeterminations, and many other resolutions of that kind, vanished and expired in the jollity of the return, and new inclinations and affections seemed to be more seasonable. The general, who was the sole pillar of the king's confidence, had by the parliament been invested (before the king's return) in all the offices and commands which Cromwell had enjoyed. He was lieutenant of Ireland, and general of all the armies and forces raised, or to be raised, in the three kingdoms; and it was not fit that he should be degraded from either upon his majesty's arrival: therefore all diligence was used in despatching grants of all those commands to him under the great seal of England. And that he might be obliged to be always near his majesty's person, he was presently sworn gentleman of the bedchamber; and might choose what office he liked best in the court, whilst titles of honour were preparing by the attorney, and particulars of lands inquired after by the auditors and receivers, which in all respects might raise him to that height which would most please him. He made choice to be master of the horse, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all those poor gentlemen, who had promises and warrants for several places, depending upon that great officer, were disappointed, and offered the king's sign manual to no purpose for their admission. The general in his own nature was an immoderate lover of money, and yet would have gratified some of the pretenders upon his majesty's recommendation, if the vile good housewifery of his wife had not engrossed that province, and preferred him, who offered most money, before all other considerations or motives. And hereby, not only many honest men, who had several ways served the king, and spent the fortunes they had been masters of, were denied the recompenses the king had designed to them; but such men, who had been most notorious in the malice against the crown from the beginning of the rebellion, or had been employed in all the active offices to affront and oppress his party, were for money preferred and

admitted into those offices, and became the king's servants very much against his will, and with his manifest regret on the behalf of the honest men, who had been so unworthily rejected. And this occasioned the first murmur and discontent, which appeared after the king's return, amongst those who were not inclined to it, yet found every day fresh occasions to nourish and improve it.

The settling this great officer in the stables made it necessary to appoint a lord steward of the household, who was a necessary officer for the parliament, being by the statute appointed to swear all the members of the house of commons; and to this charge the marquis of Ormond had been long designed, and was then sworn. And they had both their tables erected according to the old models, and all those excesses, which the irregular precedents of former times had introduced, and which the king had so solemnly resolved to reform, before it could be said to trench upon the rights of particular persons. But the good humour the king was in, and the plenty which generally appeared, how much soever without a fund to support it, and especially the natural desire his majesty had to see every body pleased, banished all thoughts of such providence; instead whereof, he resolved forthwith to settle his house according to former rules, or rather without any rule, and to appoint the officers, who impatiently expected their promotion. He directed his own table to be more magnificently furnished than it had ever been in any time of his predecessors; which example was easily followed in all offices.

That he might give a lively instance of his grace to those who had been of the party which had been faulty, according to his declaration from Breda, he made of his own free inclination and choice the earl of Manchester (who was looked upon as one of the principal heads of the presbyterian party) lord chamberlain of his house; who, continuing still to perform all good offices to his old friends, complied very punctually with all the obligations and duties which his place required, never failed being at chapel, and at all the king's devotions with all imaginable decency; and, by his extraordinary civilities and behaviour towards all men, did not only appear the fittest person the king could have chosen for that office in that time, but rendered himself so acceptable to all degrees of men, that none, but such who were implacable towards all who had ever disserved the king, were sorry to see him so promoted. And it must be confessed, that as he had expressed much penitence for what he had done amiss, and was mortally hated and persecuted by Cromwell, even for his life, and had done many acts of merit towards the king; so he was of all men, who had ever borne arms against the king, both in the gentleness and justice of his nature, in the sweetness and evenness of his conversation, and in his real principles for monarchy, the most worthy to be received into the trust and confidence in which he was placed. With his, the two other white staves were disposed of to those, to whom they were designed, when the king was prince of Wales, by his father: and all other inferior officers were made, who were to take care of the expenses of the house, and were a great part of it.

And thus the king's house quickly appeared in its full lustre, the eating and drinking very grate-

ful to all men, and the charge and expense of it much exceeding the precedents of the most luxurious times; and all this before there was any provision of ready money, or any assignation of a future fund to discharge or support it. All men were ready to deliver their goods upon trust, the officers too remiss in computing the disbursements; insomuch as the debts contracted by those excesses in less than the first year broke all the measures in that degree, that they could not suddenly be retrenched for the future; and the debt itself was not discharged in many years.

The king had in his purpose, long before his return, to make the earl of Southampton (who was the most valued and esteemed of all the nobility, and generally thought worthy of any honour or office) lord high treasurer of England; but he desired first to see some revenue settled by the parliament, and that part of the old, which had been sold and dispersed by extravagant grants and sales, reduced into the old channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the customs to be put in such order, (which were not yet granted, and only continued by orders as illegal as the late times had been accustomed to, and to the authority whereof he had no mind to administer,) before he was willing to receive the staff. And so the office of the treasury was by commission executed by several lords of the council, whereof the chancellor, as well by the dignity of his place, as by his still being chancellor of the exchequer, was one; and so engaged in the putting the customs likewise into commissioners' hands, and settling all the other branches of the revenue in such manner as was thought most reasonable; in all debates whereof his majesty himself was still present, and approved the conclusion. But after a month or two spent in this method, in the crowd of so much business of several natures, the king found so little expedition, that he thought it best to determine that commission, and so gave the staff to the earl of Southampton, and made him treasurer. And the chancellor at the same time surrendering his office of chancellor of the exchequer into the king's hands, his majesty, upon the humble desire of the earl, conferred that office upon sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had married his niece, and whose parts well enough qualified him for the discharge thereof; though some other qualities of his, as well known, brought no advantage to his majesty by that promotion. And from this time the chancellor would never intermeddle in the business of the exchequer, nor admit any applications to him in it: however, the friendship was so great between the treasurer and him, and so notorious from an ancient date, and from a joint confidence in each other in the service of the last king, that neither of them concluded any matter of importance without consulting with the other. And so the treasurer, marquis of Ormond, the general, with the two secretaries of state, were of that secret committee with the chancellor; which, under the notion of foreign affairs, were appointed by the king to consult all his affairs before they came to a public debate; and in which there could not be a more united concurrence of judgments and affections.

Yet it was the chancellor's misfortune to be thought to have the greatest credit with the king, for the reasons mentioned before, and which for some time seemed to be without envy, by reason

of his many years service of the crown, and constant fidelity to the same, and his long attendance upon the person of his majesty, and the friendship he had with the most eminent persons who had adhered to that interest. Yet he foresaw, and told many of his friends, "that the credit he was thought to have with the king, and which he knew was much less than it was thought to be, and his being obliged by the king to conduct many affairs, which were foreign to those which principally concerned and related to his office, would in a short time raise such a storm of envy and malice against him, that he should not be able to stand the shock." All men's impatience to get, and immodesty in asking, when the king had nothing to give, with his majesty's easiness of access, and that "imbecillitas frontis" which kept him from denying, together with rescuing himself from the most troublesome importunities by sending men to the chancellor, could not but in a short time make him be looked upon as the man that obstructed all their pretences; in which they were confirmed by his own carriage towards them, which, though they could not deny to be full of civility, yet he always dissuaded them from pursuing the suits they had made to the king, as unfit or unjust for his majesty to grant, how inclinable soever he had seemed to them. And so, instead of promising to assist them, he positively denied so much as to endeavour it, when the matter would not bear it; but where he could do courtesies, no man proceeded more cheerfully and more unasked, which very many of all conditions knew to be true; nor did he ever receive recompense or reward for any such offices. Of which temper of his there will be occasion to say more hereafter.

The first matter of general and public importance, and which resulted not from any debate in parliament, was the discovery of a great affection that the duke had for the chancellor's daughter, who was a maid of honour to the king's sister, the princess royal of Orange, and of a contract of marriage between them: with which nobody was so surprised and confounded as the chancellor himself, who being of a nature free from any jealousy, and very confident of an entire affection and obedience from all his children, and particularly from that daughter, whom he had always loved dearly, never had in the least degree suspected any such thing; though he knew afterwards, that the duke's affection and kindness had been much spoken of beyond the seas, but without the least suspicion in any body that it could ever tend to marriage. And therefore it was cherished and promoted in the duke by those, and only by those, who were declared enemies to the chancellor, and who hoped from thence, that some signal disgrace and dishonour would befall the chancellor and his family; in which they were the more reasonably confirmed by the manner of the duke's living towards him, which had never any thing of grace in it, but very much of disfavour, to which the lord Berkley, and most of his other servants to please the lord Berkley, had contributed all they could; and the queen's notorious prejudice to him had made it part of his duty to her majesty, which had been a very great discomfort to the chancellor, in his whole administration beyond the seas. But now, upon this discovery and the consequence thereof, he looked upon himself

as a ruined person, and that the king's indignation ought to fall upon him as the contriver of that indignity to the crown, which as himself from his soul abhorred, and would have had the presumption of his daughter to be punished with the utmost severity, so he believed the whole kingdom would be inflamed to the punishment of it, and to prevent the dishonour which might result from it. And the least calamity that he expected upon himself and family, how innocent soever, was an everlasting banishment out of the kingdom, and to end his days in foreign parts in poverty and misery. All which undoubtedly must have come to pass upon that occasion, if the king had either had that indignation which had been just in him; or if he had withdrawn his grace and favour from him, and left him to be sacrificed by the envy and rage of others; though at this time he was not thought to have many enemies, nor indeed any who were friends to any other honest men. But the king's own knowledge of his innocence, and thereupon his gracious condescension and interposition diverting any rough proceeding, and so a contrary effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the chancellor's greatness seemed to be thereby confirmed, his family established above the reach of common envy, and his fortune to be in a growing and prosperous condition not like to be shaken. And since after many years possession of this prosperity, an unexpected gust of displeasure took again its rise from this original, and overwhelmed him with variety and succession of misfortunes; it is very reasonable to relate from before this time all the passages and circumstances, which accompanied or attended that lady's first promotion in the service of the princess royal, in which the extreme averseness in her father and mother from embracing that opportunity, and the unusual grace and importunity from them who conferred the honour, being considered, there may appear to many an extraordinary operation of Providence, in giving the first rise to what afterwards succeeded, though of a nature so transcendent as cannot be thought to have any relation to it.

When the king resolved, immediately after the murder of his father, to send the chancellor his ambassador into Spain, the chancellor, being to begin his journey from the Hague, sent for his wife and children to meet him at Antwerp; and had at that time only four children, one daughter and three sons; all of so tender years, that their own discretions could contribute little to their education. These children, under the sole direction of a very discreet mother, he left at Antwerp, competently provided for, for the space of a year or more; hoping in that time to be able to send them some further supply; and having removed them out of England, to prevent any inconvenience that might befall them there, upon any accident that might result from his negotiation in Spain; it being in those times no unusual thing for the parliament, when it had conceived any notable displeasure against a man who was out of their reach, to seize upon his wife and children, and to imprison them in what manner and for what time seemed reasonable to them; and from this hazard he was willing to preserve his. The king was in Scotland when the chancellor returned from his embassy to Antwerp, where his family

had still remained; his children being grown as much as usually attends the space of two years, which was the time he had been absent. The fatal success at Worcester about this time had put a period to all his majesty's present designs; and he had no sooner made his wonderful escape into France, than he sent for the chancellor; who left his family, as he had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all haste to Paris, where he found the king; with whom he remained till his majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into Germany; which was above three years.

During that time the princess royal had, out of her own princely nature and inclination, cultivated by the civility and offices of the lady Stanhope, conferred a very seasonable obligation upon him, by assigning a house, that was in her disposal at Breda, to his wife and children; who had thereupon left Antwerp; and, without the payment of any house-rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new mansion at Breda; where he got liberty to visit them for four or five days, whilst the king continued his journey to the Spa, and after another absence of near four years; finding his children grown and improved after that rate. The gracious inclination in the princess royal towards the chancellor's wife and children, (not without some reprehension from Paris,) and the civilities in the lady Stanhope, had proceeded much from the good offices of Daniel O'Neile, of the king's bedchamber; who had for many years lived in very good correspondence with the chancellor, and was very acceptable in the court of the princess royal, and to those persons who had the greatest influence upon her councils and affections.

The princess met the king her brother at the Spa, rather for the mutual comfort they took in each other, than for the use either of them had of the waters; yet the princess engaged herself to that order and diet that the waters required; and after near a month's stay there, they were forced suddenly to remove from thence, by the sickness of some of the princess's women of the smallpox, and resided at Aix-la-Chapelle; where they had been but one whole day, when notice came from the Spa, that Mrs. Killigrew, one of the maids of honour to the princess, was dead of the smallpox.

O'Neile came in the instant to the chancellor with very much kindness, and told him, that if he desired the king to speak to his sister to receive his daughter into the place of Mrs. Killigrew, he was most confident she would do it very willingly, but that she expected the king should speak to her, because the queen had writ to bestow the place that should first fall vacant to another; and when he found him not inclined to move the king in it, saying, he would not be any occasion to increase the jealousies which were already between their majesties, nor to dispose the princess to displease her mother, he frankly offered to move the king without the other's appearing in it. Whereupon the chancellor thought it necessary to deal freely with him, and told him, that his daughter was the only company and comfort that her mother had, and who he knew could not part with her; and that for himself he was resolved, whilst the king's condition continued so low, he would not have his daughter in that gayety, which was necessary for the court of so young a princess; and therefore he conjured him by all

the friendship he had for him, since he saw to what resolution he was fixed, to use all his dexterity and address to divert the princess from the thought of a bounty that would prove so inconvenient to her, and to engage the lady Stanhope in the same office. O'Neile on the contrary used many arguments to him for his compliance with an opportunity that offered itself so much for [his] daughter's advantage, and which would probably, by the generosity of such a mistress, be attended with benefits and advantages which might absolve him from any further charges for her preferment. He remained not to be shaken, and the other desisted from his importunity. Shortly after, the king took notice of the vacant place in his sister's family, which he said he thought might in many respects be convenient for his daughter, and therefore offered to move his sister in it on her behalf. The chancellor, after he had acknowledged his majesty's goodness, with all humility besought him not to interpose his authority with his royal sister; made him a full relation of all that had passed between O'Neile and him, and of his resolution not to separate his daughter from his wife, and that one should not live in lustre, whilst the other must be necessitated to continue in so much security; and thereupon humbly entreated the king to refuse to interpose in that affair. The king told him with a very gracious freedom, that his sister had directly spoken to him to move in it, because of the letter she had received from the queen; that she herself had seen his daughter, and was so well pleased with her nature and her humour, which she had opportunity to observe a week together, that she had taken a resolution within herself, and communicated it to the lady Stanhope, that she would take her into her service when there should be opportunity; and therefore his majesty wished him to consider, whether he would not accept a benefit with all these circumstances; however advised him to wait upon his sister, and acknowledge so much grace, if he did not intend to make use of it. Though the chancellor was exceedingly perplexed with the knowledge of all these particulars, and understood to what misinterpretation and disadvantages this obstinacy might make him liable, yet he changed nothing of his resolution, and waited upon the princess with hope that he might convert her purely upon the inconvenience that might follow upon the conferring a grace, in that conjuncture, upon a family so inconsiderable to her service.

After he had attended the princess, and with all the expressions which his gratitude could suggest to him magnified the many favours he had received from her, and the gracious inclination he was informed she had now for his daughter; and he knew no better way (he told her) to return his most dutiful acknowledgments, than by taking care that she should undergo the least prejudice by her bounty to him, and therefore that he was resolved not to receive the honour she was inclined to bestow upon his daughter: that he had the misfortune to be ill understood by the queen her mother, who would be the more incensed against him, and offended with her highness, if the recommendation she had given on the behalf of another lady should be rejected on his behalf, and that in truth he was not able to maintain his daughter in such a condition as that relation did require; and concluded how inconvenient it would

be to separate her from her mother, who would be desolate without her. Her royal highness, who heard him with great patience till he had alleged all the arguments why she should not persist in her gracious disposition, and why he could not receive the obligations, answered, "that she knew well the long and faithful service he had performed towards the king her father, and the confidence his majesty had in him at his death; that he had continued the same fidelity to the king her brother, who was very sensible of it, and that she was the more troubled, that her mother had entertained any prejudice towards him, which she was assured proceeded from some false information, which would shortly appear to be so; that for her own part, she had always paid all duty to her, and would be ready to gratify any worthy person who came recommended by her majesty, but that she would not exclude her own judgment, and be bound to have no servants about her person but such who should be recommended by her mother, who she could not believe could ever be offended with her for taking the daughter of a person who had been of so eminent fidelity to the crown: that for the maintenance of his daughter he should take no further care; she well enough knew his condition, and how it came to be such, and that she took the care of that upon herself: for what related to his wife's unwillingness to part with her daughter, her highness said, she was contented to refer it entirely to her; as soon as she came home she would send for her to Breda, and if her mother would not permit her to come to her, she had done her part, and would acquiesce." There remained nothing for the chancellor to reply, and he remained still confident that his wife (to whom he had written to confirm her in her former resolution of having her daughter still with her) would continue of the mind she had been of; but when she was informed of all that had passed, she concluded that all those unusual circumstances in an affair of that nature were not without some instinct of Providence; and so when the princess royal sent for her daughter, she went herself likewise, and presented her to her highness; to which possibly it was some motive, that there would then remain no objection against her own residence with her husband; and so she presently removed to him to Cologne, where the king then was, and remained for some years. Having now set down (not improperly I think) the true rise and story of his daughter's going into that court, with all the particulars which preceded it, I shall now return to that place from whence this digression led us, of the public discovery of the duke's affection, and shall continue the relation till an end was put to that great affair, by the consent and approbation of the royal family, and, for ought appeared to the contrary, to the general satisfaction of the kingdom.

The chancellor, as soon as the king was at Whitehall, had sent for his daughter, having a design presently to marry her; to which purpose he had an overture from a noble family, on the behalf of a well-bred hopeful young gentleman, who was the heir of it. His daughter quickly arrived at her father's house, to his great joy, having always had a great affection for her; and she being his eldest child, he had more acquaintance

with her, than with any of his children; and being now of an age fit for marriage, he was well pleased that he had an opportunity to place her in such a condition, as with God's blessing was like to yield her much content. She had not been long in England, when the duke informed the king "of the affection and engagement that had been long between them; that they had been long contracted, and that she was with child:" and therefore with all imaginable importunity he begged his majesty's leave and permission upon his knees, "that he might publicly marry her, in such a manner as his majesty thought necessary for the consequence thereof." The king was much troubled with it, and more with his brother's passion, which was expressed in a very wonderful manner and with many tears, protesting, "that if his majesty should not give his consent, he would immediately leave the kingdom, and must spend his life in foreign parts." His majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: he knew the chancellor so well, that he concluded that he was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much prejudice upon him, by the jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his nature. He presently sent for the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton, who he well knew were his bosom friends, and informed them at large, and of all particulars which had passed from the duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the chancellor to come to his own chamber at Whitehall, where they would meet him upon a business of great importance, which the king had commended to them for their joint advice. They no sooner met, than the marquis of Ormond told the chancellor, "that he had a matter to inform him of, that he doubted would give him much trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: and then told him, "that the duke of York had owned a great affection for his daughter to the king, and that he much doubted that she was with child by the duke, and that the king required the advice of them and of him what he was to do."

The manner of the chancellor's receiving this advertisement made it evident enough that he was struck with it to the heart, and had never had the least jealousy or apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate passion against the wickedness of his daughter, and said with all imaginable earnestness, "that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." They told him, "that his passion was too violent to administer good counsel to him, that they thought that the duke was married to his daughter, and that there were other measures to be taken than those which the disorder he was in had suggested to him." Whereupon he fell into new commotions, and said, "if that were true, he was well prepared to advise what was to be done: that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife: in the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive; and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judg-

ment, in which he hoped their lordships would concur with him; that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it:" and whoever knew the man, will believe that he said all this very heartily.

In this point of time the king entered the room, and sat down at the table; and perceiving by his countenance the agony the chancellor was in, and his swollen eyes from whence a flood of tears were fallen, he asked the other lords, "what they had done, and whether they had resolved on any thing." The earl of Southampton said, "his majesty must consult with soberer men; that he" (pointing to the chancellor) "was mad, and had proposed such extravagant things, that he was no more to be consulted with." Whereupon his majesty, looking upon him with a wonderful benignity, said, "Chancellor, I knew this business would trouble you, and therefore I appointed your two friends to confer first with you upon it, before I would speak with you myself: but you must now lay aside all passion that disturbs you, and consider that this business will not do itself; that it will quickly take air; and therefore it is fit that I first resolve what to do, before other men uncalled presume to give their counsel: tell me therefore what you would have me do, and I will follow your advice." Then his majesty enlarged upon the passion of his brother, and the expressions he had often used, "that he was not capable of having any other wife, and the like." Upon which the chancellor arose, and with a little composedness said, "Sir, I hope I need make no apology to you for myself, and of my own in this matter, upon which I look with so much detestation, that though I could have wished that your brother had not thought it fit to have put this disgrace upon me, I had much rather submit and bear it with all humility, than that it should be repaired by making her his wife; the thought whereof I do so much abominate, that I had much rather see her dead, with all the infamy that is due to her presumption." And then he repeated all that he had before said to the lords, of sending her presently to the Tower, and the rest; and concluded, "Sir, I do upon all my oaths which I have taken to you to give you faithful counsels, and from all the sincere gratitude I stand obliged to you for so many obligations, renew this counsel to you; and do beseech you to pursue it, as the only expedient that can free you from the evils that this business will otherwise bring upon you." And observing by the king's countenance, that he was not pleased with his advice, he continued and said, "I am the dullest creature alive, if, having been with your majesty so many years, I do not know your infirmities better than other men. You are of too easy and gentle a nature to contend with those rough affronts, which the iniquity and license of the late times is like to put upon you, before it be subdued and reformed. The presumption all kind of men have upon your temper is too noto-

“rious to all men, and lamented by all who wish you well: and, trust me, an example of the highest severity in a case that so nearly concerns you, and that relates to the person who is nearest to you, will be so seasonable, that your reign, during the remaining part of your life, will be the easier to you, and all men will take heed how they impudently offend you.”

He had scarce done speaking, when the duke of York came in; whereupon the king spake of some other business, and shortly after went out of the room with his brother, whom (as was shortly known) he informed of all that the chancellor had said, who, as soon as he came to his house, sent his wife to command his daughter to keep her chamber, and not to admit any visits; whereas before she had always been at dinner and supper, and had much company resorting to her: which was all that he thought fit to do upon the first assault, and till he had slept upon it, (which he did very unquietly,) and reflected upon what was like to be the effect of so extravagant a cause. And this was quickly known to the duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the king, “as of an indignity offered to him.” And the next morning the king chid the chancellor for proceeding with so much precipitation, and required him “to take off that restraint, and “to leave her to the liberty she had been accustomed to.” To which he replied, “that her “having not discharged the duty of a daughter “ought not to deprive him of the authority of a “father; and therefore he must humbly beg his “majesty not to interpose his commands against “his doing any thing that his own dignity required: that he only expected what his majesty “would do upon the advice he had humbly offered to him, and when he saw that, he would “himself proceed as he was sure would become “him:” nor did he take off any of the restraint he had imposed. Yet he discovered after, that even in that time the duke had found ways to come to her, and to stay whole nights with her, by the administration of those who were not suspected by him, and who had the excuse, “that “they knew that they were married.”

This subject was quickly the matter of all men’s discourse, and did not produce those murmurs and discontented reflections which were expected. The parliament was sitting, and took not the least notice of it; nor could it be discerned that many were scandalized at it. The chancellor received the same respects from all men which he had been accustomed to: and the duke himself, in the house of peers, frequently sat by him upon the woolsack, that he might the more easily confer with him upon the matters which were debated, and receive his advice how to behave himself; which made all men believe that there had been a good understanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that time, the duke never spake one word to him of that affair. The king spake every day about it, and told the chancellor, “that he must behave himself wisely, for that the “thing was remediless; and that his majesty knew “that they were married, which would quickly “appear to all men, who knew that nothing could “be done upon it.” In this time the chancellor had conferred with his daughter, without any thing of indulgence, and not only discovered that they were unquestionably married, but by whom,

and who were present at it, who would be ready to avow it; which pleased him not, though it diverted him from using some of that rigour which he intended. And he saw no other remedy could be applied, but that which he had proposed to the king, who thought of nothing like it.

At this time there was news of the princess royal’s embarkation in Holland, which obliged the king and the duke of York to make a journey to Dover to receive her, who came for no other reason, but to congratulate with the king her brother, and to have her share in the public joy. The morning that they began their journey, the king and the duke came to the chancellor’s house; and the king, after he had spoken to him of some business that was to be done in his absence, going out of the room, the duke stayed behind, and whispered the chancellor in the ear, because there were others at a little distance, “that he knew “that he had heard of the business between him “and his daughter, and of which he confessed “he ought to have spoken with him before; but “that when he returned from Dover, he would “give him full satisfaction: in the mean time,” he desired him, “not to be offended with his “daughter.” To which the chancellor made no other answer, than “that it was a matter too “great for him to speak of.”

When the princess royal came to the town, there grew to be a great silence in that affair. The duke said nothing to the chancellor, nor came nor sent to his daughter, as he had constantly used to do: and it was industriously published about the town, that that business was broken off, and that the duke was resolved never to think more of it. The queen had before written a very sharp letter to the duke, full of indignation, that he should have so low thoughts as to marry such a woman; to whom he shewed the letter, as not moved by it. And now she sent the king word, “that she was “on the way to England, to prevent, with her “authority, so great a stain and dishonour to the “crown;” and used many threats and passionate expressions upon the subject. The chancellor sat unconcerned in all the rumours which were spread, “that the queen was coming with a purpose to “complain to the parliament against the chancellor, and to apply the highest remedies to prevent so great a mischief.”

In the mean time it was reported abroad, that the duke had discovered some disloyalty in the lady, which he had never suspected, but had now so full evidence of it, that he was resolved never more to see her; and that he was not married. And all his family, whereof the lord Berkley and his nephew were the chief, who had long hated the chancellor, spake very loudly and scandalously of it. The king carried himself with extraordinary grace towards the chancellor, and was with him more, and spake upon all occasions and before all persons more graciously of him, than ever. He told him with much trouble, “that his brother was abused; and that there was a wicked “conspiracy set on foot by villains, which, in the “end, must prove of more dishonour to the duke “than to any body else.”

The queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and hastened by this occasion; and it was fit for the king and the duke to wait on her at the shore. But before his majesty’s going, he resolved of himself to do a grace to the chancellor, that should

publish how far he was from being shaken in his favour towards him, and to do it with such circumstances as gave it great lustre. From the time of his coming into England, he had often offered the chancellor to make him a baron, and told him, "that he was assured by many of the lords, "that it was most necessary for his service in the "parliament. But he had still refused it, and besought his majesty "not to think of it; that it "would increase the envy against him if he should "confer that honour upon him so soon; but that "hereafter, when his majesty's affairs should be "settled, and he, out of the extraordinary perquisites of his office, should be able to make "some addition to his small fortune, he would, "with that humility that became him, receive that "honour from him." The king, in few days after, coming to him, and being alone with him in his cabinet, at going away gave him a little billet into his hand, that contained a warrant of his own handwriting to sir Stephen Fox, to pay to the chancellor the sum of twenty thousand pounds; which was part of the money which the parliament had presented to the king at the Hague, and for which he had been compelled to take bills of exchange again from Amsterdam upon London; which was only known to the king, the chancellor, and sir Stephen Fox, who was intrusted to receive it, as he had done all the king's monies for many years beyond the seas. This bounty flowing immediately from the king at such a melancholic conjuncture, and of which nobody could have notice, could not but much raise the spirits of the chancellor. Nor did the king's goodness rest here; but the night before he began his journey towards the queen, he sent for the attorney general, whom he knew to be most devoted to the chancellor, and told him, "that he "must intrust him in an affair that he must not "impart to the chancellor:" and then gave him a warrant signed for the creation of him a baron, which he commanded "to be ready to pass the "seal against the hour of his majesty's return, "and he would then see it sealed himself; but if "the chancellor came first to know it, he would "use great importunity to stop it." The attorney said, "it would be impossible to conceal it from "him, because, without his privity and direction, "he knew not what title to give him for his "barony." The king replied with warmth, "that "he should confer with some of his friends of the "way; but that he would take it ill of him, if "there were any delay in it, and if it were not "ready for the seal at the time of his return, "which would be in few days." The attorney came to the chancellor and told him, "he would "break a trust to do him a service; and therefore "he presumed, that he would not be so unjust to "let him suffer by it:" and then told him all that had passed between the king and him. And the chancellor confessed, "that the king's manner of "proceeding was so obliging, and the conjuncture "in which this honour was given," though he had before refused it with obstinacy, "made it "now very grateful to him:" and so without hesitation he told him what title he would assume. And all was ready against the king's return, and signed by him, and sealed the same night.

The queen had expressed her indignation to the king and duke, with her natural passion, from the time of their meeting; and the duke had asked

her pardon "for having placed his affection so "unequally, of which he was sure there was now "an end; that he was not married, and had now "such evidence of her unworthiness, that he "should no more think of her." And it was now avowedly said, that sir Charles Berkley, who was captain of his guard, and in much more credit and favour with the duke than his uncle, (though a young man of a dissolute life, and prone to all wickedness in the judgment of all sober men,) had informed the duke, "that he was bound in "conscience to preserve him from taking to wife "a woman so wholly unworthy of him; that he "himself had lain with her; and that for his sake "he would be content to marry her, though he "knew well the familiarity the duke had with "her." This evidence, with so solemn oaths presented by a person so much loved and trusted by him, made a wonderful impression in the duke; and now confirmed by the commands of his mother, as he had been before prevailed upon by his sister, he resolved to deny that he was married, and never to see the woman again, who had been so false to him. And the queen being satisfied with this resolution, they came all to London, with a full hope that they should prevail to the utter overthrow of the chancellor; the king having, without any reply or debate, heard all they said of the other affair, and his mother's bitterness against him. But when, the very next morning after their arrival at London, they saw the chancellor (who had not seen the king) appear in the parliament in the robes of a peer; they thought it to no purpose to prosecute their design against him, whom his majesty was resolved to protect from any unjust persecution. But the other resolution was pursued with noise and much defamation.

The next day after the queen's arrival, all the privy council in a body waited upon the queen to congratulate her return into England; and the chancellor was obliged to go in the head of them, and was received with the same countenance that the rest were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious expressions. And from this time he put not himself in her majesty's presence, nor appeared at all concerned at the scandalous discourses against his daughter. The earl of St. Alban's, and all who were near the queen in any trust, and the lord Berkley and his faction about the duke, lived in defiance of the chancellor; and so imprudently, that they did him no harm, but underwent the reproach of most sober men. The king continued his grace towards him without the least diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were trusted by him; which made it evident that he believed nothing of what sir Charles Berkley avowed, and looked on him as a fellow of great wickedness: which opinion the king was long known to have of him before his coming into England, and after.

In the mean time, the season of his daughter's delivery was at hand. And it was the king's chance to be at his house with the committee of council, when she fell in labour: of which being advertised by her father, the king directed him "to send for the lady marchioness of Ormond, "the countess of Sunderland, and other ladies of "known honour and fidelity to the crown, to be "present with her:" who all came, and were present till she was delivered of a son. The

bishop of Winchester, in the interval of her greatest pangs, and sometimes when they were upon her, was present, and asked her such questions as were thought fit for the occasion; "whose the child was of which she was in labour," whom she averred, with all protestations, to be the duke's; "whether she had ever known any other man;" which she renounced with all vehemence, saying, "that she was confident the duke did not think she had;" and being asked "whether she were married to the duke," she answered, "she was, and that there were witnesses enough, who in due time, she was confident, would avow it." In a word, her behaviour was such as abundantly satisfied the ladies who were present, of her innocence from the reproach; and they were not reserved in the declaration of it, even before the persons who were least pleased with their testimony. And the lady marchioness of Ormond took an opportunity to declare it fully to the duke himself, and perceived in him such a kind of tenderness, that persuaded her that he did not believe any thing amiss. And the king enough published his opinion and judgment of the scandal.

The chancellor's own carriage, that is, his doing nothing, nor saying any thing from whence they might take advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet they undertook to know, and informed the duke confidently, "that the chancellor had a great party in the parliament;" and that "he was resolved within few days to complain there, and to produce the witnesses, who were present at the marriage, to be examined, that their testimony might remain there; which would be a great affront to him;" with many other particulars, which might incense his highness. Whereupon the duke, who had been observed never to have spoken to him in the house of peers, or any where else, since the time of his going to meet his sister, finding the chancellor one day in the privy lodgings, whispered him in the ear, "that he would be glad to confer with him in his lodging," whither he was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the duke sent all his servants out of distance; and then told him with much warmth, "what he had been informed of his purpose to complain to the parliament against him, which he did not value or care for: however, if he should prosecute any such course, it should be the worse for him;" implying some threats, "what he would do before he would bear such an affront;" adding then, "that for his daughter, she had behaved herself so foully, (of which he had such evidence as was as convincing as his own eyes, and of which he could make no doubt,) that nobody could blame him for his behaviour towards her;" concluding with some other threats, "that he should repent it, if he pursued his intention of appealing to the parliament."

As soon as the duke discontinued his discourse, the chancellor told him, "that he hoped he would discover the untruth of other reports which had been made to him by the falsehood of this, which had been raised without the least ground or shadow of truth. That though he did not pretend to much wisdom, yet no man took him to be such a fool, as he must be, if he intended to do such an act as he was informed. That if his highness had done any thing towards or against him, which he ought not to have done,

"there was one who is as much above him, as his highness was above him, and who could both censure and punish it. For his own part, he knew too well whose son he was, and whose brother he is, to behave himself towards him with less duty and submission than was due to him, and should be always paid by him." He said, "he was not concerned to vindicate his daughter from any the most improbable scandals and aspersions: she had disobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be overconfident that she might not deceive any other man: and therefore he would leave that likewise to God Almighty, upon whose blessing he would always depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no longer." The duke replied not, nor from that time mentioned the chancellor with any displeasure; and related to the king, and some other persons, the discourse that had passed, very exactly.

There did not after all this appear, in the discourses of men, any of that humour and indignation which was expected. On the contrary, men of the greatest name and reputation spake of the foulness of the proceeding with great freedom, and with all the detestation imaginable against sir Charles Berkley, whose testimony nobody believed; not without some censure of the chancellor, for not enough appearing and prosecuting the indignity: but he was not to be moved by any instances, which he never afterwards repented. The queen's implacable displeasure continued in the full height, doing all she could to keep the duke firm to his resolution, and to give all countenance to the calumny. As before the discovery of this engagement of the duke's affection, the duke of Gloucester had died of the smallpox, to the extraordinary grief of the king and the whole kingdom; so at this time it pleased God to visit the princess royal with the same disease, and of which she died within few days; having in her last agonies expressed a dislike of the proceedings in that affair, to which she had contributed too much. The duke himself grew melancholic and dispirited, and cared not for company, nor those diversions in which he formerly delighted: which was observed by every body, and which in the end wrought so far upon the conscience of the lewd informer, that he, sir Charles Berkley, came to the duke, and clearly declared to him, "that the general discourse of men, of what inconvenience and mischief, if not absolute ruin, such a marriage would be to his royal highness, had prevailed with him to use all the power he had to dissuade him from it; and when he found he could not prevail with him, he had formed that accusation, which he presumed could not but produce the effect he wished; which he now confessed to be false, and without the least ground; and that he was very confident of her virtue:" and therefore besought his highness "to pardon a fault, that was committed out of pure devotion to him; and that he would not suffer him to be ruined by the power of those, whom he had so unworthily provoked; and of which he had so much shame, that he had not confidence to look upon them." The duke found himself so much relieved in that part that most afflicted him, that he embraced him, and made a solemn promise, "that he should not suffer in the least degree in his own affec-

"tion, for what had proceeded so absolutely from his good-will to him; and that he would take so much care of him, that in the compounding that affair he should be so comprehended, that he should receive no disadvantage."

And now the duke appeared with another countenance, writ to her whom he had injured, "that he would speedily visit her," and gave her charge "to have a care of his son." He gave the king a full account of all, without concealing his joy; and took most pleasure in conferring with them, who had seemed least of his mind when he had been most transported, and who had always argued against the probability of the testimony which had wrought upon him. The queen was not pleased with this change, though the duke did not yet own to her that he had altered his resolution. She was always very angry at the king's coldness, who had been so far from that aversion which she expected, that he found excuses for the duke, and endeavoured to divert her passions; and now pressed the discovery of the truth by sir Charles Berkley's confession, as a thing that pleased him. They about her, and who had most inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest resentment, appeared more calm in their discourses, and either kept silence, or spake to another tune than they had done formerly, and wished that the business was well composed; all which mightily increased the queen's passion. And having come to know that the duke had made a visit at the place she most abhorred, she brake into great passion, and publicly declared, "that whenever that woman should be brought into Whitehall by one door, her majesty would go out of it by another door, and never come into it again." And for several days her majesty would not suffer the duke to be in her presence; at least, if he came with the king, she forbore to speak to him, or to take any notice of him. Nor could they, who had used to have most credit with her, speak to her with any acceptance; though they were all weary of the distances they had kept, and discerned well enough where the matter must end. And many desired to find some expedient, how the work might be facilitated, by some application and address from the chancellor to the queen: but he absolutely refused to make the least advance towards it, or to contribute to her indignation by putting himself into her majesty's presence. He declared, "that the queen had great reason for the passion she expressed for the indignity that had been done to her, and which he would never endeavour to excuse; and that as far as his low quality was capable of receiving an injury from so great a prince, he had himself to complain of a transgression that exceeded the limits of all justice, divine and human."

The queen had made this journey out of France into England much sooner than she intended, and only, upon this occasion, to prevent a mischief she had great reason to deprecate. And so, upon her arrival, she had declared, "that she would stay a very short time, being obliged to return into France for her health, and to use the waters of Bourbon, which had already done her much good, that the ensuing season would with God's blessing make perfect." And the time was now come, that orders were sent for the ships to attend her embarkation at Portsmouth; and the day was

appointed for the beginning her journey from Whitehall: so that the duke's affair, which he now took to heart, was (as every body thought) to be left in the state it was, at least under the renunciation and interdiction of a mother. When on a sudden, of which nobody then knew the reason, her majesty's countenance and discourse was changed; she treated the duke with her usual kindness, and confessed to him, "that the business that had offended her so much, she perceived was proceeded so far, that no remedy could be applied to it; and therefore that she would trouble herself no further in it, but pray to God to bless him, and that he might be happy:" so that the duke had now nothing to wish, but that the queen would be reconciled to his wife, who remained still at her father's, where the king had visited her often; to which the queen was not averse, and spake graciously of the chancellor, and said, "she would be good friends with him." But both these required some formalities; and they who had behaved themselves the most disobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any atonement that should be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the chancellor would make the first approach, by visiting the earl of St. Alban's; which he absolutely refused to do: and very well acquainted with the arts of that court, whereof dissimulation was the soul, did not believe that those changes, for which he saw no reasonable motive, could be real, until abbot Mountague (who had so far complied with the faction of that court as not to converse with an enemy) visited him with all openness, and told him, "that this change in the queen had proceeded from a letter she had newly received from the cardinal, in which he had plainly told her, that she would not receive a good welcome in France, if she left her sons in her displeasure, and professed an animosity against those ministers who were most trusted by the king. He extolled the services done by the chancellor, and advised her to comply with what could not be avoided, and to be perfectly reconciled to her children, and to those who were nearly related to them, or were intrusted by them: and that he did this in so powerful a style, and with such powerful reasons, that her majesty's passions were totally subdued. And this," he said, "was the reason of the sudden change that every body had observed; and therefore that he ought to believe the sincerity of it, and to perform that part which might be expected from him, in compliance with the queen's inclinations to have a good intelligence with him."

The chancellor had never looked upon the abbot as his enemy, and gave credit to all he said, though he did little understand from what fountain that good-will of the cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all those professions of duty to the queen that became him, and "how happy he should think himself in her protection, which he had need of, and did with all humility implore; and that he would gladly cast himself at her majesty's feet, when she would vouchsafe to admit it." But for the adjusting this, there was to be more formality; for it was necessary that the earl of St. Alban's (between whom and the chancellor there had never been any friendship) should have some part in this composition, and do many good offices to-

wards it, which were to precede the final conclusion. The duke had brought sir Charles Berkley to the duchess, at whose feet he had cast himself, with all the acknowledgment and penitence he could express; and she, according to the command of the duke, accepted his submission, and promised to forget the offence. He came likewise to the chancellor with those professions which he could easily make; and the other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his uncle, the lord Berkley, waited upon the duchess; and afterwards visited her father, like a man (which he could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing so difficult a matter to so good an end, and expected thanks from all; having that talent in some perfection, that after he had crossed and puzzled any business, as much as was in his power, he would be thought the only man who had untied all knots, and made the way smooth, and removed all obstructions.

The satisfaction the king and the duke had in this disposition of the queen was visible to all men. And they both thought the chancellor too reserved in contributing his part towards, or in meeting, the queen's favour, which he could not but discern was approaching towards him; and that he did not entertain any discourses, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that subject, with that cheerfulness and serenity of mind that might justly be expected. And of this the duke made an observation, and a kind of complaint, to the king, who thereupon came one day to the chancellor's house; and being alone with him, his majesty told him many particulars which had passed between him and the queen, and the good humour her majesty was in; "that the next day the earl of St. Alban's would visit him, and offer him his service in accompanying him to the queen; which he conjured him to receive with all civility, and expressions of the joy he took in it; in which," he told him, "he was observed to be too sullen, and that when all other men's minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy than it had been, when that affair seemed most desperate; which was the more taken notice of, because it was not natural to him."

The chancellor answered, "that he did not know that he had failed in any thing, that in good manners or decency could be required from him: but he confessed, that lately his thoughts were more perplexed and troublesome to himself, than they had ever been before; and therefore it was no wonder, if his looks were not the same they had used to be. That though he had been surprised to amazement, upon the first notice of that business, yet he had been shortly able to recollect himself; and, upon the testimony of his own conscience, to compose his mind and spirits, and without any reluctance to abandon any thought of his daughter, and to leave her to that misery she had deserved and brought upon herself. Nor did the vicissitudes which occurred after in that transaction, or the displeasure and menaces of the duke, make any other impression upon him, than to know how unable he was to enter into any contest in that matter, (which in all respects was too difficult and superior to his understanding and faculties,) and to leave it entirely to the direction and disposal of God Almighty: and in this

acquiescence he had enjoyed a repose with much tranquillity of mind, being prepared to undergo any misfortune that might befall him from thence. But that now he was awakened by other thoughts and reflections, which he could less range and govern. He saw those difficulties removed, which he had thought insuperable; that his own condition must be thought exalted above what he thought possible; and that he was far less able to bear the envy, that was unavoidable, than the indignation and contempt, that alone had threatened him. That his daughter was now received in the royal family, the wife of the king's only brother, and the heir apparent of the crown, whilst his majesty himself remained unmarried. The great trust his majesty reposed in him, infinitely above and contrary to his desire, was in itself liable to envy; and how insupportable that envy must be, upon this new relation, he could not but foresee; together with the jealousies which artificial men would be able to insinuate into his majesty, even when they seemed to have all possible confidence in the integrity of the chancellor, and when they extolled him most; and that how firm and constant soever his majesty's grace and favour was to him at present, (of which he had lately given such lively testimony,) and how resolved soever he was to continue it, his majesty himself could not know how far some jealousies, cunningly suggested by some men, might by degrees be entertained by him. And therefore that, upon all the revolvings he had with himself, he could not think of any thing that could contribute equally to his majesty's service, and his quiet, and to the happiness and security of himself, as for him to retire from the active station he was in, to an absolute solitude, and visible inactivity in all matters relating to the state: and which he thought could not be so well, under any retirement into the country, or any part of the kingdom, as by his leaving the kingdom, and fixing himself in some place beyond the seas remote from any court." And having said all this, or words to the same effect, he fell on his knees; and with all possible earnestness desired the king, that he would consent to his retirement, as a thing most necessary for his service, and give him leave to go and reside in any such place beyond the seas as his majesty would make choice of."

The king heard him patiently, yet with evidence enough that he was not pleased with what he said; and when he kneeled, took him up with some passion; "He did not expect this from him, and that he had so little kindness for him, as to leave him in a time, when he could not but know that he was very necessary for his service. That he had reason to be very well assured, that it could never be in any man's power to lessen his kindness towards him, or confidence in him; and if any should presume to attempt it, they would find cause to repent their presumption." He said, "there were many reasons, why he could never have designed or advised his brother to this marriage; yet since it was past, and all things so well reconciled, he would not deny that he was glad of it, and promised himself much benefit from it." He told him, "his daughter was a woman of a great wit and excel-

“lent parts, and would have a great power with his brother; and that he knew that she had an entire obedience for him, her father, who he knew would always give her good counsel; by which,” he said, “he was confident, that naughty people, which had too much credit with his brother, and which had so often misled him, would be no more able to corrupt him; but that she would prevent all ill and unreasonable attempts: and therefore he again confessed that he was glad of it;” and so concluded with many gracious expressions; and conjured the chancellor, “never more to think of those unreasonable things, but to attend and prosecute his business with his usual alacrity, since his kindness could never fail him.”

The next morning, which was of the last day that the queen was to stay, the earl of St. Alban’s visited the chancellor with all those compliments, professions, and protestations, which were natural, and which he did really believe every body else thought to be very sincere; for he had that kindness for himself, that he thought every body did believe him. He expressed “a wonderful joy, that the queen would now leave the court united, and all the king’s affairs in a very hopeful condition, in which the queen confessed that the chancellor’s counsels had been very prosperous, and that she was resolved to part with great and a sincere kindness towards him; and that he had authority from her to assure him so much, which she would do herself when she saw him:” and so offered “to go with him to her majesty, at such an hour in the afternoon as she should appoint.” The other made such returns to all the particulars as were fit, and “that he would be ready to attend the queen at the time she should please to assign:” and in the afternoon the earl of St. Alban’s came again to him; and they went together to Whitehall, where they found the queen in her bedchamber, where many ladies were present, who came then to take their leave of her majesty, before she begun her journey.

The duke of York had before presented his wife to his mother, who received her without the least show of regret, or rather with the same grace as if she had liked it from the beginning, and made her sit down by her. When the chancellor came in, the queen rose from her chair, and received him with a countenance very serene. The ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her majesty told him, “that he could not wonder, much less take it ill, that she had been much offended with the duke, and had no inclination to give her consent to his marriage; and if she had, in the passion that could not be condemned in her, spake any thing of him that he had taken ill, he ought to impute it to the provocation she had received, though not from him. She was now informed by the king, and well assured, that he had no hand in contriving that friendship, but was offended with that passion that really was worthy of him. That she could not but confess, that his fidelity to the king her husband was very eminent, and that he had served the king her son with equal fidelity and extraordinary success. And therefore, as she had received his daughter as her daughter, and heartily forgave the duke and her, and was resolved ever after to live with all the affection of a mother towards them; so she

“resolved to make a friendship with him, and hereafter to expect all the offices from him, which her kindness should deserve.” And when the chancellor had made all those acknowledgments which he ought to do, and commended her wisdom and indignation in a business, “in which she could not shew too much anger and aversion, and had too much forgotten her own honour and dignity, if she had been less offended;” and magnified her mercy and generosity, “in departing so soon from her necessary severity, and pardoning a crime in itself so unpardonable;” he made those professions of duty to her which were due to her, and “that he should always depend upon her protection as his most gracious mistress, and pay all obedience to her commands.” The queen appeared well pleased, and said “she should remain very confident of his affection,” and so discoursed of some particulars; and then opening a paper that she had in her hand, she recommended the despatch of some things to him, which immediately related to her own service and interest, and then some persons, who had either some suits to the king, or some controversies depending in chancery. And the evening drawing on, and very many ladies and others waiting without to kiss her majesty’s hand, he thought it time to take his leave; and after having repeated some short professions of his duty, he kissed her majesty’s hand: and from that time there did never appear any want of kindness in the queen towards him, whilst he stood in no need of it, nor until it might have done him good.

Thus an intrigue, that without doubt had been entered into and industriously contrived by those who designed to affront and bring dishonour upon the chancellor and his family, was, by God’s good pleasure, turned to their shame and reproach, and to the increase of the chancellor’s greatness and prosperity. And so we return to the time from whence this digression led us, and shall take a particular view of all those accidents, which had an influence upon the quiet of the kingdom, or which were the cause of all the chancellor’s misfortunes; which, though the effect of them did not appear in many years, were discerned by himself as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two bosom-friends, the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton, who constantly adhered to him with all the integrity of true friendship.

The greatness and power of the chancellor, by this marriage of his daughter, with all the circumstances which had accompanied and attended it, seemed to all men to have established his fortune, and that of his family; I say, to all men but to himself, who was not in the least degree exalted with it. He knew well upon how slippery ground he stood, and how naturally averse the nation was from approving an exorbitant power in any subject. He saw that the king grew every day more inclined to his pleasures, which involved him in expense, and company that did not desire that he should intend his business, or be conversant with sober men. He knew well that the servants who were about the duke were as much his enemies as ever, and intended their own profit only, by what means soever, without considering his honour; that they formed his household, officers, and equipage, by the model of France,

and against all the rules and precedents of England for a brother of the crown; and every day put into his head, "that if he were not supplied for all those expenses, it was the chancellor's fault, who could effect it if he would." Nor was he able to prevent those infusions, nor the effects of them, because they were so artificially administered, as if their end was to raise a confidence in him of the chancellor, not to weaken it; though he knew well that their design was to create by degrees in him a jealousy of his power and credit with the king, as if it eclipsed his. But this was only in their own dark purposes, which had been all blasted, if they had been apparent; for the duke did not only profess a very great affection for the chancellor, but gave all the demonstration of it that was possible, and desired nothing more, than that it should be manifest to all men, that he had an entire trust from the king in all his affairs, and that he would employ all his interest to support that trust: whilst the chancellor himself declined all the occasions, which were offered for the advancement of his fortune, and desired wholly to be left to the discharge of his office, and that all other officers might diligently look to their own provinces, and be accountable for them; and detested nothing more than that title and appellation, which he saw he should not always be able to avoid, of principal minister or favourite, and which was never cast on him by any designation of the king, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any single person,) but by his preferring his pleasures before his business, and so sending all men to the chancellor to receive advice. And hereby the secretaries of state, not finding a present access to him, when the occasions pressed, resorted to the chancellor, with whom his majesty spent most time, to be resolved by him; which method exceedingly grieved him, and to which he endeavoured to apply a remedy, by putting all things in their proper channel, and by prevailing with the king, when he should be a little satiated with the diversions he affected, to be vacant to so much of his business, as could not be managed and conducted by any body else.

And here it may be seasonable to insert at large some instances, which I promised before, and by which it will be manifest, how far the chancellor was from an immoderate appetite to be rich, and to raise his fortune, which he proposed only to do by the perquisites of his office, which were considerable at the first, and by such bounty of the king as might hereafter, without noise or scandal, be conferred on him in proper seasons and occurrences; and [that he was] as far from affecting such an unlimited power as he was believed afterwards to be possessed of, (and of which no footsteps could ever be discovered in any of his actions, or in any one particular that was the effect of such power,) or that he did desire any other extent of power than was agreeable to the great office he held, and which had been enjoyed by most of those who had been his predecessors in that trust.

The king had not been many weeks in England, when the marquis of Ormond came to him with his usual friendship, and asked him, "Whether it would not be now time to think of making a fortune, that he might be able to leave to his wife and children, if he should

"die?" And when he found that he was less sensible of what he proposed than he expected, and that he only answered, "that he knew not which way to go about it," the marquis told him, "that he thought he could commend a proper suit for him to make to the king; and if his modesty would not permit him to move the king for himself, he would undertake to move it for him, and was confident that the king would willingly grant it:" and thereupon shewed him a paper, which contained the king's just title to ten thousand acres of land in the Great Level of the Fens, which would be of a good yearly value; or they, who were unjustly possessed of it, would be glad to purchase the king's title with a very considerable sum of money. And, in the end, he frankly told him, "that he made this overture to him with the king's approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought at the first sight, out of his own goodness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the marquis to propose it to him."

When the chancellor had extolled the king's generosity, that he could, in so great necessities of his own, think of dispensing so great a bounty upon a poor servant, who was already recompensed beyond what he could be ever able to deserve, he said, "that he knew very well the king's title to that land, of which he was in possession before the rebellion began, which the old and new adventurers now claimed by a new contract, confirmed by an ordinance of parliament, which could not deprive the crown of its right; which all the adventurers (who for the greatest part were worthy men) well knew, and would for their own sakes not dispute, since it would inevitably produce a new inundation, which all their unity and consent in maintaining the banks would and could with difficulty enough but prevent. That he would advise his majesty to give all the countenance he could to the carrying on and perfecting that great work, which was of great benefit as well as honour to the public, at the charge of private gentlemen, who had paid dear for the land they had recovered; but that he would never advise him to begin his reign with the alienation of such a parcel of land from the crown to any one particular subject, who could never bear the envy of it. That his majesty ought to reserve that revenue to himself, which was great, though less than it was generally reputed to be; at least till the value thereof should be clearly understood, (and the detaining it in his own hands for some time would be the best expedient towards the finishing all the banks, when the season should be fit, which else would be neglected by the discord among the adventurers,) and the king knew what he gave. He must remember, that he had two brothers," (for the duke of Gloucester was yet alive,) "who were without any revenue, and towards whom his bounty was to be first extended; and that this land would be a good ingredient towards an appanage for them both. And that till they were reasonably provided for, no private man in his wits would be the object of any extraordinary bounty from the king, which would unavoidably make him the object of an universal envy and hatred. That, for his own part, he held by the king's favour the greatest office of the kingdom in

“place; and though it was not near the value it was esteemed to be, and that many other offices were more profitable, yet it was enough for him, and would be a good foundation to improve his fortune: so that,” he said, “he had made a resolution to himself, which he thought he should not alter, not to make haste to be rich. That it was the principal part or obligation of his office, to dissuade the king from making any grants of such a nature, (except where the necessity or convenience was very notorious,) and even to stop those which should be made of that kind, and not to suffer them to pass the seal, till he had again waited upon the king, and informed him of the evil consequence of those grants; which discharge of his duty could not but raise him many enemies, who should not have that advantage, to say that he obstructed the king’s bounty towards other men, when he made it very profuse towards himself. And therefore, that he would never receive any crown lands from the king’s gift, and did not wish to have any other honour or any advantage, but what his office brought him, till seven years should pass; in which all the distractions of the kingdom might be composed, and the necessities thereof so provided for, that the king might be able, without hurting himself, to exercise some liberality towards his servants who had served him well.” How he seemed to part from this resolution in some particulars afterwards, and why he did so, may be collected out of what hath been truly set down before.

When the marquis of Ormond had given the king a large account of the conference between him and the chancellor, and “that he absolutely refused to receive that grant;” his majesty said, “he was a fool for his labour, and that he would be much better in being envied than in being pitied.” And though the inheritance of those lands was afterwards given to the duke, yet there were such estates granted for years to many particular persons, most whereof had never merited by any service, that half the value thereof never came to his highness.

As soon as the king and duke returned from Portsmouth, where they had seen the queen embarked for France, the king had appointed a chapter, for the electing some knights of the garter into the places vacant. Upon which the duke desired him to “nominate the chancellor,” which his majesty said “he would willingly do, but he knew not whether it would be grateful to him; for he had refused so many things, that he knew not what he would take;” and therefore wished him “to take a boat to Worcester house, and propose it to him, and he would not go to the chapter till his highness returned.” The duke told the chancellor what had passed between the king and him, and “that he was come only to know his mind, and could not imagine but that such an honour would please him.” The chancellor, after a million of humble acknowledgments of the duke’s grace and of the king’s condescension, said, “that the honour was indeed too great by much for him to sustain; that there were very many worthy men, who well remembered him of their own condition, when he first entered into his father’s service, and believed that he was advanced too

“much before them.” He besought his highness, “that his favours and protection might not expose him to envy, that would break him to pieces.” He asked “what knights the king meant to make;” the duke named them, all persons very eminent: the chancellor said, “no man could except against the king’s choice; many would justly, if he were added to the number.” He desired his highness “to put the king in mind of the earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain of England,” (with whom he was known to have no friendship; on the contrary, that there had been disgusts between them in the last king’s time;) “that his father had lost his life with the garter about his neck, when this gentleman, his son, endeavouring to relieve him, was taken prisoner; that he had served the king to the end of the war with courage and fidelity, being an excellent officer: for all which, the king his father had admitted him a gentleman of his bedchamber, which office he was now without: and not to have the garter now, upon his majesty’s return, would in all men’s eyes look like a degradation, and an instance of his majesty’s disesteem; especially if the chancellor should supply the place, who was not thought his friend:” and, upon the whole matter, entreated the duke “to reserve his favour towards him for some other occasion, and excuse him to the king for the declining this honour, which he could not support.” The duke replied, with an offended countenance, “that he saw he would not accept any honour from the king, that proceeded by his mediation;” and so left him in apparent displeasure. However, at that chapter the earl of Lindsey was created knight of the garter, with the rest; and coming afterwards to hear by what chance it was, he ever lived with great civility towards the chancellor to his death.

And when the chancellor afterwards complained to his majesty “of his want of care of him, in his so easily gratifying his brother in a particular that would be of so much prejudice to him,” and so enlarged upon the subject, and put his majesty in mind of Solomon’s interrogation, “Who can stand against envy?” the king said no more, than “that he did really believe, when he sent his brother, that he would refuse it;” and added, “I tell you, chancellor, that you are too strict and apprehensive in those things; and trust me, it is better to be envied than pitied.” The duke did not dissemble his resentment, and told his wife, “that he took it very ill; that he desired that the world might take notice of his friendship to her father, and that, after former unkindness, he was heartily reconciled to him; but that her father cared not to have that believed, nor would have it believed that his interest in the king was not enough, to have no need of good offices from the duke:” which discourse he used likewise to the marquis of Ormond and others, who he thought would inform the chancellor of it. And the duchess was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her father, who thought himself obliged to wait upon his royal highness, and to vindicate himself from that folly he was charged with; in which he protested to him, “that he so absolutely and entirely depended upon his protection, that he would never receive any favour

“from the king, but by his mediation and interposition:” to which the duke answered, “that he should see whether he would have that deference to him shortly.”

And it was not long before the day for the coronation was appointed, when the king had appointed to make some barons, and to raise some who were barons to higher degrees of honour; most of whom were men not very grateful, because they had been faulty, though they had afterwards redeemed what was past, by having performed very signal services to his majesty, and were able to do him more: upon which the king had resolved to confer those honours upon them, and in truth had promised it to them, or to some of their friends, before he came from beyond the seas. At this time the duke came to the chancellor, and said, “he should now discover whether he would be as good as his word;” and so gave him a paper, which was a warrant under the king’s sign manual to the attorney general, to prepare a grant, by which the chancellor should be created an earl. To which, upon the reading, he began to make objections; when the duke said, “My lord, I have thought fit to give you this earnest of my friendship; you may reject it, if you think fit;” and departed. And the chancellor, upon recollection, and conference with his two friends, the treasurer and the marquis of Ormond, found he could not prudently refuse it. And so, the day or two before the coronation, he was with the others created an earl by the king in the banqueting-house; and, in the very minute of his creation, had an earnest of the envy that would ensue, in the murmurs of some, who were ancients barons, at the precedence given to him before them, of which he was totally ignorant, it being resolved by the king upon the place, and the view of the precedents of all times, when any officers of state were created with others. Yet one of the lords concerned swore in the ears of two or three of his friends, at the same time, “that he would be revenged for that affront;” which related not to the chancellor’s precedence, for the other was no baron, but for the precedence given to another, whom he thought his inferior, and imputed the partiality to his power, who had not the least hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his word, and took the very first opportunity that was offered for his revenge.

I will add one instance more, sufficient, if the other were away, to convince all men how far he was from being transported with that ambition, of which he was accused, and for which he was condemned. After the firm conjunction in the royal family was notorious, and all the neighbour princes had sent their splendid embassies of congratulation to the king, and desired to renew all treaties with this crown, and the parliament proceeded, how slowly soever, with great duty and reverence towards the king; the marquis of Ormond (whom the king had by this time made duke of Ormond) came one day to him, and, being in private, said, “he came to speak to him of himself, and to let him know, not only his own opinion, but the opinion of his best friends, with whom he had often conferred upon the argument; and that they all wondered, that he so much affected the post he was in, as to con-

“tinue in the office of chancellor, which took up most of his time, especially all the mornings, in business that many other men could discharge as well as he. Whereas he ought to leave that to such a man as he thought fit for it, and to betake himself to that province, which nobody knew so well how to discharge. That the credit he had with the king was known to all men, and that he did in truth remit that province to him, which he would not own, and could not discharge, by the multiplicity of the business of his office, which was not of that moment. That the king every day took less care of his affairs, and affected those pleasures most, which made him averse from the other. That he spent most of his time with confident young men, who abhorred all discourse that was serious, and, in the liberty they assumed in drollery and raillery, preserved no reverence towards God or man, but laughed at all sober men, and even at religion itself; and that the custom of this license, that did yet only make the king merry for the present, yet by degrees would grow acceptable to him; and that these men would by degrees have the presumption (which yet they had not, nor would he in truth then suffer it) to enter into his business, and by administering to those excesses, to which his nature and constitution most inclined him, would not only powerfully foment those inclinations, but intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty counsels. That, for the prevention of all this mischief, and the preserving the excellent nature and understanding of the king from being corrupted by such lewd instruments, who had only a scurrilous kind of wit to procure laughter, but had no sense of religion, or reverence for the laws; there was no remedy in view, but his giving up his office, and betaking himself wholly to wait upon the person of the king, and to be with him in those seasons, when that loose people would either abstain from coming, or, if they were present, would not have the confidence to say or do those things which they had been accustomed to do before the king. By this means, he would find frequent opportunities to inform the king of the true state of his affairs, and the danger he incurred, by not thoroughly understanding them, and by being thought to be negligent in the duties of religion, and settling the distractions in the church; at least, he would do some good in all these particulars, or keep the license from spreading further, which in time it would do, to the robbing him of the hearts of his people. That the king, from the long knowledge of his fidelity, and the esteem he had of his virtue, received any advertisements and animadversions, and even suffered reprehensions, from him, better than from any other man; therefore he would be able to do much good, and to deserve more than ever he had done from the whole kingdom. And he did verily [believe], that this would be acceptable to the king himself, who knew he could not enough [attend to] the many things, which, being left undone, must much disorder the whole machine of his government, or, being ill done, would in time dissolve it; and that his majesty would assign such a liberal allowance for this service, that he should find himself well rewarded, and

"a great gainer by accepting it and putting off his office."

He concluded, "that was the desire and advice of all his friends; and that the duke was so far of the same judgment, that he resolved to be very instant with him upon it, and only wished that he should first break the matter to him, that he might not be surprised when his royal highness entered upon the discourse." And he added, "that this province must inevitably at last be committed to some one man, who probably would be without that affection to the king's person, that experience in affairs, and that knowledge of the laws and constitution of the kingdom, as all men knew to be in the chancellor."

When the marquis had ended, with the warmth of friendship which was superior to any temptation, and in which no man ever excelled him, nor delivered what he had a mind to say more clearly, or with a greater weight of words; the chancellor said, "that he did not much wonder that many of his friends, who had not the opportunity to know him enough, and who might propose to themselves some benefit from his unlimited greatness, might in truth, out of their partiality to him, and by their not knowing the king's nature, believe, that his wariness and integrity, and his knowledge of the constitution of the government and the nature of the people, would conduct the king's counsels in such a way, as would lead best to his power and greatness, and to the good and happiness of the nation, which would be the only secure support of his power and authority. But that he, who knew both the king and him so well, that no man living knew either of them so well, should be of that opinion he had expressed, was matter of admiration and surprisal to him." He appealed to him, "how often he had heard him say to the king in France, Germany, and Flanders, when they two took all the pains they could to fix the king's mind to a lively sense of his condition; that he must not think now to recover his three kingdoms by the dead title of his descent and right, which had been so notoriously baffled and dishonoured, but by the reputation of his virtue, courage, piety, and industry; that all these virtues must centre in himself, for that his fate depended upon his person; and that the English nation would sooner submit to the government of Cromwell, than to any other subject who should be thought to govern the king. That England would not bear a favourite, nor any one man, who should out of his ambition engross to himself the disposal of the public affairs."

He said, "he was more now of the same mind, and was confident that no honest man, of a competent understanding, would undertake that province; and that for his own part, if gallows were erected, and if he had only the choice to be hanged or to execute that office, he would rather submit to the first than the last. In the one, he should end his life with the reputation of an honest man; in the other, he should die with disgrace and infamy, let his innocence be what it would." He put the marquis in mind, "how far the king was from observing the rules he had prescribed to himself, before he came from beyond the seas; and was so totally un-

bent from his business, and addicted to pleasures, that the people generally began to take notice of it; that there was little care taken to regulate expenses, even when he was absolutely without supply; that he would on a sudden be overwhelmed with such debts, as would dishonour him, and dishonour his counsels;" of which the lord treasurer was so sensible, that he was already weary of his staff, before it had been in his hands three months. "That the confidence the king had in him, besides the assurance he had of his integrity and industry, proceeded more from his aversion to be troubled with the intricacies of his affairs, than from any violence of affection, which was not so fixed in his nature as to be like to transport him to any one person: and that as he could not, in so short a time, be acquainted with many men, whom in his judgment he could prefer before the chancellor for the managery of his business, who had been so long acquainted with it; so he would, in a short time, be acquainted with many, who would, by finding fault with all that was done, be thought much wiser men; it being one of his majesty's greatest infirmities, that he was apt to think too well of men at the first or second sight."

He said, "whilst he kept the office he had, (which could better bear the envy of the bulk of the affairs, than any other qualification could,) and that it supported him in the execution of it, the king felt not the burden of it; because little of the profit of it proceeded out of his own purse, and, if he were dead to-morrow, the place still must be conferred upon another. Whereas, if he gave over that administration, and had nothing to rely upon for the support of himself and family, but an extraordinary pension out of the exchequer, under no other title or pretence but of being first minister, (a title so newly translated out of French into English, that it was not enough understood to be liked, and every man would detest it for the burden it was attended with,) the king himself, who was not by nature immoderately inclined to give, would be quickly weary of so chargeable an officer, and be very willing to be freed from the reproach of being governed by any, (the very suspicion whereof he doth exceedingly abhor,) at the price and charge of the man, who had been raised by him to that inconvenient height above other men. That whilst he had that seal, he could have admission to his majesty as often as he desired, because it was more ease to receive an account of his business from him, than to be present at the whole debate of it; and he well knew, the chancellor had too much business to desire audiences from his majesty without necessary reason. But if the office were in another hand, and he should haunt his presence with the same importunity as a spy upon his pleasures, and a disturber of the jollities of his meetings; his majesty would quickly be nauseated with his company, which for the present he liked in some seasons; and they, who for the present had submitted to some constraint by the gravity of his countenance, would quickly discover that their talents were more acceptable, and by degrees make him appear grievous to his majesty, and soon after ridiculous. That all his hope was, that the

“king would shortly find some lady fit to be his wife, which all honest men ought to persuade him to, and that being married, he made no doubt he would decline many of those delights to which he was yet exposed, and which exposed him too much; and till that time he could not think that his best servants could enjoy any pleasant lives. That he presumed the parliament would, after they had raised money enough to disband the armies, and to pay off the seamen,” (towards both which somewhat was every day done, and both which amounted to an incredible and insupportable charge,) “settle such a revenue upon the crown, as the king might conform his expense to; and that it should not be in any body’s power to make that revenue be esteemed by him to be greater, than in truth it would be. That when these two things should be brought to pass, he did hope, that the king would take pleasure in making himself master of every part of his business, and not charge any one man with a greater share of it than he can discharge, or than will agree with his own dignity and honour. In the mean time,” he besought the marquis, “that he would convert the duke of York and all other persons from that opinion, which could not but appear erroneous to himself, by the reasons he had heard; and that if he could be brought to consent to what had been proposed to him, (and which rather than he would do, he would suffer a thousand deaths,) as it would inevitably prove his own ruin and destruction, so it would bring an irreparable damage to the king.” And therefore he conjured him “to invite the king by his own example, and by assuming his own share of the work,” which for some time he had declined since the return into England; and by being himself constantly with his majesty, to whom he was acceptable at all hours, he would obstruct the operation of that ill company, which neither knew how to behave themselves, nor could reasonably propose so much benefit to themselves, as by the propagation of their follies and villanies, and by degrees induce his majesty more proportionably to mingle his business with his pleasures, which he could not yet totally abandon.”

The marquis could not deny, but that many of the reasons alleged by the chancellor were of that weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to press him upon the same particular. And the duke of York shortly undertook a conference with him upon the same argument, upon which the other durst not enlarge with the same freedom as he had done to the marquis; both because his eyes could not bear the prospect of so many things at once, as likewise that he knew he communicated with some persons, who, whatever they pretended, had nothing like good affection for him: so that he rather pacified his royal highness upon that subject, and diverted him from urging it, than satisfied him with his grounds. And others who wished well to him, and better to the public, acquiesced with his peremptory resolution, without believing that he resolved well either for his own particular, or the king’s affairs; and did always think that he might have prevented his own fate, if he had at that time submitted to the

judgment of his best friends; though himself remained so positive to the contrary, that he often said, “that he would not have redeemed himself by that expedient; and that he could never have borne that fate with that tranquillity of mind, which God enabled him to do, if he had passed to it through that province.”

Whilst the general affairs of England, by the long debates in parliament, remained thus unsettled, the king was no less troubled and perplexed how to compose his two other kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland; from both which there were several persons of the best condition of either kingdom sent, with the tender and presentation of their allegiance to his majesty, and expected his immediate direction to free them from the distractions they were in; and by taking the government upon himself, into his own hands, to be freed from those extraordinary commissions, under which they had been both governed with a rod of iron by the late powers; the shifting of which from one faction to another had administered no kind of variety to them, but they had remained still under the same full extent of tyranny.

The whole frame of the ancient government of Scotland had been so entirely confounded by Cromwell, and new modelled by the laws and customs of England, that is, those laws and customs which the commonwealth had established; that he had hardly left footsteps by which the old might be traced out again. The power of the nobility was so totally suppressed and extinguished, that their persons found no more respect or distinction from the common people, than the acceptance they found from Cromwell, and the credit he gave them by some particular trust, drew to them. Their beloved presbytery was become a term of reproach, and ridiculous; the pride and activity of their preachers subdued, and reduced to the lowest contempt; and the standard of their [religion] remitted to the sole order and direction of their commander in chief. All criminal cases (except where the general thought it more expedient to proceed by martial law) were tried and punished before judges sent from England, and by the laws of England; and matters of civil interest before itinerant judges, who went twice a year in circuits through the kingdom, and determined all matters of right by the rules and customs which were observed in England. They had liberty to send a particular number, that was assigned to them, to sit in the parliament of England, and to vote there with all liberty; which they had done. And in recompense thereof, all such monies were levied in Scotland, as were given by the parliament of England, by which such contributions were raised, as were proportionable to the expense, which the army and garrisons which subdued them put the kingdom of England to. Nor was there any other authority to raise money in Scotland, but what was derived from the parliament or general of England.

And all this prodigious mutation and transformation had been submitted to with the same resignation and obedience, as if the same had been transmitted by an uninterrupted succession from king Fergus: and it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old road of subjection. But the king would not build according to Cromwell’s models, and had

many reasons to continue Scotland within its own limits and bounds, and sole dependance upon himself, rather than unite it to England, with so many hazards and dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any government less tyrannical than that of Cromwell. And the resettling that kingdom was to be done with much less difficulty, than the other of Ireland, by reason that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a committee for that kingdom, were united between themselves, and did, or did pretend to desire the same things. They all appeared under the protection and recommendation of the general; and their dependance was the more upon him, because he still commanded those garrisons and forces in Scotland, which kept them to their obedience. And he was the more willing to give them a testimony of their affection to the king, and that without their help he could not have been able to have marched into England against Lambert, that they might speak the more confidently, "that they gave him that assistance, because they were well assured that his intention was to serve the king:" whereas they did indeed give him only what they could not keep from him, nor did they know any of his intentions, or himself at that time intend any thing for the king. But it is very true, they were all either men who had merited best from the king, or had suffered most for him, or at least had acted least against him, and (which they looked upon as the most valuable qualification) they were all, or pretended to be, the most implacable enemies to the marquis of Argyle; which was the "shibboleth" by which the affections of that whole nation were best distinguished.

The chief of the commissioners was the lord Selkirk, a younger son of the marquis of Douglass, who had been known to the king in France, where he had been bred a Roman catholic, which was the religion of his family, but had returned into Scotland after it had been subdued by Cromwell; and being a very handsome young man, was easily converted from the religion of his father, in which he had been bred, to that of his elder brother the earl of Angus, that he might marry the daughter and heir of James duke Hamilton, who from the battle of Worcester, where her uncle duke William was killed, had inherited the title of duchess, with the fair seat of Hamilton, and all the lands which belonged to her father. And her husband now, according to the custom of Scotland, assumed the same title with her, and appeared in the head of the commissioners under the style of duke Hamilton, with the merit of having never disserved the king, and with the advantage of whatsoever his wife could claim by the death of her father, which deserved to wipe out the memory of whatever had been done amiss in his life.

The earl of Glencarne was another of the commissioners, a man very well born and bred, and of very good parts. As he had rendered himself very acceptable to the king, during his being in Scotland, by his very good behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal blow at Worcester he did not dissemble his affection to his majesty; but withdrawing himself into the Highlands, during the time that Cromwell remained in Scotland, he sent over an express to assure the king

of his fidelity, and that he would take the first opportunity to serve him. And when upon his desire Middleton was designed to command there, he first retired into the Highlands, and drew a body of men together to receive him. He was a man of honour, and good principles as well with reference to the church as to the state, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the king, avowed to be; for the presbytery was yet their idol. From the time that he had received a protection and safeguard from general Monk, after there was little hope of doing good by force, he lived quietly at his house, and was more favoured by the general than any of those who spoke most loudly against the king, and was most trusted by him when he was at Berwick upon his march into England; and was now presented by him to the king, as a man worthy of his trust in an eminent post of that kingdom.

With these there were others of less name, but of good affections and abilities, who came together from Scotland as commissioners; but they found others in London as well qualified to do their country service, and whose names were wisely inserted in their commission by those who assumed the authority to send the other. The earl of Lautherdale, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the king's service, when his majesty was crowned in Scotland, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular esteem with the king, had marched with him into England, and behaved himself well at Worcester, where he was taken prisoner; had, besides that merit, the suffering an imprisonment from that very time with some circumstances of extreme rigour, being a man against whom Cromwell had always professed a more than ordinary animosity. And though the scene of his imprisonment had been altered, according to the alteration of the governments which succeeded, yet he never found himself in complete liberty till the king was proclaimed by the parliament, and then he thought it not necessary to repair into Scotland for authority or recommendation; but sending his advice thither to his friends, he made haste to transport himself with the parliament commissioners to the Hague, where he was very well received by the king, and left nothing undone on his part that might cultivate those old inclinations, being a man of as much address and insinuation, in which that nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the king with a marvellous importunity, and especially to the chancellor, with whom, as often as they had ever been together, he had a perpetual war. He now magnified his constancy with loud eulogiums, as well to his face as behind his back; remembered "many sharp expressions formerly used by the chancellor, which he confessed had then made him mad, though upon recollection afterwards he had found them to be very reasonable." He was very polite in all his discourses; called himself and his nation, "a thousand traitors and rebels;" and in his discourses frequently said, "when I was a traitor," or "when I was in rebellion;" and seemed not equally delighted with any argument, as when he scornfully spake of the covenant, upon which he brake a hundred jests. In sum,

all his discourses were such as pleased all the company, who commonly believed all he said, and concurred with him. He renewed his old acquaintance and familiarity with Middleton, by all the protestations of friendship; assured him "of the unanimous desire of Scotland to be under his command;" and declared to the king, "that he could not send any man into Scotland, who would be able to do him so much service in the place of commissioner as Middleton; and that it was in his majesty's power to unite that whole kingdom to his service as one man." All which pleased the king well: so that, by the time that the commissioners appeared at London, upon some old promise in Scotland, or new inclination upon his long sufferings, which he magnified enough, the king gave him the signet, and declared him to be secretary of state of that kingdom; and at the same time declared that Middleton should be his commissioner; the earl of Glencarne his chancellor; the earl of Rothes, who was likewise one of the commissioners, and his person very agreeable to the king, president of the council; and conferred all other inferior offices upon men most notable for their affection to the old government of church and state.

And the first proposition that the commissioners made after their meeting together, and before they entered upon debate of the public, was, "that his majesty would add to the council of Scotland, which should reside near his person, the chancellor and treasurer of England, the general, the marquis of Ormond, and secretary Nicholas, who should be always present when any thing should be debated and resolved concerning that kingdom:" which desire, so different from any that had been in times past, persuaded the king that their intentions were very sincere. Whatever appearance there was of unity amongst them, for there was nothing like contradiction, there was a general dislike by them all of the power Lautherdale had with the king, who they knew pressed many things without communication with them, as he had prevailed that the earl of Crawford Lindsey should continue in the office he formerly had of being high treasurer of that kingdom, though he was known to be a man incorrigible in his zeal for the presbytery, and all the madness of kirk, and not firm to other principles upon which the authority of the crown must be established; so that they could not so much as consult in his presence of many particulars of the highest moment and importance to the public settlement. Yet his having behaved himself well towards the king, whilst he was in that kingdom, and his having undergone great persecution under Cromwell, and professing now all obedience to his majesty, prevailed that he should not be displaced upon his majesty's first entrance upon his government, but that a new occasion should be attended to, which was in view, and when the king resolved, without communicating his purpose to Lautherdale, to confer that office upon Middleton, when he should have proceeded the first stage in his commission; and of this his resolution he was graciously pleased to inform him.

The marquis of Argyle, (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any mention of Scotland,) though he was not of this fraternity, yet thought he could tell as fair a story for

himself as any of the rest, and contribute as much to the king's absolute power in Scotland. And therefore he had no sooner unquestionable notice of the king's being in London, but he made haste thither with as much confidence as the rest. But the commissioners, who were before him, wrought so far with the king, that in the very minute of his arrival he was arrested by a warrant under the king's hand, and carried to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

He was a man like Drances in Virgil,
Largus opum, et lingua melior, sed frigida bello
Dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
Seditione potens.

Without doubt he was a person of extraordinary cunning, well bred; and though, by the ill-placing of his eyes, he did not appear with any great advantage at first sight, yet he reconciled even those who had aversion to him very strangely by a little conversation: insomuch as after so many repeated indignities (to say no worse) which he had put upon the late king, and when he had continued the same affronts to the present king, by hindering the Scots from inviting him, and as long as was possible kept him from being received by them; when there was no remedy, and that he was actually landed, no man paid him so much reverence and outward respect, and gave so good an example to all others, with what veneration their king ought to be treated, as the marquis of Argyle did, and in a very short time made himself agreeable and acceptable to him. His wit was pregnant, and his humour gay and pleasant, except when he liked not the company or the argument. And though he never consented to any one thing of moment, which the king asked of him; and even in those seasons in which he was used with most rudeness by the clergy, and with some barbarity by his son the lord Lorne, whom he had made captain of his majesty's guard, to guard him from his friends, and from all who he desired should have access to him, the marquis still had that address, that he persuaded him all was for the best. When the other faction prevailed, in which there were likewise crafty managers, and that his counsels were commonly rejected, he carried himself so, that they who hated him most were willing to compound with him, and that his majesty should not withdraw his countenance from him. But he continued in all his charges, and had a very great party in that parliament that was most devoted to serve the king; so that his majesty was often put to desire his help to compass what he desired. He did heartily oppose the king's marching with his army into England; the ill success whereof made many men believe afterwards, that he had more reasons for the counsels he gave, than they had who were of another opinion. And the king was so far from thinking him his enemy, that when it was privately proposed to him by those he trusted most, that he might be secured from doing hurt when the king was marched into England, since he was so much against it; his majesty would by no means consent to it, but parted with him very graciously, as with one he expected good service from. All which the commissioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that he should be again admitted into his presence, to make his own excuses for any thing he could be charged with. And his behaviour afterwards, and the good cor-

respondence he had kept with Cromwell, but especially some confident averments of some particular words or actions which related to the murder of his father, prevailed with his majesty not to speak with him; which he laboured by many addresses, in petitions to the king, and letters to some of those who were trusted by him, which were often presented by his wife and his son, and in which he only desired "to speak with the king or with some of those lords," pretending, "that he should inform and communicate somewhat that would highly concern his majesty's service." But the king not vouchsafing to admit him to his presence, the English lords had no mind to have any conference with a man who had so dark a character, or to meddle in an affair that must be examined and judged by the laws of Scotland: and so it was resolved, that the marquis of Argyle should be sent by sea into Scotland, to be tried before the parliament there when the commissioner should arrive, who was despatched thither with the rest of the lords, as soon as the seals and other badges of their several offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the marquis is known to all men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what bitterness soever the earl of Lauderdale had expressed towards him in his general discourses, he had in truth a great mind to have preserved him, and so kept such a pillar of presbytery against a good occasion; which was not then suspected by the rest of the commissioners.

The lords of the English council, who were appointed to sit with the Scots, met with them to consult upon the instructions which were to be given to the king's commissioner, who was now created earl of Middleton. The Scots seemed all resolute and impatient to vindicate their country from the infamy of delivering up the last king, (for all things relating to the former rebellion had been put in oblivion by his late majesty's act of indemnity, at his last being in Scotland,) and strictly to examine who of that nation had contributed to his murder, of which they were confident Argyle would be found very guilty. Middleton was very earnest, "that he might, for the humiliation of the preachers, and to prevent any unruly proceeding of theirs in their assembly, begin with rescinding the act of the covenant, and all other acts which had invaded the king's power ecclesiastical, and then proceed to the erecting of bishops in that kingdom, according to the ancient institution:" and with him Glen-carne, Rothes, and all the rest (Lauderdale only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be very easily brought to pass, because the tyrannical proceedings of the assemblies and their several presbyteries had so far incensed persons of all degrees, that not only the nobility, gentry, and common people, would be glad to be freed from them, but that the most learned and best part of the ministers desired the same, and to be subject again to the bishops; and that there would be enough found of the Scots clergy, very worthy and very willing to supply those charges."

Lauderdale, with a passion superior to the rest, inveighed against the covenant; called it "a wicked, traitorous combination of rebels against their lawful sovereign, and expressly against the laws of their own country; protested his own

"heartly repentance for the part he had acted in the promotion thereof, and that he was confident that God, who was witness of his repentance, had forgiven him that foul sin: that no man there had a greater reverence for the government by bishops than he himself had; and that he was most confident, that the kingdom of Scotland could never be happy in itself, nor ever be reduced to a perfect submission and obedience to the king, till the episcopal government was again established there. The scruple that only remained with him, and which made him differ with his brethren, was, of the manner how it should be attempted, and of the time when it should be endeavoured to be brought to pass." And then with his usual warmth, when he thought it necessary to be warm, (for at other times he could be as calm as any man, though not so naturally,) he desired, "that the commissioner might have no instruction for the present to make any approach towards either; on the contrary, that he might be restrained from it by his majesty's special direction: for though his own prudence, upon the observation he should quickly make when he came thither, would restrain him from doing any thing which might be inconvenient to his majesty's service; yet without that he would hardly be able to restrain others, who for want of understanding, or out of ill-will to particular men, might be too forward to set such a design on foot."

He desired, "that in the first session of parliament no further attempt might be made, than in pursuance of what had been first mentioned, the vindicating their country from all things which related to the murder of the late king, which would comprehend the delivery up of his person, the asserting the king's royal power, by which all future attempts towards rebellion would be prevented, and the trial of the marquis of Argyle; all which would take up more time than parliaments in that kingdom, till the late ill times, had used to continue together. That after the expiration of the first session, in which a good judgment might be made of the temper of that kingdom, and the commissioner's prudence might have an influence upon many leading men to change their present temper, such further advance might be made for the reformation of the kirk as his majesty should judge best; and then he made no doubt, but all would by degrees be compassed in that particular which could be desired, and which was the more resolutely to be desired, because he still confessed that the king could not be secure, nor the kingdom happy, till the episcopal government could be restored. But he undertook to know so well the nature of that people," (though he had not been in that kingdom since his majesty left it,) "that if it were undertaken presently, or without due circumstances in preparing more men than could in a short time be done, it would not only miscarry, but with it his majesty be disappointed of many of the other particulars, which he would otherwise be sure to obtain."

He named many of the nobility and leading men, who he said "were still so infatuated with the covenant, that they would with equal patience hear of the rejection of the four Evangelists,

“ who yet, by conversation, and other information, “ and application, might in time be wrought “ upon.” He frequently appealed to the king’s own memory and observation, when he was in that kingdom, “ how superstitious they who were “ most devoted to do him service, and were at “ his disposal in all things, were towards the “ covenant: that all they did for him, which was “ all that he desired them to do, was looked upon “ as the effects of those obligations which the “ covenant had laid upon them.” He appealed to the general, (“ who,” he said, “ knew Scotland “ better than any one man of that nation could “ pretend to do,) whether he thought this a proper season to attempt so great a change in that “ kingdom, before other more pressing acts were “ compassed; and whether he did not know, that “ the very pressing the obligations in the covenant “ lately in England had not contributed very much “ to the restoration of the king, which the London “ ministers confidently urged at present as an argument for his indulgence towards them. And,” he said, “ though he well knew that his majesty “ was fully resolved to maintain the government of “ the church of England in its full lustre, (which “ he thanked God for, being in his judgment the “ best government ecclesiastical in the world,) yet “ he could not but observe, that the king’s prudence had yet forborne to make any new bishops, “ and had upon the matter suspended the English “ Liturgy by not enjoining it, out of indulgence “ to dissenters, and to allow them time to consider, and to be well informed and instructed in “ those forms, which had been for so many years “ rejected or discontinued, that the people in general and many ministers had never seen or “ heard it used: so that the presbyterians here “ remained still in hope of his majesty’s favour “ and condescension, that they should be permitted to continue their own forms, or no forms, “ in their devotions and public worship of God. “ In consideration of all which, he thought it very “ incongruous, and somewhat against his majesty’s “ dignity, suddenly and with precipitation to begin “ and attempt such an alteration in Scotland, “ against a government that had more antiquity “ there, and was more generally submitted to and “ accepted, than it had been in England, before “ he himself had declared his own judgment “ against it in this kingdom; which he presumed “ he would shortly do, and which would be the “ best introduction to the same in Scotland, where “ all the king’s actions and determinations would “ be looked upon with the highest veneration.”

He concluded, “ that if the other more vigorous course should be resolved upon, the marquis of Argyle would be very glad of it; for “ though he was generally odious to all degrees “ of men, yet he was not so much hated as “ the covenant was beloved and worshipped: “ and that when they should discern that they “ must be deprived of that, they would rather “ desire to preserve both. And therefore,” he said, “ his advice still was, that he should be first “ out of the way, who was looked upon as the “ upholder of the covenant and the chief pillar of “ the kirk, before any visible attempt should be “ made against the other, which would assuredly “ be done by degrees.”

Many particulars in this discourse confidently urged, and with more advantage of elocution than

the fatness of his tongue, that ever filled his mouth, usually was attended with, seemed reasonable to many, and worthy to be answered; and his frequent appeals to the king, in which there were always some ridiculous instances of the use made of the covenant, with reference to the power of the preachers in the domestic affairs of other men, and the like, (which, though it made it the more odious, was still an argument of the reverence that was generally paid to it, all which instances were well remembered by the king, who commonly added others of the same standard from his own memory,) made his majesty in suspense, or rather inclined that nothing should be attempted that concerned the kirk, till the next session of parliament, when Lautherdale himself confessed it might be securely effected. To this the general seemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been said of Argyle, to whom he was no friend, but much more by the disadvantage which might arise, by a precipitate proceeding in Scotland, to the presbyterian party here, and especially to the preachers, to whom he wished well for his wife’s sake, or rather for his own peace with his wife, who was deeply engaged to that people for their seasonable determination of some nice cases of conscience, whereby he had been induced to repair a trespass he had committed, by marrying her; which was an obligation never to be forgotten.

Middleton, and most of the Scots lords, were highly offended by the presumption of Lautherdale, in undertaking to know the spirit and disposition of a kingdom which he had not seen in ten years; and easily discerned that his affected rallery and railing against the covenant, and his magnifying episcopal government, were but varnish to cover the rottenness of his intentions, till he might more securely and efficaciously manifest his affection to the one, and his malignity to the other. They contradicted positively all that he had said of the temper and affections of Scotland, and named many of those lords, who had been mentioned by him as the most zealous assertors of the covenant, “ who,” they undertook, “ should, “ upon the first opportunity, declare their abomination of it to the world; whereof they knew “ there were some who had written against it, and “ were resolved to publish it as soon as they “ might do it with safety.” They advised his majesty, “ that he would not choose to do his “ business by halves, when he might with more “ security do it all together, and the dividing it “ would make both the more difficult. However,” they besought him, “ to put no such restraint, as had been so much pressed, upon his “ commissioner, that though he should find the “ parliament most inclined to do that now, which “ every body confessed necessary to be done at “ some time, he should not accept their good-will, “ but hinder them from pursuing it, as very ungrateful to the king; which,” they said, “ would “ be a greater countenance to, and confirmation “ of, the covenant, than it had ever yet received, “ and a greater wound to episcopacy.” And that indeed was consented to by all. And thereupon the king resolved to put nothing like restraint upon his commissioner from effecting that he wished might be done to-morrow if it could be, but to leave it entirely to his prudence to judge of the conjuncture, with caution “ not to permit it to

"be attempted, if he saw it would be attended "with any ill consequence or hazard to his service." And so the commissioner, with the other officers for Scotland, were dismissed to their full content; and therewith the king was at present eased, by having separated one very important affair from the crowd of the rest, which remained to perplex him.

That in Ireland was much more intricate, and the intricacy in many respects so involved, that nobody had a mind to meddle with it. The chancellor had made it his humble suit to the king, "that no part of it might ever be referred to "him;" and the duke of Ormond (who was most concerned in his own interest that all men's interests in that kingdom might be adjusted, that he might enjoy his, which was the greatest of all the rest) could not see any light in so much darkness, that might lead him to any beginning. The king's interest had been so totally extinguished in that kingdom for many years past, that there was no person of any consideration there, who pretended to wish that it were revived. At Cromwell's death, and at the deposition of Richard, his younger son Harry was invested in the full authority, by being lieutenant of Ireland. The two presidents of the two provinces, were the lord Broghill in that of Munster, and sir Charles Coote in that of Connaught; both equally depending upon the lieutenant: and they more depended upon him and courted his protection, by their not loving one another, and being of several complexions and constitutions, and both of a long aversion to the king by multiplications of guilt. When Richard was thrown out, the supreme power of the militia was vested in Ludlow, and all the civil jurisdiction in persons who had been judges of the king, and possessed ample fortunes, which they could no longer hold than their authority should be maintained. But the two presidents remained in their several provinces with their full power, either because they had not deserved to be suspected, or because they could not easily be removed, being still subject to the commissioners at Dublin. The next change of government removed Ludlow and the rest of that desperate crew, and committed the government to others of more moderate principles, yet far enough from wishing well to the king. In those revolutions sir Charles Coote took an opportunity to send an express to the king, who was then at Brussels, with the tender of his obedience, with great cautions as to the time of appearing; only desired "to have such "commissions in his hands as might be applied "to his majesty's service in a proper conjuncture;" which were sent to him, and never made use of by him. He expressed great jealousy of Broghill, and an unwillingness that he should know of his engagement. And the alterations succeeded so fast one upon another, that they both chose rather to depend upon general Monk than upon the king, imagining, as they said afterwards, "that he intended nothing but "the king's restoration, and best knew how to "effect it." And by some private letter, for there was no order sent, to Coote and some other officers there, "that they would adhere to his "army for the service of the parliament against "Lambert," Coote found assistance to seize upon the castle of Dublin, and the persons of those

who were in authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the government settled in that manner as they thought most agreeable to the presbyterian humour, until the general was declared lieutenant of Ireland, who then sent commissioners to the same persons, who, as soon as the king was proclaimed, sent their commissioners to the king, who were called commissioners from the state, and brought a present of money to the king from the same, with all professions of duty which could be expected from the best subjects.

These were the lord Broghill, sir Audly Mervin, sir John Clotworthy, and several other persons of quality, much the greater number whereof had been always notorious for the disservice they had done the king; but upon the advantage of having been discountenanced, and suffered long imprisonment and other damages, under Cromwell, they called themselves the king's party, and brought expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as such. Amongst them was a brother, and other friends, made choice of and more immediately trusted by sir Charles Coote, who remained in the castle of Dublin, and presided in that council that supplied the government, and was thought to have the best interest in the army as well as in his own province. "And these men," he said, "had been privy to the service he meant to have "done the king, and expected the performance of "several promises he had then made them by "virtue of some authority had been sent to him to "assure those, who should join with him to do "his majesty's service." All these commissioners from the state had instructions, to which they were to conform in desiring nothing from the king, but "the settling his own authority amongst "them, the ordering the army, the reviving the "execution of the laws, and settling the courts of "justice," (all which had been dissolved in the late usurpation,) "and such other particulars as "purely related to the public." And their public addresses were to this and no other purpose. But then to their private friends, and such as they desired to make their friends, most of them had many pretences of merit, and many expedients by which the king might reward them, and out of which they would be able liberally to gratify their patrons. And by this means all who served the king were furnished with suits enough to make their fortunes, in which they presently engaged themselves with very troublesome importunity to the king himself, and to all others who they thought had credit or power to advance their desires. Nor was there any other art so much used by the commissioners in their secret conferences, as to deprave one another, and to discover the ill actions they had been guilty of, and how little they deserved to be trusted, or had interest to accomplish. The lord Broghill was the man of the best parts, and had most friends by his great alliance to promise for him. And he appeared very generous, and to be without the least pretence to any advantage for himself, and to be so wholly devoted to the king's interest, and to the establishing of the government of the church, that he quickly got himself believed. And having free access to the king, by mingling apologies for what he had done, with promises of what he would do, and utterly renouncing all those principles as to the church or state, (as he might with a good conscience do,) which made men unfit for trust, he

made himself so acceptable to his majesty, that he heard him willingly, because he made all things easy to be done and compassed; and gave such assurances to the bedchamber men, to help them to good fortunes in Ireland, which they had reason to despair of in England, that he wanted not their testimony upon all occasions, nor their defence and vindication, when any thing was reflected upon to his disadvantage or reproach.

2. There were many other deputies of several classes in Ireland, who thought their pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the state. There were yet some bishops alive of that kingdom, and other grave divines, all stripped of their dignities and estates, which had been disposed of by the usurping power to their creatures. And all they (some whereof had spent time in banishment near the king, and others more miserably in their own country and in England, under the charity of those who for the most part lived by the charity of others) expected, as they well might, to be restored to what in right belonged to them; and besought his majesty "to use all possible expedition to establish the government of that church as it had always been, by supplying the empty sees with new prelates in the place of those who were dead, that all the schisms and wild factions in religion, which were spread over that whole kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which desires were grateful to the king, and according to his royal intentions, and were not opposed by the commissioners from the state, who all pretended to be well wishers to the old government of the church, and the more by the experience they had of the distractions which were introduced by that which had succeeded it, and by the confusion they were now in without any. Only sir John Clotworthy (who, by the exercise of very ordinary faculties in several employments, whilst the parliament retained the supreme power in their hands, had exceedingly improved himself in understanding and ability of negotiation) dissembled not his old animosity against the bishops, the cross, and the surplice, and wished that all might be abolished; though he knew well that his vote would signify nothing towards it. And that spirit of his had been so long known, that it was now imputed to sincerity and plain-dealing, and that he would not dissemble, (which many others were known to do, who had the same malignity with him,) and was the less ill thought of, because in all other respects he was of a generous and a jovial nature, and complied in all designs which might advance the king's interest or service.

3. There appeared likewise a committee deputed by the adventurers to solicit their right, which was the more numerous by the company of many aldermen and citizens of the best quality, and many honest gentlemen of the country; who all desired "that their right might not be disturbed, which had been settled by an act of parliament ratified by the last king before the troubles; and that if it should be thought just, that any of the lands of which they stood possessed should be taken from them, upon what title soever, they might first be put into the possession of other lands of equal value, before they should be dispossessed of what they had already." All that they made claim to seemed to be confirmed by an act of parliament. The

case was this: When the rebellion first brake out in Ireland, the parliament then sitting, and there being so much money to be raised and already raised for the payment of and disbanding two armies, and for the composing or compounding the rebellion of Scotland, where the king was at that time; it had been propounded, "that the war of Ireland might be carried on at the charges of particular men, and so all imposition upon the people might be prevented, if an act of parliament were passed for the satisfaction of all those who would advance monies for the war, out of the lands which should become forfeited."

And this proposition being embraced, an act was prepared to that purpose; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited lands in Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, should be valued at such several rates by the acre, and how many acres in either should be assigned for the satisfaction of one hundred pounds, and so proportionally for greater sums. That for all monies which should be subscribed within so many days (beyond which time there should be no more subscriptions) for that service, one moiety thereof should be paid to the treasurer appointed, within few days, for the present preparations; and the other moiety be paid within six months, upon the penalty of losing all benefit from the first payment. That when God should so bless their armies, (which they doubted not of,) that the rebels should be so near reduced, that they should be without any army or visible power to support their rebellion; there should a commission issue out, under the great seal of England, to such persons as should be nominated by the parliament, who should take the best way they could in their discretion think fit, to be informed, whether the rebels were totally subdued, and so the rebellion at an end. And upon their declaration, that the work was fully done and the war finished, other commissions should likewise issue out, in the same manner, for the convicting and attainting all those who were guilty of the treason and rebellion by which their estates were become forfeited; and then other commissions, for the distribution of the forfeited lands to the several adventurers, according to the sums of money advanced by them. The king was to be restrained from making any peace with the Irish rebels, or cessation, or from granting pardon to any of them; but such peace, cessation, or pardon, should be looked upon as void and null."

This act the king had consented to and confirmed in the year 1641, and in the agony of many troubles which that rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only means to put a speedy end to that accursed rebellion, the suppression whereof would free him from many difficulties. And upon the security of this act, very many persons, of all qualities and affections, subscribed and brought in the first moiety of their money, and were very properly styled adventurers. Great sums of money were daily brought in, and preparations and provisions and new levies of men were made for Ireland. But the rebellion in England being shortly after fomented by the parliament, they applied very much of that money brought in by the adventurers, and many of the troops which had been raised for that service, immediately against the king: which being notoriously known,

and his majesty complaining of it, many honest gentlemen, who had subscribed and paid one moiety, refused to pay in the other moiety at the time, and so were liable to lose the benefit of their adventure; which they preferred before suffering their money to be applied to the carrying on the rebellion against the king, which they abhorred. And by this means Ireland was unsupplied; and the rebellion spread and prospered with little opposition for some time. And the parliament, though the time for subscribing was expired, enlarged it by ordinances of their own to a longer day, and easily prevailed with many of their own party, principally officers and citizens, to subscribe and bring in their money; to which it was no small encouragement, that so many had lost the benefit of their whole adventure by not paying in the second payment, which would make the conditions of the new adventurers the less hazardous.

When the success of the parliament had totally subdued the king's arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the forces in Ireland under the king's authority, nor the Irish, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long resistance; so that Cromwell quickly dispersed them by his own expedition thither: and by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the service of the two crowns of France and Spain, as they would contract for, quickly made a disappearance of any army in that kingdom to oppose his conquests. And after the defeat of the king at Worcester, he seemed to all men to be in as quiet a possession of Ireland as of England, and to be as much without enemies in the one as the other kingdom; as in a short time he had reduced Scotland to the same exigent.

Shortly after that time, when Cromwell was invested with the office of protector, all those commissions were issued out, and all the formality was used that was prescribed by that act for the adventurers. Not only all the Irish nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their estates; but the marquis of Ormond, the lord Inchiquin, and all the English catholics, and whosoever had served the king, were declared to be under the same guilt; and the lands seized upon for the benefit of the state. There were very vast arrears of pay due to the army, a great [part] of which (now the war was ended) must be disbanded; for the doing whereof no money was to be expected out of England, but they must be satisfied out of the forfeitures of the other kingdoms. The whole kingdom was admeasured; the accounts of the money paid by the adventurers within the time limited, and what was due to the army for their pay, were stated; and such proportions of acres in the several provinces were assigned to the adventurers and officers and soldiers, as were agreeable to the act of parliament, by admeasurement. Where an officer of name had been likewise an adventurer, his adventure and his pay amounted to the more. And sometimes the whole company and regiment contracted for money with their captains or colonels, and assigned their interest in land to them; and possession was accordingly delivered, without any respect to any titles by law to former settlements, or descents of any persons soever, wives or children; except in some very few cases, where the wives had been great heirs, and could not be

charged with any crime, such proportions were assigned as were rather agreeable to their own conveniences, than to justice and the right of the claimers.

And that every body might with the more security enjoy that which was assigned to him, they had found a way to have the consent of many to their own undoing. They found the utter extirpation of the nation (which they had intended) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts. After so many millions destroyed by the plague which raged over the kingdom, by fire, sword, and famine; and after so many millions transported into foreign parts, there remained still such a numerous people, that they knew not how to dispose of: and though they were declared to be all forfeited, and so to have no title to any thing, yet they must remain somewhere. They therefore found this expedient, which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and a large river, and which by the plague and many massacres remained almost desolate. Into this space and circuit of land they required all the Irish to retire by such a day, under the penalty of death; and all who should after that time be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, should be killed by any body who saw or met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors assigned to those of the nation who were enclosed, in such proportions as might with great industry preserve their lives. And to those persons, from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned the greater proportions within this precinct; so that it fell to some men's lot, especially when they were accommodated with houses, to have a competent livelihood, though never to the fifth part of what had been taken from them in a much better province. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned to them; and so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from ever laying claim to their old inheritance. What should they do? they could not be permitted to go out of this precinct to shift for themselves elsewhere; and without this assignation they must starve here, as many did die every day of famine. In this deplorable condition, and under this consternation, they found themselves obliged to accept or submit to the hardest conditions of their conquerors, and so signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy those lands which belonged to other men.

And by this means the plantation (as they called it) of Connaught was finished, and all the Irish nation enclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English; some to the old lords and just proprietors, who being all protestants, (for no Roman catholic was admitted,) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies by the benefit of some articles; some to the adventurers and soldiers. And a good and

great part (as I remember, the whole province of Tipperary) Cromwell had reserved to himself, as a demesne (as he called it) for the state, and in which no adventurer or soldier should demand his lot to be assigned, and no doubt intended both the state and it for the making great his own family. It cannot be imagined in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great kingdom was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given amongst those, who had no other right to it but that they had power to keep [it]; no men having so [great] shares as they who had been instruments to murder the king, and were not like willingly to part with it to his successor. Where any great sums of money for arms, ammunition, or any merchandise, had been so long due that they were looked upon as desperate, the creditors subscribed all those sums as lent upon adventure, and had their satisfaction assigned to them as adventurers. Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this [was] done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection, that there were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and raising fences and enclosures throughout the kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles. And yet in all this quiet, there were very few persons pleased or contented.

And these deputies for the adventurers, and for those who called themselves adventurers, came not only to ask the king's consent and approbation of what had been done, (which they thought in justice he could not deny, because all had been done upon the warrant of a legal act of parliament,) but to complain, "that justice had not been equally done in the distributions; that this man had received much less than was his due, and others as much more than was their due; that one had had great quantities of bogs and waste land assigned to him as tenantable, and another as much allowed as bogs and waste, which in truth were very tenantable lands." And upon the whole matter, they all desired "a review might [be made], that justice might be done to all;" every man expecting an addition to what he had already, not suspecting that any thing would be taken from him, to be restored to the true owner.

And this agitation raised another party of adventurers, who thought they had at least as good a right as any of the other; and that was, they, or the heirs and executors of them, who upon the first making of the act of parliament, had subscribed several good sums of money, and paid in their first moieties; but the rebellion coming on, and the monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the act, and against the person of the king himself, they had out of conscience forborne to make the second moiety, lest it might also [be] so employed; whereby, according to the rigour of the law, they lost the benefit of the first payment. And they had hitherto sustained that loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for relief.

"But now, when it had pleased God to restore the king, and so many who had not deserved very well desired help from the king upon the equity of that act of parliament, where the letter of the law would do them no [good], they presumed to think, that by the equity of the law they ought to be satisfied for the money they did really pay; and that they should not undergo any damage for not paying the other moiety, which out of conscience and for his majesty's service they had forborne to do." No man will doubt but that the king was very well inclined to gratify this classis of adventurers, when he should find it in his power. But it is time to return to the committee and deputies of the other parties in that distracted kingdom.

4. There was a committee sent from the army that was in present pay in Ireland, "for the arrears due to them," which was for above a year's pay; most of those who had received satisfaction in land for what was then due to them, as well officers as soldiers, being then disbanded, that they might attend their plantations and husbandry, but in truth because they were for the most part of the presbyterian faction, and so suspected by Cromwell not to be enough inclined to him. The army now on foot, and to whom so great arrears were due, consisted for the greatest part of independents, anabaptists, and levellers, who had corresponded with and been directed by the general, when he marched from Scotland against Lambert: and therefore he had advised the king to declare, "that he would pay all arrears due to the army in Ireland, and ratify the satisfaction that had been given to adventurers, officers, and soldiers there;" which his majesty had accordingly signified by his declaration from Breda. And whoever considers the temper and constitution of that army then on foot in that kingdom, and the body of presbyterians that had been disbanded, and remained still there in their habitations, together with the body of adventurers, all presbyterians or anabaptists; and at the same time remembers the disposition and general affection of the army in England, severed from their obedience to the general and the good affection of some few superior officers; will not wonder that the king endeavoured, if it had been possible, rather to please all, than by any unseasonable discovery of a resolution, how just soever, to make any party desperate; there being none so inconsiderable, as not to have been able to do much mischief.

5. The satisfaction that the officers and soldiers had received in land, and the demand of the present army, had caused another committee to be sent and employed by those reformed officers, who had served the king under the command of the marquis of Ormond, from the beginning of the rebellion to the end thereof, with courage and fidelity; and had since shifted beyond the seas, and some of them in his majesty's service, or suffered patiently in that kingdom under the insolence of their oppressors; who, because they had always fought against the Irish, were by articles, upon their laying down their arms when they could no longer hold them in their hands, permitted to remain in their own houses, or such as they could get within that kingdom. These gentlemen thought it a very incongruous thing, "that they who had constantly fought against the king's father and himself, should receive their

"pay and reward by his majesty's care, bounty, and assignation; and that they, who had as constantly fought for both, should be left to undergo all want and misery now his majesty was restored to his own." And they believed their suit to be the more reasonable, at least the easier to be granted, by having brought an expedient with them to facilitate their satisfaction. There had been some old order or ordinance, that was looked upon as a law, whereby it was provided, that all houses within cities or corporate towns, which were forfeited, should be reserved to be specially disposed of by the state, or in such a manner as it should direct, to the end that all care might be taken what manner of men should be the inhabitants of such important places: and therefore such houses had not been, nor were to be, promiscuously assigned to adventurers, officers, or soldiers, and so remained hitherto undisposed of. And these reformed officers of the king made it their suit, that those houses might be assigned to them in proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their several conditions and degrees in command. And to this petition, which might seem equitable in itself, the commissioners from the state gave their full approbation and consent, being ready to take all the opportunities to ingratiate themselves towards those whom they had oppressed as long as they were able, and to be reputed to love the king's party.

6. Lastly, there was a committee for, or rather the whole body of, the Irish catholics, who, with less modesty than was suitable to their condition, demanded in justice to be restored to all the lands that had been taken from them: alleging, "that they were all at least as innocent as any of them were, to whom their lands had been assigned." They urged "their early submission to the king, and the peace they had first made with the marquis of Ormond, by which an act of indemnity had been granted for what offences soever had been committed, except such in which none of them were concerned." They urged "the peace they had made with the marquis of Ormond upon this king's first coming to the crown, wherein a grant of indemnity was again renewed to them;" and confidently, though very unskillfully, pressed, "that the benefit of all those articles which were contained in that peace, might still be granted and observed to them, since they had done nothing to infringe or forfeit them, but had been oppressed and broken, as all his majesty's other forces had been." They urged "the service they had done to the king beyond the seas, having been always ready to obey his commands, and stayed [in] or left France or Spain as his majesty had commanded them, and were for the last two years received and listed as his own troops, and in his own actual service, under the duke of York." They pressed "the intolerable tyranny they had suffered under, now almost twenty years; the massacres and servitude they had undergone; such devastation and laying waste their country, such bloody cruelty and executions inflicted on them, as had never been known nor could be paralleled amongst Christians: that their nation almost was become desolated, and their sufferings of all kinds [had been] to such an extent, that they hoped had satiated their most implacable enemies." And therefore they humbly

besought his majesty, "that in this general joy for his majesty's blessed restoration, and in which nobody could rejoice more than they, when all his majesty's subjects of his two other kingdoms (whereof many were not more innocent than themselves) had their mouths filled with laughter, and had all their hearts could desire, the poor Irish alone might not be condemned to perpetual weeping and misery by his majesty's own immediate act." Amongst these, with the same confidence, they who had been transplanted into Connaught appeared, related the circumstances of the persecution they had undergone, and "how impossible it had been for them to refuse their submission to that they had no power to resist; and therefore that it would be against all conscience to allege their own consent, and their releases, and other grants, which had they not consented to in that point of time, they, their wives, and children, could not have lived four and twenty hours." All these particulars were great motives to compassion, and disposed his majesty's heart to wish that any expedient might be found, which might consist with justice and necessary policy, that might make them, though not very happy, yet might preserve them from misery, until he should hereafter find some opportunity to repair their condition according to their several degrees and merit.

These several addresses being presented to his majesty together, before any thing was yet settled in England, and every party of them finding some friends, who filled the king's ears with specious discourses on their behalf for whom he spake, and with bitter invectives against all the rest; he was almost confounded how to begin, and in what method to put the examination of all their pretences, that he might be able to take such a view of them, as to be able to apply some remedy, that might keep the disease from increasing and growing worse, until he could find some cure. He had no mind the parliament should interpose and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no party; and by good fortune they were so full of business that they thought concerned them nearer, that they had no mind to examine or take cognizance of this of Ireland, which they well knew properly depended upon the king's own royal pleasure and commands. But these addresses were all of so contradictory a nature, so inconsistent with each other, and so impossible to be reconciled, that if all Ireland could be sold at its full value, (that is, if kingdoms could be valued at a just rate,) and find a fit chapman or purchaser to disburse the sum, it could not yield half enough to satisfy half their demands; and yet the king was not in a condition positively to deny any one party that which they desired.

The commissioners from the state, in respect of their quality, parts, and interest, and in regard of their mission and authority, seemed the most proper persons to be treated with, and the most like to be prevailed upon not to insist upon any thing that was most profoundly unreasonable. They had all their own just fears, if the king should be severe; and there would have been a general concurrence in all the rest, that he should have taken a full vengeance upon them: but then they who had most cause to fear, thought they might raise their hopes highest from that power that sent them, and which had yet interest enough to do

good and hurt; and they thought themselves secure in the king's declaration from Breda, and his offer of indemnity, which comprehended them. Then they were all desirous to merit from the king; and their not loving one another, disposed them the more to do any thing that might be grateful to his majesty. But they were all united and agreed in one unhappy extreme, that made all their other devotion less applicable to the public peace, that is, their implacable malice to the Irish: insomuch as they concurred in their desire, that they might gain nothing by the king's return, but be kept with the same rigour, and under the same incapacity to do hurt, which they were till then. For which instance they were not totally without reason, from their barbarous behaviour in the first beginning of the rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to submit to and undergo the most barbarous servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though eradication was too foul a word to be uttered in the ears of a Christian prince, yet it was little less or better that they proposed in other words, and hoped to obtain: whereas the king thought that miserable people to be as worthy of his favour, as most of the other parties; and that his honour, justice, and policy, as far as they were unrestrained by laws and contracts, obliged him more to preserve them, at least as much as he could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few men, in all other points very reasonable, and who were far from cruelty in their nature, cherished that inclination in the king; but thought it in him, and more in his brother, to proceed from other reasons than they published: whilst others, who pretended to be only moved by Christian charity and compassion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miserable, by extorting great engagements from them for their protection and intercession, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a condition as they were found.

In this intricacy and perplexity, the king thought it necessary to begin with settling his own authority in one person over that kingdom, who should make haste thither, and establish such a council there, and all courts of justice, and other civil officers, as might best contribute towards bringing the rest in order. And to this purpose he made choice of several persons of the robe, who had been known by or recommended to the marquis of Ormond, but of more by the advice and promotion of Daniel O'Neile of his bedchamber, who preferred a friend of his, and an Irishman, to the office of attorney general, (a place in that conjuncture of vast importance to the settlement,) and many other to be judges. And all this list was made and settled without the least communication with the chancellor, who might have been presumed to be easily informed of that rank of men. But to find a person fit to send thither in the supreme authority, was long deliberated by the king, and with difficulty to be resolved. The general continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he had no mind to quit, for he had a great estate there, having for some time been general of that army, and received for the arrears of his pay, and by Cromwell's bounty, and by some purchases he made of the soldiers, an estate of at least four thousand pounds per annum, which he thought he could best preserve in the supreme govern-

ment; though he was willing to have it believed in the city and the army, that he retained it only for the good of the adventurers, and that the soldiers might be justly dealt with for their arrears. Whatsoever his reason was, as profit was the highest reason always with him, whoever was to be deputy must be subordinate to him; which no man of the greatest quality would be, though he was to have his commission from the king, and the same jurisdiction in the absence of the lieutenant. There were some few fit for the employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

Upon the view of those of all sorts, the king most inclined to the lord Roberts, who was a man of more than ordinary parts, well versed in the knowledge of the laws, and esteemed of integrity not to be corrupted by money. But then he was a sullen morose man, intolerably proud, and had some humours as inconvenient as small vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more discovered than at that time foreseen. He had been in the beginning of the rebellion a leading man in their councils, and a great officer in their army, wherein he expressed no want of courage. But after the defeat of the earl of Essex's army in Cornwall, which was imputed to his positiveness and undertaking for his county, the friendship between him and that earl was broken. And from that time he did not only quit his command in the army, but declined their councils, and remained for the most part in the country; where he censured their proceedings, and had his conversation most with those who were known to wish well to the king, and who gave him a great testimony, as if he would be glad to serve his majesty upon the first opportunity. The truth is, the wickedness of the succeeding time was so much superior and overshadowed all that had been done before, that they who had only been in rebellion with the earl of Essex, looked upon themselves as innocent, and justified their own allegiance, by loading the memory of Cromwell with all the reproaches and maledictions imaginable. The greatest exception that the king had to the lord Roberts, who was already of the privy council, by the recommendation and instance of the general, was, that he was generally esteemed a presbyterian, which would make him unfit for that trust for many reasons; besides that, he would not cheerfully act the king's part in restoring and advancing the government of the church, which the king was resolved to settle with all the advantages which he could contribute towards it. Nor did the lord Roberts profess to be an enemy to episcopacy.

Before the king would make any public declaration of his purpose, he sent the lord treasurer and the chancellor, who were most acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good esteem his majesty had of him, and of his abilities to serve him. "That the government of Ireland would require a very steady and a prudent man: that the general did not intend to go into that kingdom, and yet would remain lieutenant thereof; from which office his majesty knew not how, nor thought it seasonable, to remove him, and therefore that the place must be supplied by a deputy; for which office the king thought him the most fit, if it were

"not for one objection, which he had given them
"leave to inform him of particularly, there being
"but one person more privy to his majesty's pur-
"pose, who was the marquis of Ormond; and
"that he might conclude, that the king was de-
"sirous to receive satisfaction to his objection, by
"the way he took to communicate it to him:"
and then they told him, "that he had the reputa-
"tion of being a presbyterian; and that his ma-
"jesty would take his own word, whether he was
"or was not one."

He answered without any kind of ceremony, to
which he was not devoted, or so much as acknow-
ledging the king's favour in his inquiry, "that no
"presbyterian thought him to be a presbyterian,
"or that he loved their party. He knew them too
"well. That there could be no reason to suspect
"him to be such, but that which might rather
"induce men to believe him to be a good protest-
"ant, that he went constantly to church as well
"in the afternoons as forenoons on the Sundays,
"and on those days forbore to use those exercises
"and recreations which he used to do all the
"week besides." He desired them, "to assure
"the king, that he was so far from a presbyterian,
"that he believed episcopacy to be the best go-
"vernment the church could be subject to." They
asked him then, "whether he would be willing to
"receive that government of deputy of Ireland, if
"the king were willing to confer it upon him." There he let himself to fall to an acknowledgment
of the king's goodness, "that he thought him
"worthy of so great an honour:" but he could
not conceal the disdain he had of the general's
person, nor how unwilling he was to receive orders
from him, or to be an officer under his command.
They told him, "that there would be a necessity
"of a good correspondence between them, both
"whilst they stayed together in England, and
"when he should be in Ireland; but beyond that
"there would be no obligation upon him, for that
"he was to receive his commission immediately
"from the king, containing as ample powers as
"were in the lieutenant's own commission: that
"he was not the lieutenant's deputy, but the
"king's; only that his commission ceased when
"the lieutenant should be upon the place, which
"he was never like to be." Upon the whole
matter, though it appeared that the superiority
was a great mortification to him, he said, "that
"he referred himself wholly to the king, to be
"disposed of as he thought best for his service,
"and that he would behave himself with all pos-
"sible fidelity to him."

Upon this report made to the king, shortly after
his majesty in council declared, "that he had
"made the lord Roberts deputy of Ireland," and
then charged him, "that he would prepare as
"soon as was possible for his journey thither,
"when those officers, who were designed by him
"for the civil justice of the kingdom, should be
"ready to attend upon him; and in the mean
"time, that he would send the commissioners,
"and all others who solicited any thing that had
"reference to Ireland, to wait upon him, to the
"end that he, being well informed of the nature
"and consistency of the several pretences, and
"of the general state of the kingdom, might be
"the better able to advise his majesty upon the
"whole matter, and to prescribe, for the entering
"upon it by parts, such a method, that his majesty

"might with less perplexity give his own deter-
"mination in those particulars, which must chiefly
"depend upon himself and his direction." Thus
the king gave himself a little ease, by referring the
gross to the lord deputy, in whose hands we shall
for the present leave it, that we may take a view
of the other particulars, that more immediately re-
lated to England; though we shall be shortly
called back again to Ireland, which enjoyed little
repose in the hands in which it was put.

The parliament spent most of the time upon the
act of indemnity, in which private passions and
animosities prevailed very far; one man contend-
ing to preserve this man, who, though amongst
the foulest offenders, had done him some courtesy
in the time of his power; and another, with as
much passion and bitterness, endeavouring to
have another condemned, who could not be dis-
tinguished from the whole herd by any infamous
guilt, and who had disobliged him, or refused to
oblige him, when it was in his power to have done
it. The king had positively excepted none from
pardon, because he was to refer the whole to them;
but had clearly enough expressed, that he pre-
sumed that they would not suffer any of those
who had sat as judges upon his father, and con-
demned him to be murdered, to remain alive.
And the guilty persons themselves made so little
doubt of it, that they made what shift they could
to make their escape into the parts beyond the
seas, and many of them had transported them-
selves; whilst others lay concealed for other op-
portunities; and some were apprehended when
they endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

The parliament published a proclamation, "that
"all who did not render themselves by a day
"named, should be judged as guilty, and attainted
"of treason;" which many consented to, con-
ceiving it to amount to no more than a common
process at law to bring men to justice. But it
was no sooner out, than all they who had con-
cealed themselves in order to be transported, ren-
dered themselves to the speaker of the house of
commons, and were by him committed to the
Tower. And the house conceived itself engaged
to save those men's lives, who had put themselves
into their power upon that presumption. The
house of peers insisted upon it in many confer-
ences, that the proclamation could bear no such
interpretation; but as it condemned all who by
flying declined the justice of the kingdom, so it
admitted as many as would appear to plead their
own innocence, which if they could prove they
would be safe. But the guilty, and with them the
house of commons, declared, "that they could
"not but understand, that they who rendered
"themselves should be in a better condition than
"they who fled beyond the seas, which they were
"not in any degree, if they were put upon their
"trial; for to be tried and to be condemned was
"the same thing, since the guilt of all was equally
"notorious and manifest." And this kind of
reasoning prevailed upon the judgments and un-
derstandings of many, who had [all] manner of
detestation for the persons of the men. In the
end, the house of peers, after long contests, was
obliged to consent, "that all the persons who
"were fled, and those who had not rendered
"themselves, should be brought to a trial and
"attainted according to law, together with those
"who were or should be taken;" whereby they

would forfeit all their estates to the king: "but for those who had rendered themselves upon the faith of the parliament," as they called it, "they should remain in such prisons as his majesty thought fit during their lives, and neither of them be put to death without consent of parliament."

But then as by this means too many of those impious persons remained alive, and some others who were as bad as any were, upon some testimony of the general, and by other interpositions of friends upon the allegation of merit and services, preserved, with the king's consent too easily obtained, so much as from attainder; so to make some kind of amends for this unhappy lenity, they resolved to except a multitude of those they were most angry with from pardon as to their estates, and to fine others in great sums of money; when worse men, at least as bad, of either classis were exempted, as included, by the power of their friends who were present in the debate. And this contradiction and faction brought such a spirit into the house, as disturbed all other counsels; whilst men, who wished well enough to the matter proposed, opposed the passing it, to cross other men who had refused to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of persons: which dissension divided the house into great animosities. And without doubt, the king's credit and authority was at that time so great in the house of commons, that he could have taken full vengeance upon many of those with whom he had reason to be offended, by causing them to be exempted from pardon, or exposed to some damage of estate. And there wanted not many, who used all the credit they had, to inflame the king to that retaliation and revenge.

And it was then and more afterwards imputed to the chancellor, that there were no more exceptions in the act of indemnity, and that he laboured more for expedition of passing it, and for excluding any extraordinary exceptions; which reproach he neither then nor ever after was solicitous to throw off. But his authority and credit, though he at that time was generally esteemed, could not have prevailed in that particular, (wherein there were few men without some temptation to anger and indignation, and none more than he, who had undergone injuries and indignities from many men then alive,) but that it was very evident to the king himself, and to all dispassioned men, that no person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer delay in passing the act of indemnity, as the king himself was; there being no progress made in any other business, by the disorder and ill humour that grew out of that. There was no attempt to be made towards disbanding the army, until the act of indemnity should be first passed; nor could they begin to pay off the navy, till they were ready to pay off the arrears of the army. This was the "remora" in all the counsels; whilst there wanted not those, who infused [jealousies] into the minds of the soldiers, and into the city, "that the king had no purpose ever to consent to the act of indemnity," which was looked upon as the only universal security for the peace of the nation: and till that was done, no man could say that he dwelt at home, nor the king think himself in any good posture of security. And therefore no man was more impatient, and more instant in

council and parliament, to remove all causes which obstructed that work, [than the chancellor.] And he put the king in mind, "how much he had opposed some clauses and expressions which were in the declaration and letters from Breda," which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the general's advice; and that he then said to his majesty, in the presence of those who were consulted with, "that it would come to his turn to insist upon the performance of those concessions, which he was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, which may be at that present would advise much larger:" which his majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many occasions. And the chancellor did in truth conceive, that the king's taking advantage of the good inclinations of the house to him, and to dispose them to fall upon many persons, who were men of another classis to those he desired might be excepted, (and of which prospect there could be no end, every man having cause to fear his own security by what he saw his neighbour suffer, who was as innocent,) was directly contrary to the sense and integrity of his declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the disbanding, that so the peace of the kingdom might again depend upon the civil justice and magistrates thereof. And all men who understood in how ticklish a condition it then stood, concurred in that advice.

And this was the reason that the king used his authority, and they who were trusted by him their credit and interest, for the suppressing those animosities, which had irreconciled many persons between themselves who were of public affections, by the nomination of particular persons whose estates should be made liable to penalties, the imposing of which must again depend upon the parliament; which, besides the consumption of time, which was very precious, would renew and continue the same spirit of division, which already had done too much mischief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this temper and composition the act of indemnity was finished, passed the house of peers, and received the royal assent, to the wonderful joy of the people. And present orders were given for the disbanding the army and payment of the navy, as fast as money came in, for which several acts of parliament were formerly passed. And by the former delays, the intolerable burden both of army and navy lay upon the kingdom near six months after the king's return, and amounted not to so little as one hundred thousand pounds by the month; which raised a vast debt, that was called the king's, who had incessantly desired to have it prevented from the first hour of his arrival.

After the bill of indemnity was passed, with some other as important acts for the public peace, (as the preserving those proceedings, which had been in courts of justice for near twenty years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, because they had been before judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable burden upon the subject; and some other acts,) the parliament was willing to adjourn for some time; that their members, who were appointed to attend the disbanding the army in several places, and the payment of the navy, might be absent

with less inconvenience: and the king was as willing to have some ease. And so it was adjourned for a month or six weeks; in which time, and even in the middle of the disbanding, there happened a very strange accident, that was evidence enough of the temper or distemper of the time.

The trial of those infamous persons who were in prison for the murder of the king (and who were appointed by the act of indemnity to be proceeded against with rigour, and who could not be tried till that vote was passed) was no sooner over, and the persons executed, with some of the same crew, who being in Holland and Flanders were, by the permission and connivance of those magistrates, taken by the king's ministers there, and brought into England, and put to death with their companions; but the people of that classis who were called Fanatics, discovered a wonderful malignity in their discourses, and vows of revenge for their innocent friends. They caused the speeches they had made at their deaths to be printed, in which there was nothing of repentance or sorrow for their wickedness, but a justification of what they [had] done for the cause of God; and had several meetings to consult of the best way to attempt their revenge, and of bringing themselves into the same posture of authority and power which they formerly had. The disbanding the army seemed a good expedient to contribute to their ends: and they doubted not, but as fast as they disbanded they would repair to them, which they could not so well do till then, because of the many new officers who had been lately put over them; and to that purpose they had their agents in several regiments to appoint rendezvouses. They had conference of assassinating the general, "who," they said, "had betrayed them, and was the only person who kept the army together."

Matters being in this state, and some of their companions every day taken and imprisoned upon discovery of their purposes, the king being gone to Portsmouth, and the parliament adjourned, they appointed a rendezvous in several places of London at twelve of the clock in the night; the same being assigned to their friends in the country. They had not patience to make use of the silence of the night, till they could draw their several bodies together. But their several rendezvouses no sooner met, than they fell into noise and exclamations, "that all men should take arms to assist the Lord Jesus Christ;" and when the watch came towards them, they resolutely defended themselves, and killed many of those who came to assault them: so that the alarm was in a short time spread over the city, and from thence was carried to Whitehall, where the duke of York was and the general, with a regiment of guards and some horse, which were quickly drawn together.

Sir Richard Browne was then lord mayor of London, a very stout and vigilant magistrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the seditious party, for his extraordinary zeal and resolution in the king's service. Nor was there any man in England, who did raze out the memory of what he had formerly done amiss, with a more signal acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous engagement against all manner of factions, which opposed or obstructed his majesty's service; which made him terrible and odious to

all; and to none more than to the presbyterians, who had formerly seduced him. Upon the alarm, which of itself had scattered many of the conspirators as they were going to or were upon the places to which they were assigned, he was quickly upon his horse, accompanied with as many soldiers, officers, and friends, as he could speedily draw together; and with those marched towards that place where the most noise was made; and in his way met many who ran from the fury of those, "who," they said, "were in arms;" and reported "their numbers to be very great; and that they killed all who opposed them." And true it was they had killed some, and charged a body of the trainbands with so much courage, that it retired with disorder. Yet when the mayor came, he found the number so small, not above thirty men, that he commanded them to lay down their arms; which when they refused to do, he charged them briskly. And they defended themselves with that courage and despair, that they killed and wounded many of his men; and very few of them yielded or would receive quarter, till they were overborne with numbers or fainted with wounds, and so were taken and laid hands on.

Their captain, who was to command the whole party in London, and had for his device in his ensign these words, *THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON*, was a wine-cooper, of a competent estate, a very strong man, who defended himself with his sword, and killed some of those who assaulted him, till he fell with his wounds, as some others about him did; all whom he had persuaded, that they should be able to do as much upon their enemies, as Jonathan and his armour-bearer did upon the Philistines, or any others in the Old Testament had upon those whom the Lord delivered into their hands. Nor could they find, upon all his examinations, that there was any other formed design, than what must probably attend the declaration of the army, of which he was assured. He and the other hurt men were committed to the gaol, and to the special charge of the surgeons, that they might be preserved for a trial.

The next morning the council met early, and having received an account of all that had passed, they could not but conclude, that this so extravagant an attempt could not be founded upon the rashness of one man, who had been always looked upon as a man of sense and reason. And thereupon they thought it necessary to suspend the disbanding the general's regiment of foot, which had the guard of Whitehall, and was by the order of parliament to have been disbanded the next day; and writ to the king "to approve of what they had done, and to appoint it to be continued till further order;" which his majesty consented to. And this was the true ground and occasion of the continuing and increasing the guard for his majesty's person; which no man at that time thought to be more than was necessary. Order was given for the speedy trial of Venner and his accomplices; many whereof, with himself, would have died of their wounds, if their trial had been deferred for many days: but the surgeons' skill preserved [them] till then; where they made no other defence for themselves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the least show of sorrow for what they had attempted.

There is no occasion of mentioning more of the

particular proceedings of this parliament; which though it met afterwards at the time appointed, and proceeded with all duty to the king, in raising great sums of money for the army and the navy, and for the payment of other great debts, which they thought themselves concerned to discharge, and which had never been incurred by the king; and likewise passed many good acts for the settling a future revenue for the crown, and a vote that they would raise that revenue to twelve hundred thousand pounds yearly: yet they gave not any thing to the king himself (all the rest was received and paid by those who were deputed by them to that purpose) but seventy thousand pounds towards the discharge of his coronation, which he had appointed to be in the beginning of May following. And this seventy thousand pounds was all the money the king received, or could dispose of, in a full year after his coming to London; so that there could not but be a very great debt contracted in that time; for the payment whereof he must afterwards provide as well as he could. I say, I shall not mention more of the particulars of that parliament, because it was foreseen by all, that though their meeting had produced all those good effects, in the restoring the king, disbanding the army, and many other things, which could be wished; yet that the lasting validity of all they had done would depend upon another parliament, to be legally summoned by the king, with all those formalities which this wanted; and the confirmation of that parliament would be necessary for the people's security, that they should enjoy all that this had granted: so that when I shall speak again of the proceedings of parliament, it will be of that parliament which will be called by his majesty's writ.

Only before we dissolve this, and because there hath been so little said of the license and distemper in religion, which his majesty exceedingly apprehended would have received some countenance from the parliament, we shall remember, that the king having by his declaration from Breda referred the composing and settling all that related to the government of the church to the parliament, so that he could do nothing towards it himself: but by his gracious reception of the old bishops who were still alive, and his own practice in his devotions and the government of his royal chapel, [he] declared sufficiently what should be done in other places. The party of the presbyterians was very numerous in the house of commons; and had before the king's return made a committee to devise such a government for the church, as might either totally exclude bishops, or make them little superior to the rest of the clergy. But the spirit of the time had of itself elected many members, notwithstanding the injunctions sent out with the writs, and expressly contrary to such [injunctions], of a very different alloy; who, together with such as were chosen after his majesty's return, were numerous enough to obstruct and check any prevalence of that party, though not of power enough to compel them to consent to sober counsels. And so the business was kept still at the committee, now and then getting ground, and then cast back again, as the sober members attended; so that no report was brought to the house from thence, which might have given the king some trouble. And by degrees the heads of that party grew weary of the

warmth of their prosecution, which they saw not like to produce any notable fruit that they cared for. The king desired no more, than that they should do nothing; being sure that in a little time he should himself do the work best. And so in September, when he adjourned them, he took notice, "that they had offered him no advice towards the composing the dissensions in religion; and therefore he would try, in that short adjournment of the parliament, what he could do towards it himself."

And thereupon he was himself present many days, and for many hours each day, at a conference between many of the London ministers, who were the heads of the presbyterian party, with an equal number of the orthodox clergy, who had been for so many years deprived of all that they had: which conference was held at Worcester house in the chancellor's lodgings, to consider what ceremonies should be retained in the church, and what alterations should be made in the liturgy that had been formerly used; and the substance of this conference was afterwards published in print. The king upon this published a declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, wherein he took notice "of the conference that had been in his own presence, and that he had commanded the clergy of both sides to meet together at the Savoy, in the master's lodgings, and, if it were possible, to agree upon such an act of uniformity, that might be confirmed in parliament." And in the mean time he signified his pleasure, "that nobody should be punished for not using The Book of Common Prayer which had been formerly established, or for discontinuing the surplice, and the sign of the cross; and that all who desired to conform to the old practice in the using them all, should be at the same liberty:" which declaration was read to, and put into the hands of the divines of both sides for some days; and then they were again heard before his majesty at Worcester [house]. And though it cannot be denied, that either party did desire that somewhat might be put in, and somewhat left out, in neither of which they were gratified; yet it is most true, they were both well content with it, or seemed so. And the declaration was published in his majesty's name before the return of the parliament.

Here I cannot but instance two acts of the presbyterians, by which, if their humour and spirit were not enough discovered and known, their want of ingenuity and integrity would be manifest; and how impossible it is for men who would not be deceived to depend on either. When the declaration had been delivered to the ministers, there was a clause in it, in which the king declared "his own constant practice of The Common Prayer; and that he would take it well from those who used it in their churches, that the common people might be again acquainted with the piety, gravity, and devotion of it; and which he thought would facilitate their living in a good neighbourhood together;" or words to that effect. When they had considered the whole some days, Mr. Calamy and some other ministers, deputed by the rest, came to the chancellor to redeliver it to his hands. They acknowledged "the king had been very gracious to them in his concessions; though he had [not] granted all that some of their brethren wished, yet they were

“contented:” only desired him, “that he would prevail with the king, that the clause mentioned before might be left out; which,” they protested, “was moved by them for the king’s own end, and that they might shew their obedience to him, and resolution to do him service. For they were resolved themselves to do what the king wished; and first to reconcile the people, who for near twenty years had not been acquainted with that form, by informing them that it contained much piety and devotion, and might be lawfully used; and then that they would begin to use it themselves, and by degrees accustom the people to it: which,” they said, “would have a better effect, than if the clause were in the declaration; for they should be thought in their persuasions to comply only with the king’s recommendation, and to merit from his majesty, and not to be moved from the conscience of the duty; and so they should [take] that occasion to manifest their zeal to please the king. And they feared there would be other ill consequences from it, by the wardness of the common people, who were to be treated with skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once.” The king was to be present the next morning, to hear the declaration read the last time before both parties; and then the chancellor told him, in the presence of all the rest, what the ministers had desired; which they again enlarged upon with the same protestations of their resolutions, in such a manner, that his majesty believed they meant honestly; and the clause was left out. But the declaration was no sooner published, than, observing that the people were generally satisfied with it, they sent their emissaries abroad: and many of their letters were intercepted; and particularly a letter from Mr. Calamy to a leading minister in Somersetshire; whereby he advised and entreated him, “that he and his friends would continue and persist in the use of The Directory; and by no means admit The Common Prayer in their churches; for that he made no question but that they should prevail further with the king, than he had yet consented to in his declaration.”

The other instance was, that as soon as the declaration was printed, the king received a petition in the name of the ministers of London, and many others of the same opinion with them, who had subscribed that petition; amongst whom none of those who had attended the king in those conferences had their names. They gave his majesty humble thanks “for the grace he had vouchsafed to shew in his declaration, which they received as an earnest of his future goodness and condescension in granting all those other concessions, which were absolutely necessary for the liberty of their conscience;” and desired, with much importunity and ill manners, “that the wearing the surplice, and the using the cross in baptism, might be absolutely abolished out of the church, as being scandalous to all men of tender consciences.” From those two instances, all men may conclude, that nothing but a severe execution of the law can ever prevail upon that class of men to conform to government.

When the parliament came together again after their adjournment, they gave the king public thanks for his declaration, and never proceeded further in the matter of religion; of which the

king was very glad: only some of the leaders brought a bill into the house “for the making that declaration a law;” which was suitable to their other acts of ingenuity, to keep the church for ever under the same indulgence, and without any settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no further progress in it. And the king, upon the nine and twentieth of December, after having given them an ample testimony of their kindness towards him, which he magnified with many gracious expressions, and his royal thanks for the settling his revenue, and payment of the public debts, promised “to send out writs for the calling another parliament, which he doubted not would confirm all that they had done; and in which he hoped many of them would be elected again to serve:” and so dissolved the present parliament with as general an applause as hath been known; though it was quickly known, that the revenue they had settled was not in value equal to what they had computed. Nor did the monies they granted in any degree arise to enough to pay either the arrears to the army or the debts to the navy; both which must be the work of the ensuing parliament; which was directed to meet upon the eighth of May following: before which time, the king made choice of worthy and learned men to supply the vacant sees of bishops, which had been void so many years, and who were consecrated accordingly before the parliament met. And before we come to that time, some particular occurrences of moment must be first inserted.

When the king arrived in England, monsieur Bordeaux was there ambassador from the king of France, and had resided ambassador there about three years in Cromwell’s time, and lived in marvellous lustre, very acceptable and dear to Cromwell, having treated all the secret alliance between the cardinal and him; and was even trusted by the protector in many of his counsels, especially to discover any conspiracy against him; for he lived jovially, made great entertainments to lords and ladies without distinction, and amongst them would frequently let [fall] some expressions of compassion and respect towards the king. After Cromwell’s death, his credentials were quickly renewed to Richard his successor, with whom all the former treaties were again established. And when he was put down, he was not long without fresh credit to the commonwealth that succeeded: and so upon all vicissitudes was supplied with authority to endear his master’s affection to the present powers, and to let them know, “how well the cardinal was disposed to join the power of France to their interest.” And his dexterity had been such towards all, that the cardinal thought fit to send him new credentials against the time of the king’s coming to London. And within few days after, when he had provided a new equipage to appear in more glory than he had ever yet done, he sent to desire an audience from the king.

The earl of St. Alban’s was newly come from France; and to him Bordeaux had applied himself, who was always very ready to promote any thing that might be grateful to that crown. But the king would not resolve any thing in the point, till he had conferred upon it with the council: where it being debated, there was an unanimous consent, (the earl of St. Alban’s only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary,) “that it

“ could not stand with his majesty’s honour to receive him as ambassador, who had transacted so many things to his disadvantage, and shifted his face so often, always in conjunction with his greatest enemies ; and that it was a great disrespect in the crown of France towards his majesty in sending such a person, who they could not believe (without great undervaluing the king) could be acceptable to him.” The king himself was of that opinion ; and instead of assigning him a day for his audience, as was desired, he sent him an express command to depart the kingdom. And when he afterwards, with much importunity, desired only to be admitted as a stranger to see his majesty, and to speak to him, his majesty as positively refused to admit him to his presence. All which was imputed principally to the chancellor, who had with some warmth opposed his being received as ambassador ; and when he sent by a person well enough esteemed by the chancellor, “ that he would receive a visit from him,” he expressly refused to see him. Whoever gave the advice, the king had great honour by it in France itself, which declared no kind of resentment of it ; and gave poor Bordeaux such a reception, after having served them five years with notable success, and spent his whole estate in the service, that in a short time he died heart-broken in misery, and uninquired after. And forthwith that king sent the count of Soissons, the most illustrious person in France, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his ambassador, to congratulate his majesty’s happy restoration, with all the compliments of friendship and esteem that can be imagined.

There was another ambassador at the same time in London, who might be thought to stand in the same predicament with Bordeaux, though in truth their cases were very different, and who received a very different treatment. That was the ambassador of Portugal, who had been sent by that crown to finish a treaty that had been begun by another ambassador with Cromwell, who had been so ill used, that they had put his brother publicly to death for a rash action in which a gentleman had been killed ; upon which he had got leave from his master to quit the kingdom. And this other ambassador had been sent in his [room] ; and was forced to consent and submit to very hard conditions, as a ransom for that king’s generosity in assisting the king in his lowest condition, by receiving prince Rupert with his majesty’s fleet in Lisbon, and so preserving them from a fleet much superior in number and goodness of the ships, that pursued him by commission from Cromwell : who took that action so to heart, that he made war upon that kingdom, took their ships, obstructed their trade, and blocked up all their ports ; whilst the Spanish army invaded them at land, and took their towns in the very heart of the kingdom. And to redeem that poor king from that terrible persecution, that treaty had been submitted to ; in which, besides the yearly payment of a great sum of money from Portugal, which was to continue for many years, other great advantages in trade had been granted to England. The king made no scruple of receiving this ambassador with a very good countenance ; and as soon as he got his credentials, gave him a public audience, with all the formality and ceremony that in those cases are usual and necessary.

And because in some time after a negotiation was set on foot of the highest importance, and [had] its effect in the king’s marriage with the queen ; and because, how acceptable soever both that treaty and conclusion of it was then to the whole kingdom, that affair was afterwards imputed to the chancellor, and in the opinion of many proved to be the cause and ground of all his misfortunes ; I shall here set down all the particulars that introduced and attended that negotiation and treaty, with all the circumstances, some whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without weight, to make it appear to all the world, how far the chancellor was from being the author of that counsel, (and if he had been, there was no reason to be ashamed of it,) and that he did nothing before, in, or after that treaty, but what was necessary for a man in his condition, and what very well became a person of that trust and confidence he was in with his master.

It hath been remembered before, that upon the publication of the duke’s marriage, and the reconciliation upon that affair, the chancellor was very solicitous that the king himself would marry ; that he desired the marquis of Ormond very earnestly to advise him to it : and himself often put his majesty in mind of what he had said to him in France, when the duke was persuaded to treat about a marriage with mademoiselle de Longueville, “ that his majesty was by no means to consent, that his heir apparent should marry before himself were married,” for which he had given some reasons ; for which at that time he underwent great displeasures. And this discourse he had held often with the king : and sure no man in England more impatiently desired to see him married than he did. Indeed it was no easy matter to find a person in all respects so fit, that a man would take upon him to propose in particular ; nor did he think himself in many respects, and with reference to the accidents which might probably or possibly fall out, fit, if he could have thought of one, to be the author of the proposition.

One day the king came to the chancellor’s house in the afternoon ; and being alone with him, his majesty told him, “ that he was come to confer with him upon an argument that he would well like, which was about his own marriage ;” he said, “ the lord chamberlain” (who was then earl of Manchester) “ had held a discourse with him some days past, that seemed to have something in it that was worth the thinking of. That he had told him, the Portugal ambassador had made him a visit, and having some conference with him concerning the king, towards whose person he professed a profound respect, he said it was time for his majesty to think of marriage ; which nothing could keep him from, but the difficulty of finding a fit consort for him. That there was in Portugal a princess, in her beauty, person, and age, very fit for him, and who would have a portion suitable to her birth and quality. That it is true she was a catholic, and would never depart from her religion ; but was totally without that meddling and activity in her nature, which many times made those of that religion troublesome and restless, when they came into a country where another religion was practised. That she had been bred under a wise mother, who was still regent in that kingdom, who had

“carefully infused another spirit into her, and kept her from affecting to have any hand in business, and which she had never been acquainted with; so that she would look only to enjoy her own religion, and not at all concern herself in what others professed. That he had authority to make the proposition to the king, with such particularities as included many advantages above any, he thought, which could accompany any overture of that kind from another prince. To which the chamberlain had added, that there could be no question, but that a protestant queen would in all respects be looked upon as the greatest blessing to the kingdom: but if such a one could not be found, he did really believe, that a princess of this temper and spirit would be the best of all catholics. That the trade of Portugal was great here, and that England had a more beneficial commerce with that crown than with any other: which had induced Cromwell to make that peace, when he had upon the matter forsworn it; and the making it had been the most popular action he had ever performed.”

His majesty said, “that he had only answered the chamberlain, that he would think of it. But that the very morning of this day, the ambassador of Portugal had been with him, and without any formality had entered into the same discourse, and said all that the lord chamberlain had mentioned: to which he added, that he had authority to offer to his majesty five hundred thousand pounds sterling in ready money, as a portion with the infanta; and likewise to assign over, and for ever to annex to the crown of England, the possession of Tangier upon the African shore in the Mediterranean sea, a place of that strength and importance, as would be of infinite benefit and security to the trade of England; and likewise to grant to the English nation a free trade in Brasil and in the East Indies, which they had hitherto denied to all nations but themselves. And for their security to enjoy that privilege, they would put into his majesty’s hands and possession, and for ever annex to the crown of England, the island of Bombayne, (with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brasil;) which hath within itself a very good and spacious harbour, and would be a vast improvement to the East India trade. And those two places,” he said, “of Tangier and Bombayne, might reasonably be valued above the portion in money.” The king mentioned all the discourse as a matter that pleased him, and might prove of notable advantage to the kingdom; and said, “that he had wished the ambassador to confer with him (the chancellor) upon it;” and then asked him “what he thought of it;” to which he answered, “that he had not heard of it enough to think of it,” (for he had never heard or thought of it before that moment;) and therefore he should not be able to do more when the ambassador came to him, than to hear what he said, and report it to his majesty. For the present he only asked, whether his majesty had given over all thoughts of a protestant wife:” to which he answered, “he could find none such, except amongst his own subjects; and amongst them he had seen none that pleased him enough to that end.” And observing the

chancellor to look fixedly upon him, he said, “that he would never think more of the princess of Orange’s daughter, her mother having used him so ill when he proposed it; and if he should now think of it, he knew his mother would never consent to it, and that it would break his sister’s heart: therefore he had resolved never to entertain that thought again. And that he saw no objection against this overture from Portugal, that would not occur [in] any other, where the advantages would not be so many or so great.”

What could the chancellor say? What objection could he make, why this overture should not be hearkened to? And what would the king have thought, or what might he not have thought, if he had advised him to reject this motion? He gave him no other answer for the present, than “that he desired nothing more in this world, than to see his majesty well married; and he was very confident that all his good subjects were of the same mind: and therefore there must be some very visible inconvenience in [it], when he should dissuade him not to embrace such an opportunity. That he would be ready to confer with the Portugal ambassador when he came, and then he should entertain his majesty further upon that subject.” The ambassador came to him, repeated what he said and proposed to the king, with little other enlargement, than concerning the benefit England would receive by the two places of Tangier and Bombayne, and the description of their situation and strength; of all which the chancellor gave his majesty a faithful account, without presuming to mingle with it a word of his own advice. The king appeared abundantly pleased, and willing to proceed further; and asked “what was next [to be] done:” to which he answered, “that it was a matter of too great importance for him to deliver any opinion upon; indeed too great for his majesty himself to resolve, upon the private advice of any one man, how agreeable soever it should be to his own inclination and judgment.” And therefore he desired him “that he would call to him four or five persons, whom he thought to be the most competent considerers of such an affair, and consult it very maturely with them, before he entertained any more conference with the ambassador. For whatsoever he should [resolve] upon it, it ought yet to be kept in all possible secrecy: if it should be thought fit to be rejected, it ought to be without the least noise, and the least reflection upon the overture, which had been made with all the possible demonstration of esteem: if it should appear worthy of entertainment and acceptance, it would still require the same secrecy; till the value and consequence of all the particulars proposed by the ambassador might be fully examined and weighed, and a more particular and substantial assurance given for the accomplishment, than the bare word of the ambassador.”

The king appointed that the lord treasurer, the marquis of Ormond, the lord chamberlain, and secretary Nicholas, should be together at the chancellor’s house, where his majesty would likewise be and propose the business to them. And accordingly he did relate to them the whole series of what had passed, and required them “with all possible freedom to deliver [their] opinions, and to consider whether there was any other

“princess or lady in their view, with whom he might marry more advantageously.” He added, “that he had spoken both with the earl of Sandwich and sir John Lawson occasionally and merely as loose discourse, what place Tangier was, which he pointed to in the map, and whether it was well known to them: and they both said, they knew it well from sea. But that sir John Lawson had been in it, and said, it was a place of that importance, that if it were in the hands of the Hollanders, they would quickly make a mole, which they might easily do; that now ships could not ride there in such a wind,” which his majesty named; “but if there were a mole, they would ride securely in all weather; and they would keep the place against all the world, and give the law to all the trade of the Mediterranean:” with which discourse his majesty seemed very much affected. After many questions and much debate, and some of the lords wishing that it were possible to get a queen that was a protestant, and one of them naming the daughter of Harry prince of Orange, of whom they had heard some mention when his majesty was beyond the seas, and of whose elder sister (then married to the elector of Brandenburg) there had been some discourse in the life of the late king; (but his majesty quickly declared, “that he had very unanswerable reasons why he could not entertain that alliance:”) all the lords unanimously agreed, “that there was no catholic princess in Europe, whom his majesty could with so much reason and advantage marry, as the infanta of Portugal. That the portion proposed in money, setting aside the places, was much greater, almost double to what any king had ever received in money by any marriage. And the places seemed to be situated very usefully for trade, the increase whereof his majesty was to endeavour with all possible solicitude; which could only make this nation flourish, and recover the interest they had lost, especially in the Indies and in the Mediterranean, by the late troubles and distractions, and the advantage the Dutch had thereby gotten over the English in those trades, as well as in other.” The king approved all that had been said, and thereupon appointed all those lords with the same secrecy to enter into a treaty with the ambassador; which was begun between them accordingly.

The treaty neither was nor could be a secret; nor was there any thing more generally desired, than that a treaty of alliance and commerce should be made with Portugal, that the trade might continue with security: and it was very grateful to every body to know, that there was a committee appointed to that purpose. But the proposition towards a marriage was still a secret, not communicated to any, nor so much as suspected by the Spanish ambassador, who did all he could to obstruct the very treaty of alliance; of whose proceedings there will be occasion to make mention anon by itself. The ambassador offered “to renew the treaty (if that of the marriage was consented to ‘in terminis,’) that had been made [with] Cromwell, without being so much as exempted from that yearly payment, which had been imposed upon them for assisting prince Rupert,” and had been assigned to the merchants to satisfy the damages they had sustained by prince Rupert; and the release whereof must

have obliged the king to pay it himself: and therefore that offer was looked upon as a generous thing. And the whole treaty, which they had not yet perused, was generally looked upon and believed to be the most advantageous to England, that had been ever entered into with any crown.

It had been foreseen from the first motion towards this marriage, that it would be a very hard [matter] with such alliance, to avoid such a conjunction with Portugal, as would produce a war with Spain; which the king had no mind to be engaged in. For besides that he had received some civilities from that king, after a world of disobligations, his resident at Madrid, sir Harry Bennet, had consented in his majesty’s name, that the old treaty which had been made between the two crowns in the year 1630, should be again observed; of which more anon. But his majesty’s firm resolution at that time was, wholly to intend the composing or subduing the distempers and ill humours in his three kingdoms and all his other dominions; and till that should be fully done, he would have no difference with any of his neighbours, nor be engaged in any war which he could avoid: a resolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much evil which succeeded the departure from it, might have been prevented.

But the lords found, upon perusal of the treaty, one article (which was indeed the only article that made any show of benefit and advantage to Portugal) by which Cromwell was obliged to assist Portugal when they should require it, with six thousand foot, to be levied in England at their charge. And now the ambassador urged, “that in consideration of the marriage, the portion, the delivery of those places, and his majesty’s own interest by that marriage in Portugal, which upon the death of the king and his brother must devolve to his majesty; he would take upon him the protection of that kingdom, and denounce war with Spain:” to which his majesty warmly and positively answered, “that he would admit no such engagement; that he was not in a condition to make a war, till he could not avoid it. He would do what was lawful for him to do; he could choose a wife for himself, and he could help a brother and ally with a levy of men at their charge, without entering into a war with any other prince. And if Spain should, either upon his marriage or such supply, declare a war against him, he would defend himself as well as he could, and do as much damage as he could to Spain; and then that he would apply such assistance to Portugal, as should be most advantageous to it: and that he should not be willing to see it reduced under the obedience of Spain for many reasons. That in the mean time he would assist them with the same number as Cromwell had promised, and transport them at his own charge thither; provided that as soon as they were landed, they should be received in the king of Portugal’s pay:” which offer the king made upon a reason not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; besides that he had such a body of men ready for such a service, and which could with much more security and little more charge be transported to Portugal, than be disbanded in the place where they were.

When the ambassador found that the king would not be persuaded to enter directly into a

war with Spain, though he offered "to put Barcelona into his hands, of which don Joseph Margarita," (a person who had conducted the revolt of that city, and all the rebellion which had been lately in Catalonia,) "then in Paris, should come over and give unquestionable assurance," (all which, with many other propositions of the same nature, his majesty totally rejected;) he concluded, that the alliance and marriage would give a present reputation to Portugal, and make impression upon the spirits of Spain, and that a war would hereafter fall out unavoidably: and so accepted what the king had offered. And then there remained nothing to be done, but to give unquestionable security to the king, for the performance of all the particulars which had been promised; and for which there appeared yet no other warrant, than letters and instructions to the ambassador from the queen regent. And for further satisfaction therein, the ambassador offered "presently to pass into Portugal, and doubted not, in as short a time as could be expected, to return with such power and authority, and such a full concession of what had been proposed, as should be very satisfactory:" which his majesty well liked; and writ himself to the queen regent and to the king such letters, as signified "his full resolution for the marriage, if all the particulars promised by the ambassador in writing should be made good;" and writ likewise a letter with his own hand to the infanta, as to a lady whom he looked upon as his wife; and assigned two ships to attend the ambassador, who immediately, and with some appearance or pretence of discontent or dissatisfaction, (that the secret might be the less discovered,) embarked with all his family for the river of Lisbon. And to this time the chancellor had never mentioned any particular advice of his own to the king, more than his concurrence with the rest of the lords; nor in truth had any of them shewed more inclination towards it, than the king himself had done, who seemed marvellously pleased, and had spoken much more in private with the ambassador upon it, than any of the lords had done, and of some particulars which they were never acquainted with.

That I may not break off the thread of this discourse till I bring it to a conclusion, nor leave out any important particular that related to that subject, I shall in this place make mention of a little cloud or eclipse, raised by the activity and restlessness of the earl of Bristol, that seemed to interpose and darken the splendour of this treaty, and to threaten the life thereof, by extinguishing it in the bud: upon which occasion the chancellor thought himself obliged to appear more for it, than he had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjustly soever) was turned to his reproach. This earl, (who throughout the whole course of his life frequently administered variety of discourse, that could not be applied to any other man,) upon the defeat of sir George Booth, when all the king's hopes in England seemed desperate, had not the patience to expect another change that presently succeeded; but presently changed his religion, and declared himself a Roman catholic, that he might with undoubted success apply himself to the service of Spain, to which the present good acceptance he had with don Juan was the greater encouragement. He gave account by a particular letter to the pope of this his conversion,

which was delivered by the general of the Jesuits; in return of which he received a customary brief from his sanctity, with the old piece of scripture never left out in those occasions, "Tu conversus convertes fratres tuos."

The noise and scandal of this defection and apostasy in a sworn counsellor of the king, and one of his secretaries of state, made it necessary for the king to remove him from both those trusts, which he had made himself incapable to execute by the laws of England, and which he proposed to himself to enjoy with the more advantage by his change; and believed that the king, who seemed to have no other hopes towards his restoration than in catholic princes, would not think this a season in ordinary policy to disgrace a servant of his eminency and relation, for no other reason than his becoming catholic, by which he should have so many opportunities to serve his master. And this he had the confidence to urge to the king, before he was obliged to deliver the signet, and to forbear the being present any more in council. And this displacing and remove he imputed entirely to his old friend the chancellor, (with whom till that minute he had for many years held a very firm friendship,) and the more, because he received from his majesty the same countenance he had before, without any reprehension for what he had done; the king not being at all surprised with his declaration, because he had long known that he was very indifferent in all matters of religion, and looked upon the outward profession of any, as depending wholly upon the convenience or discommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with such discourses he had too much entertained the king, who never would speak seriously with him upon that subject. And truly his own relation of the manner of his conversion, with all the circumstances, and the discourse of an ignorant old Jesuit, whom he perfectly contemned, and of a simple good woman, the abbess of a convent, which contributed to it, was so ridiculous, and administered such occasion of mirth, that his majesty thought laughing at him to be the best reproof. And the earl bore that so well and gratefully from the king, and from his other familiar friends too, (for he dissembled his taking any thing ill of the chancellor,) and contributed so much himself to the mirth, that he was never better company than upon that argument: and any man would have believed, that he had not a worse opinion of the religion he had forsaken, or of any other, by his becoming Roman catholic.

When the king made his journey to Fuentarabia, to the treaty between the two crowns, the earl of Bristol's irresistible importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewise, though his majesty had received advertisement from sir Harry Bennet, that don Lewis de Haro desired that he might not come with his majesty thither. The least part of the mischief he did in that journey was, that he prevailed with the king to make so many diversions and delays in it, that the treaty was concluded before he came thither, and he was very near being disappointed of all the fruit he had proposed to himself to receive from it. However it was finished so much the better, that he left the earl behind him; who, in the short time of his stay there, had so far insinuated himself into the grace and good opinion of don

Lewis de Haro, who came with all the prejudice and detestation imaginable towards him, (as he had to his extraordinary parts a marvellous faculty of getting himself believed,) that he was well content that he should go with him to Madrid, where the king, upon the memory of his father, (who had deserved well from that crown, or rather had suffered much for not having deserved ill,) received him graciously. And there he resided in the resident's house, who had been his servant, in such a repose as was agreeable to his fancy, that he might project his own fortune; which was the only thing his heart was set upon, and of which he despaired in his own country.

The news of the king's miraculous restoration quickly arrived at Madrid, and put an end to the earl's further designs, believing he could not do better abroad than he might do in his own country; and so he undertook his journey through France, laden with many obligations from that court, and arrived at London about the time that the ambassador was embarked for Portugal. The king of Spain had, soon after the king's arrival in England, sent the prince of Lygnes with a very splendid embassy to congratulate with his majesty, about the time that the count of Soissons came from France on the same errand. And after his return, the baron of Batteville was sent from Spain as ordinary ambassador, a man born in Burgundy in the Spanish quarters, and bred a soldier; in which profession he was an officer of note, and at that time was governor of St. Sebastian's and of that province. He seemed a rough man, and to have more of the camp, but in truth knew the intrigues of a court better than most Spaniards; and, except when his passion surprised him, wary and cunning in his negotiation. He lived with less reservation and more jollity than the ministers of that crown used to do; and drew such of the court to his table and conversation, who he observed were loud talkers, and confident enough in the king's presence.

In the first private audience he had, he delivered a memorial to his majesty; in which he required "the delivery of the island of Jamaica to his master, it having been taken by his rebel subjects contrary to the treaty of peace between the two crowns; and likewise that his majesty would cause Dunkirk and Mardike to be restored to his catholic majesty, they having not only been taken contrary to that treaty, but when his majesty was entertained in that king's dominions with all courtesy and respect." And he likewise required, in the king his master's name, "that the king would not give any assistance, nor enter into any treaty of alliance with Portugal: for that, the same as the rest, was directly contrary to the last treaty, which was now again revived and stood in force by the declaration of his majesty's resident at Madrid;" which was the first notice any of his majesty's ministers had of any such declaration. But when he had delivered those memorials to the king, he never called for an answer, nor willingly entered upon the discourse of either of the subjects; but put it off merely as a thing he was to do of form once, that his master's just title might be remembered, but not to be pressed till a fitter conjuncture. For he easily discovered what answer he should receive: and so took the advantage of the license of the court, where no rules or for-

malities were yet established, (and to which the king himself was not enough inclined,) but all doors open to all persons. Which the ambassador finding, he made himself a domestic, came to the king at all hours, and spake to him when and as long as he would, without any ceremony, or desiring an audience according to the old custom; but came into the bedchamber whilst the king was dressing himself, and mingled in all discourses with the same freedom he would use in his own. And from this never heard of license, introduced by the French and the Spaniard at this time without any dislike in the king, though not permitted in any other court in Christendom, many inconveniences and mischiefs broke in, which could never after be shut out.

As soon as the earl of Bristol came to the court, he was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the Spanish interest; and so made a particular friendship with the Spanish ambassador, with whom he had a former acquaintance whilst the king had been at Fuentarabia, that he might give a testimony of his gratitude for the favours he had received so lately at Madrid. The king received him with his accustomed good countenance; and he had an excellent talent in spreading that leaf-gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was: and took pains by being always in his presence, and often whispering in his ear, and talking upon some subjects with a liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that he was more than ordinarily acceptable to his majesty. And the king, not wary enough against those invasions, did communicate more to him of the treaty with Portugal, than he had done to any other person, except those [who] were immediately trusted in it.

The earl had always promised himself (though he knew he could not be of the council, nor in any ministry of state, by reason of his religion) that he was in so good esteem with his majesty and with most of those who were trusted by him, that he should have a great share in all foreign affairs, and should be consulted with in all matters of that kind, in regard of the long experience he had in foreign parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great exactness in the languages of those parts. And therefore he was surprised with the notice of this affair, and presently expressed his dislike of it, and told his majesty, "that he would be exceedingly deceived in it; that Portugal was poor, and not able to pay the portion they had promised. That now it was forsaken by France, Spain would overrun and reduce it in one year;" enlarging upon the great preparations which were made for that expedition, "of which don Lewis de Haro himself would be general, and was sure of a great party in Portugal itself, that was weary of that government: so that that miserable family had no hope, but by transporting themselves and their poor party in their ships to Brasil, and their other large territories in the East Indies, which were possessed only by Portugeses, who might possibly be willing to be subject to them. And that this was so much in the view of all men, that it was all the care Spain had to prevent it." The king did not inform him, that he had concluded any thing, and that the ambassador was gone for more ample powers to satisfy his majesty, that all that was promised should be performed.

The earl, who valued himself upon his great faculty in obstructing and puzzling any thing that was agreed upon, and in contriving whereof he had no hand, repaired to the Spanish ambassador, and informed him, under obligation of secrecy, of what treaty the king was entered upon with Portugal by the advice of the chancellor; which he hoped "that they two should find some means to break." But the ambassador's breast was not large enough to contain that secret that burned his entrance. He talked of it in all places with great passion, and then took it up as from common report, and spake to the king of it, and said, "the Portugal ambassador had in his vanity bragged of it to some catholics, and promised them great things upon it; none of which he was confident could be true, and that his majesty could never be prevailed with to consent to such a treaty, which would prove ruinous to himself and his kingdom; for the king of Spain could not but resent it to such a degree, as would bring great inconvenience to his affairs." And his majesty forbearing to give him any answer, at least not such a one as pleased him, his rage transported him to undervalue the person of the infanta. He said, "she was deformed, and had many diseases; and that it was very well known in Portugal and in Spain, that she was incapable to bear children;" and many particulars of that nature.

When he had said the same things several days to the king, the earl of Bristol took his turn again, and told the king other things which the ambassador had communicated to him in trust, and which he durst not presume to say to his majesty, and which in truth he had said himself, being concerning the person of the infanta, and her incapacity to have children; upon which he enlarged very pathetically, and said, "he would speak freely with the chancellor of it, upon whom the ill consequences of this counsel would fall." He told him, "there were many beautiful ladies in Italy, of the greatest houses; and that his majesty might take his choice of them, and the king of Spain would give a portion with her, as if she were a daughter of Spain; and the king should marry her as such." And the ambassador shortly after proposed the same thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the earl and the ambassador conferred with the chancellor (concealing the propositions they had made concerning the Italian ladies) "as of a matter the town talked of and exceedingly disliked, the more because it was generally known, that that princess could not have any children." The king himself had informed the chancellor of all that passed from the ambassador, and of his rudeness towards the infanta, and his declaring that she could have no children; and told him, "that the earl of Bristol resolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert him;" without seeming himself to have been moved with any thing that the ambassador or the earl had said to him: so that when they both came afterwards to him, not together but severally, and he perceived that his majesty had not to either of them imparted how far he had proceeded, (but had heard them talk as of somewhat they had taken up from public rumour, and had himself discoursed of it as sprung from such a fountain,) the chancellor did not take him-

self to be at liberty to enter into a serious debate of the matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the pleasure of their own opinion, and to believe that either there had been no inclination to such a treaty, or that the weight of their reasons would quickly enervate it.

Whether the king grew less inclined to marry, and liked the liberty he enjoyed too well to be willing to be restrained; or whether what had been said to him of the infanta's person, and her unaptness for children, had made some impression in him; or whether the earl of Bristol's describing the persons of the Italian ladies, and magnifying their conversations (in which arguments he had naturally a very luxurious style, unlimited by any rules of truth or modesty;) it is not to be denied, that his majesty appeared much colder, and less delighted to speak of Portugal, than he had been, and would sometimes [wish] "that the ambassador had not gone, and that he would quickly return without commission to give his majesty satisfaction." He seemed to reflect upon a war with Spain, "which," he said, "could not possibly be avoided in that alliance," with more apprehension than he had formerly done, when that contingency had been debated. All which discourses troubled the lords who had been trusted, very much, not conceiving that the ambassador's frantic discourse could have any weight in it, or that the earl of Bristol (whose levity and vanity was enough known to the king) could make that impression in him. However, it appeared, that the earl was much more in private with him than he had used to be, many hours shut up together; and when the king came from him, that he seemed to be perplexed and full of thoughts.

One morning the earl came to the chancellor, and after some compliments and many protestations of his inviolable friendship, he told him, "he was come to take his leave of him for some months, being to begin a long journey as soon as he should part with him; for he had already kissed the king's hand: and his friendship would not permit him to be reserved towards him, and to keep a secret of that vast importance from his knowledge." He said, "that the king had heard such unanswerable reasons against this marriage with Portugal, that he was firmly resolved never more to entertain a thought of it; that the Spanish ambassador had recommended two princesses to him, whereof he might take his choice, of incomparable beauty and all excellent parts of mind, who should be endowed as a daughter of Spain by that king, to whom they were allied;" and so named the ladies. He said, "this discourse had prevailed very far upon the king, as a thing that could raise no jealousies in France, with whom he desired so to live, that he might be sure to have peace in his own dominions. There was only one thing in which he desired to be better satisfied, which was the persons, beauties, and good humours of the princesses; and that he had so good an opinion of his judgment, that he was confident if he saw them, he would easily know whether either of them were like to please his majesty; and would so far trust him, that if he did believe, knowing his majesty so well as he did, that one of them would be grateful, he should carry power with him to propound and conclude a treaty; which,"

he said, "he carried with him, and likewise other letters, upon which he should first find such access and admission, as would enable him to judge of their nature and humour as well as of their beauty." He seemed much transported with the great trust reposed in him, and with the assurance that he should make the king and kingdom happy. And he said, "one reason, besides his friendship, that had made him impart this great secret, was a presumption, that now he knew how far his majesty was disposed and in truth engaged in this particular, he would not do any thing to cross or interrupt the design." The chancellor, enough amazed, by some questions found he was utterly uninformed, how far the king stood engaged in Portugal; and knowing the incredible power the earl had over himself, to make him believe any thing he had a mind should be true, he used little more discourse with him than "to wish him a good journey."

Upon the first opportunity he told the king all that the earl had said to him; with which his majesty seemed not pleased, as expecting that the secret should have been kept better. He did not dissemble his not wishing that the treaty with Portugal might succeed; and confessed "that he had sent the earl of Bristol to see some ladies in Italy, who were highly extolled by the Spanish ambassador," but denied that he had given him such powers as he bragged of. The chancellor thereupon asked him, "whether he well remembered his engagement, which he had voluntarily made, and without any body's persuasion, to the king and queen regent;" and desired him "to impart his new resolution to the lords who were formerly trusted by him. That probably he might find good reason and just arguments to break off the treaty with Portugal; which ought to be first done, before he embarked himself in another: otherwise that he would so far expose his honour to reproach, that all princes would be afraid of entering into any treaty with him." This was every word of persuasion, that he then or ever after used to him upon this affair; nor did it at that time seem to make any impression in him. However, he sent for the lord treasurer, and conferred at large with him and the lord marquis of Ormond. And finding them exceedingly surprised with what he had done, and that they gave the same and other stronger arguments against it than the other had done, his majesty seemed to recollect himself, and to think, that whatever resolution he should think fit to take in the end, that he had not chosen the best way and method of proceeding towards it; and resolved to call the earl back, "which," he said, "he could infallibly do by sir Kenelm Digby, who knew how to send a letter to him, before he had proceeded further in his journey, it having been before agreed, that he should make a halt in such and such places, to the end that he might be advertised of any new occurrences." And his majesty did write the same night to him "to return, because it was necessary to have some more conference with him." And the letter was sent by sir Kenelm Digby, and probably received by the earl in time. But he continued his journey into Italy; and after his return pretended not to have received that letter, or any other order to return, till it was too late, being at that time entered upon the borders or

confines of Italy; in which he had not the good fortune to be believed.

The ambassador of Portugal despatched his voyage with more expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as he believed, with at least as full satisfaction to all particulars as could be expected; but found his reception with such a coldness, that struck the poor gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriac) to the heart; nor could he be informed from whence this distemper proceeded. And therefore he forbore to deliver his letters, which he thought might more expose the honour of his master and mistress to contempt, and remained quietly in his house, without demanding a second audience; until he could by some way or other be informed what had fallen out since his departure, that could raise those clouds which appeared in every man's looks. He saw the Spanish ambassador exceedingly exalted with the pride of having put an insolent affront upon the ambassador from France, which cost his master dear, and heard that he had bragged loudly of his having broken the treaty of Portugal. And it is very true, that he did every day somewhat either vainly or insolently, that gave the king [offence], or lessened the opinion he had of his discretion, and made him withdraw much of that countenance from him, which he had formerly given him. This, and the return of the Portugal ambassador with a new title of marquis de Sande, (an evidence according to the custom of that court, that he had well served his master in his employment,) put him into new fury; so that he came to the king with new expostulations, and gave him a memorial, in which he said, "that he had order from his master to let his majesty know, that if his majesty should proceed towards a marriage with the daughter of the duke of Braganza, his master's rebel, he had order to take his leave presently, and to declare war against him." The king returned some sharp answer presently to him, and told him "he might be gone as soon as he would, and that he would not receive orders from the catholic king, how to dispose himself in marriage." Upon which the ambassador seemed to think he had gone too far; and the next day desired another audience, wherein he said, "he had received new orders: and that his catholic majesty had so great an affection for his majesty and the good of his affairs, that having understood that, in respect of the present distempers in religion, nothing could be more mischievous to him than to marry a catholic; therefore," he declared, "that if there were any protestant lady, who would be acceptable to his majesty," (and named the daughter of the princess dowager of Orange,) "the king of Spain would give a portion with her, as with a daughter of Spain; by which his majesty's affairs and occasions would be supplied."

The multiplying these and many other extravagancies made the king reflect upon all the ambassador's proceedings and behaviour, and revolve the discourses he had held with him; and to reconsider, whether they had not made greater impressions upon him, than the weight of them would bear. He had himself spoken with some who had seen the infanta, and described her to be a person very different from what the ambassador had delivered. He had seen a picture that was reported to be very like her; and upon the

view of it his majesty said, "that person could not be unhandsome." And by degrees considering the many things alleged by the ambassador, which could not be known by him, and could result from nothing but his own malice, his majesty returned to his old resolution; and spake at large with the [Portugal] ambassador with his usual freedom, and received both the letters and information he brought with him, and declared "that he was fully satisfied in all the particulars."

Nor did the carriage of the Spanish ambassador contribute a little towards his majesty's resolution: for he, without any other ground than from his own fancy, (for the king had not declared his purpose to any, nor was the thing spoken of abroad,) and from what he collected from his majesty's sharp replies to his insolent expressions, took upon him to do an act of the highest extravagancy, that hath been done in Europe by the minister of any state in this age. He caused to be printed in English the copies of the memorials which he had presented to the king, and of the discourses he had made against the match with Portugal, with the offers the king of Spain had made to prevent so great a mischief to the kingdom, and other seditious papers to the same purpose; and caused those papers to be spread abroad in the army and amongst [the populace]; some whereof were cast out of his own windows amongst the soldiers, as they passed to and from the guard. Upon which unheard of misdemeanour, the king was so much incensed, that he sent the secretary of state "to require him forthwith to depart the kingdom, without seeing his majesty's face," which he would not admit him to do; and to let him know, "that he would send a complaint of his misbehaviour to the king his master, from whom he would expect that justice should be done upon him." The ambassador received this message with exceeding trouble and grief, even to tears, and desired, "to be admitted to see the king, and to make his humble submission, and to beg his pardon; which he was ready to do:" but that being denied, within few days he departed the kingdom, carrying with him the character of a very bold rash man.

There was an accident about this time, that it is probable did confirm the king in his resolution concerning Portugal. At this time cardinal Mazarine was dead, and had never been observed to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleasant humour, from the time of the king's restoration, which had deceived all his calculations, and broken all his measures. Upon his death the ministry was committed to three persons, (the king himself being still present at all their consultations,) monsieur de Tellier and monsieur de Lionne, the two secretaries of state, and monsieur Fouquet, surintendant of the finances and procureur général du roy, who was a man of extraordinary parts, and being not forty years of age, enjoyed his full vigour of body and mind, and in respect of his sole power over the finances was looked upon as the premier ministre. This man, as soon as he was in the business, sent an express into England with a letter to the chancellor. The messenger was La Basteede, who, having been secretary during the time of his being in England to Bordeaux whilst he was ambassador, spake English very well. He, as soon as he arrived, went to the chancellor's house, and desired one of his servants to let his

lord know, "that he was newly come from France, and that he desired to be admitted to a private audience with him, where nobody else might be present:" and so he was brought into a back room, whither the chancellor came to him; to whom he presented a letter directed to him from monsieur Fouquet. The letter after general compliments took notice "of the great trust he had with his master; and that he being now admitted to a part of his master's most secret affairs, and knowing well the affection that was between the two kings, much desired to hold a close and secret correspondence together, which he presumed would be for the benefit of both their masters." The rest contained only a credential, "that he should give credit to all that the bearer should say, who was a person entirely trusted by him." And then he entered upon his discourse, consisting of these parts:

1. "That the king of France was troubled to hear, that there was some obstruction fallen out in the treaty with Portugal; and that it would be a very generous thing in his majesty to undertake the protection of that crown, which if it should fall into the possession of Spain, would be a great damage and a great shame to all the kings in Europe. That himself had heretofore thought of marrying the infanta of that kingdom, who is a lady of great beauty and admirable endowments; but that his mother and his then minister, and indeed all other princes, so much desired the peace between the crowns, that he was diverted from that design. And that for the perfecting that peace and his marriage with Spain, he had been compelled to desert Portugal for the present; and was obliged to send no kind of assistance thither, nor to receive any ambassador from thence, nor to have any there: all which he could not but observe for some time. But that Portugal was well assured of the continuance of his affection, and that he would find some opportunity by one way or other to preserve it. That he foresaw that his majesty might not be provided so soon after his return, in regard of his other great expenses, to disburse such a sum of money, as the sending a vigorous assistance, which was necessary, would require. But for that he would take care; and for the present cause to be paid to his majesty three hundred thousand pistoles, which would defray the charge of that summer's expedition; and for the future, provision should be made proportionable to the charge:" and concluded, "that he believed the king could not bestow himself better in marriage, than with the infanta of Portugal."

2. A second part was, "that there were now in France ambassadors from the States of the United Provinces, and the like in England, to renew the alliance with both crowns; which they hoped to do upon the disadvantageous terms they had used to obtain it. That those people were grown too proud and insolent towards all their neighbours, and treated all kings as if they were at least their equals: that France had been ill used by them, and was sensible of it; and that the king had not been much beholden to them." And therefore he proposed, "that both kings upon this occasion would so communicate their counsels, that they might reduce that people to live like good neighbours,

"and with more good manners; and that they would treat solely and advance together, and that the one should promise not to conclude any thing without communicating it to the other: so that both treaties might be concluded together."

3. "That those particulars, and whatsoever passed between M. Fouquet and the chancellor, might be retained with wonderful secrecy; which it would not be, if it were communicated to the queen or the earl of St. Alban's," (who were at that time in France:) "and therefore his Christian majesty desired, that neither of them should know of this correspondence, or any particular that passed by it."

When the gentleman had finished his discourse, the chancellor told him, "that he knew M. Fouquet to be so wise a man, that he would not invite or enter into such a correspondence, without the privy and approbation of his master: and he presumed that he had likewise so good an opinion of him, as to believe, that he would first inform his majesty of all that he received from him, before he would return any answer himself. That he would take the first opportunity to acquaint the king his master; and if he would come the next day at the same hour" (which was about four in the afternoon) "to the same place, he would return his answer."

The king came the next day before the hour assigned to the chancellor's house. And when he heard the gentleman was come, his majesty vouchsafed himself to go into that back room; and (the chancellor telling the other, "that he should be witness to his majesty's approbation of his correspondence") took notice of the letter he had brought, and asked many kind questions concerning M. Fouquet, who was known to him, and told him, "that he was very well pleased with the correspondence proposed; and that the chancellor should perform his part very punctually, and with the secrecy that was desired; and that he would give his own word, that the queen nor the earl of St. Alban's should know nothing that should pass in this correspondence:" which, the chancellor observing with the fidelity he ought to do, coming after to be known kindled a new jealousy and displeasure in the queen, that was never afterwards extinguished. The king told him, "he would upon the encouragement and promise of the French king, of the performance whereof he could make no doubt, proceed in the treaty with Portugal; and give that kingdom the best assistance he could, without beginning a war with Spain. That for the treaty with Holland, which was but newly begun," (for the States who had made choice of and nominated their ambassadors before the king left the Hague, did not send them in near six months after; which his majesty looked upon as a great disrespect,) "he would comply with what the king desired; and that his Christian majesty should from time to time receive an account how it should advance, and that he would not conclude any thing without his privy." How ill both these engagements which related to Portugal and Holland were afterwards observed by France, is fit for another discourse by itself. The gentleman, much satisfied with what the king had said, proposed "that he would make a cipher against the next day to be left in the chancellor's hand;

"because M. Fouquet desired, for preservation of the secret, that the chancellor would always write with his own hand in English, directed in such a manner as he should propose; which would always bring the letters safe to the hands of him, La Basteede, who was appointed by the king to keep that cipher, and to maintain that correspondence."

There was another circumstance that attended this private negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient manifestation of the integrity of the chancellor, and how far he was from [being] that corrupt person, which his most corrupt enemies would have him thought to be. The next morning after he had seen the king, La Basteede came again, and desired an audience with the chancellor. He said, "he had somewhat else in his instructions to say, which he had not yet thought fit to offer." And from thence he entered in a confused manner to enlarge "upon the great power, credit, and generosity of M. Fouquet, the extent of his power and office, that he could disburse and issue great sums of money without any account so much as to the king himself; without which liberty, the king knew many secret services of the highest importance could not be performed." He said, "he knew the straits and necessities, in which the chancellor and others about the king had lived for many years: and though he was now returned with much honour, and in great trust with his master, yet he did suppose he might be some time without those furnitures of householdstuff and plate, which the grandeur of his office and place required. And therefore that he had sent him a present, which in itself was but small, and was only the earnest of as much every year, which should be constantly paid, and more, if he had occasion to use it; for M. Fouquet did not look upon it as of moment to himself. But he knew well the faction in all courts, and that he must have many enemies; and if he did not make himself friends by acts of generosity and bounty, he must be oppressed; and that he had designed this supply only to that purpose." He shewed him then bills of exchange and credit for the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at sight: and said, "that he had been with the merchant, who would be ready to pay it that afternoon; so that whoever he would please to appoint should receive it." The chancellor had heard him with much indignation, and answered him warmly, "that if this correspondence must expose him to such a reproach, he should unwillingly enter into it; and wished him to tell M. Fouquet, that he would only receive wages from his own master." The gentleman so little looked for a refusal, that he would not understand it; but persisted to know "who should receive the money, which," he said, "should be paid in such a manner, that the person who paid it should never know to whom it was paid; and that it should always remain a secret;" still pressing it with importunity, till the other went with manifest anger out of the room.

That afternoon the king and duke (who was likewise informed of the correspondence) came to the chancellor, and found him out of humour. He told him, "that Fouquet could not be an honest man, and that he had no mind to hold

"that correspondence with him;" and thereupon repeated what had passed in the morning, with much choler: which made them both laugh at him, saying, "the French did all their business that way:" and the king told him "he was a fool," implying, "that he should take his money." Whereupon the chancellor besought him "not to appear to his servants so unconcerned in matters of that nature, which might produce ill effects;" and desired him to consider, "what the consequence of his receiving that money, with what secrecy soever, must be. That the French king must either believe that he had received it without his majesty's privity, and so look upon him as a knave fit to be depended upon in any treachery against his master; or that it was with his majesty's approbation, which must needs lessen his esteem of him, that he should permit his servants of the nearest trust to grow rich at the charge of another prince, who might the next day become his enemy." To which the king smiling made no other reply, "than that few men were so scrupulous;" and commanded him "to return a civil answer to M. Fouquet's letter, and to cherish that correspondence, which," he said, "might be useful to him, and could produce no inconvenience." And so, when La Basteede (who could not forbear to use new importunity with him to receive the money, till he found he was much offended) brought him the cipher, he delivered him his letter for M. Fouquet. And the next week after his return, the king of France writ to him in his own hand, "that the correspondence M. Fouquet had invited him to was with his majesty's privity; and that he was well pleased with it." And so the correspondence continued till that great man's fall: and then the king sent all the letters which had passed, and the cipher, to the chancellor; and writ to him, "from that time to communicate with all freedom with his ambassador;" which he was before restrained from.

After the king had himself conferred at large with the Portugal ambassador, he referred him again to give the lords, with whom he had formerly treated, an account how all particulars were adjusted in Portugal; "which were," he said, "in this manner. For the portion, the queen regent, having resolved not to dispose of any of the money that was provided for the war, had sold her own jewels, and much of her own plate, and had borrowed both plate and jewels from the churches and monasteries: by which means she had the whole portion ready, which was all sealed up in bags, and deposited where nobody could take it to apply to any other use. For the delivery of Tangier, that the old governor, (who had lived there long, and was humorous,) on whom the queen could not confidently depend, was removed; and another sent, before he left Lisbon, to take that charge, who was a creature of the queen's, who could not deceive her, and was so far trusted, that he knew for what end he was sent thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it: and that the fleet which should be sent for the queen should first go to Tangier, and take possession thereof; and till that should be delivered into his majesty's hands, the queen should not embark upon the fleet, nor till all the money should be put on board. That

"for the delivery of Bombayne, it was resolved likewise, that the vice-king and governor of Brasil, under whom that island likewise is, should be forthwith recalled; and that another," (whom he named,) "of whom the queen had all assurance, should be sent to that high charge, and should be transported thither in the fleet which the king would send to receive the island, and would deliver the same to the person designed to receive it." He added, "that there would be another security given, greater than any of the rest, and such a one as had never been given before in such a case. That the queen should be delivered on board the fleet, and transported into England, before she was married: which was such a trust that had never been reposed in any prince, who, if he would break his word, might put an everlasting reproach upon their nation."

The cause of this extraordinary circumstance was truly this. The power of Spain was so great in the court of Rome, notwithstanding the interposition and threatening mediation of France, (whose ambassador declared that Portugal should choose a patriarch, and have no longer dependence upon the pope,) that neither Urban, in whose reign that kingdom severed itself from Spain, nor Innocent, nor Alexander, would acknowledge the duke of Braganza for king, nor receive an ambassador or other minister from him: so that they now foresaw, that if they should, in what manner soever, demand a dispensation at Rome, (without which the marriage could not be celebrated in Portugal,) the interest of Spain would cause it to be denied, or granted in such a manner as should be worse for them; for the queen would have been mentioned only as the daughter and sister of the duke of Braganza. And before they would receive that affront, the most jealous and most apprehensive nation in the world chose rather to send the daughter of the kingdom to be married in England, and not to be married till she came thither.

Upon the whole matter, the king thought not fit to make any further exceptions, but resolved to assemble his whole privy-council, and to communicate the matter to them; for it did remain a secret yet, no man knowing or speaking of it. The council was so full, that there was only one counsellor that was absent. The king informed them of all that had passed in that affair, "how it was first proposed to him, and the objections which occurred to him against it; for the better clearing whereof the ambassador had made a voyage into Portugal, and was returned with such satisfaction to all particulars, that he thought it now time to communicate the whole to them, that he might receive their advice." He commanded then the particular propositions, which were offered by the ambassador, to be reported. And thereupon he commanded and conjured all the lords severally to give him their advice; for he said, "he had not yet so firmly resolved, but that he might change his mind, if he heard reasons to move him: and therefore they would not deal faithfully with him, if they did not with all freedom declare their judgment to him." In short, every man delivered his opinion, and every one agreed in the opinion, "that it was very fit for his majesty to embrace the propositions, which were of great advantage

"to himself and the kingdom;" and that their advice was, "that he should speedily and without more delay conclude the treaty." And thereupon his majesty said, "that he looked upon so unanimous a concurrence as a good omen, and that he would follow their advice."

All this was done between the dissolution of the parliament in December, and the assembling the other in May following; and upon the first day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of May, the very day twelvemonth that his majesty had been proclaimed the year before, and he told them "that he had deferred it a week, that they might meet upon that day, for the memory of the former day." The king, after some gracious expressions of his confidence in them, told them "that they would find what method he thought best for their proceeding, by two bills which he had caused to be provided for them, which were for confirmation of all that had been enacted in the last meeting;" and repeated what he had said to them when he was last there: "that next to the miraculous blessing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate effect of that blessing, he did impute the good disposition and security they were all in, to the happy act of indemnity and oblivion: that," his majesty said, "was the principal corner-stone that supported that excellent building, that created kindness in them to each other; and confidence was their joint and common security." He told them, "he was still of the same opinion, and more, if it were possible, of that opinion than he had been, by the experience he had of the benefit of it, and from the unreasonableness of what some men said against it." He desired them "to provide full remedies for future mischiefs; to be as severe as they would against new offenders, especially if they were so upon old principles; and that they would pull up those principles by the roots. But," his majesty said, "he should never think him a wise man, that would endeavour to undermine and shake that foundation of the public peace, by infringing that act in the least degree; or that he could be his friend, or wish him well, who would persuade him ever to consent to the breach of a promise he had so solemnly made when he was abroad, and had performed with that solemnity after, and because he had promised it: and that he could not suspect any attempts of that kind by any men of merit and virtue."

And this warmth of his majesty upon this subject was not then more than needed: for the armies being now disbanded, there were great combinations entered into, not to confirm the act of oblivion; which they knew without confirmation would signify nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the king should grant indemnity to all men that had rebelled against him; that he should grant their lives and fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: but they thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the king should release those debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those trespasses which had been committed to their particular damage. They could not endure to meet the same men in the king's highway, now it was the king's highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in those ways, because they were not the king's, and only because they knew they could obtain no jus-

tice against them. They could not with any patience see those men, who not only during the war had oppressed them, plundered their houses, and had their own adorned with the furniture they had robbed them of, ride upon the same horses which they had then taken from them upon no other pretence, but because they were better than their own; but after the war was ended, had committed many insolent trespasses upon them wantonly, and to shew their power of justice of peace, or committee men, and had from the lowest beggary raised great estates, out of which they [were] well able to satisfy, at least in some degree, the damages the other had sustained. And those and other passions of this kind, which must have invalidated the whole act of indemnity, could not have been extinguished without the king's influence, and indeed his immediate interposition and industry.

When his majesty had spoken all he thought fit upon that subject, he told them, "he could not conclude without telling them some news, news that he thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore he should think himself unkind and ill-natured, if he should not impart it to them. That he had been often put in mind by his friends, that it was high time to marry; and he had thought so himself, ever since he came into England: but there appeared difficulties enough in the choice, though many overtures had been made to him. And if he should never marry till he could make such a choice, against which there could be no foresight of any inconvenience that might ensue, they would live to see him an old bachelor, which he thought they did not desire to do." He said, "he could now tell them, not only that he was resolved to marry, but whom he resolved to marry, if it pleased God. That towards his resolution, he had used that deliberation, and taken that advice, that he ought to do in a case of that importance, and with a full consideration of the good of his subjects in general, as of himself. It was with the daughter of Portugal. That when he had, as well as he could, weighed all that occurred to himself, the first resolution he took, was to state the whole overtures which had been made to him, and in truth all that had been said against it, to his privy council; without hearing whose advice, he never did nor ever would resolve any thing of public importance. And," he said, "he told them with great satisfaction and comfort to himself, that after many hours debate in a full council, (for he thought there was not above one absent,) and he believed upon weighing all that could be said upon that subject, for or against it; the lords, without one dissenting voice, advised him with all imaginable cheerfulness to this marriage: which he looked upon as very wonderful, and even as some instance of the approbation of God himself. That he had thereupon taken his own resolution, and concluded with the ambassador of Portugal, who was departing with the whole treaty signed, which they would find to contain many great advantages to the kingdom; and that he would make all the haste he could, to fetch them a queen hither, who he doubted not would bring great blessings with her, to him and them."

The next day the two houses of parliament,

after they had expressed all the joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the king, "that he would appoint a time when he would admit them to his presence:" which when he had done, both houses of parliament, in a body, presented by the speaker of the house of peers their humble thanks to his majesty, "for that he had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their hearts, and would, they doubted not, draw down God's blessing upon his majesty and the kingdom." Shortly after, the fleet was made ready, and the earl of Sandwich, admiral thereof, was likewise made ambassador to Portugal, and appointed to receive the queen, and to conduct her into England.

This was the whole proceeding, from the beginning to the end of that treaty about the marriage of the king; by the whole circumstances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular corruption in any single person could have brought it to pass in that manner, and that the chancellor never proposed it, nor heard of it but from the king himself, nor advanced it afterwards more than every one of the other lords did; and if he had done less, he could neither have been thought a prudent or an honest man: to which no more shall be added, that neither before, or in the treaty, or after the marriage, he never received the least reward, or the least present from Portugal.

During the interval of parliament, the king had made choice of many very eminent and learned men, who were consecrated to some of the sees of bishops which were void; that the preservation of the succession might not depend upon the lives of the few bishops who remained, and who were all very aged; which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other parliament, to whom the settlement of the church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could he yet give any remedy to the license in the practice of religion, which in all places was full of scandal and disorder, because the liturgy was not yet finished; till when, the indulgence by his declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same time that he issued out his writs for convening the parliament, he had likewise sent summons to the bishops, for the meeting of the clergy in convocation, which is the legal synod in England; against the coming together whereof the liturgy would be finished, which his majesty intended to send thither to be examined, debated, and confirmed. And then he hoped to provide, with the assistance of the parliament, such a settlement in religion, as would prevent any disorder in the state upon those pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no time in the prosecution of that cure; for the malignity against the church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the coming in of the king.

The old bishops who remained alive, and such deans and chapters as were numerous enough for the corporation, who had been long kept fasting, had now appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great extremities; some of the bishops having supported themselves and their family by teaching schools, and submitting to the like low condescensions. And others saw, that if they died before they were enabled to make some provision for them, their wives and children must unavoidably starve: and there-

fore they made haste to enter upon their own. And now an ordinance of parliament had not strength enough to batter an act of parliament. They called their old tenants to account for rent, and to renew their estates if they had a mind to it; for most old leases were expired in the long continuance of the war, and the old tenants had been compelled either to purchase a new right and title from the state, (when the ordinance was passed for taking away all bishops, deans, and chapters, and for selling all the lands which belonged to them,) or to sell their present estates to those, who had purchased the reversion and the inheritance thereof: so that both the one and the other, the old tenants and the new purchasers, repaired to the true owners as soon as the king was restored; the former expecting to be restored again to the possession of what they had sold, under an unreasonable pretence of a tenant right, (as they called it,) because there remained yet (as in many cases there did) a year or some other term of their old leases unexpired, and because they had out of conscience forbore to buy the inheritance of the church, which was first offered to them. And for the refusal thereof, and such a reasonable fine as was usual, they hoped to have a new lease, and to be readmitted to be tenants to the church. The other, the purchasers, (amongst which there were some very infamous persons,) appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the clemency that was practised towards all sorts of men, it could be thought justice, that they should lose the entire sum they had disbursed upon the faith of that government, which the whole kingdom submitted to; but that they should, instead of the inheritance they had an ill title to, have a good lease for lives or years granted to them by them who had now the right; at least, that upon the old rent and moderate fines they should be continued tenants to the church, without any regard to those who had sold both their possession, and with that all the right or title that they might pretend to, for a valuable consideration. And they had the more hope of this, because the king had granted a commission, under the great seal of England, to some lords of the council and to other eminent persons, to interpose and mediate with the bishops and clergy in such cases, as ought not to be prosecuted with rigour.

But the bishops and clergy concerned had not the good fortune to please their old or their new tenants. They had been very barbarously used themselves; and that had too much quenched all tenderness towards others. They did not enough distinguish between persons: nor did the suffering any man had undergone for fidelity to the king, or his affection to the church eminently expressed, often prevail for the mitigation of his fine; or if it did sometimes, three or four stories of the contrary, and in which there had been some unreasonable hardness used, made a greater noise and spread further, than their examples of charity and moderation. And as honest men did [not] usually fare the better for any merit, so the purchasers who offered most money, did not fare the worse for all the villainies they had committed. And two or three unhappy instances of this kind brought scandal upon the whole church, as if they had been all guilty of the same excesses, which they were far from. And by this means the new bishops, who did not all follow

the precedents made by the old, underwent the same reproaches: and many of them who had most adhered to their order, and for so doing had undergone for twenty years together sundry persecutions and oppressions, were not in their present passion so much pleased with the renewing it, as they expected to have been. Yet upon a very strict examination of the true grounds of all those misprisions, (except some few instances which cannot be defended,) there will be found more passion than justice in them; and that there was even a necessity to raise as much money as could be justly done, for the repairing the cathedrals, which were all miserably ruined or defaced, and for the entirely building up many houses of the prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the ground. And those ways much more of those monies which were raised by fines were issued and expended, than what went into the private purses of them, who had a right to them, and had need enough of them. But the time began to be froward again, and all degrees of men were hard to be pleased; especially when they saw one *classis* of men restored to more than they had ever lost, and preferred to a plenty they had never been acquainted with, whilst themselves remained remediless after so many sufferings, and without any other testimony of their courage and fidelity, than in the ruin of their fortunes, and the sale of their inheritance.

Another great work was performed, between the dissolution of the last and the beginning of the next parliament, which was the ceremony of the king's coronation; and was done with the greatest solemnity and glory, that ever any had been seen in that kingdom. That the novelties and new inventions, with which the kingdom had been so much intoxicated for so many years together, might be discountenanced and discredited in the eyes of the people, for the folly and want of state thereof; his majesty had directed the records and old formularies should be examined, and thereupon all things should be prepared, and all forms accustomed to be used, that might add lustre and splendour to the solemnity. A court of claims was erected, where before the lords commissioners for that service, all persons made claim to those privileges and precedency, which they conceived to be due to their persons, or the offices of which they were possessed, in the ceremony of the coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their right appeared.

The king went early in the morning to the Tower of London in his coach, most of the lords being there before. And about ten of the clock they set forward towards Whitehall, ranged in that order as the heralds had appointed; those of the long robe, the king's council at law, the masters of the chancery, and judges, going first, and so the lords in their order, very splendidly habited, on rich foot-cloths; the number of their footmen being limited, to the dukes ten, to the earls eight, and to the viscounts six, and the barons four, all richly clad, as their other servants were. The whole show was the most glorious in the order and expense, that had been ever seen in England; they who rode first being in Fleet-street when the king issued out of the Tower, as was known by the discharge of the ordnance: and it was near three of the clock in the afternoon, when the king alighted at Whitehall. The

next morning the king rode in the same state in his robes and with his crown on his head, and all the lords in their robes, to Westminster-hall; where all the ensigns for the coronation were delivered to those who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland being made high constable, and the earl of Suffolk earl marshal, for the day. And then all the lords in their order, and the king himself, walked on foot upon blue cloth from Westminster-hall to the abbey church, where, after a sermon preached by Dr. Morley, (then bishop of Worcester,) in Henry the Seventh's chapel, the king was sworn, crowned, and anointed, by Dr. Juxon, archbishop of Canterbury, with all the solemnity that in those cases had been used. All which being done, the king returned in the same manner on foot to Westminster-hall, which was adorned with rich hangings and statues; and there the king dined, and the lords on either side at tables provided for them: and all other ceremonies were performed with great order and magnificence.

I should not have enlarged thus much upon the ceremony of the coronation, it may be not mentioned it, (a perfect narration having been then made and published of it, with all the grandeur and magnificence of the city of London,) but that there were two accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some inconveniences which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the custom in those great ceremonies or triumphs of state, that the master of the king's horse (who is always a great man, and was now the duke of Albemarle, the general) rides next after the king with a led horse in his hand: in this occasion the duke of York privately prevailed with the king, who had not enough reverence for old customs, without any consultation, that his master of his horse, (so he was called,) Mr. Jermyn, a younger brother of a very private gentleman's family, should ride as near his person, as the general did to his majesty, and lead a horse likewise in his hand; a thing never heard of before. Neither in truth hath the younger brother of the king such an officer as master of his horse, which [is] a term restrained within the family of the king, queen, and prince of Wales; and the two masters of the horse to the queen and prince are subordinate to the king's master of his horse, who hath the jurisdiction over the other. The lords were exceedingly surprised and troubled at this, of which they heard nothing till they saw it; and they liked it the worse, because they discerned that it issued from a fountain, from whence many bitter waters were like to flow, the customs of the court of France, whereof the king and the duke had too much the image in their heads, and than which there could not be a copy more universally ingrateful and odious to the English nation.

The other was: In the morning of the coronation, whilst they sat at the table in Westminster-hall, to see the many ensigns of the coronation delivered to those lords who were appointed to carry them, the earl of Northumberland, who was that day high constable, came to the king and told him, "that amongst the young noblemen " who were appointed to carry the several parts " of the king's mantle, the lord Ossory, who was " the eldest son to the duke of Ormond, challenged the place before the lord Percy, who was

"his eldest son; whereas," he said, "the duke of Ormond had no place in the ceremony of that day, as duke, but only as earl of Brecknock, and so the eldest sons of all ancient earls ought to take place of his eldest son;" which was so known a rule, and of so general a concernment, that the king could not choose but declare it, and send a message to the lord Ossory by the lord chamberlain, "that he should desist from his pretence." This, and the public manner of asking and determining it, produced two ill effects. The first, a jealousy and ill understanding between the two great families: the one naturally undervaluing and contemning his equals, without paying much regard to his superiors; and the other not being used to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the advantages the earl had in England, either in antiquity or fortune, he had the same in Ireland, and that he had merited and received an increase of title, when the other had deserved to lose that which he was born to. The other, was a jealousy and prejudice that it raised in the nobility of England, as if the duke of Ormond (who in truth knew nothing of it) had entered upon that contest, in hope that by his interest in the king, he should be able to put this eternal affront upon the peers of England, to bring them upon the same level with those of Ireland, who had no such esteem. And it did not a little add to their envy, that he had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill times, that he was the object of an universal reverence at home and abroad; which was a reproach to most of them, whose actions would not bear the light. But as the duke was not in the least degree privy to the particular contest, nor raised the value of himself from any merit in his services, nor undervalued others upon the advantage of their having done amiss; so he was abundantly satisfied in the testimony of his own conscience, and in his unquestionable innocence, and from thence too much despised the prejudice and the envy the others had towards him, and the marks whereof he was compelled afterwards to bear, which he did with the same magnanimity.

Before we proceed further in the relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unseasonable in this place to give an account of somewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally censured because it was not; the reason whereof is known to very few. The king had resolved before his coming into England, that as soon as he should be settled in any condition of security, and no just apprehension of future troubles, he would take up and remove the body of his father, the last king, from Windsor, and inter it with all solemnity at Westminster; and that the court should continue in mourning till the coronation. And many good people thought this so necessary, that they were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The reasons which were given in public discourses from hand to hand, were two. The first; that now ten years were past since that woful tragedy, and the joy and the triumph for the king's return had composed the minds of the people, it would not be prudent to renew the memory of that paricide, by the spectacle of a solemn funeral; lest it might cause such commotions of the vulgar in

all places, as might produce great disorders and insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the kingdom, as if it were a good season and a new provocation to take revenge upon their neighbours, who had formerly tyrannized over them; which might likewise have caused the soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own security: and so the peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this interment in any private manner, would be liable to very just censure, when all things relating to the king himself had shewed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual pomp of a solemn interment of a king, the expense would be so vast, that there would be neither money found nor credit for the charge thereof.

These were the reasons alleged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without weight to thinking men. But the true reason was: at the time of that horrid murder, Windsor was a garrison under the command of a citizen, who was an anabaptist, with all his officers and soldiers. The men had broken down all the wainscot, rails, and partitions, which divided the church, defaced all the monuments and other marks, and reduced the whole into the form of a stable or barn, and scarce fit for any other use; when Cromwell had declared that the royal body should be privately interred in the church of the castle at Windsor, and the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton and Lindsey, had obtained leave to be present (only to be present, for they had no power to prepare or do any thing in it) at their master's burial. Those great men were not suffered to have above three servants each, to enter into the castle with them; and it may easily be concluded, that their own noble hearts were too full of sorrow, to send their eyes abroad to take notice of the places by which they passed. They found the church so wild a place, they knew not where they were; and as the royal body was put into the ground, they were conducted out of the castle to their lodging in the town, and the next morning returned to their several houses. Shortly after the king returned from beyond the seas, he settled the dean and chapter of Windsor, with direction to put his royal chapel there into the order it used to be, and to repair the ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult work. His majesty commanded the dean carefully to inform himself of the place, in which the king's body had been interred, and to give him notice of it. Upon inquiry he could not find one person in the castle or in the town who had been present at the burial. When the parliament first seized upon the castle and put a garrison into it, shortly after, they had not only ejected all the prebends and singingmen of the royal chapel, but had turned out all the officers and servants who had any relation to the king or to the church, except only those who were notorious for their infidelity towards the king or the church: and of those, or of the officers or soldiers of the garrison, there could not now one man be found, who was in the church when the king was buried. The duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford were both dead: and the king sent (after he had received that account from the dean) the two surviving lords, the earl of Southampton and of Lindsey, to Windsor; who taking with

them as many of those three servants who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, they could not recollect their memories, nor find any one mark by which they could make any judgment, near what place the king's body lay. They made some guess, by the information of the workmen who had been now employed in the new pavement of the church, and upon their observation that the earth had seemed to lie lighter, that it might be in or near that place: but when they had caused it to be digged, and searched [in] and about it, they found nothing. And upon their return, the king gave [over] all further thought of inquiry: and those other reasons were cast abroad upon any occasional inquiry or discourse of that subject.

That which gave the king most trouble, and deprived him of that ease and quiet which he had promised to himself during the vacation between the two parliaments, was the business of Ireland; which we shall now take up again, and continue the relation without interruption, as long as we shall think fit to make any mention of that affair. We left it in the hands of the lord Roberts, whom the king had declared deputy of Ireland, presuming that he would upon conference with the several parties, who were all appointed to attend him, so shape and model the whole bulk, that it might be more capable of some further debate before his majesty in council: but that hand did not hold it many days.

That noble lord, though of a good understanding, was of so morose a nature, that it was no easy matter to treat with him. He had some pedantic parts of learning, which made his other parts of judgment the worse, for he had some parts of good knowledge in the law, and in antiquity, in the precedents of former times; all which were rendered the less useful, by the other pedantry contracted out of some books, and out of the ill conversation he had had with some clergymen and people in quality much below him, by whose weak faculties he raised the value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better company. He was naturally proud and imperious; which humour was increased by an ill education; for excepting some years spent in the inns of court amongst the books of the law, he might be very justly said to have been born and bred in Cornwall. There were many days passed after the king's declaration of him to be deputy, before he could be persuaded to visit the general, who he knew was to continue lieutenant; and when he did visit him, it was with so ill a grace, that the other received no satisfaction in it, and the less, because he plainly discerned that it proceeded from pride, which he bore the more uneasily, because as he was now the greater man, so he knew himself to be of a much better family. He made so many doubts and criticisms upon the draught of his patent, that the attorney general was weary of attending him; and when all things were agreed on at night, the next morning produced new dilemmas. But that which was worse than all this, he received those of the Irish nation of the best quality, and who were of the privy council and chief command in that kingdom, so superciliously; received their information so negligently, and gave his answers so scornfully; that after they had waited upon him four or five days, they besought the king that they might not be obliged

to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his carriage towards them was not to be submitted to by persons of his own quality, or of any liberal education: nor did he make any advance towards the business.

This gave the king very great trouble, and them as much pleasure who had never liked the designation. He knew not what to do with his deputy, nor what to do for Ireland. The lord Roberts was not a man that was to be disgraced and thrown off, without much inconvenience and hazard. He had parts which in council and parliament (which were the two scenes where all the king's business lay) were very troublesome; for of all men alive who had so few friends, he had the most followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many humours which were very intolerable; they who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a man of much knowledge, and called his morosity gravity, and thought the severity of his manners made him less grateful to the courtiers. He had no such advantageous faculties in his delivery, as could impose upon his auditors; but he was never tedious, and his words made impression. In a word, he was such a man as the king thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his majesty appointed the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him to accept the office of privy seal, which gave him a great precedence that would gratify that passion which was strongest in him; for in his nature he preferred place before money, which his fortune stood more in need of. And the king thought, it would be no ill argument to incline him to give over the thought of Ireland, that it was impossible for the king to supply him for the present with near any such sum of money as he had very reasonably demanded, for the satisfaction of the army there, (which was upon the matter to be new modelled, and some part of it disbanded,) with the reduction of many officers, and for his own equipage.

They began their approach to him, by asking him "when he would be ready for his journey to Ireland;" to which he answered with some quickness, "that he was confident there was no purpose to send him thither, for that he saw there was no preparation of those things, without which the king knew well that it was not possible for him to go; nor had his majesty lately spoken to him of it. Besides, he had observed, that the chancellor had for many days past called him at the council, and in all other places where they met, by the name of lord Roberts; whereas, for some months before, he had upon all occasions and in all places treated him with the style of lord deputy: which gave him first cause to believe, that there was some alteration in the purpose of sending him thither." They both assured him, "that the king had no other person in his view but himself for that service, if he were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that the king had forbore lately to speak with him of it, because he found it impossible for him to provide the money he proposed; and it could not be denied, that he had proposed it very reasonably in all respects. However, it being impossible to procure it, and that he could not go without it, for which he could not be blamed, his majesty must find

“some other expedient to send his authority thither, the government there being yet so loose, that he could not but every day expect to receive news of some great disorder there, the ill consequence whereof would be imputed to his majesty’s want of care and providence. That his majesty had yet forbore to think of that expedient, till he might do it with his consent and advice, and until he could resolve upon another post, where he might serve his majesty with equal honour, and by which the world might see the esteem he had of him. And therefore since it would be both unreasonable and unjust, to press him to go for Ireland without those supplies, and it was equally impossible to prepare and send those supplies;” they said, “the king had commanded them to propose to him, that he would make him lord privy seal, an office he well understood. And if he accepted that and were possessed of it, (as he should immediately be,) his majesty would enter upon new considerations how to settle the tottering condition of Ireland.”

The lord’s dark countenance presently cleared up, having no doubt expected to be deprived of his title to Ireland, without being assigned any other any where else: and now being offered the third place of precedence in the nobility, the privy seal going next to the treasurer, upon a very short recollection, he declared “that he received it as a great honour, that the king would make [use] of his service in any place, and that he submitted wholly to his good pleasure, and would serve him with great fidelity.” The next day the king gave him the privy seal at the council-board, where he was sworn and took his place; and to shew his extraordinary talent, found a way more to obstruct and puzzle business, at least the despatch of it, than any man in that office had ever done before: insomuch as the king found himself compelled, in a short time after, to give order that most grants and patents, which required haste, should pass by immediate warrant to the great seal, without visiting the privy seal; which preterition was not usual, and brought some inconvenience and prejudice to the chancellor.

Though the king had within himself a prospect of the expedient, that would be fittest for him to make use of for the present, towards the settlement of Ireland; yet it was absolutely necessary for him, even before he could make use of that expedient, to put the several claims and petitions of right which were depending before him, and which were attended with such an unruly number of suitors, into some such method of examining and determining, that they might not be left in the confusion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his imposing upon himself the trouble of hearing once at large, all that every party of the pretenders could allege for the support of their several pretences: and this he did with incredible patience for very many days together. We shall first mention those interests, which gave the king least trouble, because they admitted least debate.

It was looked upon as very scandalous, that the marquis of Ormond should remain so long without the possession of any part of his estate; which had been taken from him upon no other pretence, but his adhering to the king. And therefore there was an act of parliament passed with the consent of all parties, that he should be presently restored

to all his estate; which was done with the more ease, because the greatest part of it (for his wife’s land had been before assigned to her in Cromwell’s time, or rather in his son Harry’s) lay within that province, which Cromwell out of his husbandry had reserved for himself, exempt from all title or pretence of adventurer or soldier: what other part of his estate either the one or the other were possessed of, in their own judgments [it] was so impossible for them to enjoy, that they very willingly yielded it up to the marquis, in hope of having recompense made to them out of other lands. There could as little be said against the restoration of the earl of Inchiquin to his estate, which had been taken from him and distributed amongst the adventurers and soldiers, for no other cause but his serving the king. There were likewise some others of the same *classis*, who had nothing objected to them but their loyalty, who were put into the possession of their own estates. And all this gave no occasion of murmur; every man of what interest soever believing, or pretending to believe, that the king was obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to cause that right to be done to those who served him faithfully.

There could be as little doubt, and there was as little opposition visible, in the claim of the church: so that the king made choice of many grave divines, to whom he assigned bishoprics in Ireland, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the bishops who remained alive there according to the laws of that kingdom; and conferred the other dignities and church-preferments upon worthy men, who were all authorized to enter upon those lands, which belonged to their several churches. And in this general zeal for the church, some new grants were made of lands and impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great interruption to the settlement of the kingdom, and brought envy upon the church and churchmen, when the restoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

The pretences of the adventurers and soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: yet they gave the king little other trouble, than the general care and solicitude, that by an unseasonable disturbance of their possessions there, the soldiers who had been disbanded and those of the standing army (who for the most part had the same ill affections) might not unite together, and seize upon some places of defence, before his affairs in that kingdom should be put in such an order as to oppose them. And next that apprehension, his majesty had no mind that any of those soldiers, either who had been disbanded, and put into possession of lands for the arrears of their pay, and upon which they now lived; or of the other, the standing army, many whereof were likewise in possession of lands assigned to them; I say, the king was not without apprehension, that the resort of either of these into England might find too many of their old friends and associates, ready to concur with them in any desperate [measures,] and for controlling of which he was [not] enough provided even in this kingdom. But for their private and particular interest, the king cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the danger if it were not compounded. For besides the factions, divisions, and animosities, which were between themselves,

and very great; they could have no cause of complaint against the king, who would take nothing from them to which they had the least pretence of law or right. And for their other demands, he would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all men, that there must be some judicatory erected by act of parliament, that only could examine and put an end to all those pretences: and the perusal and examination of which act of parliament, when the same should be prepared, his majesty resolved that all parties should have, and that he would hear their particular exceptions to it, before he would transmit it into Ireland to be passed.

That which gave the king the only trouble and solicitude, was the miserable condition of the Irish nation, that was so near an extirpation; the thought whereof his majesty's heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the indignation he had against those, in whose favour the other poor people were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural compassion and tenderness, and the just regard of the merit of many of them who had served him with fidelity, he had a very strong and princely inclination to do the best he could, without doing apparent injustice, to preserve them in a tolerable condition of subjects. This made him give them, who were most concerned and solicitous on their behalf, liberty to resort to his presence; and hear all they could allege for themselves, in private or in public. And this indulgence proved to their disadvantage, and exalted them so much, that when they were heard in public at the board, they behaved themselves with less modesty towards their adversaries, who stood upon the advantage-ground, and with less reverence in the presence of the king, than the truth of their condition and any ordinary discretion would have required. And their disadvantage was the greater, because they who spake publicly on their behalf, and were very well qualified to speak, and left nothing for the matter unsaid that was for their purpose, were men, who from the beginning to the end of the rebellion, had behaved themselves eminently ill towards the king. And they of their adversaries who spake against them, had great knowledge and experience of all that had passed on either side, and knew how to press it home when it was seasonable.

They of the Irish, who were all united under the name of the confederate catholics of Ireland, made their first approach wisely for compassion; and urged "their great and long sufferings; the loss of their estates for five or six and twenty years; the wasting and spending of the whole nation in battles, and transportation of vast multitudes of men into the parts beyond the seas, whereof many had the honour to testify their fidelity to the king by real services, and many of them returned into England with him, and were still in his service; the great numbers of men, women, and children, that had been massacred and executed in cold blood, after the king's government had been driven from thence; the multitudes that had been destroyed by famine and the plague, those two heavy judgments having raged over the kingdom for two or three years; and at last, as a persecution unheard of, the transplanting the small remainder of the nation into one corner of the province of Connaught, where yet much of the lands was

"taken from them, which had been assigned with all those formalities of law, which were in use, and practised under that government."

2. They demanded "the benefit of two treaties of peace, the one in the late king's time and confirmed by him, the other confirmed by his majesty who was present; by both which," they said, "they stood indemnified for all acts done by them in the rebellion; and insisted upon their innocence since that time, and that they had paid so entire an obedience to his majesty's commands whilst he was beyond the seas, that they betook themselves to, and withdrew themselves from, the service of France or Spain, in such manner as his majesty signified his pleasure what they should do." And if they had ended here, they would have done wisely. But whether it was the observation they made, that what they had said made impression upon his majesty and many of the lords; or whether it was their evil genius that naturally transported them to actions of strange sottishness and indiscretion; they urged and enforced, with more liberty than became them in that conjuncture, "the unworthiness and incapacity of those, who for so many years had possessed themselves of their estates, and sought now a confirmation of their rebellious title from his majesty."

3. "That their rebellion had been more infamous and of a greater magnitude than that of the Irish, who had risen in arms to free themselves from the rigour and severity that was exercised upon them by some of the king's ministers, and for the liberty of their conscience and practice of their religion, without having the least intention or thought of withdrawing themselves from his majesty's obedience, or declining his government: whereas the others had carried on an odious rebellion against the king's sacred person, whom they had horridly murdered in the sight of the sun, with all imaginable circumstances of contempt and defiance, and as much as in them lay had rooted out monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole government of church and state: and therefore that whatever punishment the poor Irish had deserved for their former transgressions, which they had so long repented of, and departed from the rebellion when they had armies and strong towns in their hands, which they, together with themselves, had put again under his majesty's protection; whereas this part of the English, who were possessed of their estates, had broken all their obligations to God and the king, and so could not merit to be gratified with their ruin and total destruction. That it was too evident and notorious to the world, that his majesty's three kingdoms had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn themselves from his government; by which he had been compelled to live in exile so many years: and yet, that upon their return to their duty and obedience, he had been graciously pleased to grant a free and general pardon and act of indemnity in which many were comprehended, who in truth had been the contrivers and fomenters of all the misery and desolation, which had involved the three nations for so many years. And therefore that they hoped, that when all his majesty's other subjects (as criminal at least as they were) were, by his ma-

“jesty’s clemency, restored to their own estates which they had forfeited, and were in full peace, mirth, and joy; the poor Irish alone should not be totally exempt from all his majesty’s grace, and left in tears and mourning and lamentation, and be sacrificed without redemption to the avarice and cruelty of those, who had not only spoiled and oppressed them, but had done all that was in their power, and with all the insolence imaginable, to destroy the king himself and his posterity, and who now returned to their obedience, and had submitted to his government, when they were no longer able to oppose it. Nor did they yet return to it with that alacrity and joy and resignation as the Irish did, but insisted obstinately upon demands unreasonable, and which they hoped could not consist with his majesty’s honour to grant:” and so concluded with those pathetic applications and appeals to the king, as men well versed in discourses of that nature are accustomed to.

This discourse, carried on and urged with more passion, vehemence, and indiscretion, than was suitable to the condition they were in, and in which, by the excesses of their rhetoric, they had let fall many expressions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in some of them confidently excused if not justified their first entrance into rebellion, (the most barbarous certainly and inexcusable, that any Christians have been engaged in in any age,) irreconciled many to them who had compassion enough for them, and made it impossible for the king to restrain their adversaries, who were prepared to answer all they had said, from using the same license. They enlarged upon all the odious circumstances of the first year’s rebellion, the murdering of above a hundred thousand persons in cold blood, and with all the barbarity imaginable; which murders and barbarities had been always excepted from pardon.” And they told them, “that if there were not some amongst themselves who then appeared before his majesty, they were sure there would be found many amongst those for whom they appeared, who would be found guilty of those odious crimes, which were excluded from any benefit by those treaties.” They took notice, “how confidently they had extolled their own innocence from the time that those two acts of pacification had passed, and their great affection for his majesty’s service.” And thereupon they declared, “that whatsoever legal title the adventurers had to the lands of which they were possessed, many of whom had constantly served the king; yet they would be contented, that all those, who in truth had preserved their integrity towards his majesty from the time of either if not of both the pacifications, and not swerved afterwards from their allegiance, should partake of his royal bounty, in such a manner and to such a degree, as his majesty thought fit to exercise towards them. But,” they said, “they would make it appear, that their pretences to that grace and favour were not founded upon any reasonable title; that they had never consented to any one act of pacification, to which the promise of indemnity had been annexed, which they had not violated and broken within ten days after, and then returned to all the acts of disloyalty and rebellion.

“That after the first act of pacification ratified by the last king, in very few days after, they treated the herald, his majesty’s officer, who came to proclaim that peace, with all manner of indignity, tearing his coat of arms (the king’s arms) from his back; and beat and wounded him so, that he was hardly rescued from the loss of his life. That about the same time they endeavoured to surprise and murder the lord lieutenant, and pursued him to Dublin, which they forthwith besieged with their army, under the command of that general who had signed the peace. They imprisoned their commissioners who were authorized by them, for consenting to those articles which themselves had confirmed, and so prosecuted the war with as much asperity as ever; and refused to give that aid and assistance they were obliged to, for the recovery and restoration of his late majesty; the promise and expectation of which supply and assistance, was the sole ground and consideration of that treaty, and of the concessions therein made to them. That they thereupon more formally renounced their obedience to the king, and put themselves under the protection and disposal of Rinuccini, the pope’s nuncio, whom they made their generalissimo of all their armies, their admiral at sea, and to preside in all their councils. After their divisions amongst themselves, and the burden of the tyranny they suffered under, had disposed them to petition his majesty that now is, who was then in France, to receive them into his protection, and to send the marquis of Ormond over again into Ireland to command them, and his majesty was so far prevailed with, as that he sent the marquis of Ormond into Munster, with such a supply of arms and ammunition as he could get; where the lord Inchiquin, lord president of that province, received him with the protestant army and joined with him: and shortly after, the confederate Irish made that second treaty of pacification, of which they now demanded the benefit. But that it was notoriously known, that they no sooner made that treaty than they brake it, in not bringing in those supplies of men and money, which they ought and were obliged to do; and the want whereof exposed the lord lieutenant to many difficulties, and was in truth the cause of the misfortune before Dublin: which he had no sooner undergone, than they withdrew from taking any further care of the kingdom, [and] raised scandals upon and jealousies of the whole body of the English, who, being so provoked, could no longer venture themselves in any action or conjunction with the Irish, without more apprehension of them than of the common enemy.

“Instead of endeavouring to compose these jealousies and ill humours, they caused an assembly or convention of their clergy to meet without the lord lieutenant’s authority, and put the government of all things into their hands: who, in a short time, improved the jealousies in the mind of the people towards the few protestants who yet remained in the army, and who had served the king with all imaginable courage and fidelity from the very first hour of the rebellion, to that degree, that the marquis was even compelled to discharge his own troop of guards of

" horse, consisting of such officers and gentle-
 " men as are mentioned before, and to trust him-
 " self and all the remaining towns and garrisons
 " to the fidelity of the Irish; they protesting with
 " much solemnity, that upon such a confidence,
 " the whole nation would be united as one man
 " to his majesty's service, under his command.
 " But they had no sooner received satisfaction in
 " that particular, (which was not in the marquis's
 " power to refuse to give them,) but they raised
 " several calumnies against his person, declaimed
 " against his religion, and inhibited the people,
 " upon pain of excommunication, to submit to
 " this and that order that was issued out by the
 " marquis, without obeying whereof the army
 " could not stay together; and upon the matter
 " forbade the people to pay any obedience to him.
 " Instead of raising new forces according to their
 " last promise and engagement, those that were
 " raised ran from their colours and dispersed
 " themselves; they who were trusted with the
 " keeping of towns and forts, either gave them
 " up by treachery to Cromwell, or lost them
 " through cowardice to him upon very feeble at-
 " tacks: and their general, Owen O'Neile, made
 " a formal contract and stipulation with the parlia-
 " ment. And in the end, when they had divested
 " the lord lieutenant of all power to oppose the
 " enemy, and given him great cause to believe
 " that his person was in danger to be betrayed,
 " and delivered up to the enemy, they vouchsafed
 " to petition him that he would depart out of the
 " kingdom, (to the necessity whereof they had
 " even already compelled him,) and that he would
 " leave his majesty's authority in the hands of one
 " of his catholic subjects, to whom they promised
 " to submit with the most punctual obedience.

" Hereupon the marquis, when he found that
 " he could not unite them in any one action wor-
 " thy the duty of good subjects, or of prudent
 " men, towards their own preservation; and so,
 " that his residence amongst them longer could
 " in no degree contribute to his majesty's service
 " or honour; and that they would make it to be
 " believed, that if he would have committed the
 " command into the hands of a Roman catholic,
 " they would have been able to preserve those
 " towns which still remained in their possession,
 " which were Limerick and Galway, and some
 " other places of importance enough, though of
 " less than those cities; and that they would
 " likewise by degrees recover from the enemy
 " what had been lost, which indeed was very pos-
 " sible for them to have done, since they had
 " great bodies of men to perform any enterprise,
 " and some good officers to lead them, if they
 " would have been obedient to any command:
 " hereupon the marquis resolved to gratify them,
 " and to place the command in the hands of such
 " a person, whose zeal for the catholic religion
 " was unquestionable, and whose fidelity to the
 " king [was] unblemished. And so he made
 " choice of the marquis of Clanrickard, a gentle-
 " man, though originally of English extraction,
 " whose family had for so many hundred years
 " resided in that kingdom, that he was looked
 " upon as being of the best family of the Irish;
 " and whose family had, in all former rebellions,
 " as well as in this last, preserved its loyalty to
 " the crown not only unspotted, but eminently
 " conspicuous.

" The Roman catholics of all kinds pretended
 " at least a wonderful satisfaction and joy in this
 " election; acknowledged it as a great obligation
 " upon them and their posterity to the lord lieu-
 " tenant, for making so worthy a choice; and
 " applied themselves to the marquis of Clanrick-
 " ard with all the protestations of duty and sub-
 " mission, to induce him to accept the charge
 " and command over them; who indeed knew
 " them too well to be willing to trust them, or to
 " have any thing to do with them. Yet upon the
 " marquis of Ormond's earnest and solemn en-
 " treaty, as the last and only remedy to keep and
 " retain some remainder of hope, from whence
 " future hopes might grow; whereas all other
 " thoughts were desperate, and the kingdom
 " would presently fall into the hands and posses-
 " sion of the English, who would extirpate the
 " whole nation: this importunity, and his great
 " zeal for the service of the crown, and to support
 " the government there until his majesty should
 " procure other supplies, which the marquis of
 " Ormond promised to solicit in France, or till
 " his majesty should send better orders to pre-
 " serve his authority in that kingdom, (the hope
 " of which seemed the less desperate, because
 " they had notice at the same time of his majes-
 " ty's march into England, with an army from
 " Scotland,) prevailed with him so, that he was
 " contented to receive such commissions from the
 " lord lieutenant, as were necessary for the execu-
 " tion of the present command. Upon which the
 " lord lieutenant embarked himself, with some
 " few friends and servants, upon a little rotten
 " pink that was bound for France, and very ill
 " accommodated for such a voyage; being not to
 " be persuaded to send to the commander in chief
 " of the English for a pass, though he was as-
 " sured that it would very readily have been
 " granted: but it pleased God that he arrived
 " safely in France, a little before or about the
 " time that the king transported himself thither,
 " after his miraculous escape from Worcester.

" The marquis of Ormond was no sooner gone
 " out of Ireland, but the lord marquis of Clanric-
 " kard, then lord deputy, found himself no better
 " treated than the lord of Ormond had been. That
 " part of the clergy, which had continually op-
 " posed the lord lieutenant for being a protestant,
 " were now as little satisfied with the deputy's
 " religion, and as violently contradicted all his
 " commands and desires, and violated all their
 " own promises, and quickly made it evident,
 " that his affection and loyalty to the king was
 " that which they disliked, and a crime that could
 " not be balanced by the undoubted sincerity of
 " his religion. They entered into secret corre-
 " spondence with the enemy, and conspiracies be-
 " tween themselves: and though there were some
 " persons of honour and quality with the deputy,
 " who were very faithful to him and to the king;
 " yet there were so many of another alloy, that all
 " his counsels, resolutions, and designs, were dis-
 " covered to the enemy soon enough to be pre-
 " vented. And though some of the letters were
 " intercepted, and the persons discovered who
 " gave the intelligence, he had not power to bring
 " them to justice; but being commonly friars and
 " clergymen, the privilege of the church was in-
 " sisted upon, and so they were rescued from the
 " secular prosecution till their escape was con-

“trived. That perfidious and treacherous party
“had so great an interest in all the towns, forts,
“and garrisons, which yet pretended to be sub-
“ject to the deputy, that all his orders were still
“contradicted or neglected: and the enemy no
“sooner appeared before any place, but some fac-
“tion in the town caused it to be given up and
“rendered.

“Nor could this fatal sottishness be reformed,
“even by the severity and rigour which the Eng-
“lish exercised upon them, who, by the wonder-
“ful judgment of God Almighty, always put those
“men to death, who put themselves and those
“towns into their hands; finding still that they
“had some barbarous part in the foul murders,
“which had been committed in the beginning of
“the rebellion, and who had been, by all the acts
“of grace granted by the several powers, still re-
“served for justice. And of this kind there would
“be so many instances in and about Limerick and
“Galway, that they deserve to be collected and
“mentioned in a discourse by itself, to observe
“and magnify the wonderful providence of God
“Almighty in bringing heinous crimes to light
“and punishment in this world, by means unap-
“prehended by the guilty; insomuch as it can
“hardly be believed, how many of the clergy and
“the laity, who had a signal hand in the contriv-
“ing and fomenting the first rebellion, and in the
“perpetration of those horrible murders; and
“who had obstructed all overtures toward peace,
“and principally caused any peace that was made
“to be presently broken; who had with most
“passion adhered to the nuncio, and endeavoured
“most maliciously to exclude the king and his
“posterity from the dominion of Ireland; I say,
“it can hardly be believed, how many of these
“most notorious transgressors did by some act of
“treachery endeavour to merit from the English
“rebels, and so put themselves into their hands,
“and were by them publicly and reproachfully
“executed and put to death.

“This being the sad condition the deputy was
“in, and the Irish having, without his leave and
“against his express command, taken upon them
“to send messengers into Flanders, to desire the
“duke of Lorraine to take them into his protec-
“tion, and offered to deliver several important
“places and sea-towns into his possession, and to
“become his subjects, (upon which the duke sent
“over an ambassador, and a good sum of money
“for their present relief,) the deputy was in a
“short time reduced to those straits, that he durst
“not remain in any town, nor even in his own
“house three days together, but was forced for
“his safety to shift from place to place, and some-
“times to lodge in the woods and fields in cold
“and wet nights; by which he contracted those
“infirmities and diseases, which shortly after
“brought him to his grave. And in the end,
“he was compelled to accept a pass from the
“English, who had a reverence for his person
“and his unspotted reputation, to transport him-
“self into England, where his wife and family
“were; and where he died before he could pro-
“cure means to carry himself to the king, which
“he always intended to do.”

When the commissioners had enlarged with
some commotion in this narration and discourse,
they again provoked the Irish commissioners to
nominate “one person amongst themselves, or of

“those for whom they appeared, who they be-
“lieved could in justice demand his majesty’s
“favour; and if they did not make it evidently
“appear, that he had forfeited all his title to par-
“don after the treaties, and that he had been
“again as faulty to the king as before, they were
“very willing he should be restored to his estate.”
And then applying themselves to his majesty with
great duty and submission, they concluded, “that
“if any persons had, by their subsequent [loyal-
“ty] or service, or by their attendance upon his
“majesty beyond the seas, rendered themselves
“grateful to him, and worthy of his royal favour,
“they were very willing that his majesty should
“restore all or any of them to their honours or
“estates, in such manner as his majesty thought
“fit, and against all impediments whatsoever.”
And upon this frank offer of theirs, which his
majesty took very well, several acts of parliament
were presently passed, for the indemnity and the
restoring many persons of honour and interest to
their estates; who could either in justice require
it, as having been faithful always to the king, and
suffered with him or for him; or who had so far
manifested their affection and duty for his majes-
ty, that he thought fit, in that consideration, to
wipe out the memory of whatsoever had been
formerly done amiss. And by this means, many
were put into a full possession of their estates, to
which they could make any good pretence at the
time when the rebellion began.

This consideration and debate upon the settle-
ment of this unhappy kingdom took up many
days, the king being always present, in which
there arose every day new difficulties. And it ap-
peared plainly enough, that the guilt was so gene-
ral, that if the letter of the act of parliament of the
seventeenth year of the late king were strictly
pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the
reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole
reign of that king, even an utter extirpation of the
nation would have followed.

There were three particulars, which, upon the
first mention and view of them, seemed in most
men’s eyes worthy of his majesty’s extraordinary
compassion and interposition; and yet upon a
stricter examination were found as remediless as
any of the rest. One was; “the condition of that
“miserable people, which was likewise very nu-
“merous, that was transplanted into Connaught;
“who had been removed from their own posses-
“sions in other provinces, with such circum-
“stances of tyranny and cruelty, that their own
“consents obtained afterwards with that force
“could not reasonably be thought any confirma-
“tion of their unjust title, who were in possession
“of their lands.”

To this it was answered, “that though it was
“acted in an irregular manner, and without law-
“ful authority, it being in a time of usurpation;
“yet that the act itself was very prudent and ne-
“cessary, and an act of mercy, without which an
“utter extirpation of the nation must have fol-
“lowed, if the kingdom were to be preserved in
“peace. That it cannot be denied to be an act of
“mercy, since there was not one man transplant-
“ed, who had not by the law forfeited all the
“estate he had; and his life might have been as
“legally taken from him: so that both his life,
“and whatever estate he had granted to him in
“Connaught, was from the pure bounty of the

“state, which might and did by the act of parliament seize upon the same. That, beside the unsteady humour of that people, and their natural inclination to rebel, it was notorious, that whilst they were dispersed over the kingdom, though all their forces had been so totally subdued, that there was not throughout the whole kingdom a visible number of twenty men together, who pretended to be in arms; yet there were daily such disorders committed by thefts and robberies and murders, that they could not be said to be in peace. Nor could the English, man, woman, or child, go one mile from their habitations upon their necessary employment, but they were found murdered and stripped by the Irish, who lay in wait for those purposes; so that the people were very hardly restrained from committing a massacre upon them wherever they were met: so that there appeared no other way to prevent an utter extirpation of them, but to confine and restrain them within such limits and bounds, that might keep them from doing mischief, and thereby make them safe. That thereupon this expedient was laid hold of. And whereas they had nothing to enable them to live upon in the places where they were dispersed, they had now by this transplantation into Connaught lands given them, sufficient with their industry to live well upon; of which there was good evidence, by their having lived well there since that time, and many of them much better than they had ever done before. And the state, which had done this grace for them, had great reason, when it gave them good titles to the land assigned to them, which they might plead in any court of justice, to require from them releases of what they had forfeited; which, though to the public of no use or validity, were of benefit and behooveful to many particular persons, for the quieting their possessions against frivolous suits and claims which might start up. That this transplantation had been acted, finished, and submitted to by all parties, who had enjoyed the benefit thereof, quietly and without disturbance, many years before the king’s return: and the soldiers and adventurers had been likewise so many years in the possession of their lots, in pursuance of the act of parliament, and had laid out so much money in building and planting, that the consequence of such an alteration as was now proposed would be the highest confusion imaginable.”

And it cannot be denied, that if the king could have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken those advantages upon former miscarriages and misapplications, as according to the strictness of that very law he might have done; the whole foundation, upon which all the hopes rested of preserving that kingdom within the obedience to the crown of England, must have been shaken and even dissolved; with no small influence and impression upon the peace and quiet of England itself. For the memory of the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland (how many other rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in respect of the consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole people of England, as it had been the first year. And though no man durst avow so unchristian a wish, as an extirpation

of them, (which they would have been very well contented with;) yet no man dissembled his opinion, that it was the only security the English could have in that kingdom, that the Irish should be kept so low, that they should have no power to hurt them.

Another particular, that seemed more against the foundation of justice, was; “that the soldiers and adventurers expected and promised themselves, that in this new settlement that was under debate, all entails and settlements at law should be destroyed, whether upon consideration of marriage, or any other contracts which had been made before the rebellion. Nor had there been in the whole former proceedings in the time of the usurpation, any consideration taken of mortgages or debts due by statute or recognizance, or upon any other security; so that all such debts must be either lost to the proprietors, or remain still with the interest upon the land, whoever had enjoyed the benefit or profits thereof.” All which seemed to his majesty very unreasonable and unjust; and that such estates should remain forfeited by the treason of the father, who had been only tenant for life, against all descents and legal titles of innocent children; and of which, in all legal attainders, the crown never had or could receive any benefit.

Yet, how unreasonable soever these pretences seemed to be, it was no easy matter to give rules and directions for the remedy of the mischief, without introducing another mischief equally unjust and unreasonable. For the commissioners declared, “that if such titles, as are mentioned, were preserved and allowed to be good, there would not in that universal guilt, which upon the matter comprehended and covered the whole Irish nation, be one estate forfeited by treason, but such conveyances and settlements would be produced to secure and defend the same: and though they would be forged, there would not be witnesses wanting to prove and justify whatsoever the evidence could be applied to. And if those trials were to be by the known rules and customs of the law in cases of the like nature, there was too much reason to suspect and fear that there would be little justice done: since a jury of Irish would infallibly find against the English, let the evidence be what it could be; and there was too much reason to apprehend that the English, whose animosity was not less, would be as unjust in bringing in their verdict against the Irish, right or wrong.” And there was experience afterwards, in the prosecution of this affair, of such forgeries and perjuries, as have not been heard of amongst Christians; and in which, to our shame, the English were not behindhand with the Irish. The king however thought it not reasonable or just for him, upon what probable suggestions soever, to countenance such a barefaced violation of the law, by any declaration of his; but commanded his council at law to make such alterations in the expressions as might be fit for him to consent to.

The third particular, and which much affected the king, was; “that in this universal joy for his restoration without blood, and with the indemnity of so many hundred thousands who had deserved to suffer the utmost punishments, the poor Irish, after so long sufferings in the

"greatest extremity of misery, should be the only persons who should find no benefit or ease by his majesty's restoration, but remain robbed and spoiled of all they had, and be as it were again sacrificed to the avarice and cruelty of them, who had not deserved better of his majesty than the other poor people had done."

To which there can be no other answer made, which is very sufficient in point of justice, but that, "as their rebellion and other crimes had been long before his majesty's time, so full vengeance had been executed upon them; and they had paid the penalties of their crimes and transgressions before his majesty's return: so that he could not restore that which they called their own, without taking it from them, who were become the just owners by an act of parliament; which his majesty could not violate without injustice, and breach of the faith he had given."

And that which was their greatest misery and reproach, and which distinguished them from the subjects of the other two kingdoms, who were otherwise bad enough, was; that both the other nations had made many noble attempts for redeeming their liberty, and for the restoration of his majesty, (for Scotland itself had done much towards it;) and his present restoration was, with God's blessing, and only with his blessing, by the sole effects of the courage and affection of his own subjects: so that England and Scotland had in a great degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiss by them; and his majesty had improved and secured those affections to him by those promises and concessions, which he was in justice obliged to perform. But the miserable Irish alone had no part in contributing to his majesty's happiness; nor had God suffered them to be the least instruments in bringing his good pleasure to pass, or to give any testimony of their repentance for the wickedness they had wrought, or of their resolution to be better subjects for the future: so that they seemed as a people left out by Providence, and exempted from any benefit from that blessed conjuncture in his majesty's restitution.

And this disadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent manifestation of an inveterate animosity against the English nation and English government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable jealousy of all the English towards them. And to this their present behaviour and imprudence contributed very much: for it appeared evidently, that they expected the same concessions (which the necessity of that time had made fit to be granted to them) in respect of their religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this temper made it very necessary for the king to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary favours (which his natural merciful inclination prompted him to) to the Irish; and to prefer the general interest of his three kingdoms, before the particular interest of a company of unhappy men, who had foolishly forfeited their own; though he pitied them, and hoped in the conclusion to be able, without exposing the public peace to manifest hazard, in some degree to improve their condition.

Upon the whole matter, the king found, that if he deferred to settle the government of Ireland till a perfect settlement of all particular interests

could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once; and that there must be some examinations taken there, and some matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his majesty could make his determination upon those particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment; and that some difficulties would be removed or lessened by time: and so he passed that which is called the first act of settlement; and was persuaded to commit the execution thereof to a great number of commissioners, recommended to his majesty by those who were most conversant in the affairs of Ireland; none or very few of which were known to his majesty, or to any of those who had been so many years from their country, in their constant attendance upon his majesty's person beyond the seas.

And for the better countenance of this commission, and likewise to restrain the commissioners from any excess, if their very large jurisdiction should prove a temptation to them, the king thought fit to commit the sword to three justices, which he had resolved when the sending the lord Roberts was declined. Those three were, sir Morrice Eustace, whom he newly made lord chancellor of Ireland, the lord Broghill, whom he now made earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, whom he likewise made earl of Montrath. The first had been his sergeant at law long in that kingdom, and had been eminent in the profession of the law, and the more esteemed for being always a protestant, though an Irishman, and of approved fidelity to the king during this whole rebellion. But he was now old, and made so little show of any parts extraordinary, that, but for the testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether he ever had any. The other two had been both eminently against the king, but upon this turn, when all other powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull, and very avaricious. But the king had not then power to choose any, against whom some as material objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much good. With them, there were too many others upon whom honours were conferred; upon some, that they might do no harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that they might not murmur, who murmured the more for having nothing given them but honour: and so they were all despatched for Ireland; by which the king had some ease, his service little advancement.

After a year was spent in the execution of this commission, (for I shall, without discontinuing the relation, say all that I intend upon this subject of Ireland,) there was very little done towards the settling the kingdom, or towards preparing any thing that might settle it; but on the contrary, the breaches were made wider, and so much passion and injustice shewed, that complaints were brought to his majesty from all parts of the kingdom, and from all persons in authority there. The number of the commissioners was so great, and their interests so different, that they made no despatch. Very many of them were in possession of those lands, which others sued for before them; and they themselves bought broken titles and pretences of other men, for inconsiderable sums of money, which they supported and made good by their own authority. Such of the commissioners,

who had their own particular interest and concernment depending, attended the service very diligently: the few who were more equal and just, because they had no interest of their own at stake, were weary of their attendance and expense, (there being no allowance for their pains;) and, offended at the partiality and injustice which they saw practised, withdrew themselves, and would be no longer present at those transactions which they could not regulate or reform.

All interests were equally offended and incensed; and the soldiers and adventurers complained no less of the corruption and injustice than the Irish did: so that the lords justices and council thought it necessary to transmit another bill to his majesty, which, as I remember, they called an explanatory bill of the former; and in that they provided, "that no person who lived in Ireland, or had any pretence to an estate there, should be employed as a commissioner; but that his majesty should be desired to send over a competent number of well qualified persons out of England to attend that service, upon whom a fit salary should be settled by the bill; and such rules set down as might direct and govern the manner of their proceeding; and that an oath might be prescribed by the bill, which the commissioners should take, for the impartial administration of justice, and for the prosecution and execution of this bill," which was transmitted as an act by the king. His majesty made choice of seven gentlemen of very clear reputations; one of them being an eminent sergeant at law, whom he made a judge upon his return from thence; two others, lawyers of very much esteem; and the other four, gentlemen of very good extractions, excellent understandings, and above all suspicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base temptation.

But this second bill, before it could be transmitted, took up as much time as the former. The same numerous retinue of all interests from Ireland attended the king; and all that had been said in the former debates was again repeated, and almost with the same passion and impertinence. The Irish made large observations upon the proceedings of the late commissioners, to justify those fears and apprehensions which they had formerly urged: and there appeared too much reason to believe, that their greatest design now was, rather to keep off any settlement, than that they hoped to procure such a one as they desired; relying more to find their account from a general dissatisfaction, and the distraction and confusion that was like to attend it, than from any determination that was like to be in their favour. Yet they had friends in the court, who made them great promises; which they could not be without, since they made as great promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular men both of the soldiers and adventurers, who in respect of their many notorious and opprobrious actions against the crown throughout their whole employment, (and who even since his majesty's return had enough expressed how little they were satisfied with the revolution,) were so universally odious both in England and Ireland, that if their particular cases could have been severed from the rest, without violation of the rule of justice that secured all the

rest, any thing that could have been done to their detriment would have been grateful enough to every body.

After many very tedious debates, in which his majesty endeavoured by all the ways he could think of to find some expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable Irish from the extremity of misery; he found it necessary at last to acquiesce with a very positive assurance from the earl of Orrery and others, who were believed to understand Ireland very exactly, and who, upon the surveys that had been taken with great punctuality, undertook, "that there was land enough to satisfy all the soldiers and adventurers, and that there would be a very great proportion left for the accommodation of the Irish very liberally." And for the better improvement of that proportion, the king prescribed some rules and limitations to the immoderate pretences and demands of the soldiers and adventurers upon the doubling ordinance and imperfect admeasurement, and some other irregularities, with which his majesty was not in honour or justice obliged to comply with them: and so he transmitted this second bill.

Whilst this second bill was under deliberation, there fell out an accident in Ireland, which produced great alterations with reference to the affairs of that kingdom. The differences which had every day arisen between the three justices, and their different humours and affections, had little advanced the settling that government; so that there would have been a necessity of making some mutation in it: so that the death of the earl of Montrath, which happened at this time, fell out conveniently enough to the king; for by it the government was again loose. For the earl of Orrery was in England; and the power resided not in less than two: so that the chancellor, who remained single there, was without any authority to act. And they who took the most dispassioned survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that nothing could reasonably produce a settlement there, but the deputing one single person to exercise that government. And the duke of Albemarle himself, who had a great estate in that kingdom, which made him the more long for a settlement, and who had before the king's return and ever since dissuaded the king from thinking of employing the duke of Ormond there, who had himself aversion enough from that command, of which he had sufficient experience; I say, the general had now so totally changed his mind, that he plainly told the king, "that there was no way to explicate that kingdom out of those intricacies in which it was involved, but by sending over a lord lieutenant thither. That he thought it not fit for his majesty's service, that himself, who had that commission of lord lieutenant, should be absent from his person; and therefore that he was very ready and desirous to give up his commission: and that in his judgment nobody would be able to settle and compose the several factions in that kingdom, but the duke of Ormond, who he believed would be grateful to all sorts of people." And therefore he advised his majesty very positively, "that he would immediately give him the commission, and as soon as should be possible send him away into Ireland." And both the king and the general spake with the duke of Or-

mond, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the chancellor, who the king well knew would for many reasons, and out of his great friendship to the duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

And the king and the duke of Ormond came one day to the chancellor, to advise what was to be done for Ireland; and (concealing the resolution) the king told him what the general's advice was, and asked him "what he thought of sending the duke of Ormond his lieutenant into Ireland." To which the chancellor answered presently, "that the king would do very ill in sending him, and that the duke would do much worse, if he desired to go." Upon which they both smiled, and told him, "that the general had prevailed with the king, and the king with the duke; so that the matter was resolved, and there remained nothing to be done but preparing the instructions, which he must think upon."

The chancellor could not refrain from saying very warmly, "that he was sorry for it; and that it would be good for neither of them, that the duke should be from the king, or that he should be in Ireland, where he would be able to do no good. Besides that he had given himself so much to his ease and pleasure since he came into England, that he would never be able to take the pains, which that most laborious province would require." He said, "if this counsel had been taken when the king came first over, it might have had good success, when the duke was full of reputation, and of unquestionable interest in his majesty, and the king himself was more feared and revered than presumed upon: so that the duke would have had full authority to have restrained the exorbitant desires and expectations of all the several parties, who had all guilt enough upon their hearts to fear some rigour from the king, or to receive moderate grace with infinite submission and acknowledgment. But now the duke, besides his withdrawing himself from all business as much as he could, had let himself fall to familiarities with all degrees of men; and upon their averments had undertaken to protect, or at least to solicit men's interests, which it may be might not appear upon examination to be founded upon justice. And the king himself had been exposed to all manner of importunities, received all men's addresses, and heard all they would say; made many promises without deliberation, and appeared so desirous to satisfy all men, that he was irresolute in all things. And therefore till he had taken some firm and fixed resolutions himself, from which neither prejudice towards one man, nor pity and compassion on the behalf of another, should remove him; the lieutenant of Ireland would be able to do him little service, and would be himself continually exposed to scorn and affronts."

And afterwards the chancellor expostulated warmly with the duke of Ormond, (who well knew that all his commotion proceeded from the integrity of his unquestionable friendship,) and told him, "that he would repent this rash resolution; and that he would have been able to have contributed more to the settlement of Ireland, by being near the person of the king, than by being at Dublin, from whence in a short time

"there would be as many aspersions and reproaches sent hither, as had been against other men; and that he had no reason to be confident, that they would not make as deep impression by the arts and industry of his enemies, of which he had store, and would have more by being absent, for the court naturally had little regard for any man who was absent. And that he carried with him the same infirmity into Ireland with that of the king, which kept it from being settled here; which was, an unwillingness to deny any man what he could not but see was impossible to grant, and a desire to please every body, which whosoever affected should please nobody."

The duke, who never took any thing ill he said to him, told him, "that nobody knew better than he the aversion he had to that command, when it may be he might have undertaken it with more advantage." He confessed, "he saw many dangers with reference to himself, which he knew not how to avoid, and many difficulties with reference to the public, which he had little hope to overcome; yet Ireland must not be given over: yet since there seemed to be a general opinion, with which the king concurred, that he could be able to contribute to the composing the distempers, and the settling the government; he would not suspect himself, but believe that he might be able to do somewhat towards it." And he gave his word to him, "that nothing should be defective on his part in point of industry; for he was resolved to take indefatigable pains for a year or two, in which he hoped the settlement would be completed, that he might have ease and recreation for the other part of his life." And he confessed, "that he did the more willingly enter upon that province, that he might have the opportunity to settle his own fortune, which, how great soever in extent of lands, did not yet, by reason of the general unsettlement, yield him a quarter of the revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned himself, and the disadvantages he might undergo by his absence, he referred it to Providence and the king's good nature; who," he said, "knew him better than any of his enemies did; and therefore, he hoped, he would believe himself before them." However, the truth is, he was the more disposed to that journey, by the dislike he had of the court, and the necessary exercises which men there were to excel in, for which he was superannuated: and if he did not already discern any lessening of the king's grace towards him, he saw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few years after, he had cause to remember what the chancellor had foretold him of both their fortunes. The duke (with the seven commissioners who were appointed for that act of settlement, and all other persons who attended that interest) entered upon his journey from London about the end of July, in the year one thousand six hundred sixty and four, full four years and more after the king's happy return into England.

It was some months after the commissioners' arrival in Ireland, before they could settle those orders and rules for their proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the people should be appointed to attend. And it was as necessary that they should in the order of their judicatory first

proceed upon the demands and pretences of the Irish; both because there could be no settlement of soldiers or adventurers in possession of any lands, before the titles of the Irish to those lands were determined; and because there was a clause in the last act of parliament, that all the Irish should put in their claims by a day appointed, and that they should be determined before another day, which was likewise assigned; which days might be prolonged for once by the lord lieutenant, upon such reasons as satisfied him: so that the delay for so many months before the commissioners sat, gave great argument of complaint to the Irish, though it could not be avoided, in regard that the commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the king above twenty days before they began their journey into Ireland; so that they could never so much as read over the acts of parliament together, before they came to Dublin. And then they found so many difficult clauses in both acts of parliament, and so contrary to each other, that it was no easy matter to determine how to govern themselves in point of right, and to reduce themselves to any method in their proceedings.

But after they had adjusted all things as well as they could, they published their orders in what method they meant to proceed, and appointed the Irish to put in their claims by such a day, and to attend the prosecution of them accordingly. And they had no sooner entered upon their work, but the English thought they had began it soon enough. For they heard every day many of the Irish, who had been known to have been the most forward in the first beginning of the rebellion, and the most malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and deeds of settlement and entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reasonably be believed) before the former commissioners, if they had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the Irish were immediately put into the possession of a very great quantity of land taken from the English: so that in a short time the commissioners had rendered themselves as generally odious as the Irish, and were looked upon as persons corrupted for that interest, which had every day success almost in whatsoever they pretended. And their determinations happened to have the more of prejudice upon them, because the commissioners were always divided in their judgments. And it is no wonder, that they who seemed most to adhere to the English interest were most esteemed by them.

The parliament in Ireland was then sitting: and the house of commons, consisting of many members who were either soldiers or adventurers, or had the like interest, was very much offended at the proceedings of the commissioners, made many votes against them, and threatened them with their authority and jurisdiction. But the commissioners, who knew their own power, and that there was no appeal against their judgments, proceeded still in their own method, and continued to receive the claims of the Irish, beyond the time that the act of parliament or the act of state limited to them, as was generally understood. And during the last eight or ten days sitting upon those claims, they passed more judgments and determinations than in near a year before, indeed with very wonderful expedition; when the Eng-

lish, who were dispossessed by those judgments, had not their witnesses ready, upon a presumption, that in point of time it was not possible for those causes to come to be heard. By these sentences and decrees, many hundred thousands of acres were adjudged to the Irish, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the English had been long in possession accordingly.

This raised so great a clamour, that the English refused to yield possession upon the decrees of the commissioners, who, by an omission in the act of parliament, were not qualified with power enough to provide for the execution of their own sentences. The courts of law established in that kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any assistance to the commissioners. And the lord lieutenant and council, who had in the beginning, by their authority, put many into the possession of the lands which had been decreed to them by the commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that multitude of decrees that had lately passed: so that the Irish were using their utmost endeavours, by force to recover the possession of those lands which the commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the English were likewise resolved by force to defend what they had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the commissioners' determination. And the commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these proceedings, and with some intricate clauses in the act of parliament concerning the future proceedings; that, though they had not yet made any entrance upon the decision of the claims of the English or of the Irish protestants, they declared, "that they would proceed no further in the execution of their commission, until they could receive his majesty's further pleasure." And that they might the more effectually receive it, they desired leave from the king that they might attend his royal person; and there being at the same time several complaints made against them to his majesty, and appeals to him from their decrees, he gave the commissioners leave to return. And at the same time all the other interests sent their deputies to solicit their rights; in the prosecution whereof, after much time spent, the king thought fit likewise to receive the advice and assistance of his lieutenant: and so the duke of Ormond returned again to the court. And the settlement of Ireland was the third time brought before the king and council; there being then likewise transmitted a third bill, as additional and supplemental to the other two, and to reverse many of the decrees made by the commissioners, they bearing the reproach of all that had been done or had succeeded amiss, and from all persons who were grieved in what kind soever.

The king was very tender of the reputation of his commissioners, who had been always esteemed men of great probity and unquestionable reputation: and though he could not refuse to receive complaints, yet he gave those who complained no further countenance, than to give the others opportunity to vindicate themselves. Nor did there appear the least evidence to question the sincerity of their proceeding, or to make them liable to any reasonable suspicion of corruption: and the complaints were still prosecuted by those, who had that taken from them which they desired to keep for themselves.

The truth is, there is reason enough to believe, that upon the first arrival of the commissioners in Ireland, and some conversation they had, and the observation they made of the great bitterness and animosities from the English, both soldiers and adventurers, towards the whole Irish nation of what kind soever; the scandalous proceeding of the late commissioners upon the first act, when they had not been guided by any rules of justice, but rejected all evidence, which might operate to the taking away any thing from them which they resolved to keep, the judges themselves being both parties and witnesses in all the causes brought before them; together with the very ill reputation very many of the soldiers and adventurers had for extraordinary malice to the crown and to the royal family; and the notable barbarity they had exercised towards the Irish, who without doubt for many years had undergone the most cruel oppressions of all kind that can be imagined, many thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any house, to perish in the open fields for hunger; the infamous purchases which had been made by many persons, who had compelled the Irish to sell their remainders and lawful pretences for very inconsiderable sums of money; I say, these and many other particulars of this kind, together with some attempt that had been made upon their first arrival, to corrupt them against all pretences which should be made by the Irish, might probably dispose the commissioners themselves to such a prejudice against many of the English, and to such a compassion towards the Irish, that they might be much inclined to favour their pretences and claims; and to believe that the peace of the kingdom and his majesty's government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the lands of which they had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill-gotten titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable infidelity and malice against his majesty whilst they had any power to oppose him, and had not given any testimony of their conversion, or of their resolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire obedience after they could oppose him no longer; as if they desired only to retain those lands which they had gotten by rebellion, together with the principles by which they had gotten them, until they should have an opportunity to justify both by some new power, or a concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the Irish had received more favour than was expected or imagined.

And in the very entrance into the work, to avoid the partiality which was too apparent in the English towards each other, and their animosity against the Irish as evident, very strict rules had been set down by the commissioners, what kind of evidence they would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the evidence of no soldier or adventurer should be received in any case, to which himself was never so much a stranger;" as, if his own lot had fallen in Munster, and he had no pretence to any thing out of that province, his evidence should not be received, as to any thing that he had seen done in Leinster or Connaught or Ulster, wherein he was not at all concerned: which was generally thought to be a very unjust rule, after so many years expired, and so many persons dead, who

had likewise been present at those actions. And by this means many men were declared not to have been in rebellion, when there might have been full evidence, that they had been present in such and such a battle, and in such and such a siege, if the witnesses might have been received who were then present at those actions, and ready to give testimony of it, and of such circumstances as could not have been feigned, if their evidence might have been received.

That which raised the greatest umbrage against the commissioners was, that a great number of the most infamous persons of the Irish nation, who were looked upon by those of their own country with the greatest detestation, as men who had been the most violent fomenters and prosecutors of the rebellion, and the greatest opposers of all moderate counsels, and of all expedients which might have contributed towards a peace in the late king's time, (whereby the nation might have been redeemed,) and who had not had the confidence so much as to offer any claim before the late commissioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and so restored to their estates: and that many others, who in truth had never been in rebellion, but notoriously served the king against the rebels both in England and Ireland, and had never been put out of their estates, now upon some slight evidence, by the interception of letters, or confession of messengers that they had had correspondence with the rebels, (though it was evident that even that correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that they might pursue his majesty's service,) were condemned, and had their estates taken from them, by the judgment of the commissioners.

And of this I cannot forbear to give an instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a personal prejudice, upon what account soever, weighs and prevails against justice itself, even with men who are not in their natures friends to injustice. It was the case of the earl of Tyrconnell, and it was this. He was the younger son of the lord Fitzwilliams, a catholic lord in Ireland, but of ancient English extraction, of a fair estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the rebels; as very few of the English were. Oliver Fitzwilliams (who was the person we are now speaking of, and the younger son of that lord Fitzwilliams) had been sent by his father into France, to be there educated, many years before the rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome man, and by his courage had gotten a very good reputation in the French army; where, after he had spent some years in the *campagna*, he obtained the command of a regiment in which he had been first a captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent officer.

When the army was sent into winter quarters, he went to Paris, to kiss the hands of the queen of England, who was come thither the summer before, it being in the year 1644. Having often waited upon her majesty, he made many professions of duty and obedience to the king, and much condemned the rebellion of the Irish, and said, "he knew many of them were cozened and deceived by tales and lies, and had no purpose to withdraw themselves from his majesty's obedience." He made offer of his service to the queen, "and that, if she thought he might be able to do the king any service, he would immedi-

“ately go into England, and with his majesty’s approbation into Ireland, where, if he could do no other service, he was confident he could draw off many of the Irish from the service of the rebels.” The queen, upon the good reputation he had there, accepted his offer, and writ a letter by him to the king, with a very good character of his person, and as very fit to be trusted in Ireland.

It was his fortune to come to the king very few days before the battle of Naseby, where, as a volunteer in the troop of prince Rupert, he behaved himself with very signal courage in the view of the king himself; who shortly after gave him a letter full of recommendation and testimony to the marquis of Ormond, his lieutenant of Ireland, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all he intended to do, gave him leave to go into the Irish quarters, and to return again, as he thought fit. And in a short time after, both his father and his elder brother died; whereby both the title and the estate devolved to him, and he was possessed accordingly.

The man was before and in his nature elate and proud enough, had a greater value of himself than other men had, and a less of other men than they deserved, whereby he got not himself beloved by many; but nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the rebels, though they knew that he was often in their quarters, and had often conferences with them: and a good part of his estate lay in their quarters. He attended upon the lord lieutenant in all his expeditions: and when the Irish so infamously broke the first peace, and besieged the lieutenant in Dublin, (upon which he was compelled to deliver it into the hands of the parliament with the king’s consent,) the lord Fitzwilliams returned with him or about the same time into England, and from thence again into France; where he married the daughter of the widow countess of Clare, and sister to that earl, a lady of a religion the most opposite to the Roman catholic, which he suffered her to enjoy without any contradiction. When the war was at an end in England, and the king a prisoner, he with his wife and family transported himself into England, and after some time into Ireland; where Cromwell had a jealous eye upon him, but not being able to discover any thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the estate that had descended to him from his father and his elder brother. And the war being there ended, and the settlement made by the act of parliament upon the statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least trouble given to him; but he quietly enjoyed the possession of his whole estate till the king’s return, when he came into England to kiss his majesty’s hand, and was by him made earl of Tyrconnell.

When the commissioners sat upon the first act, who observed no rules of justice, law, or equity, when they contradicted any interest or appetite of their own, he received no disturbance; but when these new commissioners came over, all men, as well protestants as others, whose estates had never been questioned, thought it safest for them to put in their claims before the commissioners, to prevent any trouble that might arise hereafter. This gentleman followed that advice and example, put in his claim, and pressed the commissioners for a

short day to be heard. The day was appointed. Neither adventurer, soldier, or any other person, made any title to the land: but some envious person, unqualified for any prosecution, offered a letter to the commissioners which had many years before, and before his coming into Ireland, been written by colonel Fitzwilliams in Paris to a Jesuit, one Hartogan, then in Ireland; in which he gave him notice “of his purpose of coming into Ireland, where he hoped to do their friends some service.”

This letter was writ when the queen first designed to send him to the king, that the Irish, who were the most jealous people of the world, might know of his purpose to come thither, before they should hear of his being in Dublin; and now being produced before the commissioners, without considering how long since it was writ, or the reason of writing it, that he had served the king, and never in the least degree against him, upon one of their rules, “that a correspondence with the rebels was a good evidence,” they without any pause declared him nocent, and presently assigned his estate to some persons to whom reprisals were to be made: whilst they who thought the judgment very unjust, laughed at the ill luck of a man whom they did not love; and all men were well enough pleased with the sentence, who were displeased with the person. And this party pursued him so severely into England, that the king’s interposition to redeem him from so unjust a decree was looked upon as over-favouring the Irish; when none were so glad of the decree as the Irish, who universally hated him. Nor was he at last restored to the possession of his estate, without making some composition with those to whom the commissioners had assigned it.

Many, who had formerly made their claims without insisting upon any deeds of settlement or other conveyances in law, now produced former settlements in consideration of marriage, or other like good considerations in law, made before the beginning of the rebellion: which being now proved by witnesses enough, decrees were every day obtained for the restitution of great quantities of land upon those deeds and conveyances; though the forgeries of those deeds and perjury of those witnesses were very notorious. And some instances were given of the manifestation and direct proof that was made of the forgery of deeds, upon which decrees had been made, to the satisfaction of the commissioners themselves, within a very short time after the pronouncing those decrees: and yet no reparation was given, but the decrees proceeded and were executed with all rigour, as if no such thing had appeared.

The commissioners answered, “that they had made no decrees but according to their consciences, and such as they were obliged to make by the course and rule of justice. That they did doubt and in truth believe, that there had been evil practices used both in the forging of deeds and corrupting of witnesses, and that the same was equally practised by the English as the Irish: and therefore that they had been obliged to make that order, which had been so much excepted against, not to admit the testimony of any English adventurer or soldier in the case of another adventurer or soldier; for that it was very notorious, they looked upon

"the whole as one joint interest, and so gratified each other in their testimonies." And of this they gave many sad instances, by which it was too evident that the perjuries were mutual, and too much practised by the one and the other side.

"That they had used all the providence and vigilance they could, by the careful examination of witnesses, (which were produced apart, and never in the presence of each other,) and by asking them all such material questions as occurred to their understandings, and which they could not expect to be asked, to discover the truth, and to prevent and manifest all perjuries. That they had likewise used their utmost diligence and care to prevent their being imposed upon with false and forged deeds and conveyances, by taking a precise and strict view themselves of all deeds produced; and interrogated the witnesses with all the cunning they could, upon the matter and consideration upon which such deeds had been entered into, and upon the matter and circumstances in the execution thereof: which was all the providence they could use. And though they met with many reasons oftentimes to doubt the integrity of the proceedings, and in their own private consciences to apprehend there might be great corruption; yet that they were obliged judicially to determine according to the testimony of the witnesses, and the evidence of those deeds in law against which no proofs were made. That they had constantly heard all that the adverse party had thought fit to object, both against the credit of any witnesses, and the truth and validity of any conveyances which were produced; upon which they had rejected many witnesses, and disallowed some conveyances: but when the objections were only founded upon presumptions and probabilities, as most usually they were, they could not weigh down the full and categorical evidence that was given.

"That if they had yielded to the importunities of the persons concerned, who often pressed to have further time given to them to prove such a perjury, or to disprove such a conveyance; it must have made their work endless, and stopped all manner of proceedings, for which it appeared they were straitened too much in time; and that indeed would have but opened the door wider for perjuries and other corruptions; since it was very plain to them, that either side could bring as many witnesses as they pleased, to prove what they pleased, and that they would bring as many as they believed necessary to the work in hand. And therefore the commissioners having before prescribed a method and rule to themselves for their proceedings, and that no man could have a cause, in which he was concerned, brought to hearing without his knowing when it was to be heard, and so it was to be presumed, that he was well provided to support his own title; they had thought fit, upon mature deliberation amongst themselves, to adhere to the order they had prescribed to themselves and others, and to conclude, that they would not be able to prove that another day, which they were not able to prove at the time when they ought to have been ready.

"For the discovery of any forgery after the decrees had been passed, and upon which they

"had given no reparation," they confessed, "that some few such discoveries had been made to them, by which the forgery appeared very clearly: but as they had no power by the act of parliament to punish either forgery or perjury, but must leave the examination and punishment thereof to the law, and to the judges of the law; so, that they had only authority to make decrees upon such grounds as satisfied their consciences, but had not any authority to reverse those decrees, after they were once made and published, upon any evidence whatsoever." They concluded with their humble desire to the king, "that the most strict examinations might be made of their corruptions, in which," they said, "they were sure to be found very innocent, against all the malice that was discovered against them: that they had proceeded in all things according to the integrity of their hearts, and the best of their understandings; and if through the defect of that they had erred in any part of their determinations and judgments, they hoped their want of wisdom should not be imputed to them as a crime."

Many, who had a very good opinion of the persons and abilities of the commissioners, were not yet satisfied with their defence; nor did they believe, that they were so strictly bound to judge upon the testimony of suspected witnesses; but that they were therefore trusted with an arbitrary power, because it was foreseen that juries were not like to be entire: so that they were, upon weighing all circumstances, to declare what in their consciences they believed to be true and just. That if they had bound themselves up by too strict and unreasonable rules, they should rather in time have reformed those rules, than think to support what was done amiss, by the observation of what they had prescribed to themselves. And it was believed, that the entire exclusion of the English from being witnesses for the proving of what could not in nature be otherwise proved, was not just or reasonable. That their want of power to reverse or alter their own decrees, upon any emergent reasons which could afterwards occur, was a just ground for their more serious deliberation in and before they passed any such decrees. And their excuse for not granting longer time when it was pressed for, [was founded upon] reasons which were visibly not to be justified; it not being possible for any man to defend himself against the claims of the Irish, without knowing what deeds or witnesses they could produce for making good their suggestions; and therefore it was as impossible for them to have all their evidence upon the place. Besides that it was very evident, that in the last ten days of their sitting (which was likewise thought to be when their power as to those particulars was determined, and in which they had made more decrees than in all the time before) they had made so many in a day, contrary to their former rule and method, that men were plainly surprised, and could not produce those proofs which in a short time they might have been supplied with; and the refusing to allow them that time, was upon the matter to determine their interest, and to take away their estates without being once heard, and upon the bare allegations of their adversaries. And in these last decrees many instances were given of that nature, wherein the

evidence appeared to be very full, if time had been given to produce it.

There was one very notable case decreed by the commissioners extremely complained of, and cried out against by all parties, as well Irish as English; and for which the commissioners themselves made no other excuse or defence, but the receipt of a letter from the king, which was not thought a good plea for sworn judges, as the commissioners were. It was the case of the marquis of Antrim. Which case having been so much upon the stage, and so much enlarged upon to the reproach of the king, and even to the traducing of the memory of his blessed father; and those men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all they could to wound the reputation of the chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that he had by some sinister information misled the king to oblige the marquis;" it is a debt due to truth, and to the honour of both their majesties, to set down a very particular narration of that whole affair; by which it will appear, how far the king was from so much as wishing that any thing should be done for the benefit of the marquis, which should be contrary to the rules of justice.

Whilst his majesty was in foreign parts, he received frequent advertisements from England and from Ireland, "that the marquis of Antrim behaved himself very undutifully towards him; and that he had made himself very grateful to the rebels, by calumniating the late king: and that he had given it under his hand to Ireton, or some other principal person employed under Cromwell, that his late majesty had sent him into Ireland to join with the rebels, and that his majesty was not offended with the Irish for entering into that rebellion:" which was a calumny so false and so odious, and reflected so much upon the honour of his majesty, that the king was resolved, as soon as God should put it into his power, to cause the strictest examination to be made concerning it; the report having gained much credit with his majesty, by the notoriety that the marquis had procured great recommendations from those who governed in Ireland to those who governed in England; and that upon the presumption of that he had come into England, and as far as St. Alban's towards London, from whence he had been forced suddenly to return into Ireland by the activity of his many creditors, who upon the news of his coming had provided for his reception, and would unavoidably have cast him into prison. And no recommendation could have inclined those who were in authority, to do any thing extraordinary for the protection of a person, who from the beginning of the Irish rebellion lay under so ill a character with them, and had so ill a name throughout the kingdom.

The king had been very few days in London, after his arrival from the parts beyond the seas, when he was informed that the marquis of Antrim was upon his way from Ireland towards the court: and the commissioners from Ireland, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his majesty that information, and at the same time told him all that his majesty had heard before concerning the marquis, and of the bold calumnies with which he had traduced his royal father, with many other particulars; "all which," they affirmed, "would be proved by unquestion-

able evidence, and by letters and certificates under his own hand." Upon this full information, (of the truth whereof his majesty entertained no doubt,) as soon as the marquis came to the town, he was by the king's special order committed to the Tower; nor could any petition from him, or entreaty of his friends, of which he had some very powerful, prevail with his majesty to admit him into his presence. But by the first opportunity he was sent prisoner to Dublin, where he was committed to the castle; the king having given direction, that he should be proceeded against with all strictness according to law: and to that purpose, the lords justices were required to give all orders and directions necessary. The marquis still professed and avowed his innocence, and used all the means he could to procure that he might be speedily brought to his trial; which the king likewise expected. But after a year's detention in prison, and nothing brought against him, he was set at liberty, and had a pass given him from the council there to go into England. He then applied himself to his majesty, demanding nothing of favour, but said, "he expected justice; and that after so many years being deprived of his estate, he might at last be restored to it, if nothing could be objected against him wherein he had disserved his majesty."

He was a gentleman who had been bred up in the court of England, and having married the duchess of Buckingham, (though against the king's will,) he had been afterwards very well received by both their majesties, and was frequently in their presence. He had spent a very vast estate in the court, without having ever received the least benefit from it. He had retired into Ireland, and lived upon his own estate in that country, some years before the rebellion broke out; in the beginning whereof he had undergone some suspicion, having held some correspondence with the rebels, and possibly made some undertakings to them: but he went speedily to Dublin, was well received by the justices there, and from thence transported himself with their license to Oxford, where the king was; to whom he gave so good an account of all that had passed, that his majesty made no doubt of his affection to his service, though he had very little confidence in his judgment and understanding, which were never remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that he had a very unreasonable envy towards the marquis of Ormond, and would fain have it believed that his interest in Ireland was so great, that he could reclaim that whole nation to his majesty's obedience; but that vanity and presumption never gained the least credit with his majesty: yet it may reasonably be believed that he thought so himself, and that it was the source from which all the bitter waters of his own misfortune issued.

Upon the Scots second entering into England with their army upon the obligation of the covenant, and all his majesty's endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the marquis of Mountrose had proposed to the king, "to make a journey privately into Scotland, and to get into the Highlands, where, with his majesty's authority, he hoped he should be able to draw together such a body of men, as might give his countrymen cause to call for their own army out of England, to secure themselves." And with this overture, or upon debate thereof, he wished

"that the earl of Antrim" (for he was then no more) "might be likewise sent into Ulster, where his interest lay, and from whence he would be able to transport a body of men into the Highlands, where he had likewise the clan of Macdonnells, who acknowledged him to be their chief, and would be consequently at his devotion; by which means the marquis of Mountrose would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his undertaking." The earl of Antrim entered upon this undertaking with great alacrity, and undertook to the king to perform great matters in Scotland; to which his own interest and animosity enough disposed him, having an old and a sharp controversy and contestation with the marquis of Argyle, who had dispossessed him of a large territory there. All things being adjusted for this undertaking, and his majesty being well pleased with the earl's alacrity, he created him at that time a marquis, gave him letters to the marquis of Ormond his lieutenant there, as well to satisfy him of the good opinion he had of the marquis of Antrim, and of the trust he had reposed in him, as to wish him to give him all the assistance he could with convenience, for the carrying on the expedition for Scotland.

And for the better preventing of any inconvenience that might fall out by the rashness and inadvertency of the marquis of Antrim towards the lord lieutenant, his majesty sent Daniel O'Neile of his bedchamber into Ireland with him, who had great power over him, and very much credit with the marquis of Ormond; and was a man of that dexterity and address, that no man could so well prevent the inconveniences and prejudice, which the natural levity and indiscretion of the other might tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the lord lieutenant to take little notice of those vanities and indiscretions. And the king, who had no desire that the marquis should stay long in Dublin, upon his promise that he would use all possible expedition in transporting himself into Scotland, gave him leave to hold that correspondence with the Irish rebels (who had the command of all the northern parts, and without whose connivance at least he could very hardly be able to make his levies and transport his men) as was necessary to his purposes: within the limits of which, it is probable enough that he did not contain himself; for the education and conversation he had in the world, had not extirpated that natural craft in which that nation excels, and by which they only deceive themselves; and might say many things, which he had not authority or warrant to say.

Upon his coming to Dublin, the lord lieutenant gave him all the countenance he could wish, and assisted him in all the ways he could propose, to prosecute his design; but the men were to be raised in or near the rebels' quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the levies he made, and sent over into Scotland under the command of Calkito, were the foundation of all those wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Mountrose, (they were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy, that neither the ill fare nor the ill lodging in the Highlands gave them any discouragement,) and gave the first opportunity to the marquis of Mountrose of being in the head of an army; under which he drew together such of the

Highlanders and others of his friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military action, and defeat given to the enemy, which happened as often as they encountered the Scots, the Highlanders went always home with their booty, and the Irish only stayed together with their general. And from this beginning the marquis of Mountrose grew to that power, that after many battles won by him with notable slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the prison there the earl of [Crawford], lord Ogilby, and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with resolution that they should all lose their heads. And the marquis of Mountrose did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of Irish, which had in the beginning been sent over by the marquis of Antrim; to whom the king had acknowledged the service by several letters, all of his own handwriting; in which were very gracious expressions of the sense his majesty had of his great services, and his resolution to reward him.

It is true, that the marquis of Antrim had not gone over himself with his men, as he had promised to do, but stayed in Ulster under pretence of raising a greater body of men, with which he would adventure his own person; but either out of jealousy or displeasure against the marquis of Mountrose, or having in truth no mind to that service of Scotland, he prosecuted not that purpose, but remained still in Ulster, where all his own estate lay, and so was in the rebels' quarters, and no doubt was often in their councils; by which he gave great advantages against himself, and might in strictness of law have been as severely punished by the king, as the worst of the rebels. At last, in his moving from place to place, (for he was not in any expedition with the rebels,) he was taken prisoner by the Scots, who intended to have put him to death for having sent men into Scotland; but he made his escape out of their hands, and transported himself into Flanders, and from thence, having assurance that the prince (his majesty that now is) was then in the west, he came with two good frigates into the port of Falmouth, and offered his service to his royal highness; and having in his frigates a quantity of arms and some ammunition, which he had procured in Flanders for the service of Ireland, most of the arms and ammunition were employed, with his consent, for the supply of the troops and garrisons in Cornwall: and the prince made use of one of the frigates to transport his person to Scilly, and from thence to Jersey; without which convenience, his highness had been exposed to great difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the hands of his enemies. After all which, when Dublin was given up to the parliament, and the king's authority was withdrawn out of that kingdom, he again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into Ireland, made himself gracious with the Irish, and was by them sent into France, to desire the queen mother and the prince of Wales "to send the marquis of Ormond to reassume his majesty's government in that kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

The marquis of Antrim alleged all these particulars, and produced many original letters from

the late king, (besides those which are mentioned,) the queen mother, and the prince, in all which his services had been acknowledged, and many promises made to him; and concluded with a full protestation, "that he desired no pardon for any thing that he had ever done against the king; and if there were the least proof that he had failed in his fidelity to him, or had not according to the best of his understanding advanced his service, he looked for no favour. But if his being in the Irish quarters and consulting with them, without which he could not have made his levies for Scotland, nor transported them if he had levied them, and if his living amongst them afterwards, when his majesty's [authority] was drawn from thence, and when he could live no where else, do by the strict letter of the law expose him to ruin without his majesty's grace and favour, he did hope his majesty would redeem him from that misery, and that the forfeiture of his estate should not be taken, as if he were a traitor and a rebel to the king." And it appeared that if he were restored to all he could pretend to, or of which he had ever been possessed, his debts were so great, and his creditors had those legal incumbrances upon his estate, that his condition at best would not be liable to much envy.

Though the king had been never taken notice of to have any great inclinations to the marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this representation and clear view of what he had done and what he had suffered, raised great compassion towards him in the royal breast of his majesty. And he thought it would in some degree reflect upon his own honour and justice, and upon the memory of his blessed father, if in a time when he passed by so many transgressions very heinous, he should leave the marquis exposed to the fury of his enemies, (who were only his enemies because they were possessed of his estate, and because he desired to have his own from them,) for no other crime upon the matter, than for not having that prudence and that providence in his endeavours to serve the king, as he ought to have had; that is, he ought to have been wiser. And the rigour exercised towards him upon his first arrival, in sending him to the Tower and afterwards into Ireland, by those who enough wished his destruction, and that they had not been able to make the least proof against him, improved his majesty's good disposition towards him. Yet he refused positively to write a letter to the commissioners on his behalf; which the marquis most importunately desired, as the only thing that could do him good. But his majesty directed a letter to be prepared to the lord lieutenant, in which all his allegations and suggestions should be set down, and the truth thereof examined by him; and that if he should be found to have committed no greater faults against the king, than those which he confessed, then that letter should be sent to the commissioners, that they might see both their majesty's testimonies in such particulars as were known to themselves. And this letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his majesty, was sent accordingly to the lord lieutenant. And shortly after a copy of it signed by the king (who conceived it only to be a duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his majesty's resolution, and contrary to the

advice of the chancellor and without his knowledge, likewise sent to the commissioners; who had thereupon made such a decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that they had made it only upon that ground;" which gave his majesty some trouble, and obliged him to insert a clause in the next bill concerning that affair.

And this was the whole proceeding that related to the marquis of Antrim: and it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more favour shewed towards him by his majesty, than he might in truth very reasonably pretend to, what noise soever was raised, and what glosses soever made; which proceeded only from the general dislike of the man, who had much more weakness than wickedness in him, and was an object rather of pity than of malice or envy.

When his majesty entered upon the debate of the third bill, which was transmitted to him for a supplement and addition to the other two, he quickly found the settlement proposed, and which was the end of the three bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the measures, which had formerly been taken from the great proportion of land which would remain to be disposed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong foundation from the beginning; which was now made more desperate, by the vast proportions which had been assigned to the Irish by the commissioners' decrees: and somewhat had intervened by some acts of bounty from his majesty, which had not been carefully enough watched and represented to him.

The king had, upon passing the former bills, and upon discerning how much the Irish were like to suffer, resolved to retain all that should by forfeiture or otherwise come to his majesty in his own power; to the end, that when the settlement should be made, he might be able to gratify those of the Irish nation, who had any thing [of merit] towards him, or had been least faulty. And if he had observed that resolution, very much of the trouble he underwent afterwards had been prevented: for he would then, besides that which Cromwell had reserved to himself, (which was a vast tract of ground,) have had all those forfeitures which the regicides had been possessed of, and other criminal persons; which amounted to a huge quantity of the best land. And though the king had before designed all those forfeited lands to his brother the duke, yet his highness was so pleased with the resolution his majesty had taken, to retain them to that purpose, that he forbore to prosecute that grant, till he heard of great quantities of land every day granted away by his majesty to his servants and others; whereby he saw the main end would be disappointed. And then he resolved to be no longer a loser for the benefit of those, who had no pretence to what they got; and so proceeded in getting that grant from the king to himself of those lands designed to him.

The king had swerved from that rule, before it was scarce discerned: and the error of it may be very justly imputed to the earl of [Orrery], and to none but him; who believing that he could never be well enough at court, except he had courtiers of all sorts obliged to him, and would therefore speak well of him in all places and companies, (and those arts of his put the king to much trouble and loss both in England and Ireland,) he commended to many of such friends (though

he had advised the king to the former resolution) many suits of that kind, and sent certificates to them, oftentimes under his own hand, of the value those suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little importance the granting of them would be to his majesty; which, having been shewed to the king, disposed him to those concessions, which otherwise he would not so easily have made. Then he directed them a way (being then one of the lords justices) for the more immediate passing those grants they could obtain, without meeting those obstructions which they had been subject to; for when any of those grants had been brought to the great seal of England, the chancellor always stopped them, and put his majesty in mind of his former resolution: but this new way (in itself lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of those transactions, which were made by letters from the king to the lords justices; and thereupon the grants were prepared there, and passed under the great seal of Ireland.

There was then likewise a new clause introduced into those grants, of a very new nature; for being grounded always upon letters out of England, and passed under the seal of Ireland, the letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his majesty's sign manual: so that [neither] the king's learned council at law, nor any other his ministers, (the secretaries only excepted,) had any notice or the perusal of any of those grants. The clause was, "that if any of those lands so granted by his majesty should be otherwise decreed, his majesty's grantee should be reprimed with other lands:" so that in many cases, the greatest inducement to his majesty's bounty being the uncertainty of his own right, which the person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own charge, the king was now bound to make it good, if his grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent bounty, which commonly was the sole argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial benefit, as a debt; which created another difficulty in the settlement: which was yet the more hard, because there were many claims of the Irish themselves yet unheard, all the false admeasurements to be examined, and many other uncertainties to be determined by the commissioners; which left those who were in quiet possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest insecurity and apprehension.

This intricacy and even despair, which possessed all kind of people, of any settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his majesty very unwilling to consent to the repeal of the decrees made by the commissioners; which must have taken away the confidence and assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making men see, that what was settled by one act of parliament might immediately be unsettled by another: so that there was no hope by that expedient to increase the number of acres, which being left might in any degree comply with the several pretences. The Irish found, that they might only be able to obstruct any settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own satisfaction. The soldiers and adventurers agreed less amongst themselves: and the clamour was as great against those, who by false admeasurements had gotten more than they should have, as from

those who had received less than was their due; and they who least feared any new examination could not yet have any secure title, before all the rest were settled. In a word, all men found that any settlement would be better than none; and that more profit would arise from a smaller proportion of land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than [from] a much greater proportion under a doubtful title and an uncertainty, which must dishearten any industry and improvement.

Upon these considerations and motives, they met amongst themselves, and debated together by what expedient they might draw light out of this darkness. There appeared only one way which administered any reasonable hope; which was, by increasing the stock for reprisals to such a degree, that all men's pretences might in some measure be provided for: and there was no other way to arrive to this, but by every man's parting with somewhat which he thought to be his own. And to this they had one encouragement, that was of the highest prevalence with them, which was, that this way an end would be put to the illimited jurisdiction of the commissioners, (which was very terrible to all of them,) who from henceforth could have little other power, than to execute what should here be agreed upon.

In conclusion, they brought a proposition to the king, raised and digested between themselves, "that all persons, who were to receive any benefit by this act, should abate and give a fourth part of what they had, towards the stock for reprisals; all which the commissioners should distribute amongst those Irish, who should appear most fit for his majesty's bounty." And this agreement was so unanimous, that though it met with some obstinate opposition after it was brought before the king, yet the number of the opposers was so small in respect of the others who agreed to it, that they grew weary and ashamed of further contention. And thereupon that third act of settlement, as supplemental to the other two, was consented to by the king; who, to publish to the world that nothing stuck with him which seemed to reflect upon the commissioners, resolved to make no change: and so though two of them, who had offices here to discharge, prevailed with his majesty that they might not return again into Ireland; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this act, and so to perfect the settlement. And no doubt it will be here said, that this expedient might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those disorders and inconveniences which intervened. But they who knew that time, and the perverseness and obstinacy that possessed all pretenders, must confess that the season was never ripe before: nor could their consent and agreement, upon which this act was founded, ever be obtained before.

These were all the transactions which passed with reference to Ireland, whilst the chancellor remained at that board; in which he acted no more than any other of the lords who were present did: except when any difficulties occurred in their private meetings and debates, they sometimes resorted to him for advice, which he was ready to give; being always willing to take any pains, which might make that very difficult work more easy to be brought to a good end. But as

he never thought he deserved any reward for so doing, so he never expected the benefit of one shilling in money or in money's worth, for any thing he ever did in that affair; and was so far from entertaining any overture to that purpose, that it is notoriously known to many persons of honour, who, I presume, will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his majesty's first return into England, some propositions were made to him of receiving the grant of some forfeited lands, and for the buying other lands there upon the desire of the owners thereof, and at so low a price that the very profit of the land would in a short time have paid for the purchase, and other overtures of immediate benefit in money, (which others did and lawfully might accept;) he rejected all propositions of that kind or relating to it, and declared publicly and privately, "that he would neither have lands in Ireland nor the least benefit from thence, till all differences and pretences in that kingdom should be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be no more appeal to the king, or repairing to the king's council for justice; in which," he said, "he should never be thought so competent an adviser, if he had any title of his own in that kingdom to bias his inclinations." And he was often heard to say, "that he never took a firmer resolution in any particular in his life, than to adhere to that conclusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that he did receive some money out of Ireland, and had a lawful title to receive more, (with which he was reproached when he could not answer for himself;) it may not be amiss in this place, for his vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, or attended that affair.

In the bills which were first transmitted from Ireland after his majesty's happy return, there was an imposition of a certain sum of money upon some specified lands in several provinces, "which was to be paid to his majesty within a limited time, and to be disposed of by his majesty to such persons who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so doing," or words to that effect; for he often protested that he never saw the act of parliament, and was most confident that he never heard of it at the time when it passed, he being often absent from the council, by reason of the gout or other accidents, when such matters were transacted. But two years after the king's return, or thereabout, he received a letter from the earl of Orrery, "that there would be in his hands, and in the earl of Anglesea's and the lord Massaren's," (who it seems were appointed treasurers to receive the money to be raised by that act of parliament,) "a good sum of money for him; which he gave him notice of, to the end that he might give direction for the disposal thereof, whether he would have it returned into England, or laid out in land in Ireland;" and he wished "that he would speedily send his direction, because he was confident that the money would be paid in, at least by the time that his letter could arrive there." No man can be more surprised, than the chancellor was at the receipt of this letter, believing that there was some mistake in it, and that his name might have been used in trust by somebody who had given him no notice of it. And without returning any answer

to the earl of Orrery, he writ by that post to the lord lieutenant, to inform him of what the earl of Orrery had writ to him, and desired him to "inform him by his own inquiry, what the meaning of it was."

Before he had an answer from the lord lieutenant, or indeed before his letter could come to the lord lieutenant's hands, he received a second letter from the earl of Orrery; in which he informed him, "that there was now paid in to his use the sum of twelve thousand six hundred and odd pounds, and that there would be the like sum again received for him at the end of six months;" and sent him a particular direction, "to what person and in what form he was to send his order for the payment of the money." The chancellor still forbore to answer this letter, till he had received an answer to what he had written to the lord lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what title he had to that money, and how he came to have it: "that shortly after the passing that act of parliament, which had given his majesty the disposal of the money before mentioned, the earl of Orrery had come to him, the lord lieutenant, and putting him in mind, how the chancellor had rejected all overtures which had been made to him of benefit out of that kingdom," (which refusal, and many others that shew how unsollicitous he had always been in the ways of getting, is not more known to any man living than to the lord lieutenant,) "wished that he would move the king to confer some part of that money upon the chancellor; which the lord lieutenant very willingly did, and his majesty as cheerfully granted: that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his majesty's royal signature procured by Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who was at the same time commanded by the king not to let him know of it; to which purpose there was likewise a clause in the letter, whereby it was provided that he should have no notice of it; which," the lord lieutenant said, "was by his majesty's direction, or with his approbation, because it was said, that if he had notice of it, he would be so foolish as to obstruct it himself. And there was a clause likewise in the said letter, which directed the payment of the said monies to his heirs, executors, or assigns, if he should die before the receipt thereof."

The chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the lord lieutenant, and of which till that time he had not the least notice or imagination, he desired secretary Nicholas to give him a copy of that letter, (which had been since passed as a grant to him under the great seal of Ireland, according to the form then used;) which the secretary gave him, with a large account of many gracious circumstances in the king's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of secrecy, and the great caution that was used that he might have no notice of it. After he was informed of all this, he did not think that there was any thing left for him to do, but to make his humble acknowledgment to his majesty for his royal bounty, and to take care for the receiving and transmitting the money; and doubted not but that he might receive it very honestly. He did therefore wait upon his majesty with that duty that became him: and his majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge his bounty with those expressions of favour, and of the satisfaction he had vouchsafed to take himself

in conferring his donative, that his joy was much greater from that grace, than in the greatness of the gift.

At the very same time, and the very day that the chancellor received the letter from the lord lieutenant, the earl of Portland came to him, and informed him of a difference that was fallen out between the lord Lovelace and sir Bulstrode Whitlock, upon a defect in the title to certain lands purchased heretofore by sir Bulstrode Whitlock from the lord Lovelace, and enjoyed by him ever since; but being by the necessity of that time, the delinquency of Lovelace and the power of Whitlock, bought and sold at an undervalue, and the time being now more equal, Lovelace resolved to have more money, or not to perform a covenant he had entered into; the not-performance whereof would leave the other's title very defective. The earl desired to reconcile those two, which could not be done without sale of the land: and so he proposed to the chancellor the buying this land, which lay next to some land he had in Wiltshire. This proposition [was] made upon the very day, as is said before, that he had received the letter from the lord lieutenant of Ireland; by which it appeared that there was near as much money already received for him, as would pay for that purchase, besides what was more to be received within six months after. The land was well known to the chancellor; so that upon a short conference with the parties, they all agreed upon the purchase: and he was easily prevailed with to undertake the payment of the greatest part of the money upon sealing the writings, not making the least doubt, but that he should by that time receive the money from Ireland; which was the sole ground and motive to his making that purchase.

But the next letters he received from Ireland informed him, "that the necessities of that kingdom had been such, that they could only return six thousand pounds of that money; and that they had been compelled to make use of the rest for the public, which would take care to repay it to him in a short time:" and so he found himself engaged in a purchase which he could not retract, upon presumption of money which he could not receive. And he did not only never after receive one penny of what was due upon the second payment, (which he so little suspected could fail, there being an act of parliament for the security, that he assigned it upon the marriage of his second son to him, as the best part of his portion;) but the remainder of the first sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any part of it, was never after paid to him or to his use: by which, and the inconveniences and damages which ensued to him from thence, he might reasonably say that he was a loser, and involved in a great debt, by that signal bounty of his majesty; and which was afterwards made matter of reproach to him, and as an argument of his corruption. But this is a very true account of that business, and of all the money that he ever received from Ireland, with all the circumstances thereof; which, in the judgment of all impartial men, cannot reflect to the prejudice of his integrity and honour.

And so we shall no further pursue or again resume any mention of the affairs of Ireland, though they will afford a large field of matter; but shall

return to the beginning of the parliament, from whence we departed.

It cannot be expressed, hardly imagined, with what alacrity the parliament entered upon all particular affairs which might refer to the king's honour, safety, or profit. They pulled up all those principles of sedition and rebellion by the roots, which in their own observation had been the ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous rebellion in the long parliament. They declared, "that sottish distinction between the king's person and his office to be treason; that his negative voice could not be taken from him, and was so essential to the making a law, that no order or ordinance of either house could be binding to the subject without it; that the militia was inseparably vested in his majesty, and that it was high treason to raise or levy soldiers without the king's commission." And because the license of speaking seditiously, and of laying scandalous imputations and aspersions upon the person of the king, as saying "that he was a papist," and such like terms, to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, had been the prologue and principal ingredient to that rebellion, and corrupted the hearts of his loving subjects; they declared, "that the raising any calumnies of that kind upon the king, as saying, 'that he is a papist, or popishly affected,' or the like, should be felony." In a word, they vindicated all his regalities and royal prerogatives, and provided for the safety of his person in as loving and ample a manner as he could wish: and towards raising and settling a revenue proportionable to his dignity and necessary expense, over and above the confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last convention, they entered upon all the expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive propositions or advice from any body that might contribute thereunto. In all these public matters, no man could wish a more active spirit to be in them, than they were in truth possessed with.

But in that which the king had principally recommended to them, the confirmation of the act of oblivion and indemnity, they proceeded very slowly, coldly, and unwillingly, notwithstanding the king's frequent messages to them "to despatch it, though with the delay of those other things which they thought did more immediately concern him." They had many agents and solicitors in the court, who thought that all that was released by that act might lawfully be distributed amongst them; and since the king had referred that whole affair to the parliament, he might well leave it to their judgments, without his own interposition. But his majesty looked upon himself as under another obligation both of honour and conscience, and upon the thing itself as more for the public peace and security, than any thing the parliament could provide instead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent unwillingness to pass it. And thereupon he went himself to the house of peers, and sent for the commons, and told them, "that it was absolutely necessary to despatch that bill, which he himself had sent to them near two months before:" for it was now the eighth of July. His majesty told them, "that it was to put himself in mind as well as them, that he so often, as often as he came to them,

“mentioned to them his declaration from Breda.” And he said, “he should put them in mind of another declaration, published by themselves about that time, and which he was persuaded made his the more effectual, an honest, generous, and Christian declaration, signed by the most eminent persons, who had been the most eminent sufferers; in which they renounced all former animosities, all memory of former unkindness, vowed all imaginable good-will and all confidence in each other.” All which being pressed with so much instance by his majesty prevailed with them: and they then forthwith despatched that bill; and the king as soon confirmed it, and would not stay a few days, till other important bills should be likewise ready to be presented to him.

And there cannot be a greater instance of their desire to please his majesty from thenceforth, than that before that session was concluded, notwithstanding the prejudice the clergy had brought upon themselves (as I said before) upon their too much good husbandry in granting leases, and though the presbyterian party was not without an interest in both houses of parliament, they passed a bill for the repeal of that act of parliament, by which the bishops were excluded from sitting there. It was first proposed in the house of commons by a gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a presbyterian family: and in that house it found less opposition than was looked for; all men knowing, that besides the justice of it, and the prudence to wipe out the memory of so infamous an act, as the exclusion of them with all the circumstances was known to be, it would be grateful to the king.

But when it came into the house of peers, where all men expected it would find a general concurrence, it met with some obstruction; which made a discovery of an intrigue, that had not been suspected. For though there were many lords present, who had industriously laboured the passing the former bill for the exclusion, yet they had likewise been guilty of so many other ill things, of which they were ashamed, that it was believed that they would not willingly revive the memory of the whole, by persevering in such an odious particular. Nor in truth did they. But when they saw that it would unavoidably pass, (for the number of that party was not considerable,) they either gave their consents, as many of them did, or gave their negative without noise. The obstruction came not from thence. The catholics less owned the contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though they suffered in it. But the truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial brain of the earl of Bristol, who much affected to be looked upon as the head of the catholics; which they did so little desire that he should be thought, that they very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the king desired (which his majesty never dissembled) to give the Roman catholics ease from all the sanguinary laws; and that he did not desire that they should be liable to the other penalties which the law had made them subject to, whilst they should in all other respects behave themselves like good subjects. Nor had they since his majesty's return sustained the least prejudice by their religion, but enjoyed as much liberty at court and in the country, as any other men; and with which the wisest of them were

abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the activity of those of their own party, which they did believe more like to deprive them of the liberty they enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

When the earl of Bristol saw this bill brought into the house for restoring the bishops to their seats, he went to the king, and informed his majesty, “that if this bill should speedily pass, it would absolutely deprive the catholics of all those graces and indulgence which he intended to them; for that the bishops, when they should sit in the house, whatever their own opinions or inclinations were, would find themselves obliged, that they might preserve their reputation with the people, to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look like favour or connivance towards the catholics: and therefore, if his majesty continued his former gracious inclination towards the Roman catholics, he must put some stop (even for the bishops' own sakes) to the passing that bill, till the other should be more advanced, which he supposed might shortly be done;” there having been already some overtures made to that purpose, and a committee appointed in the house of lords to take a view of all the sanguinary laws in matters of religion, and to present them to the house, that it might consider further of it. The king, surprised with the discourse from a man who had often told him the necessity of the restoring the bishops, and that it could not be a perfect parliament without their presence, thought his reason for the delay to have weight in it, and that the delay for a few days could be attended with no prejudice to the matter itself; and thereupon was willing the bill should not be called upon, and that when it should be under commitment, it should be detained there for some time; and that he might, the better to produce this delay, tell some of his friends, “that the king would be well pleased, that there should not be overmuch haste in the presenting that bill for his royal assent.”

This grew quickly to be taken notice of in the house, that after the first reading of that bill, it had been put off for a second reading longer than was usual, when the house was at so much leisure; and that now it was under commitment, it was obstructed there, notwithstanding all the endeavours some lords of the committee could use for the despatch; the bill containing very few words, being only for the repeal of a former act, and the expressions admitting, that is, giving little cause for any debate. The chancellor desired to know how this came to pass; and was informed by one of the lords of the committee, “that they were assured that the king would have a stop put to it, till another bill should be provided, which his majesty looked for.” Hereupon the chancellor spake with his majesty, who told him all the conference which the earl of Bristol had held with him, and what he had consented should be done. To which the other replied, “that he was sorry that his majesty had been prevailed with to give any obstruction to a bill, which every body knew his majesty's heart was so much set upon for despatch; and that if the reason were known, it would quickly put an end to all the pretences of the catholics; to which his majesty knew he was no enemy.” The king presently concluded that the reason was not sufficient, and wished, “that the bill might be despatched as soon as was

"possible, that he might pass it that session;" which he had appointed to make an end of within few days: and so the next day the report was called for and made, and the bill ordered to be engrossed against the next morning; the earl not being at that time in the house. But the next morning, when the chancellor had the bill engrossed in his hand to present to the house to be read the third time, the earl came to him to the woolsack, and with great displeasure and wrath in his countenance told him, "that if that bill were read that day, he would speak against it;" to which the chancellor gave him an answer that did not please him: and the bill was passed that day. And from that time the earl of Bristol was a more avowed and declared enemy to him, than he had before professed to be; though the friendship that had been between them had been discontinued or broken, from the time the earl had changed his religion.

The king within few days came to the parliament, to give his royal assent to those bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that he did thank them with all his heart, indeed as much as he could for any thing, for the repeal of that act which excluded the bishops from sitting in parliament." He said, "it was an unhappy act in an unhappy time, passed with many unhappy circumstances, and attended with miserable events; and therefore he did again thank them for repealing it: and that they had thereby restored parliaments to their primitive institutions." This was upon the thirtieth of July 1661, when the parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of November following.

Because we have mentioned the gracious purposes the king had to his Roman catholic subjects, of which afterwards much use was made to his disservice, to which the vanity and presumption of many of that profession contributed very much; it may not be unseasonable in this place to mention the ground of that his majesty's goodness, and the reasons why that purpose of his was not prosecuted to the purpose it was intended, after so fair a rise towards it, by the appointment of that committee in the house of peers, which is remembered above.

It is not to be wondered at, that the king, at the age he was of when the troubles began in England, and when he came out of England, knew very little of the laws which had been long since made and were still in force against Roman catholics, and less of the grounds and motives which had introduced those laws. And from the time that he was first beyond the seas, he could not be without hearing very much spoken against the protestant religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the religion of the church of Rome; neither of which discourses made any impression upon him. After the defeat at Worcester, and his escape from thence into France, the queen his mother (who had very punctually complied with the king her husband's injunctions, in not suffering any body to endeavour to pervert the prince her son in his religion, and when he came afterwards into France after he was king, her majesty continued the same reservation) used much more sharpness in her discourse against the protestants, than she had been accustomed to. The liberty that his majesty formerly had in the Louvre, to have a place set aside for the exercise of his reli-

gion, was taken away: and continual discourses were made by the queen in his presence, "that he had now no hope ever to be restored to his dominions, but by the help of the catholics; and therefore that he must apply himself to them in such a way, as might induce them to help him."

About this time there was a short collection and abridgment made of all the penal laws, which had been made and which were still in force in England against the Roman catholics; "that all priests for saying mass were to be put to death;" the great penalties which they were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a priest in their house, or were present at mass, and the like; with all other envious clauses, which were in any acts of parliament, that had been enacted upon several treasons and conspiracies of the Roman catholics, in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James. And this collection they caused to be translated into French and into Latin, and scattered it abroad in all places, after they had caused copies of it to be presented to the queen mother of France, and to the cardinal: so that the king came into no place where those papers were not shewed to him, and where he was not seriously asked, "whether it was a true collection of the laws of England," and "whether it was possible that any Christian kingdom could exercise so much tyranny against the Catholic religion." The king, who had never heard of these particulars, did really believe that the paper was forged, and answered, "he did not believe that there were such laws:" and when he came to his lodgings, he gave the chancellor the paper, and bade him read it, and tell him, "whether such laws were in force in England." He had heard before of the scattering of those papers, and knew well who had made the collection; who had been a lawyer, and was a protestant, but had too good an opinion of the Roman catholics, and desired too much to be grateful to them.

The chancellor found an opportunity the next day to enlarge upon the paper to his majesty, and informed him of "the seasons in which, and the occasions and provocations upon which, those laws had been made; of the frequent treasons and conspiracies which had been entered into by some Roman catholics, always with the privacy and approbation of their priests and confessors, against the person and life of queen Elizabeth; and after her death, of the infamous and detestable gunpowder treason to have destroyed king James and his posterity, with the whole nobility of the kingdom: so that in those times, the pope having excommunicated the whole kingdom, and absolved the subjects from all their oaths of fidelity, there seemed no expedient to preserve the crown, but the using these severities against those who were professed enemies to it. But that since those times, that the Roman catholics had lived quietly, that rigour had not been used: and that the king his father's clemency towards those of that profession (which clemency extended no further than the dispensing with the utmost rigour of the laws) was the ground of the scandal of his being popishly affected, that contributed as much to his ruin, as any particular malice in the worst of his enemies."

The king hearkened attentively to all that was said, and then answered, "that he could not doubt

“but there was some very extraordinary reason for the making such strange laws: but whatever the reason then was, that it was at present and for many years past very evident, that there was no such malignity in the Roman catholics, that should continue that heavy yoke upon their necks. That he knew well enough, that if he were in England, he had not in himself the power to repeal any act of parliament, without the consent of parliament: but that he knew no reason why he might not profess, that he did not like those laws which caused men to be put to death for their religion; and that he would do his best, if ever God restored him to his kingdom, that those bloody laws might be repealed. And that if there were no other reason of state than he could yet comprehend, against the taking away the other penalties, he should be glad that all those distinctions between his subjects might be removed; and that whilst they were all equally good subjects, they might equally enjoy his protection.” And his majesty did frequently, when he was in the courts of catholic princes, and when he was sure to hear the sharpness of the laws in England inveighed against, enlarge upon the same discourse: and it had been a very unseasonable presumption in any man, who would have endeavoured to have dissuaded him from entertaining that candour in his heart.

With this gracious disposition his majesty returned into England; and received his catholic subjects with the same grace and frankness, that he did his other: and they took all opportunities to extol their own sufferings, which they would have understood to have been for him. And some very noble persons there were, who had served his father very worthily in the war, and suffered as largely afterwards for having done so: but the number of those was not great, but much greater than of those who shewed any affection to him or for him, during the time of his absence, and the government of the usurper. Yet some few there were, even of those who had suffered most for his father, who did send him supply when he was abroad, though they were hardly able to provide necessaries for themselves: and in his escape from Worcester, he received extraordinary benefit, by the fidelity of many poor people of that religion; which his majesty was never reserved in the remembrance of. And this gracious disposition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an address made to the house of peers in the name of the Roman catholics, for some relaxation of those laws which were still in force against them, the house of peers appointed that committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all those penal statutes, which reached to the taking away the life of any Roman catholic, priest, or layman, for his religion; there not appearing one lord in the house, who seemed to be unwilling that those laws should be repealed. And after that committee was appointed, the Roman catholic lords and their friends for some days diligently attended it, and made their observations upon several acts of parliament, in which they desired ease. But on a sudden this committee was discontinued, and never after revived; the Roman catholics never afterwards being solicitous for it.

The argument was now to be debated amongst themselves, that they might agree what would

please them: and then there quickly appeared that discord and animosity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguished; and of which the state might make much other use than it hath done. The lords and men of estates were not satisfied, in that they observed the good nature of the house did not appear to extend further, than the abolishing those laws which concerned the lives of the priests, which did not much affect them: for besides that those spectacles were no longer grateful to the people, they were confident that they should not be without men to discharge those functions; and the number of such was more grievous to them than the scarcity. That which they desired was, the removal of those laws, which being let loose would deprive them of so much of their estates, that the remainder would not preserve them from poverty. This indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other they cared not. Nor were the ecclesiastics at all pleased with what was proposed for their advantage, but looked upon themselves as deprived of the honour of martyrdom by this remission, and that they might undergo restraints, which would be more grievous than death itself: and they were very apprehensive, that there would remain some order of them excluded, as there was even a most universal prejudice against the Jesuits; or that there would be some limitation of their numbers, which they well knew the catholics in general would be very glad of, though they could not appear to desire [it].

There was a committee chosen amongst them of the superiors of all orders, and of the secular clergy, that sat at Arundel house, and consulted together with some of the principal lords and others of the prime quality of that religion, what they should say or do in such and such cases which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at least apprehended, that they should never be dispensed with in respect of the oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all men, without their submitting to take some other oath, that might be an equal security of and for their fidelity to the king, and the preservation of the peace of the kingdom. And there had been lately scattered abroad some printed papers, written by some regular and secular clergy, with sober propositions to that purpose, and even the form of an oath and subscription to be taken or made by all catholics; in which there was an absolute renunciation or declaration against the temporal authority of the pope, which, in all common discourses amongst the protestants, all Roman catholics made no scruple to renounce and disclaim: but it coming now to be the subject matter of the debate in this committee, the Jesuits declared with much warmth, “that they ought not, nor could they with a good conscience as catholics, deprive the pope of his temporal authority, which he hath in all kingdoms granted to him by God himself,” with very much to that purpose; with which most of the temporal lords, and very many of the seculars and regulars, were so much scandalized, that the committee being broken up for that time, they never attended it again; the wiser and the more conscientious men discerning, that there was a spirit in the rest that was raised and governed by a passion, of which they could not comprehend the ground. And the truth is, the Jesuits, and they who adhered to them, had entertained great

hopes from the king's too much grace to them, and from the great liberty they enjoyed; and promised themselves and their friends another kind of indulgence, than they saw was intended to them by the house of peers. And this was the reason that that committee was no more looked after, nor any public address was any further prosecuted.

And from this time there every day appeared so much insolence and indiscretion amongst the imprudent catholics, that they brought so many scandals upon his majesty, and kindled so much jealousy in the parliament, that there grew a general aversion towards them. And the king's party remembered, with what wariness and disregard the Roman catholics had lived towards them in the whole time of the usurpation; and how little sorrow they made show of upon the horrid murder of the king, (which was then exceedingly taken notice of:) and they who had been abroad with the king remembered, that his majesty had received less regard and respect from his catholic subjects, wherever he found them abroad, than from any other foreign catholics; who always received him with all imaginable duty, whilst his own looked as if they had no dependance upon him. And so we return to the parliament after its adjournment.

The parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of July, met again upon the twentieth of November, with the same zeal and affection to advance the king's service. And the king himself came to them upon the same day they met, and told them, "that he knew that visit was not of course; yet if there were no more in it, it would not be strange, that he came to see what he and they had so long desired to see, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of England, met together to consult for the peace and safety of the church and state, by which parliaments were restored to their primitive lustre and integrity:" his majesty said, "he did heartily congratulate with them for that day." But he told them withal, "that he came thither upon another occasion; which was to say somewhat to them on his own behalf, to ask somewhat of them for himself, which was more than he had done of them, or of those who met before them, since his coming into England. Nor did he think, that what he had to say to them did alone, or did most concern himself: if the uneasy condition he was in, if the straits and necessities he was to struggle with, did not manifestly relate to the public peace and safety, more than to his own particular, otherwise than as he was concerned in the public, he would not give them that trouble that day; he could bear his necessities which merely related to himself, with patience enough."

He told them, "that he did not importune them to make more haste in the settling the constant revenue of the crown, than was agreeable to the method they had proposed to themselves, nor to consider the insupportable weight that lay upon it, the obligations it lay under to provide for the interest, honour, and security of the nation, in another proportion than in any former times it had been obliged to: his majesty well knew, that they had very affectionately and worthily taken all that into their thoughts, and would proceed in it with expedition: but that he came to put them in mind of the crying

"debts which did every day call upon him, of some necessary provisions, which were to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom, of the great sum of money that should be ready to discharge the several fleets when they came home, and for the necessary preparations that were to be made for the setting out new fleets to sea against the next spring. These were the pressing occasions which he was forced to recommend to them with all possible earnestness, and he did conjure them to provide for as speedily as was possible, and in such a manner as might give them security at home, and some reputation abroad." His majesty said, "that he made this discourse to them with some confidence, because he was very willing and desirous that they should thoroughly examine, whether those necessities which he mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether they were fallen upon him by his own fault, his own ill managery, or excesses, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that they should make a full inspection into his revenue, as well the disbursements as receipts; and if they should find that it had been ill managed by any corruptions in the officers he trusted, or by his own unthriftiness, he should take the advice and information they should give him very kindly."

He told them, "that he was very sorry that the general temper and affections of the nation were not so well composed, as he hoped they would have been, after so signal blessings from God Almighty upon them all, and after so great indulgence and condescensions from him towards all interests. But that there were many wicked instruments still as active as ever, who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace, and to make all people jealous of each other: it would be worthy their care and vigilance to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; and if they should find new diseases, they must study new remedies. For those difficulties which concerned matters in religion," his majesty confessed to them, "that they were too hard for him; and therefore he did recommend them to their care and discretion, which could best provide for them."

The two houses were abundantly pleased with all that his majesty had said to them, and immediately betook them to the consideration of those particulars, which he had principally recommended to them. And though for the present they looked upon that clause of his majesty's speech, wherein he referred to them to make an inspection into his revenue and his expenses, but as a generous and princely condescension, which would not become them to make use of, (nor indeed had they at that time the least prejudice to or jealousy of any, who were of the nearest trust about his majesty;) yet four years after, when the expenses had grown to be much greater, and it may be all disbursements not so warrantable, and when the factions in court and parliament were at a great height, and men made use of public pretences to satisfy their private animosities and malice, they made use of that frank offer of his majesty, to entitle themselves to make inquisition into public and private receipts and disbursements, in a very extraordinary manner never practised before.

Let no man wonder, that within so little time

as a year and a half, or very little more, after the king's return, that is, from May to November in the next year, and after so great sums of money raised by acts of parliament upon the people, his majesty's debts could be so crying and importunate, as to disturb him to that degree as he expressed. It was never enough understood, that in all that time he never received from the parliament more than the seventy thousand pounds towards his coronation; nor were the debts which were now so grievous to him contracted by himself, (though it cannot be supposed but that he had contracted debts himself in that time :) all the money that had been given and raised had been applied to the payment of the land and sea forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do seldom make their computations right, but reckon what they give to be much more than is ever received, and what they are to pay to be as much less than in truth they owe; so that when all the money that was collected was paid, there remained still very much due to the soldiers, and much more to the seamen: and the clamour from both reached the king's ears, as if they had been levied by his warrant and for his service. And his majesty understood too well, by the experience of the ill husbandry of the last year, when both the army and the ships were so long continued in pay, for want of money to disband and pay them off, what the trouble and charge would be, if the several fleets should return before money was provided to discharge the seamen; and for that the clamour would be only upon him.

But there was an expense that he had been engaged in from the time of his return, and by which he had contracted a great debt, of which very few men could take notice; nor could the king think fit to discover it, till he had first provided against the mischief which might have attended the discovery. It will hardly be believed, that in so warlike an age, and when the armies and fleets of England had made more noise in the world for twenty years, had fought more battles at land and sea, than all the world had done besides, or any one people had done in any age before; and when at his majesty's return there remained a hundred ships at sea, and an army of near threescore thousand men at land; there should not be in the Tower of London, and in all the stores belonging to the crown, fire-arms enough, nor indeed of any other kind, to arm three thousand men; nor powder and naval provisions enough to set out five ships of war.

From the death of Cromwell, no care had been taken for supplies of any of the stores. And the changes which ensued in the government, and putting out and in new officers; the expeditions of Lambert against sir George Booth, and afterwards into the north; and other preparations for those factions and parties which succeeded each other; and the continual opportunities which the officers had for embezzlement; and lastly, the setting out that fleet which was sent to attend upon the king for his return; had so totally drained the stores of all kinds, that the magazines were no better replenished than is mentioned before: which as soon as his majesty knew, as he could not be long ignorant of it, the first care he took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at home, in how ill a posture he was to defend himself against an enemy. And then he

committed the care of that province to a noble person, whom he knew he could not trust too much, and made sir William Compton master of the ordnance, and made all the shifts he could devise for monies, that the work might be begun. And hereby insensibly he had contracted a great debt: and these were part of the crying debts, and the necessary provisions which were to be made without delay for the very safety of the kingdom, which he told the parliament. And in this he had laboured so effectually, that at the time when the first Dutch war was entered into, all the stores were more completely supplied and provided for, and the ships and all naval provisions in greater strength and plenty, than they had ever been in the reign of any former king, or in the time of the usurper himself.

That part of the king's speech, of the distempers in the nation by the differences in religion, which he confessed were too hard for him, and recommended the composing them to their care and deliberation, 'gives me a seasonable opportunity to enter upon the relation, how that affair stood at that time, and how far the distractions of those several factions were from being reconciled, though episcopacy seemed to be fully restored, and the bishops to their votes in parliament; which had been looked upon as the most sovereign remedy, to cure, reform, or extinguish all those maladies. The bishops had spent the vacation in making such alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, as they thought would make it more grateful to the dissenting brethren, for so the schismatical party called themselves; and such additions, as in their judgments the temper of the present time and the past miscarriages required. It was necessarily to be presented to the convocation, which is the national synod of the church; and that did not sit during the recess of the parliament, and so came not together till the end of November: where the consideration of it took up much time; all men offering such alterations and additions, as were suitable to their own fancies, and the observations which they had made in the time of confusion.

The bishops were not all of one mind. Some of them, who had greatest experience, and were in truth wise men, thought it best "to restore and confirm the old Book of Common Prayer, without any alterations and additions; and that it would be the best vindication the Liturgy and government of the church could receive, that after so many scandals and reproaches cast upon both, and after a bloody rebellion and wars of twenty years, raised, as was pretended, principally against both, and which had prevailed and triumphed in the total suppression and destruction of both, they should now be restored to be in all respects the same they had been before. Whereas any alterations and additions (besides the advantage it might give to the common adversary, the papist, who would be apt to say that we had reformed and changed our religion again) would raise new scruples in the factious and schismatical party, that was ashamed of all the old arguments, which had so often been answered, and stood at present exploded in the judgment of all sober men; but would recover new spirits to make new objections, and complain that the alterations and additions are more grievous and burdensome to the liberty of

"their conscience, than those of which they had formerly complained."

Others, equally grave, of great learning and unblemished reputation, pressed earnestly both for the alterations and additions; said, "that it was a common reproach upon the government of the church, that it would not depart from the least unnecessary expression or word, nor explain the most insignificant ceremony; which would quiet or remove the doubts and jealousies of many conscientious men, that they did in truth signify somewhat that was not intended: and therefore, since some powerful men of that troublesome party had made it their earnest request, that some such alterations and additions might [be made], and professed that it would give great satisfaction to many very good men; it would be great pity, now there was a fit opportunity for it, which had not been in former times of clamour, not to gratify them in those small particulars, which did not make any important difference from what was before." It may be there were some, who believed that the victory and triumph of the church would be with the more lustre, if somewhat were inserted, that might be understood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious behaviour of the late times, which had been regulated and conducted by that clergy: and so both additions and alterations were made.

But the truth is, what show of reason soever and appearance of charity the latter opinion seemed to carry with it, the former advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many inconveniences which ensued. Whatever had been pretended or desired, the alterations which were made to please them did not reduce one of them to the obedience of the church; and the additions raised the clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that they should not be left longer without a Liturgy, they cried aloud for the same they had before, though they had inveighed against it for near a hundred years together.

It is an unhappy policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that classis of men can be recovered and reconciled by partial concessions, or granting less than they demand. And if all were granted, they would have more to ask, somewhat as a security for the enjoyment of what is granted, that shall preserve their power, and shake the whole frame of the government. Their faction is their religion: nor are those combinations ever entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consist of many glutinous materials, of will, and humour, and folly, and knavery, and ambition, and malice, which makes men cling inseparably together, till they have satisfaction in all their pretences, or till they are absolutely broken and subdued, which may always be more easily done than the other. And if some few, how signal soever, (which often deceives us,) are separated and divided from the herd upon reasonable overtures, and secret rewards which make the overtures look the more reasonable; they are but so many single men, and have no more credit and authority (whatever they have had) with their companions, than if they had never known them, rather less; being less mad than they were makes them thought to be less fit to be believed. And they, whom you think you have recovered, carry always a chagrin about them, which makes them good for nothing, but

for instances to divert you from any more of that kind of traffick.

And it is very strange, that the clergy did not at this time remember what had so lately befallen the poor church of Scotland, upon the transmission of their Liturgy, which had been composed with this very prospect that now dazzled their eyes. "To receive a Liturgy from England was below the dignity of that nation, which were governed by their own laws, [without] dependence upon any other. Besides there were many errors in that Liturgy that they could never submit to, and some defects which ought to be supplied; and if such a one should be compiled, in which all those exceptions, which were well enough known, might be provided for, they would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the scars which still remain from those wounds. And then the great objection that was most impudently urged was, "that it differed from the Liturgy of the church of England, which they were ready to have received, and would have declared to the world, that the two nations had but one religion; whereas the book sent to them would have manifested the contrary, and was the product of a few particular men, to whose spirit and humour they would not sacrifice their native liberty of conscience."

They of the same fraternity in England at this present governed themselves by the same method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the same success. And there is great reason to believe, that the very men, who laboured so much for the alterations which were made, and professed to receive so much satisfaction in them, did it for no other end, but to procure more opportunity to continue and enlarge the contentions; and to gain excuse and credit to the ill things they had done, by the redress and reparation that was given them in the amendment of many particulars, against which they had always complained. There was not one of them who had used that importunity and made that profession, who afterwards was conformable to the government of the church, or frequented those churches where or when the Liturgy was used.

Whilst the clergy was busy and solicitous to prepare this remedy for the present distempers, the people of all the several factions in religion assumed more license than ever they had done. The presbyterians in all their pulpits inveighed against the Book of Common Prayer that they expected, and took the same liberty to inveigh against the government of the church, as they had been accustomed to before the return of the king; with reflections upon the persons of the bishops, as if they assumed a jurisdiction that was yet at least suspended. And the other factions in religion, as if by concert, took the same liberty in their several congregations. The anabaptists and the quakers made more noise than ever, and assembled together in greater numbers, and talked what reformations they expected in all particulars. These insolences offended the parliament very much: and the house of commons expressed much impatience, that the Liturgy was so long in preparation, that the act of uniformity might without delay be passed and published; not without some insinuations and reflections, that his majesty's

candour, and admission of all persons to resort to his presence, and his condescension to confer with them, had raised their spirits to an insolence insupportable; and that nothing could reduce them to the temper of good subjects, but the highest severity.

It is very true, from the time of his majesty's coming into England, he had not been reserved in the admission of those who had been his greatest enemies, to his presence. The presbyterian ministers he received with grace; and did believe that he should work upon them by persuasions, having been well acquainted with their common arguments by the conversation he had had in Scotland, and was very able to confute them. The independents had as free access, both that he might hinder any conjunction between the other factions, and because they seemed wholly to depend upon his majesty's will and pleasure, without resorting to the parliament, in which they had no confidence; and had rather that episcopacy should flourish again, than that the presbyterians should govern. The king had always admitted the quakers for his divertisement and mirth, because he thought, that of all the factions they were the most innocent, and had least of malice in their natures against his person and his government: and it was now too late, though he had a worse opinion of them all, to restrain them from coming to him, till there should be some law made to punish them; and therefore he still called upon the bishops, to cause the Liturgy to be expedited in the convocation. And finding that those distempers had that influence upon the house of commons, that the displeasure and jealousy which they conceived from thence did retard their counsels, and made them less solicitous to advance his service in the settling his revenue, they having sat near three months after their coming together again upon their adjournment, without making any considerable progress in it; he sent for the speaker and the house of commons to attend him at Whitehall, where he spake unto them, though very graciously, in a style that seemed to have more of expostulation and reprehension than they had been accustomed to.

He said, "he spake his heart to them when he told them, that he did believe, that from the first institution of parliaments to that hour, there had never been a house of commons fuller of affection and duty to their king, than they were to him; never any that was more desirous and solicitous to gratify their king, than they were to oblige him; never a house of commons, in which there were fewer persons without a full measure of zeal for the honour and welfare of the king and country, than there are in this: in a word," he said, "he knew most of their persons and names, and could never hope to find better men in their places. Yet after all this, he could not but lament, and even complain, that he and they and the kingdom were yet without that present fruit and advantage, which they might reasonably promise themselves from such a harmony of affections, and unity in resolutions to advance the public service, and to provide for the peace and security of the kingdom; that they did not expedite those good counsels, which were most necessary for both. He knew not how it came to pass, but for many weeks past, even since their last adjournment,

"private and particular business had almost thrust the consideration of the public out of doors; and he did not know that they were nearer the settling his revenue, than they had been at Christmas. He was sure he had communicated his condition to them without reserve; what he had coming in, and what his necessary disbursements were. And," he said, "he was exceedingly deceived, if whatever they gave him were any otherwise given to him, than to be issued out for their own use and benefit; and if they considered it well, they would find that they were the richer by what they gave, since it was all to be laid out that they might enjoy the rest in peace and security."

He said, "he need not put them in mind of the miserable effects, that had attended the wants and necessities of the crown; that he needed not to tell them, that there was a republican party still in the kingdom, which had the courage still to promise themselves another revolution: and he thought he had as little need to tell them, that the only way, with God's blessing, to disappoint their hopes, and indeed to reduce them from those extravagant hopes and desires, was, to let them see that they had so provided for the crown, that it had wherewithal to support itself, and to secure his people; which he was sure was all he desired, and desired only for their preservation. Therefore he conjured them, by all the professions of affection which they had made to him, by all the kindness which he knew they had for him, that they would, after all their deliberations, betake themselves to some speedy resolutions, and settle such a real and substantial revenue upon him, as might hold some proportion with the necessary expenses he was at for the peace and benefit and honour of the kingdom; that they who looked for troubles at home might despair of their wishes; and that our neighbours abroad, by seeing that all is well at home, might have that esteem and value of his majesty, as might secure the honour and interest of the nation, and make the happiness of the kingdom and of that city once more the admiration and envy of the world."

He told them, "that he heard that they were very zealous for the church, and very solicitous and even jealous that there was not expedition enough used in that affair: he thanked them for it, since he presumed that it proceeded from a good root of piety and devotion. But," he said, "that he must tell them, that he had the worst luck in the world, if after all the reproaches of being a papist while he was abroad, he was suspected to be a presbyterian now he was come home. He knew they would not take it unkindly, if he told them, that he was as zealous for the church of England as any of them could be, and was enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides; that he was as much in love with the Book of Common Prayer as they could wish, and had prejudice enough to those who did not love it, who he hoped in time would be better informed, and so change their minds; and they might be confident, he did as much desire to have an uniformity settled, as any man amongst them. He prayed them to trust him in that affair, and promised them to hasten the despatch of it with all convenient speed; they might rely upon him in it." He

said, "he had transmitted the Book of Common Prayer, with those alterations and additions which had been presented to him by the convocation, to the house of peers with his approbation, that the act of uniformity might relate to it; so that he presumed that it would shortly be despatched there: and that when they had done all they could," he said, "the well settling that affair would require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation."

His majesty concluded with assuring them, "that he did promise himself great fruits from that conversation he had with them, and that they would justify the confidence he had in their affections, by letting the world see, that they took his concernments to heart, and were ready to do whatsoever he desired for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

When the Book of Common Prayer was, by the king's command, presented to the house of lords by the two archbishops (for it had been approved as well by the convocation of the province of York, as well as of that of Canterbury) confirmed by his majesty under the great seal of England; the book itself took up no debate: only the earl of Northumberland proposed, "that the old Book of Common Prayer might be confirmed without any alteration or addition, and then the same act of uniformity, that had been in the time of queen Elizabeth, would be likewise applied to it; whereas a new act of uniformity might take up much time and raise much debate, all which would be avoided by adhering to the old."

Whatever that lord's opinion was, he was known to be of the presbyterian party. And it was answered, "that if that proposition had been heartily made when the king came into England, it would have met with a general approbation, and prevented much sharpness and animosity, which had since risen by those who opposed that excellent form. But after the clergy had so bitterly inveighed against many parts thereof, and prevailed with his majesty to suspend the use of it till it might be revised, as by his declaration of the five and twentieth of October he had done, and thereupon had granted his commission under the great seal of England to several bishops and other divines, to review the Book of Common Prayer, and to prepare such alterations and additions as they thought fit to offer; and that afterwards his majesty had been pleased to authorize the convocations of both the provinces of Canterbury and York, called and assembled by his majesty's authority, to review the said Book of Prayer, and the Book of the Form and Manner of the making and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and that now after the bishops and clergy of both provinces had, upon great deliberation and upon reviewing those books, prepared and consented to some alterations, and to the addition of several prayers to be used upon emergent occasions, all which his majesty had already ratified and confirmed; it could not but be understood matter of great levity and offence, to reject this book, that was now with all this ceremony and solemnity presented, for no other reason but because they liked better the old book, which had been for twenty years discontinued and rejected." And therefore it was moved, "that there might not be

"such an affront put upon the convocation, and upon the king himself." And so with little more public contest the book itself was consented and submitted to.

But then the act of uniformity depended long, and took up much debate in both houses. In the house of peers, where the act first began, there were many things inserted, which had not been contained in the former act of uniformity, and so seemed to carry somewhat of novelty in it. It admitted "no person to have any cure of souls or any ecclesiastical dignity in the church of England, but such who had been or should be ordained priest or deacon by some bishop, that is, who had not episcopal ordination; excepting only the ministers or pastors of the French and Dutch churches in London and other places, allowed by the king, who should enjoy the privileges they had."

This was new; for there had been many, and at present there were some, who possessed benefices with cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical promotions, who had never received orders but in France or in Holland; and these men must now receive new ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the church, or by this act of parliament must be deprived of their livelihood, which they enjoyed in the most flourishing and peaceable time of the church. And therefore it was said, "that this had not been the opinion of the church of England; and that it would lay a great reproach upon all other protestant churches who had no bishops, as if they had no ministers, and consequently were no churches: for that it was well known the church of England did not allow reordination, as the ancient church never admitted it; insomuch as if any priest of the church of Rome renounces the communion thereof, his ordination is not questioned, but he is as capable of any preferment in this church, as if he had been ordained in it. And therefore the not admitting the ministers of other protestants to have the same privilege, can proceed from no other ground, than that they looked not upon them as ministers, having no ordination; which is a judgment the church of England had not ever owned: and that it would be very imprudent to do it now."

To this it was answered, "that the church of England judged none but her own children, nor did not determine that other protestant churches were without ordination. It is a thing without their cognizance: and most of the learned men of those churches had made necessity the chief pillar to support that ordination of theirs. That necessity cannot be pleaded here, where ordination is given according to the unquestionable practice of the church of Christ: if they who pretend foreign ordination are his majesty's subjects, they have no excuse of necessity, for they might in all times have received episcopal ordination, and so they did upon the matter renounce their own church; if they are strangers, and pretend to preferment in this church, they ought to conform and to be subject to the laws of the kingdom, which concern only those who desire to live under the protection [thereof]. For the argument of reordination, there is no such thing required. Rebaptization is not allowed in or by any church: yet in all churches where it is doubted, as it may be often with very good

“reason, whether the person hath been baptized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a midwife or lay person; without determining the validity or invalidity of such baptism, there is an hypothetical form, ‘If thou hast not been already baptized, I do baptize,’ &c. So in this case of ordination, the form may be the same, ‘If thou hast not been already ordained, then I do ordain,’ &c. If his former ordination were good, this is void; if the other was invalid or defective, he hath reason to be glad that it be thus supplied.” After much debate, that clause remained still in the act: and very many, who had received presbyterian orders in the late times, came very willingly to be ordained in the manner aforesaid by a bishop; and very few chose to quit or lose a parsonage or vicarage of any value upon that scruple.

There was another clause in the bill, that made very much more noise afterwards, though for the present it took not up so much time, and in truth was little taken notice of: that is, a form of subscription that every man was to make, who received, or before he received, any benefice or preferment in the church; which comprehended all the governors, superiors, and fellows, in all the colleges and halls of either university, and all schoolmasters and the like, who are subservient towards learning. Every such person was to declare “his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled *The Book of Common Prayer*,” &c. The subscription was generally thought so reasonable, that it scarce met with any opposition in either house. But when it came abroad, and was to be submitted to, all the dissenting brethren cried out, “that it was a snare to catch them, to say that which could not consist with their conscience.” They took great pains to distinguish and to make great difference between assent and consent: “they could be content to read the book in the manner they were obliged to do, which shewed their consent; but declaring their unfeigned assent to every thing contained and prescribed therein would imply, that they were so fully convinced in their judgments, as to think that it was so perfect, that nothing therein could be amended, which for their part they thought there might. That there were many expressions in the rubric, which they were not bound to read; yet by this assent they declared their approbation thereof.” But after many tedious discourses of this tyrannical imposition, they grew by degrees ashamed of it; and were persuaded to think, that assent and consent had so near the same signification, that they could hardly consent to do what they did not assent to: [so] that the chiefest amongst them, to avoid a very little inconvenience, subscribed the same.

But there was shortly after another clause added, that gave them trouble indeed. When the bill had passed the lords’ house, it was sent of course to the commons; where though all the factions in religion had too many friends, for the most contrary and opposite one to another always were united and reconciled against the church, yet they who were zealous for the government, and who hated all the other factions at least enough, were very much superior in number and in reputation. And the bill was no sooner read there, than every man according to his passion thought of adding somewhat to it, that might

make it more grievous to somebody whom he did not love; which made the discourses tedious and vehement and full of animosity. And at last they agreed upon a clause, which contained another subscription and declaration, which every [man] was to make before he can be admitted into any benefice [or] ecclesiastical promotion, or to be a governor or fellow in either of the universities. He must first declare, “that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that he doth abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that he will conform to the Liturgy of the church of England, as it is now by law established.” And he doth declare, “that he doth hold that there lies no obligation upon him, or on any other person, from the oath commonly called *The solemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any change or alteration of government, either in church or state; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom;” with some other clauses, which need not be mentioned, because they were afterwards left out. And with this addition, and some other alterations, they returned the bill again to the lords for their approbation.

The framing and forming this clause had taken up very much time, and raised no less passion in the house of commons; and now it came among the lords, it was not less troublesome. It added to the displeasure and jealousy against the bishops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their party in the lower house. Many lords, who had taken the covenant, were not so much concerned that the clergy (for whom only this act was prepared) should be obliged to make this declaration; but apprehended more, that when such a clause should be once passed in one act of parliament, it could not after be disputed, and so would be inserted into all other acts which related to the function of any other offices, and so would in a short time be required of themselves. And therefore they opposed it warmly, “as a thing unnecessary, and which would widen the breach, instead of closing up the wounds that had been made; which the king had made it his business to do, and the parliament had hitherto concurred with his majesty in that endeavour. That many men would believe or fear, (which in such a case is the same,) that this clause might prove a breach of the act of indemnity, which had not only provided against indictments and suits at law and penalties, but against reproaches for what was past, which this clause would be understood to give new life to. For what concerned the conformity to the Liturgy of the church as it is now established, it is provided for as fully in the former subscription in this act, and therefore is impertinent in this place. That the covenant contained many good things in it, as defending the king’s person, and maintaining the protestant religion: and therefore to say that there lies no obligation upon it, would neither be for the service of the king or the interest of the church; especially since it was well known, that it had wrought upon the conscience of many to serve the king in the late revolution, from which his majesty

"had received great advantage. However it was now dead, all men were absolved from taking it, nor could it be imposed or offered to any man without punishment; and they, who had in the ill times been forced to take it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all the duties of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty. If it had at any time produced any good, that was an excuse for the irregularity of it: it could do no mischief for the future; and therefore that it was time to bury it in oblivion."

Many men believed, that though they insisted principally on that part which related to the covenant, that they were in truth more afflicted with the first part; in which it was declared, "that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that he doth abhor that traitorous proposition of taking arms by his authority against his person:" which conclusions had been the principles which supported their rebellion, and by which they had imposed upon the people, and got their concurrence. They durst not oppose this, because the parliament had already by a former act declared the law to be so in those particulars: yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular declaration (for they looked upon it as that which in a short time must be their own) they should upon the matter confess themselves to have been traitors, which they had not yet been declared to have been; and no man could now justify the calling them so.

They who were most solicitous that the house should concur with the commons in this addition, had fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the gross iniquity of the covenant. They made themselves very merry with the allegation, "that the king's safety and the interest of the church were provided for by the covenant, when it had been therefore entered into, to fight against the king and to destroy the church. That there was no one lawful or honest clause in the covenant, that was not destroyed or made of no significance by the next that succeeded; and if it were not, the same obligation was better provided for by some other oaths, which the same men had or ought to have taken, and which ought to have restrained them from taking the covenant: and therefore it may justly be pronounced, that there is no obligation upon any man from thence. That there was no breach of the act of indemnity, nor any reproach upon any man for having taken it, except what would result from his own conscience. But that it was most absolutely necessary, for the safety of the king's person, and the peace of the kingdom, that they who had taken it should declare, that they do not believe themselves to be bound by it: otherwise they may still think, that they may fight against the king, and must conspire the destruction of the church. And they cannot take too much care, or use too much diligence, to discover who are of that opinion; that they may be strictly looked unto, and restrained from doing that which they take themselves obliged to do. That the covenant is not dead, as was alleged, but still retains great vigour; was still the idol to which the presbyterians sacrificed: and that there must and would always be a general jealousy of all those who had taken it, until they had declared that it did not bind

them; especially of the clergy, who had so often enlarged in their pulpits, how absolutely and indispensably all men are obliged to prosecute the ends of it, which is to destroy the church, whatever danger it brings the king's person to. And therefore they of all men ought to be glad of this opportunity that was offered, to vindicate their loyalty and obedience; and if they were not ready to do so, they were not fit to be trusted with the charge and care of the souls of the king's subjects."

And in truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoining this declaration, than many who had taken the covenant. Many who had never taken it, and had always detested it, and paid soundly for being known to do so, were yet very sorry that it was inserted at this time and in this place; for they foresaw it would make divisions, and keep up the several factions, which would have been much weakened, and in a short time brought to nothing, if the presbyterians had been separated from the rest, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the rest. But since it was brought upon the stage, and it had been the subject of so much debate, they believed the house of lords could not now refuse to concur with the commons, without undergoing some reproach and scandal of [not] having an ill opinion enough of the covenant; of which as they were in no degree guilty, so they thought it to be of mischievous consequence to be suspected to be so. And therefore, after they had expunged some other parts of that subscription which had been annexed to it, and mended some other expressions in other places, which might rather irritate than compose those humours which already boiled too much, they returned the bill to the house of commons; which submitted to all that they had done: and so it was presented to the king, who could not well refuse his royal assent, nor did in his own judgment or inclination dislike what was offered to him.

By this act of uniformity there was an end put to all the liberty and license, which had been practised in all churches from the time of his majesty's return, and by his declaration that he had emitted afterwards. The Common Prayer must now be constantly read in all churches, and no other form admitted: and what clergyman soever did not fully conform to whatsoever was contained in that book, or enjoined by the act of uniformity, by or before St. Bartholomew-day, which was about three months after the act was published; he was *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice, or any other spiritual promotion of which he stood possessed, and the patron was to present another in his place, as if he were dead: so that it was not in the king's power to give any dispensation to any man, that could preserve him against the penalty in the act of uniformity.

This act was no sooner published, (for I am willing to continue this relation to the execution of it, because there were some intervening accidents that were not understood,) than all the presbyterian ministers expressed their disapprobation of it with all the passion imaginable. They complained, "that the king had violated his promise made to them in his declaration from Breda," which was urged with great uningenuity, and without any shadow of right; for his majesty had thereby referred the whole settle-

ment of all things relating to religion, to the wisdom of parliament; and declared, "in the mean time, that nobody should be punished or questioned, for continuing the exercise of his religion in the way he had been accustomed to in the late confusions." And his majesty had continued this indulgence by his declaration after his return, and thereby fully complied with his promise from Breda; which he should indeed have violated, if he had now refused to concur in the settlement the parliament had agreed upon, being in truth no less obliged to concur with the parliament in the settlement that the parliament should propose to him, than he was not to cause any man to be punished for not obeying the former laws, till a new settlement should be made. But how evident soever this truth is, they would not acknowledge it; but armed their proselytes with confident assertions, and unnatural interpretations of the words in the king's declaration, as if the king were bound to grant liberty of conscience, whatever the parliament should or should not desire, that is, to leave all men to live according to their own humours and appetites, let what laws soever be made to the contrary. They declared, "that they could not with a good conscience either subscribe the one or the other declaration: they could not say that they did assent or consent in the first, nor declare in the second that there remained no obligation from the covenant; and therefore that they were all resolved to quit their livings, and to depend upon Providence for their subsistence."

There cannot be a better evidence of the general affection of the kingdom, than that this act of parliament had so concurrent an approbation of the two houses of parliament, after a suppression of that form of devotion for near twenty years, and the highest discountenance and oppression of all those who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the time of the king's return, when it was lawful to use it, though it was not enjoined, persons of all conditions flocked to those churches where it was used. And it was by very many sober men believed, that if the presbyterians and the other factions in religion had been only permitted to exercise their own ways, [without] any countenance from the court, the heart of all the factions against the church would have been broken, before the parliament did so fully declare itself.

And there cannot be a greater manifestation of the distemper and license of the time, than the presumption of those presbyterian ministers, in the opposing and contradicting an act of parliament; when there was scarce a man in that number, who had not been so great a promoter of the rebellion, or contributed so much to it, that they had no other title to their lives but by the king's mercy; and that there were very few amongst them, who had not come into the possession of the churches they now held, by the expulsion of the orthodox ministers who were lawfully possessed of them, and who being by their imprisonment, poverty, and other kinds of oppression and contempt during so many years, departed this life, the usurpers remained undisturbed in their livings, and thought it now the highest tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the law, and disobedience to the government. That those men should give themselves

an act of oblivion of all their transgressions and wickedness, and take upon them again to pretend a liberty of conscience against the government, which they had once overthrown upon their pretences; was such an impudence, as could not have fallen into the hearts even of those men from the stock of their own malice, without some great defect in the government, and encouragement or countenance from the highest powers. The king's too gracious disposition and easiness of access, as hath been said before, had from the beginning raised their hopes and dispelled their fears; whilst his majesty promised himself a great harvest in their conversion, by his gentleness and affability. And they insinuated themselves by a profession, "that it was more the regard of his service, than any obstinacy in themselves, which kept them from conformity to what the law had enjoined; that they might still preserve their credit with their parishioners, and by degrees bring them to a perfect obedience:" whereas indeed all the corruption was in the clergy; and where a prudent and orthodox man was in the pulpit, the people very willingly heard the Common Prayer.

Nor did this confidence leave them, after the passing and publishing this act of uniformity: but the London ministers, who had the government of those in the country, prevailed with the general (who without any violent inclinations of his own was always ready for his wife's sake) to bring them to the king, who always received them with too much clemency, and dismissed them with too much hope. They lamented "the sadness of their condition, which (after having done so much service to his majesty, and been so graciously promised by him his protection) must now be exposed to all misery and famine." They told him "what a vast number of churches" (five times more than was true) "would become void by this act, which would not prove for his service; and that they much feared, the people would not continue as quiet and peaceable as they had been under their oversight." They used all the arguments they thought might work upon him; and he seemed to be the more moved, because he knew that it was not in his power to help them. He told them, "he had great compassion for them; and was heartily sorry that the parliament had been so severe towards them, which he would remit, if it were in his power; and therefore that they should advise with their friends, and that if they found that it would be in his power to give them any ease, they should find him inclined to gratify them in whatsoever they desired:" which gracious expressions raised their spirits as high as ever; and they reported to their friends much more than in truth the king had said to them, (which was no new artifice with them,) and advised their friends in all parts "to be firm to their principles," and assured them, "that the rigour of the act of parliament should not be pressed against them."

It cannot be denied, that the king was too irresolute, and apt to be shaken in those counsels which with the greatest [deliberation] he had concluded, by too easily permitting, or at least not restraining, any men who waited upon him, or were present with him in his recesses, to examine and censure what was resolved; an infirmity that brought him many troubles, and exposed his ministers to ruin: though in his nature, judg-

ment, and inclinations, he did detest the presbyterians; and by the experience he had of their faculties, pride, and insolence in Scotland, had brought from thence such an abhorrence of them, that for their sakes he thought better of any of the other factions. Nor had he any kindness for any person whom he suspected to adhere to them: for the lord Lautherdale took all pains to be thought no presbyterian; and pleased himself better with no humour, than laughing at that people, and telling ridiculous stories of their folly and foul corruptions. Yet the king, from the opinion he had of their great power to do him good or harm, which was often times unskilfully insinuated to him by men who he knew were not of their party, but were really deceived themselves by a wrong computation and estimate of their interest, was not willing to be thought an enemy to them. And there were too many bold speakers about the court, too often admitted into his presence, who being without any sense of religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any trouble and disturbance on the behalf of any one.

The continued address and importunity of these ministers, as St. Bartholomew's day approached nearer, more disquieted the king. They enlarged with many words "on the great joy that they and all their friends had received, from the compassion his majesty so graciously had expressed on their behalf, which they would never forget, or forfeit by any undutiful carriage." They confessed "that they found, upon conference with their friends who wished them well, and upon perusal of the act of parliament, that it was not in his majesty's power to give them so much protection against the penalty of the act of parliament, as they had hoped, and as his great goodness was inclined to give them. But that it would be an unspeakable comfort to them, if his majesty's grace towards them were so manifested, that the people might discern that this extreme rigour was not grateful to him, but that he could be well content if it were for some time suspended; and therefore they were humble suitors to him, that he would by his letters to the bishops, or by a proclamation, or an act of council, or any other way his majesty should think fit, publish his desire that the execution of the act of uniformity, as to all but the reading of the Liturgy, which they would conform to, might be suspended for three months; and that he would take it well from the bishops or any of the patrons, who would so far comply with his desire, as not to take any advantage of those clauses in the statute, which gave them authority to present as in a vacancy. They doubted not there would be many, who would willingly submit to his majesty's pleasure: but whatever the effect should be, they would pay the same humble acknowledgments to his majesty, as if it had produced all that they desired."

Whether his majesty thought it would do them no good, and therefore that it was no matter if he granted it; or that he thought it no prejudice to the church, if the act were suspended for three months; or that he was willing to redeem himself from the present importunity, (an infirmity he was too often guilty of;) true it is, he did make them a positive promise, "that he would do what they

"desired;" with which they were abundantly satisfied, and renewed their encouragement to their friends "to persevere to the end." And this promise was solemnly given to them in the presence of the general, who was to solicit the king's despatch, that his pleasure might be known in due time. It was now the long vacation, and few of the council were then in town, or of the bishops, with whom his majesty too late thought it necessary to confer, that such an instrument might be prepared as was fit for the affair. Hereupon the king told the chancellor (who was not thought friend enough to the presbyterians to be sooner communicated with) all that had passed, what the ministers had desired, and what he had promised; and bade him "to think of the best way of doing it."

The chancellor was one of those, who would have been glad that the act had not been clogged with many of those clauses, which he foresaw might produce some inconveniences; but when it was passed, he thought it absolutely necessary to see obedience paid to it without any connivance: and therefore, as he had always dissuaded the king from giving so much countenance to those applications, which he always knew published more to be said than in truth was ever spoken, and was the more troubled for this progress they had made with the king; he told his majesty, "that it was not in his power to preserve those men, who did not submit to do all that was to be done by the act, from deprivation." He gave many reasons which occurred, why "such a declaration as was desired would prove ineffectual to the end for which it was desired, and what inconveniences would result from attempting it." His majesty alleged many reasons for the doing it, which he had received from those who desired it, and seemed sorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that he had engaged his word, and that he would perform what he had promised;" and required him not to oppose it. The chancellor had always been very tender of his honour; and advised him "to be very wary in making any promise, but when he had made it, to perform it, though to his disadvantage:" and it was no new thing to him, to be reproached for opposing the resolving to do such or such a thing, and then to be reproached again for pursuing the resolution.

The king was at Hampton-court, and sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London and of Winchester, to attend him, with the chief justice Bridgman, and the attorney general: there were likewise the chancellor, the general, the duke of Ormond, and the secretaries. His majesty acquainted them with "the importunities used by the London ministers, and the reasons they had offered why a further time should be given to them to consider of what was so new to them; and what answer he had given to them; and how they had renewed their importunity with a desire of such a declaration from him as is mentioned before, in which he thought there was no inconvenience, and therefore had promised to do it, and called them now together to advise of the best way of doing it." The bishops were very much troubled, that those fellows should still presume to give his majesty so much vexation, and that they should have such access to him. They gave such arguments against

the doing what was desired, as could not be answered; and for themselves, they desired "to be excused for not conniving in any degree at the breach of the act of parliament, either by not presenting a clerk where themselves were patrons, or deferring to give institution upon the presentation [of others]: and that his majesty's giving such a declaration or commendation would be the greatest wound to the church, and to the government thereof, that it could receive."

The chancellor, who did really believe that the king and his service would suffer more by the breach of his word and promise, than either could do from doing the thing desired, confessed "that he believed it would do them little good, which would not be imputed to his majesty, when he had done all he could do; and that it would be a greater conformity, if the ministers generally performed what they offered to do, in reading all the service of the church, than had been these many years; and that once having done what was known to be so contrary to their inclinations, would be an engagement upon them in a short time to comply with the rest of their obligations: and therefore," he said, "he should not dissuade his majesty from doing what he had promised;" which indeed he had good reason to think he was resolved to do, whatever he was advised to the contrary. The king demanded the judgment of the lawyers, "whether he could legally dispense with the observation of the act for three months;" who answered, "that notwithstanding any thing he could do in their favour, the patrons might present their clerk as if the incumbents were dead, upon their not-performance of what they were enjoined." Upon the whole matter the king was converted; and with great bitterness against that people in general, and against the particular persons whom he had always received too graciously, concluded that he would not do what was desired, and that the connivance should not be given to any of them.

The bishops departed full of satisfaction with the king's resolution, and as unsatisfied with their friend the chancellor's inclination to gratify that people, not knowing the engagement that was upon him. And this jealousy produced a greater coldness from some of them towards him, and a greater resentment from him, who thought he had deserved better from their function and their persons, than was in a long time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet he never declined in the least degree his zeal for the government of the church, or the interest of those persons; nor thought they could be blamed for their severity against those ministers, who were surely the proudest malefactors, and the most incapable of being gently treated, of any men living. For if any of the bishops used them kindly, and endeavoured to persuade them to conformity, they reported "that they had been caressed and flattered by the bishops, and offered great preferments, which they had bravely refused to accept for the preservation of a good conscience:" and in reports of this kind, few of them ever observed any rules of ingenuity or sincerity.

When they saw that they were to expect and undergo the worst, they agreed upon a method to be observed by them in the leaving and parting with their pulpits: and the last Sunday they were

to preach, they endeavoured to infuse murmur, jealousy, and sedition, into the hearts of their several auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with patience and courage all the persecutions which were like to follow, now the light of the gospel was so near being extinguished." And all those sermons they called their farewell sermons, and caused to be printed together, with every one of the preachers' pictures before their sermons; which in truth contained all the vanity and ostentation with reference to themselves, and all the insinuations to mutiny and rebellion, that could be warily couched in words which could not be brought within penalty of law, though their meaning was well understood.

When the time was expired, better men were put into their churches, though with much murmuring of some of their parishes for a time, increased by their loud clamour, "that they had been betrayed by the king's promise that they should have three months longer time:" which drew the like clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their advice in continuing their obstinacy in confidence of a dispensation; whereas otherwise they would have conformed, as very many of their party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and so lost the livings they had, made all the haste they could to make themselves capable of getting others, by as full subscriptions and conformity as the act of uniformity required. And the greatest of them, after some time, and after they found that the private bounty and donatives, which at first flowed in upon them in compassion of their sufferings and to keep up their courages, every day begun to slacken, and would in the end expire, subscribed to those very declarations, which they had urged as the greatest motives to their nonconformity. And the number was very small, and of very weak and inconsiderable men, that continued refractory, and received no charge in the church: though it may without breach of charity be believed, that many who did subscribe had the same malignity to the church, and to the government of it; and it may be did more harm, than if they had continued in their inconformity.

The long time spent in both houses upon the act of uniformity had made the progress of all other public business much the slower; or rather, the multitude of private bills which depended there, (and with which former parliaments had been very rarely troubled,) and the bitterness and animosities which arose from thence, exceedingly disquieted and discomposed the house; every man being so much concerned for the interest of his friends or allies, that he was more solicitous for the despatch of those, than of any which related to the king and the public, which he knew would by a general concurrence be all passed before the session should be made; whereas if the other should be deferred, the session would quickly follow, (which the king by frequent messages desired to hasten, having received news already of the queen's having been at sea many days,) and the benefit of those pretences would be lost, and with greater difficulty be recovered in a succeeding session. Then as those private bills were for the particular benefit and advantage of some persons, which engaged all their friends to be very solicitous for their despatch; so for the most part they were to the loss and damage of other per-

sons, who likewise called in aid of all their friends to prevent the houses' consent: and by this means so many factions were kindled in both houses, between those who drove on the interest of their own or of their relations, who mutually looked upon one another as enemies, and against those who for justice and the dignity of parliament would have rejected all or most of the addresses of that kind; that in most debates which related to neither, the custom of contradiction, and the aversion to persons, very much disturbed and prolonged all despatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil war of so many years, prosecuted with that height of malice and revenge; so many houses plundered and so many burned, in which the evidences of many estates were totally destroyed, and as many by the unskilful providence of others, who in order to preserve them had buried their writings so unwarily under ground, that they were taken up so defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any court of justice; many who had followed the king in the war, and so made themselves liable to those penalties which the parliament had prepared for them and subjected them to, had made many feigned conveyances, with such limitations and so absolutely, (that no trust might be discovered by those who had power to avoid it,) that they were indeed too absolute to be avoided by themselves, and their estates become so much out of their own disposal, that they could neither apply them to the payment of their just debts, or to the provision for their children; I say, there were many such cases, which could be no other way provided for but by an act of parliament, and to which an act of parliament, without too much severity and rigour, could not be denied. And against any of those there appeared none or very little opposition to be made.

But the example and precedent of such drew with them a world of unreasonable pretences; and they, who were not in a condition to receive relief in any court of justice, thought they had a ground to appeal to parliament. They who had been compelled, for raising the money they were forced to pay for their delinquency, to sell land, and could not sell it but at a very low value, (for it was one species of the oppression of that time, that when a powerful man had an aspect upon the land of any man who was to compound, and so in view like to sell it, no other man would offer any money for it, so that he was sure at last to have it upon his own price;) now all that monstrous power was vanished, they who had made those unthrifty bargains and sales, though with all the formalities of law, by fines and recoveries and the like, (which is all the security that can be given upon a purchase,) especially if the purchaser was of an ill name, came with all imaginable confidence to the parliament, to have their land restored to [them]. Every man had raised an equity in his own imagination, that he thought ought to prevail against any descent, testament, or act of law; and that whatever any man had been brought to do, which common reason would make manifest that he would never have done if he could have chosen, was argument sufficient of such a force, and ought to find relief in parliament, from the unbounded equity they were masters of and could dispense, whatever formalities of law had preceded or accompanied the transaction. And

whoever opposed those extravagant notions, which sometimes deprived men of the benefit of the act of oblivion, was thought to be without justice, or which to them was worse, to be without any kindness to the king's party. And without question, upon those motives, or others as unreasonable, many acts were passed of very ill example, and which many men were scandalized at in the present, and posterity will more censure hereafter, when infants who were then unborn shall find themselves disinherited of those estates, which their ancestors had carefully provided should descend to them; upon which irregularities the king made reflection when he made the session.

But notwithstanding all these incongruities and the indispositions which attended them, they performed all those respects towards the king, which he did or could expect from them; there being scarce a man, who opposed the granting any thing that was proposed for the benefit of his majesty, or the greatness of the crown: and though some of the particulars mentioned before did sometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the present resolutions and conclusions in those counsels, the resolutions and conclusions in a short time after succeeded according to the king's wish. The militia and many other regalities were declared and settled according to the original sense of the law, and the authority of the crown vindicated to the height it had been at upon the heads of the greatest kings who had ever reigned in the nation. Monies were raised by several bills, sufficient as they conceived to have paid all the debts the king or the kingdom owed; for in their computations they comprehended the debts that were owing before his majesty's return, and for which the public faith had been engaged: and if as much had been paid as they conceived they had given, probably it might have been enough to have discharged all those. They settled a constant revenue upon the crown, which according to the estimate they made would amount to the yearly revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds, a proportion double to what it was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and it may be of any king preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount to that full value, they would supply it at another meeting." And though it hath not in truth amounted to that sum in his majesty's receipts, the parliament hath imputed it rather to ill managery, and letting farms at too easy rates, than to an error in their computation. For the present, it was looked upon by the king and by his ministers as answerable to his expectation. And so, upon notice of the queen's being upon the coast, and afterwards of her arrival at Portsmouth, the king appointed the houses to present all their bills to him upon the nineteenth of May for his royal assent, it being few days above a year from the time of their being first convened.

When the king came to the parliament, and they had presented the great number of bills which they had prepared, and after he had given his royal assent to most of them, his majesty told them, "that he thought there had been very few sessions of parliament, in which there had been so many bills, as he had passed that day: he was confident, never so many private bills, which he hoped they would not draw into example. It was true," he said, "the late ill times had driven men into great straits, and

" might have obliged them to make conveyances
" colourably, to avoid inconveniences, and yet not
" afterwards to be avoided; and men had gotten
" estates by new and greater frauds than had been
" heretofore practised; and therefore in this con-
" juncture extraordinary remedies might be neces-
" sary; which had induced him to comply with
" their advice in passing those bills: but he prayed
" them that this should be rarely done hereafter:
" that the good old rules of the law are the best
" security; and he wished that men might not
" have too much cause to fear, that the settle-
" ments which they make of their estates shall be
" too easily unsettled when they are dead by the
" power of parliament."

He said, " they had too much obliged him, not
" only in the matter of those bills which con-
" cerned his revenue, but in the manner of pass-
" ing them, with so great affection and kindness,
" that he knew not how to thank them enough.
" He did assure them, and prayed them to assure
" their friends in the country, that he would apply
" all that they had given to him, to the utmost im-
" provement of the peace and happiness of the
" kingdom; and that he would, with the best ad-
" vice and good husbandry he could, bring his
" own expenses within a narrower compass." And he said, " now he was speaking to them of
" his own good husbandry, he must tell them,
" that would not be enough; he could not but
" observe, that the whole nation seemed to him a
" little corrupted in their excess of living. All
" men spend much more in their clothes, in their
" diet, in all their expenses, than they had used
" to do. He hoped it had only been the excess of
" joy after so long sufferings, that had transport-
" ed him and them to those other excesses; but,"
he desired them, " that they might all take heed
" that the continuance of them did not indeed
" corrupt their natures. He did believe that he
" had been that way very faulty himself: he pro-
" mised that he would reform, and that if they
" would join with him in their several capacities,
" they would by their examples do more good,
" both in city and country, than any new laws
" would do." He said many other good things
that pleased them, and no doubt he intended all
he said; but the ways and expedients towards
good husbandry were no where pursued.

The chancellor, by the king's command, en-
larged upon " the general murmurs upon the ex-
" pense, and that it should so much exceed all
" former times." He put them in mind, " how
" the crown had been used since those times, how
" the king had found it at his blessed return:
" that as soon as he came hither, besides the in-
" finite sums that he forgave, he gave more money
" to the people than he had since received from
" them," (he meant, I suppose, the release of all
the rents, debts, and receipts which were due to
him;) " that at least two parts of three that they
" had since given him had issued for the disband-
" ing of armies never raised by him, and for pay-
" ment of fleets never sent out by him, and of
" debts never incurred by him." He put them
in mind " of the vast disparity between the former
" times and these in which they now lived, and
" consequently [of] the disproportion in the ex-
" pense the crown was now at, for the protection
" and benefit of the subject, to what it formerly
" underwent. How great a difference there was

" in the present greatness and power of the two
" crowns, and what they had been then possessed
" of, was evident to all men; and if the greatness
" and power of the crown of England should not
" be in some proportion improved too, it might
" be liable to inconveniences it would not under-
" go alone. How our neighbours and our rivals,
" who court one and the same mistress, trade and
" commerce, with all the world, are advanced in
" shipping, power, and an immoderate desire to
" engross the whole traffick of the universe, was
" notorious enough; and that this unruly appetite
" would not be restrained or disappointed, nor
" the trade of the nation be supported and main-
" tained, with the same fleets and forces which
" had been maintained in the happy times of
" queen Elizabeth. He needed not speak of the
" naval power of the Turks, who, instead of
" sculking abroad in poor single ships as they
" were wont to do, domineer now on the ocean in
" strong fleets, make naval fights, and had brought
" some Christians to a better correspondence,
" and another kind of commerce and traffick with
" them, than was expected," (for at that time the
Dutch had made a low and dishonourable peace
with the pirates of Algiers and Tunis:) " inso-
" much as they apprehend no enemy upon the
" sea, but what they find in the king of England's
" ships, which had indeed brought no small
" damage upon them, with no small charge to the
" king, but a great reputation to the nation.

" He did assure them, that the charge the crown
" was then at, by sea and land, for the peace and
" security and wealth and honour of the nation,
" amounted to no less than eight hundred thou-
" sand pounds in the year; all which did not cost
" the crown before the late troubles fourscore
" thousand pounds the year: and therefore that
" nobody could blame them for any supply they
" had given, or addition they had made to the
" revenue of the crown." He told them, " that
" the new acquisitions of Dunkirk, Mardike, Tan-
" gier, Jamaica, and Bombayne, ought to be
" looked upon as jewels of an immense magni-
" tude in the royal diadem; and though they
" were of present expense, they were like in a
" short time, with God's blessing, to bring vast
" advantages to the trade, navigation, wealth, and
" honour of the king and kingdom. His majesty
" had enough expressed his desire to live in a
" perfect peace and amity with all his neighbours;
" nor was it an ill ingredient towards the firmness
" and stability of that peace and amity which his
" royal ancestors had held with them, that he
" hath some advantages in case of a war, which
" they were without." The same day the parlia-
ment was prorogued to the eighteenth day of
February following.

It was about the end of May, when the queen
came to Hampton-court. The earl of Sandwich,
after he had reduced those of Algiers and Tunis to
good conditions, went to Tangier, which was to be
delivered to him before he was to go to Lisbon for
the reception of the queen: and delivered to him
it was, though by an accident that might have
caused it to be delivered into another hand. There
was never the least doubt, but that the queen
regent did resolve religiously to perform all the
conditions on the part of Portugal; and the go-
vernment was yet in her hands. But the king
growing towards his majority, and of a nature

not like to comply long with his mother's advice; factions began likewise to grow in that court. The delivery of Tangier, and into the hands of heretics, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the pope, who did already carry himself towards them very unlike a common father, not withstanding the powerful interposition of France, which, upon the peace lately made between the two crowns, was already ceased: so that they now apprehended, that this new provocation would give some excuse to the court of Rome, to comply more severely with the importunities from Spain, which likewise upon this occasion they were sure would be renewed with all possible instance. And though the queen had lately sent a governor to Tangier, whom she therefore made choice of, as a man devoted to her, and who would obey her commands in the delivery of this place; yet it is certain, he went thither with a contrary resolution.

Very few days before the earl of Sandwich came thither, the governor marched out with all the horse and above half the foot of the garrison into the country, and fell into an ambush of the Moors, who being much more numerous cut off the whole party: and so the governor with so many of the chief officers and soldiers being killed, the town was left so weak, that if the Moors had pursued their advantage with such numbers as they might, and did intend within few days to bring with them, they would have been able to have made little resistance. And the earl of Sandwich coming happily thither in that conjuncture, [it] was delivered into his hands, who convoyed the remainder of the garrison into Portugal, where they were like to be stoned by the people; and then, having put a good garrison of horse and foot which were sent from England into it, he delivered it up to the earl of Peterborough, who had a commission from the king to be governor thereof; and himself with the fleet sailed to Lisbon, where he had been long expected, and found his house and equipage ready, he being then to appear in the quality of extraordinary ambassador to demand the queen.

His arrival there happened likewise in a very happy conjuncture; for the Spanish army, stronger than it had been before, was upon its march to besiege a seaport town, which lay so near Lisbon, that being in the enemy's hands would very much have infested their whole trade, and was not strong enough long to have resisted so powerful an enemy. But upon the fame of the English fleet's arrival, the Spaniard gave over that design, and retired: since as it was impossible that they should be able to take that place, which the fleet was so ready to relieve; so they knew not but that the English might make a descent into their own quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other town. But the alarm the march of that army had given had so much disturbed Portugal, which never keep their whole forces on foot, but draw them together upon such emergent occasions; that they were compelled to make use of most of that money, which they said had been laid up and should be kept for the payment of the queen's portion, which was to be transported with her into England.

Whereupon, after the ambassador had been received with all possible demonstration of respect and public joy, and had had his solemn audience from the king and from the queen regent and the

queen his mistress; and some English gentlemen of quality, who were sent by the king, were admitted to those places of attendance about the queen, to which his majesty had assigned them: the queen mother, with infinite apologies, told the ambassador, "that the straits and poverty of the kingdom were so great upon the late advance of the Spanish army, that there could at this present be only paid one half of the queen's portion, and that the other half should infallibly be paid within a year, with which she hoped the king her brother would be satisfied; and that for the better doing it, she resolved to send back the same ambassador, who had brought so good a work with God's blessing to so good an end, with her daughter to the king."

The earl of Sandwich was much perplexed, nor did easily resolve what he was to do. His instructions were to receive the whole portion, which he knew the king expected, and which they were not able to pay. He had already received Tangier, and left a strong garrison in it, and had neither authority to restore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the men. And at last, after he had used all the means to have the whole paid, and was so fully informed, that he did in truth believe that they could do no more, he resolved that he would receive the queen aboard the fleet. That which they were ready to deliver for half the portion was not in money, but to be made up by jewels, sugar, and other commodities, which should not be overvalued. The ambassador was contented to give his receipt for the several species of the money they would deliver, leaving the value to be computed in England; but expressly refused to accept the jewels, sugar, and merchandises at any rates or prices; but was contented to receive them on board the ships, and to deliver them in specie at London to any person who should be appointed by them to receive them, who should be obliged to pay the money they were valued [at], and to make up the whole sum that should be paid to the king for the moiety. In conclusion, all things were delivered on board the ships; and Diego Silvas, a Jew of great wealth and full credit at Amsterdam, was sent with it, and obliged to make even the account with the king's ministers at London, and to pay what should remain due. And a new obligation was entered into by the crown of Portugal, for the payment of the other moiety within the space of a year. And the queen with all her court and retinue were embarked on board the fleet; and without any ill accidents her majesty arrived safely at Portsmouth: and having rested only three or four days there, to recover the indisposition contracted in so long a voyage at sea, her majesty, together with the king, came to Hampton-court at the time mentioned before, the twenty-ninth of May, the king's birth-day, full two years after his majesty's return and entering London.

However the public joy of the kingdom was very manifest upon this conjunction, yet in a short time there appeared not that serenity in the court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, used ever after all the ill arts they could to make it disagreeable, and to alienate the king's affection from the queen to such a degree, that it might never be in her power to prevail with him to their disadvantage; an effect they had reason to expect from any

notable interest she might gain in his affections, since she could not be uninformed by the ambassador of the disservice they had formerly endeavoured to do her.

There was a lady of youth and beauty, with whom the king had lived in great and notorious familiarity from the time of his coming into England, and who, at the time of the queen's coming, or a little before, had been delivered of a son whom the king owned. And as that amour had been generally taken notice of, to the lessening of the good reputation the king had with the people; so it underwent the less reproach from the king's being young, vigorous, and in his full strength; and upon a full presumption that when he should be married, he would contain himself within the strict bounds of virtue and conscience. And that his majesty himself had that firm resolution, there want not many arguments, as well from the excellent temper and justice of his own nature, as from the professions he had made with some solemnity to persons who were believed to have much credit, and who had not failed to do their duty, in putting him in mind "of the infinite obligations he had to God Almighty, and that he expected another kind of return from him, in the purity of mind and integrity of life:" of which his majesty was piously sensible, albeit there was all possible pains taken by that company which were admitted to his hours of pleasure, to divert and corrupt all those impressions and principles, which his own conscience and reverent esteem of Providence did suggest to him; turning all discourse and mention of religion into ridicule, as if it were only an invention of divines to impose upon men of parts, and to restrain them from the liberty and use of those faculties which God and nature had given them, that they might be subject to their reproofs and determinations; which kind of license was not grateful to the king, and therefore warily and accidentally used by those who had pleasant wit, and in whose company he took too much delight.

The queen had beauty and wit enough to make herself very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their first meeting, and for some time after, the king had very good satisfaction in her, and without doubt made very good resolutions within himself, and promised himself a happy and an innocent life in her company, without any such uxoriousness, as might draw the reputation upon him of being governed by his wife, of which he had observed or been too largely informed of some inconvenient effects in the fortune of some of his nearest friends, and had long protested against such a resignation; though they who knew him well, did not think him so much superior to such a condescension, but that if the queen had had that craft and address and dexterity that some former queens had, she might have prevailed as far by degrees as they had done. But the truth is, though she was of years enough to have had more experience of the world, and of as much wit as could be wished, and of a humour very agreeable at some seasons; yet she had been bred, according to the mode and discipline of her country, in a monastery, where she had only seen the women who attended her, and conversed with the religious who resided there, and without doubt in her inclinations was enough disposed to have been one of that number. And from this restraint she

was called out to be a great queen, and to a free conversation in a court that was to be upon the matter new formed, and reduced from the manners of a licentious age to the old rules and limits which had been observed in better times; and to which regular and decent conformity the present disposition of men or women was not enough inclined to submit, nor the king enough disposed to exact.

There was a numerous family of men and women that were sent from Portugal, the most improper to promote that conformity in the queen that was necessary for her condition and future happiness, that could be chosen: the women for the most part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any conversation with persons of quality and a liberal education. And they desired and indeed had conspired so far to possess the queen themselves, that she should neither learn the English language, nor use their habit, nor depart from the manners and fashions of her own country in any particulars; "which resolution," they told her, "would be for the dignity of Portugal, and would quickly induce the English ladies to conform to her majesty's practice:" and this imagination had made that impression, that the tailor who had been sent into Portugal to make her clothes, could never be admitted to see her or receive any employment. Nor when she came to Portsmouth, and found there several ladies of honour and prime quality to attend her in the places to which they were assigned by the king, did she receive any of them, till the king himself came; nor then with any grace, or the liberty that belonged to their places and offices. She could not be persuaded to be dressed out of the wardrobe that the king had sent to her, but would wear the clothes which she had brought, until she found that the king was displeased, and would be obeyed: whereupon she conformed against the advice of her women, who continued their opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own mode, which exposed them the more to reproach.

When the queen came to Hampton-court, she brought with her a formed resolution, that she would never suffer the lady who was so much spoken of to be in her presence: and afterwards to those she would trust she said, "her mother had enjoined her so to do." On the other hand, the king thought that he had so well prepared her to give her a civil reception, that within a day or two after her majesty's being there, himself led her into her chamber, and presented her to the queen, who received her with the same grace as she had done the rest; there being many lords and other ladies at the same time there. But whether her majesty in the instant knew who she was, or upon recollection found it afterwards, she was no sooner sat in her chair, but her colour changed, and tears gushed out of her eyes, and her nose bled, and she fainted; so that she was forthwith removed into another room, and all the company retired out of that where she was before. And this falling out so notoriously when so many persons were present, the king looked upon it with wonderful indignation, and as an earnest of defiance for the decision of the supremacy and who should govern, upon which point he was the most jealous and the most resolute of any man; and the answer he received from the queen, which kept up the obstinacy, displeased him more. Now

the breach of the conditions grew matter of reproach; the payment of but half the portion was objected to the ambassador, who would have been very glad that the quarrel had been upon no other point. He knew not what to say or do; the king being offended with him for having said so much in Portugal to provoke the queen, and not instructing her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her time, and in which she could not reasonably be concerned; and the queen with more indignation reproaching him with the character he had given of the king, of his virtue and good-nature: whilst the poor man, not able to endure the tempest of so much injustice from both, thought it best to satisfy both by dying; and from the extreme affliction of mind which he underwent, he sustained such a fever as brought him to the brink of his grave, till some grace from both their majesties contributed much to the recovery of his spirits.

In the mean time the king forbore her majesty's company, and sought ease and refreshment in that jolly company, to which in the evenings he grew every day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his discontent. And they found an expedient to vindicate his royal jurisdiction, and to make it manifest to the world, that he would not be governed; which could never without much artifice have got entrance into his princely breast, which always entertained the most tender affections; nor was ever any man's nature more remote from thoughts of roughness or hardheartedness. They magnified the temper and constitution of his grandfather, who indeed to all other purposes was a glorious example: "that when he was enamoured, and found a return answerable to his merit, he did not dissemble his passion, nor suffered it to be matter of reproach to the persons whom he loved; but made all others pay them that respect which he thought them worthy of: brought them to the court, and obliged his own wife the queen to treat them with grace and favour; gave them the highest titles of honour, to draw reverence and application to them from all the court and all the kingdom; raised the children he had by them to the reputation, state, and degree of princes of the blood, and conferred fortunes and offices upon them accordingly. That his majesty, who inherited the same passions, was without the gratitude and noble inclination to make returns proportionable to the obligations he received. That he had, by the charms of his person and of his professions, prevailed upon the affections and heart of a young and beautiful lady of a noble extraction, whose father had lost his life in the service of the crown. That she had provoked the jealousy and rage of her husband to that degree, that he had separated himself from her: and now the queen's indignation had made the matter so notorious to the world, that the disconsolate lady had no place of retreat left, but must be made an object of infamy and contempt to all her sex, and to the whole world."

Those discourses, together with a little book newly printed at Paris, according to the license of that nation, of the amours of Henry IV. which was by them presented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that impression upon his mind, that he resolved to raise the quality

and degree of that lady, who was married to a private gentleman of a competent fortune, that had not the ambition to be a better man than he was born. And that he might do so, he made her husband an earl of Ireland, who knew too well the consideration that he paid for it, and abhorred the brand of such a nobility, and did not in a long time assume the title. The lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher preferment: and the king resolved, for the vindication of her honour and innocence, that she should be admitted of the bedchamber of the queen, as the only means to convince the world, that all aspersions upon her had been without ground. The king used all the ways he could, by treating the queen with all caresses, to dispose her to gratify him in this particular, as a matter in which his honour was concerned and engaged; and protested unto her, which at that time he did intend to observe, "that he had not had the least familiarity with her since her majesty's arrival, nor would ever after be guilty of it again, but would live always with her majesty in all fidelity for conscience sake." The queen, who was naturally more transported with choler than her countenance declared her to be, had not the temper to entertain him with those discourses, which the vivacity of her wit could very plentifully have suggested to her; but brake out into a torrent of rage, which increased the former prejudice, confirmed the king in the resolution he had taken, gave ill people more credit to mention her disrespectfully, and more increased his aversion from her company, and, which was worse, his delight in those, [who meant] that he should neither love his wife or his business, or any thing but their conversation.

These domestic indispositions and distempers, and the impressions they made of several kinds upon the king's spirit and his humour, exceedingly discomposed the minds of the gravest and most serious men; gave the people generally occasion of speaking loudly, and with a license that the magistrates knew not how to punish, for the publication of the scandal: and the wisest men despaired of finding remedies to apply to the dissoluteness and debauchery of the time, which visibly increased. No man appeared to suffer or likely to suffer more than the chancellor, against whom though no particular person owned a malignity, the congregation of the witty men for the evening conversation were enough united against his interest; and thought his influence upon the king's actions and counsels would be too much augmented, if the queen came to have any power, who had a very good opinion of him: and it is very probable, that even that apprehension increased the combination against her majesty.

The lady had reason to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable friendship between her father and him to his death, which had been notorious to all men; and that he was an implacable enemy to the power and interest she had with the king, and had used all the endeavours he could to destroy it. Yet neither she nor any of the other adventured to speak ill of him to the king, who at that time would not have borne it; except for wit's sake they sometimes reflected upon somewhat he had said, or acted some of his postures and manner of speaking, (the skill in mimicry being the best faculty

in wit many of them had;) which license they practised often towards the king himself, and therefore his majesty thought it to be the more free from malice. But by these liberties, which at first only raised laughter, they by degrees got the hardiness to censure both the persons, counsels, and actions of those who were nearest his majesty's trust, with the highest malice and presumption; and too often suspended or totally disappointed some resolutions, which had been taken upon very mature deliberation, and which ought to have been pursued. But (as hath been said before) this presumption had not yet come to this length.

The king imparted the trouble and uneasiness of his mind to nobody with equal freedom, as he did to the chancellor: to him he complained of all the queen's perverseness and ill humours, and informed him of all that passed between them, and obliged him to confer and advise the queen, who, he knew, looked upon him as a man devoted to her service, and that he would speak very confidently to her whatsoever he thought; and therefore gave him leave to take notice to her of any thing he had told him. It was too delicate a province for so plain-dealing a man as he was to undertake: and yet he knew not how to refuse it, nor indeed did despair totally of being able to do some good, since the queen was not yet more acquainted with any man than with him, nor spake so much with any man as with him; and he believed, that he might hereby have opportunity to speak sometimes to the king of some particulars with more freedom, than otherwise he could well do, at least more effectually.

He had never heard before of the honour the king had done that lady, nor of the purpose he had to make her of his wife's bedchamber. He spake with great boldness to him upon both; and did not believe that the first was proceeded in beyond revocation, because it had not come to the great seal, and gave him many arguments against it, which he thought of weight. But upon the other point he took more liberty, and spake "of the hardheartedness and cruelty in laying such a command upon the queen, which flesh and blood could not comply with." He put him in mind of what he heard his majesty himself say, upon the like excess which a neighbour king had lately used, in making his mistress to live in the court, and in the presence of the queen: that his majesty had then said, "that it was such a piece of ill-nature, that he could never be guilty of; and if ever he should be guilty of having a mistress after he had a wife, which he hoped he should never be, she should never come where his wife was; he would never add that to the vexation, of which she would have enough without it." And yet he told him, "that such friendships were not new in that other court, nor scandalous in that kingdom; whereas in this it was so unheard of and so odious, that a woman who prostituted herself to the king was equally infamous to all women of honour, and must expect the same contempt from them, as if she were common to mankind: and that no enemy he had could advise him a more sure way to lose the hearts and affections of the people, of which he was now so abundantly possessed, than the indulging to himself that liberty, now it had pleased God to

"give him a wife worthy of him. That the excess he had already used in that and other ways had lost him some ground; but that the continuance in them would break the hearts of all his friends, and be only grateful to those who wished the destruction of monarchy:" and concluded with "asking his pardon for speaking so plainly," and besought his majesty to remember "the wonderful things which God had done for him, and for which he expected other returns than he had yet received."

The king heard him with patience enough, yet with those little interruptions which were natural to him, especially to that part where he had levelled the mistresses of kings and princes with other lewd women, at which he expressed some indignation, being an argument often debated before him by those, who would have them looked upon above any other [men's] wives. He did not appear displeased with the liberty he had taken, but said, "he knew it proceeded from the affection he had for him;" and then proceeded upon the several parts of what he had said, more volubly than he used to do, as upon points in which he was conversant, and had heard well debated.

To the first, he began with the story of an accident that had fallen out the day before; he said, "the lady had then told him, that she did hope that the chancellor was not so much her enemy, as he was generally reported to be, for she was sure he was not guilty of one discourtesy of which he had been accused to her, and therefore might be as innocent in others; and then told his majesty, that the day before, the earl of Bristol" (who was never without some reason to engage himself in such intrigues, and had been a principal promoter of all those late resolutions) "came to her, and asked her whether the patent was not yet passed. She answered, No. He asked if she knew the reason; which she seeming not to do, he told her that he came in confidence to tell her, and that if she did not quickly curb and overrule such presumption, she would often meet it to her prejudice; then told her a long relation, how the patent had been carried to the chancellor prepared for the seal, and that he according to his custom had superciliously said, that he would first speak with the king of it, and that in the mean time it should not pass; and that if she did not make the king very sensible of this his insolence, his majesty should never be judge of his own bounty. And then the lady laughed, and made sharp reflections upon the principles of the earl of Bristol," (who had throughout his life the rare good fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the same persons, in the space of one month; and now finding that there was a stop of the patent, made a very natural guess where it must be, and gratified his own appetite in the conclusion,) "and pulled the warrant out of her pocket, where she said it had remained ever since it was signed, and she believed the chancellor had never heard of it: she was sure there was no patent prepared, and therefore he could not stop it at the seal."

The truth is: though according to the custom she had assumed the title as soon as she had the warrant, that the other pretence might be prosecuted, she made not haste to pass the patent,

lest her husband might stop it; and after long deliberation was not so confident of the chancellor, as to transmit it to the seal that was in his custody, but, the honour being Irish, sent it into that kingdom to pass the great seal there, where she was sure it could meet no interruption.

When the king had made this relation, and added some sharp remarks upon the earl of Bristol, as a man very particularly known and understood by him; he said, "that he had undone this lady, and ruined her reputation, which had been fair and untainted till her friendship for him; and that he was obliged in conscience and honour to repair her to the utmost of his power. That he would always avow to have a great friendship for her, which he owed as well to the memory of her father as to her own person; and that he would look upon it as the highest disrespect to him, in any body who should treat her otherwise than was due to her own birth, and the dignity to which he had raised her. That he liked her company and conversation, from which he would not be restrained, because he knew there was and should be all innocence in it: and that his wife should never have cause to complain that he brake his vows to her, if she would live towards him as a good wife ought to do, in rendering herself grateful and acceptable to him, which it was in her power to do; but if she would continue uneasy to him, he could not answer for himself, that he should not endeavour to seek content in other company. That he had proceeded so far in the business that concerned the lady, and was so deeply engaged in it, that she would not only be exposed to all imaginable contempt, if it succeeded not; but his own honour would suffer so much, that he should become ridiculous to the world, and be thought too in pupilage under a governor; and therefore he would expect and exact a conformity from his wife herein, and which should be the only hard thing he would ever require from her, and which she herself might make very easy, for the lady would behave herself with all possible duty and humility unto her, which if she should fail to do in the least degree, she should never see the king's face again: and that he would never be engaged to put any other servant about her, without first consulting with her, and receiving her consent and approbation. Upon the whole," he said, "he would never recede from any part of the resolution he had taken and expressed to him: and therefore he required him to use all those arguments to the queen, which were necessary to induce her to a full compliance with what the king desired."

The chancellor addressed himself to the queen with as full liberty and plainness as he had presumed to use to his majesty, but could not proceed so far at a time, nor hold so long conferences at once. When he first lamented the misintelligence he observed to be between their majesties, and she perceived the king had told him some particulars, she protested her own innocence, but with so much passion and such a torrent of tears, that there was nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that he would wait upon her in a fitter season, and when she should be more capable of receiving humble advice from

"her servants, who wished her well;" and so departed.

The next day he waited upon her again at the hour assigned by her, and found her much better composed than he had left her. She vouchsafed to excuse the passion she had been in, and confessed "she looked upon him as one of the few friends she had, and from whom she would most willingly at all times receive counsel: but that she hoped he would not wonder or blame her, if having greater misfortunes upon her, and being to struggle with more difficulties, than any woman had ever been put to of her condition, she sometimes gave vent to that passion that was ready to break her heart." He told her, "he was desirous indeed to serve her, of which he would not make great or many protestations, since she could not but believe it, except she thought him to be a fool, or mad, since nothing could contribute so much to his happiness, as an eminent sympathy between the king and her in all things: and he could not give her a greater evidence of his devotion, than in always saying that to her which was fit for her to hear, though it did not please her; and he would observe no other rule towards her, though it should render him ungracious to her."

She seemed well satisfied with what he said, and told him "he should never be more welcome to her, than when he told her of her faults:" to which he replied, "that it was the province he was accused of usurping with reference to all his friends." He told her, "that he doubted she was little beholden to her education, that had given her no better information of the follies and iniquities of mankind, of which he presumed the climate from whence she came could have given more instances, than this cold region would afford;" though at that time it was indeed very hot. He said, "if her majesty had been fairly dealt with in that particular, she could never have thought herself so miserable, and her condition so insupportable as she seemed to think it to be; the ground of which heavy complaint he could not comprehend." Whereupon with some blushing and confusion and some tears [she said], "she did not think that she should have found the king engaged in his affection to another lady;" and then was able to say no more: which gave the chancellor opportunity to say, "that he knew well, that she had been very little acquainted with or informed of the world; yet he could not believe that she was so utterly ignorant, as to expect that the king her husband, in the full strength and vigour of his [youth], was of so innocent a constitution, as to be reserved for her whom he had never seen, and to have had no acquaintance or familiarity with the sex;" and [asked], "whether she believed, when it should please God to send a queen to Portugal, she should find that court so full of chaste affections." Upon which her majesty smiled, and spake pleasantly enough, but as if she thought it did not concern her case, and as if the king's affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

Upon which the chancellor replied with some warmth, "that he came to her with a message from the king, which if she received as she ought to do, and as he hoped she would, she would be the happiest queen in the world."

"That whatever correspondences the king had entertained with any other ladies, before he saw her majesty, concerned not her; nor ought she to inquire more into them or after them, than into what other [excesses] he had used in his youth in France, Holland, or Germany. That he had authority to assure her, that all former appetites were expired, and that he dedicated himself entirely and without reserve to her; and that if she met his affection with that warmth and spirit and good humour, which she well knew how to express, she would live a life of the greatest delight imaginable. That her good fortune, and all the joy she could have in this world, was in her own power, and that she only [strove] to drive it from her." She heard all this with apparent pleasure, and infinite expressions of her acknowledgments of the king's bounty; thanked the chancellor more than enough, and desired him "to help in returning her thanks to his majesty, and in obtaining his pardon for any passion or peevishness she might have been guilty of, and in assuring him of all future obedience and duty."

Upon this good temper he approached to the other part of his message, "how necessary it would be that her majesty should gratify this good resolution and justice and tenderness in the king, by meeting it with a proportionable submission and resignation on her part to whatsoever his majesty should desire of her;" and then insinuated what would be acceptable with reference to the lady. But this was no sooner mentioned, than it raised all the rage and fury of yesterday, with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes, where the water was. She said, "that the king's insisting upon that particular could proceed from no other ground but his hatred of her person, and to expose her to the contempt of the world, who would think her worthy of such an affront, if she submitted to it; which before she would do, she would put herself on board any little vessel, and so be transported to Lisbon:" with many other extravagant expressions, which her passion suggested in spite of her understanding; and which he interrupted with a very ill countenance, and told her, "that she had not the disposal of her own person, nor could go out of the house where she was without the king's leave;" and therefore advised her "not to speak any more of Portugal, where there were enough who would wish her to be." He told her, "that he would find some fitter time to speak with her, and till then only desired that she would make show of no such passion to the king; and that whatever she thought fit to deny that the king proposed to her, she should deny in such a manner, as should look rather like a deferring than an utter refusal, that his majesty might not be provoked to enter into the same passion, which would be superior to hers."

The chancellor made the more haste to inform the king of all that had passed, that he might prevail with him to suspend for some little time the prosecuting that argument further with the queen. He gave him an account of all the good and kind things she had said with reference to his majesty, of the professions she had made of all duty and obedience to him throughout the whole course of her life; "that her unwillingness to obey him in this one particular proceeded only from the great

passion of love which she had for him, that transported her beyond the limits of her reason." He confessed, "he had not discoursed it so fully with her majesty as he resolved to have done, because a sudden passion had seized upon her, which she must have some time to overrule;" and therefore he entreated his majesty "for a day or two to forbear pressing the queen in that matter, till he had once more waited upon her, by which he hoped he might in some degree dispose her majesty to give him satisfaction." And though he was in no degree pleased with the account, yet the other did think, that he would for a little have respited the further discourse of it.

But the king quickly found other counsellors, who told him, "that the thing he contended for was not of so much importance as the manner of obtaining it; that the contention now was, who should govern; and if he suffered himself to be disputed with, he must resolve hereafter to do all things *precario*." And as this advice was more suitable to his present passion and purpose, so it was embraced greedily and resolutely. The fire flamed that night higher than ever: the king reproached the queen with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection: he used threats and menaces, which he never intended to put in execution, and she talked loudly "how ill she was treated, and that she would return again to Portugal." He replied, "that she should do well first to know whether her mother would receive her: and he would give her a fit opportunity to know that, by sending to their home all her Portuguese servants; and that he would forthwith give order for the discharge of them all, since they behaved themselves so ill, for to them and their counsels he imputed all her perverseness."

The passion and noise of the night reached too many ears to be a secret the next day; and the whole court was full of that, which ought to have been known to nobody. And the mutual carriage and behaviour between their majesties confirmed all that they had heard or could imagine: they spake not, hardly looked on one another. Every body was glad that they were so far from the town, (for they were still at Hampton-court,) and that there were so few witnesses of all that passed. The queen sat melancholic in her chamber in tears, except when she drove them away by a more violent passion in cholerick discourse: and the king sought his diversions in that company that said and did all things to please him; and there he spent all the nights, and in the morning came to the queen's chamber, for he never slept in any other place. Nobody knew how to interpose, or indeed how to behave themselves, the court being far from one mind; with this difference, that the young and frolic people of either sex talked loudly all that they thought the king would like and be pleased with, whilst the other more grave and serious people did in their souls pity the queen, and thought that she was put to bear more than her strength could sustain.

The chancellor came not to the court in two or three days; and when he did come thither, he forbore to see the queen, till the king sent him again to her. His majesty informed him at large, and with more than his natural passion, of all

that had passed; and "of the foolish extravagancy" (as he called it) "of returning to Portugal; and of the positive resolution he had taken, and the orders he had given, for the present sending away all the Portugueses, to whom he did impute all his wife's frowardness." He renewed his former declaration, "that he would gain his point, and never depart from that resolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the chancellor, for having proceeded with so much choler and precipitation, and seemed to think that he had done better, if he had followed his former advice. But then he added, "that besides the uneasiness and pain within himself, the thing was more spoken of in all places, and more to his disadvantage, whilst it was in this suspense, than it would be when it was once executed; which would put a final end to all debates, and all would be forgotten."

The chancellor desired his majesty to believe, "that he would endeavour, by all the ways he could devise, to persuade the queen to submit to his pleasure, because it is his pleasure; and that he would urge some arguments to her, which he could not himself answer; and therefore he was not without hope that they might prevail. But he desired him likewise to believe, that he had much rather spend his pains in endeavouring to convert his majesty from pursuing his resolution, which he did in his conscience believe to be unjust, than in persuading her majesty to comply with it, which yet he would very heartily do." He desired him to give him leave to put him in mind of a discourse his majesty had held with him many years ago, upon an occasion that he had administered by telling him what his father, the late king, had said to him: that he had great reason to acknowledge it [due] to God's immediate blessing, and in truth to his inspiration, that he continued firm in his religion: for though his father had always taken pains himself to inform and instruct him, yet he had been so much deceived by others that he put about him when he was young, a company of the arrantest knaves and puritans" (they were his own words) "that could be found in the two kingdoms; whereof he named two or three, who were enemies to the church, and used to deride all religion. That when he had related this discourse accidentally of his late majesty, the king replied, that if it should please God ever to give him a wife and children, he would make choice of such people to be about both in all places of near trust, who in their natures and manners, and if it were possible in their very humours, were such as he wished his wife and children should be; for he did believe that most young people (and it may be elder) were upon the matter formed by those whom they saw continually and could not but observe." The king answered with some quickness, "that he remembered the discourse very well, and should think of it; but that the business which he had commended to him must be done, and without delay."

When the chancellor was admitted to the queen, he presumed with all plainness to blame her "for the illimited passion in which she had treated the king, and thereby provoked him to greater indignation than she could imagine, or in truth

"sustain:" and [begged], "that for her own sake she would decline and suppress such distempers, which could have no other effect, than in making the wound incurable; which it would do, in a very little time more, inevitably, and reduce all her faithful servants to an incapacity of serving her." She acknowledged with tears, "that she had been in too much passion, and said somewhat she ought not to have said, and for which she would willingly ask the king's pardon upon her knees; though his manner of treating her had wonderfully surprised her, and might be some excuse for more than ordinary commotion. That she prayed to God to give her patience, and hoped she should be no more transported with the like passion upon what provocation soever."

Then he entreated, "that he might find some effect of that her good resolution, in permitting him to enlarge upon the argument he was obliged to discourse to her; and that if he offered any humble advice, it should be such as he was most confident would prove for her benefit, and such as he would himself submit to if he were in her condition." He told her, "he came not to justify and defend the proposition that had been made to her concerning the lady, as a just or a reasonable proposition; he had not dissembled his own opinion as to either, and when he should now insist upon it again, which he must do, he could not but confess that it was a very hard injunction, not to be yielded to it without some reluctance:" but he besought her to tell him, "whether she thought it in her power to divert it; or that it was not in the king's power to impose it upon her."

She answered, "she knew it was in her own power to consent or not to consent to it; and that she could not despair, but that the king's justice and goodness might divert him from the prosecution of a command so unreasonable in him, and so dishonourable to her. She would not dispute the king's power, what it might impose, being sure that she could not rescue herself from it: but," she said, "nobody knew better than he, whether the king was obliged to leave the choice of her own servants to herself; and if it were otherwise, she had been deceived."

He told her, "that she had and would always enjoy that privilege: but that it was always understood in conditions of that nature, that as the husband would not impose a servant, against whom just exceptions could be made; so it was presumed, that no wife would refuse to receive a servant, that was esteemed and commended by her husband. That he did assure her, upon as much knowledge as he was capable to have in affairs of such a nature, that the king would exact an entire conformity to his pleasure in this particular; and then the question would only be, whether it would be better that she conform herself with alacrity to an obedience, with those circumstances which might be obliging and meritorious on her part; or that it should be done without her consent, and with all the repugnancy she could express, which could only be in angry words and ungracious circumstances, which would have a more bitter operation in her own breast and thoughts, than any where else: and therefore he did very importu-

"nately advise her to submit to that cheerfully, that she could not resist; which if she should not do, and do out of hand, she would too late repent."

To which she replied with great calmness, "that it may be worse could not fall out than she expected; but why she should repent the not giving her consent, she could not apprehend, since her conscience would not give her leave to consent:" which when she saw him receive with a face of trouble and wonder, which it was his misfortune and weakness never to be able to conceal or dissemble, she continued her discourse, and said, "she could not conceive how any body could, with a good conscience, consent to what she could not but suppose would be an occasion and opportunity of sin." To which he suddenly replied, "that he now understood her; and that she ought to have no such apprehension, but to believe the professions the king made, of the sincerity whereof she would hereby become a witness; and if there should be any tergiversation, the opportunity, which she fancied, would be more frequent at a distance than by such a relation, which nothing but a resolved innocence could make desirable by either party." To which he added, "that he thought her majesty had a meaner and a lower opinion of her person and her parts, if she thought it could be in the power of any other lady to deprive her of the interest she had a right to, if she did all that became her to retain it; and which in that case she could not lose but by the highest fraud and perjury, which she could not justly entertain the suspicion of."

There cannot be a greater patience and intentness of hearing, than the queen manifested during the time of his discourse, sometimes seeming not displeased, but oftener by a smile declaring that she did not believe what he said: and in conclusion, in few words declared, "that the king might do what he pleased, but that she could not consent to it;" and pronounced it with a countenance, as if she both hoped and believed, that her obstinacy would in the end prevail over the king's importunity: and it is very probable, that she had advice given her to that purpose. The chancellor concluded with telling her, "that he would give her no more trouble upon this particular: that he was sorry he had not credit enough to prevail with her majesty in a point that would have turned so much to her benefit; and that she would hereafter be sorry for her refusal." And when he had given the king a faithful account of all that had passed; and "that he believed them both to be very much to blame, and that that party would be most excusable who yielded first;" he made it his humble suit, "that he might be no more consulted with, nor employed in an affair in which he had been so unsuccessful."

The king came seldom into the queen's company, and when he did he spake not to her; but spent his time in other divertisements, and in the company of those who made it their business to laugh at all the world, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his creatures. He persevered in all his resolutions without any remorse; directed a day for all the Portugueses to be embarked, without assigning any considerable thing of bounty to any of them, or vouchsafing to

write any letter to the king or queen of Portugal of the cause of the dismissal of them. And this rigour prevailed upon the great heart of the queen, who had not received any money to enable her to be liberal to any of those, who had attended her out of their own country, and promised themselves places of great advantage in her family: and she earnestly desired the king, "that she might retain some few of those who were known to her, and of most use, that she might not be wholly left in the hands of strangers;" and employed others to make the same suit to the king on her behalf. Whereupon the countess of Penalva, who had been bred with her from a child, and who, by the infirmity of her eyes and other indisposition of health, scarce stirred out of her chamber, was permitted to remain in the court: and some other inferior servants in her kitchen and in the lowest offices, besides those who were necessary to her devotions, were left here. All the rest [were] transported to Portugal.

The officers of the revenue were required to use all strictness in the receipt of that part of the portion that was brought over with the fleet; and not to allow any of those demands which were made upon computation of the value of money, and other allowances, upon the account: and Diego de Silva, who was designed in Portugal without any good reason to be the queen's treasurer, and upon that expectation had undertaken that troublesome province to see the money paid in London by what was assigned to that purpose, was committed to prison for not making haste enough in the payment and in finishing the account; and his commitment went very near the queen, as an affront done to herself. The Portugal ambassador, who was a very honest man, and so desirous to serve the king that he had upon the matter lost the queen, was heartbroken; and after a long sickness, which all men believed would have killed him, as soon as he was able to endure the air, left Hampton-court, and retired to his own house in the city.

In all this time the king pursued his point: the lady came to the court, was lodged there, was every day in the queen's presence, and the king in continual conference with her; whilst the queen sat untaken notice of: and if her majesty rose at the indignity and retired into her chamber, it may be one or two attended her; but all the company remained in the room she left, and too often said those things aloud which nobody ought to have whispered. The king (who had in the beginning of this conflict appeared still with a countenance of trouble and sadness, which had been manifest to every body, and no doubt was really afflicted, and sometimes wished that he had not proceeded so far, until he was again new chafed with the reproach of being governed, which he received with the most sensible indignation, and was commonly provoked with it most by those who intended most to govern him) had now vanquished or suppressed all those tendernesses and reluctances, and appeared every day more gay and pleasant, without any clouds in his face, and full of good humour; saving that the close observers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural growth. However, to the queen it appeared very real, and made her the more sensible, that she alone was left out in all jollities, and not suffered to have any part of those pleasant appli-

cations and caresses, which she saw made almost to every body else; an universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but in her chamber; her own servants shewing more respect and more diligence to the person of the lady, than towards their own mistress, who they found could do them less good. The nightly meeting continued with the same or more license; and the discourses which passed there, of what argument soever, were the discourse of the whole court and of the town the day following: whilst the queen had the king's company those few hours which remained of the preceding night, and which were too little for sleep.

All these mortifications were too heavy to be borne: so that at last, when it was least expected or suspected, the queen on a sudden let herself fall first to conversation and then to familiarity, and even in the same instant to a confidence with the lady; was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly. This excess of condescension, without any provocation or invitation, except by multiplication of injuries and neglect, and after all friendships were renewed, and indulgence yielded to new liberty, did the queen less good than her former resoluteness had done. Very many looked upon her with much compassion, commended the greatness of her spirit, detested the barbarity of the affronts she underwent, and censured them as loudly as they durst; not without assuming the liberty sometimes of insinuating to the king himself, "how much his own honour suffered in the neglect and disrespect of her own servants, who ought at least in public to manifest some duty and reverence towards her majesty; and how much he lost in the general affections of his subjects: and that, besides the displeasure of God Almighty, he could not reasonably hope for children by the queen, which was the great if not the only blessing of which he stood in need, whilst her heart was so full of grief, and whilst she was continually exercised with such insupportable afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unacquainted with the king, nor strangers to his temper and constitution, did believe that he grew weary of the struggle, and even ready to avoid the scandal that was so notorious, by the lady's withdrawing from the verge of the court and being no longer seen there, how firmly soever the friendship might be established. But this sudden downfall and total abandoning her own greatness, this low demeanour and even application to a person she had justly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all men conclude, that it was a hard matter to know her, and consequently to serve her. And the king himself was so far from being reconciled by it, that the esteem, which he could not hitherto but retain in his heart for her, grew now much less. He concluded that all her former aversion expressed in those lively passions, which seemed not capable of dissimulation, was all fiction, and purely acted to the life by a nature crafty, perverse, and inconstant. He congratulated his own ill-natured perseverance, by which he had discovered how he was to behave himself hereafter, and what remedies he was to apply to all future indispositions: nor had he ever after the same value of her wit, judgment, and understanding, which he had formerly; and was well enough pleased to observe, that the reverence

others had for all three was somewhat diminished.

The parliament assembled together at the same time in February to which they had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the end of July following. They brought the same affection and duty with them towards the king, which they had formerly; but were much troubled at what they had heard and what they had observed of the divisions in court. They had the same fidelity for the king's service, but not the same alacrity in it: the despatch was much slower in all matters depending, than it had used to be. The truth is; the house of commons was upon the matter not the same: three years sitting, for it was very near so long since they had been first assembled, had consumed very many of their members; and in the places of those who died, great pains were taken to have some of the king's menial servants chosen; so that there was a very great number of men in all stations in the court, as well below stairs as above, who were members of the house of commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themselves qualified to reform whatsoever was amiss in church or state, and to procure whatsoever supply the king would require.

They, who either out of their own modesty, or in regard of their distant relation to his service, had seldom had access to his presence, never had presumed to speak to him; now by the privilege of parliament every day resorted to him, and had as much conference with him as they desired. They, according to the comprehension they had of affairs, represented their advice to him for the conducting his affairs; according to their several opinions and observations represented those and those men as well affected to his service, and others, much better than they, who did not pay them so much respect, to be ill-affected and to want duty for his majesty. They brought those, who appeared to them to be most zealous for his service, because they professed to be ready to do any thing he pleased to prescribe, to receive his majesty's thanks, and from himself his immediate directions how to behave themselves in the house; when the men were capable of no other instruction, than to follow the example of some discreet man in whatsoever he should vote, and behave themselves accordingly.

To this time, the king had been content to refer the conduct of his affairs in the parliament to the chancellor and the treasurer; who had every day conference with some select persons of the house of commons, who had always served the king, and upon that account had great interest in that assembly, and in regard of the experience they had and their good parts were hearkened to with reverence. And with those they consulted in what method to proceed in disposing the house, sometimes to propose, sometimes to consent to what should be most necessary for the public; and by them to assign parts to other men, whom they found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be desired: and all this without any noise, or bringing many together to design, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to parliaments, and, however it may succeed for a little time, will in the end be attended with prejudice.

But there were two persons now introduced to act upon that stage, who disdained to receive

orders, or to have any method prescribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other men's defects, and thought their own abilities beyond exception.

The one was sir Harry Bennet, who had procured himself to be sent agent or envoy into Spain, as soon as the king came from Brussels; being a man very well known to the king, and for his pleasant and agreeable humour acceptable to him: and he remained there at much ease till the king returned to England, having waited upon his majesty at Fuentarabia in the close of the treaty between the two crowns, and there appeared by his dexterity to have gained good credit in the court of Spain, and particularly with don Lewis de Haro; and by that short negociation he renewed and confirmed the former good inclinations of his master to him. He had been obliged always to correspond with the chancellor, by whom his instructions had been drawn, and to receive the king's pleasure by his signification; which he had always done, and professed much respect and submission to him: though whatever orders he received, and how positive soever, in particulars which highly concerned the king's honour and dignity, he observed them so far and no further than his own humour disposed him; and in some cases flatly disobeyed what the king enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the case of the Jesuit Peter Talbot; who having carried himself with notorious insolence towards the king in Flanders, had transported himself into England, offered his service to Cromwell, and after his death was employed by the ruling powers into Spain, upon his undertaking to procure orders, by which the king should not be suffered longer to reside in Flanders: of all which his majesty having received full advertisement, he made haste to send orders into Spain to sir Harry Bennet, "that he should prepare don Lewis for his reception by letting him know, that though that Jesuit was his natural subject, he had so misbehaved himself, that he looked upon him as a most [inveterate] enemy and a traitor; and therefore his majesty desired, that he might receive no countenance there, being, as he well knew, sent by the greatest rebels to do him prejudice."

This was received by sir Harry Bennet before the arrival of the man, who found no inconvenience by it; and instead of making any complaint concerning him, he writ word, "that Talbot had more credit than he in that court; that he professed to have great devotion for the king; and therefore his advice was, that the king would have a better opinion of him, and employ him in his service:" and himself received him into his full confidence, and consulted with no man so much as with him; which made all men believe that he was a Roman catholic, who did believe that he had any religion. But he had made his full excuse and defence for all this at the interview at Fuentarabia, from whence the king returned with marvellous satisfaction in his discretion as well as in his affection. And until, contrary to all his expectation, he heard of the king's return into England, all his thoughts were employed how to make benefit of the duke of York's coming into Spain to be admiral of the galleys; which he writ to hasten all that might be.

Though he continued his formal correspondence with the chancellor, which he could not decline;

yet he held a more secret intelligence with Daniel O'Neile of the bedchamber, with whom he had a long friendship. As soon as the king arrived in England, he trusted O'Neile to procure any direction from the king immediately in those particulars which himself advised. And so he obtained the king's consent, for his consenting to the old league that had been made between England and Spain in the time of the late king, and which Spain had expressly refused to renew after the death of that king, (which was suddenly proclaimed in Spain, without ever being consulted in England;) and presently after leave to return into England without any letter of revocation: both which were procured, or rather signified, by O'Neile, without the privity of the chancellor or of either of the secretaries of state; nor did either of them know that he was from Madrid, till they heard he was in Paris, from whence he arrived in London in a very short time after. So far the chancellor was from that powerful interest or influence, when his credit was at highest.

But he was very well received by the king, in whose affections he had a very good place: and shortly after his arrival, though not so soon as he thought his high merit deserved, his majesty conferred the only place then void (and that had been long promised to a noble person, who had behaved himself very well towards his majesty and his blessed father) upon him, which was the office of privy purse; received him into great familiarity, and into the nightly meeting, in which he filled a principal place to all intents and purposes. The king very much desired to have him elected a member in the house of commons, and commanded the chancellor to use his credit to obtain it upon the first opportunity: and in obedience to that command, he did procure him to be chosen about the time we are now speaking of, when the parliament assembled in February.

The other person was Mr. William Coventry, the youngest son to a very wise father, the lord Coventry, who had been lord keeper of the great seal of England for many years with a universal reputation. This gentleman was young whilst the war continued: yet he had put himself before the end of it into the army, and had the command of a foot company, and shortly after travelled into France; where he remained whilst there was any hope of getting another army for the king, or that either of the other crowns would engage in his quarrel. But when all thoughts of that were desperate, he returned into England; where he remained for many years without the least correspondence with any of his friends beyond the seas, and with so little reputation of caring much for the king's restoration, that some of his own family, who were most zealous for his majesty's service, and had always some signal part in any reasonable design, took care of nothing more, than that nothing they did should come to his knowledge; and gave the same advice to those about the king, with whom they corresponded, to use the same caution. Not that any body suspected his being inclined to the rebels, or to do any act of treachery; but that the pride and censoriousness of his nature made him unconvertible, and his despair that any thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to consult the ways of doing it. Nor had he any conversation with any of the king's party, nor they with him, till the king was

proclaimed in London; and then he came over with the rest to offer his service to his majesty at the Hague, and had the good fortune to find the duke of York without a secretary. For though he had a Walloon that was, in respect of the languages of which he was master, fit for that function in the army, and had discharged it very well for some years; yet for the province the duke was now to govern, having the office of high admiral of England, he was without any fit person to discharge the office of secretary with any tolerable sufficiency: so that Mr. Coventry no sooner offered his service to the duke, but he was received into that employment, very honourable under such a master, and in itself of the greatest profit next the secretaries of state, if they in that respect be to be preferred.

He had been well known to the king and duke in France, and had a brother whom the king loved well and had promised to take into his bed-chamber, as he shortly after did, Harry Coventry, who was beloved by every body, which made them glad of the preferment of the other; whilst they who knew the worst of him, yet knew him able to discharge that office, and so contributed to the duke's receiving him. He was a sullen, ill-natured, proud man, whose ambition had no limits, nor could be contained within any. His parts were very good, if he had not thought them better than any other man's; and he had diligence and industry, which men of good parts are too often without, which made [him] quickly to have at least credit and power enough with the duke; and he was without those vices which were too much in request, and which make men most unfit for business and the trust that cannot be separated from it.

He had sat a member in the house of commons, from the beginning of the parliament, with very much reputation of an able man. He spake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of those with whom they, who were trusted by the king in conducting his affairs in the lower house, consulted very frequently; but not so much, nor relied equally upon his advice, as upon some few others who had much more experience, which he thought was of use only to ignorant and dull men, and that men of sagacity could see and determine at a little light, and ought rather to persuade and engage men to do that which they judged fit, than consider what themselves were inclined to do: and so did not think himself to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made use of to the celebrating the designs and contrivance of other men, without being signal in the managery, which he aspired to be. Nor did any man envy him the province, if he could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more useful talents would have been ruled by him. However, being a man who naturally loved faction and contradiction, he often made experiments how far he could prevail in the house, by declining the method that was prescribed, and proposing somewhat to the house that was either beside or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppose, believing, in regard of his relation, that he had received newer directions: and then if it succeeded well, (as sometimes it did,) he had argument enough to censure and inveigh against the chancellor, for having taken so ill measures of the temper and

affections of the house; for he did not dissemble in his private conversation (though his outward carriage was very fair) that he had no kindness for him, which in gratitude he ought to have had; nor had he any thing to complain of from him, but that he wished well and did all he could to defend and support a very worthy person, who had deserved very well from the king, against whom he manifested a great and causeless animosity, and desired to oppress for his own profit, of which he had an immoderate appetite.

When those two persons, sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (between whom there had been as great a league of friendship, as can be between two very proud men equally ill-natured,) came now to sit together in the house of commons; though the former of them knew no more of the constitution and laws of England than he did of China, nor had in truth a care or tenderness for church or state, but believed France was the best pattern in the world; they thought they should have the greatest wrong imaginable, if they did not entirely govern it, and if the king took his measures of what should be done there from any body but themselves. They made friendships with some young men, who spake confidently and often, [and] upon some occasions seemed to have credit in the house. And upon a little conversation with those men, who, being country gentlemen of ordinary condition and mean fortunes, were desirous to have interest in such a person as sir Harry Bennet, who was believed to have great credit with the king; he believed he understood the house, and what was to be done there, as well as any man in England.

He recommended those men to the king "as persons of sublime parts, worthy of his majesty's caressing: that he would undertake to fix them to his service; and when they were his own, he might carry what he would in the house of commons." The men had parts indeed and good affections, and often had resorted to the chancellor, received advice from him, and thought themselves beholden to him; being at that time entirely governed by sir Hugh Pollard, who was himself still advised by the chancellor (with whom he had a long and fast friendship) how he should direct his friends, having indeed a greater party in the house of commons willing to be disposed of by him, than any man that ever sat there in my time. But now these gentlemen had got a better patron; the new courtier had raised their value, and talked in another dialect to them, of recompenses and rewards, than they had heard formerly. He carried them to the king, and told his majesty in their own hearing, "what men of parts they were, what services they had done for him, and how much greater they could do:" and his majesty received and conferred with them very graciously, and dismissed them with promises which made them rich already.

The two friends before mentioned agreed so well between themselves, that whether they spake together or apart to the king, they said always the same things, gave the same information, and took care that both their masters might have the same opinions and judgments. They magnified the affections of the house of commons, "which were so great and united, that they would do whatsoever his majesty would require. That there were many worthy and able men, of whose

“wisdom the house was so well persuaded, that
 “they commonly consented to whatsoever they
 “proposed: and that these men complained, that
 “they had no directions given to them which
 “way they might best serve the king; they knew
 “not what he desired, which when they should
 “do, it would quickly appear how much they
 “were at the king’s disposal, and all things which
 “now depended long would be hereafter despatch-
 “ed in half the time.”

The king wondered very much, “that his friends
 “in the house were no better informed, of which
 “he had never heard any complaint before, and
 “wished them to speak with the chancellor:”
 for neither of these men were yet arrived at the
 confidence to insinuate in the least degree any ill-
 will or prejudice to him, though they were not
 united in any one thing more than the desire of
 his ruin, and the resolution to compass it by all
 the ill arts and devices they could use; but till it
 should be more seasonable, they dissembled to
 both their masters to have a high esteem of him,
 having not yet credit enough with either to do
 him harm. They said, “they would very willingly
 “repair to him, and be directed by him: but they
 “desired that his majesty himself would first
 “speak to him (because it would not so well be-
 “come them) to call those persons, whom they
 “had recommended to him, to meet together
 “with the rest with whom he used to advise;
 “which the persons they named they were sure
 “would be very glad of, having all of them a great
 “esteem of the chancellor, and being well known
 “to him,” as indeed they were, and most of them
 obliged by him.

The king willingly undertook it: and being
 shortly after attended by the chancellor, his ma-
 jesty told him all that the other two had said to
 him, and did not forget to let him know the great
 good-will they had both professed towards him.
 He asked him “what he thought of such and
 “such men,” and particularly named Mr. Clifford
 and Mr. Churchill, and some other men of better
 quality and much more interest, “who,” he said,
 “took it ill that they were not particularly in-
 “formed what the king desired, and which way
 “they might best serve him;” and bade him,
 “that at the next meeting of the rest, these men
 “might likewise have notice to be present, toge-
 “ther with sir Harry Bennet and Mr. William
 “Coventry;” for Harry Coventry (who was a
 much wiser man than his brother, and had a
 much better reputation with wise men) was con-
 stantly in those councils.

The chancellor told him, “that great and noto-
 “rious meetings and cabals in parliament had
 “been always odious in parliament: and though
 “they might produce some success in one or two
 “particulars till they were discovered, they had
 “always ended unluckily; until they were intro-
 “duced in the late ill times by so great a com-
 “bination, that they could not receive any dis-
 “countenance. Yet that they, who compassed
 “all their wicked designs by those cabals, were
 “so jealous that they might be overmatched by
 “the like practices, that when they discovered
 “any three or four of those, who were used to
 “concur with them, to have any private meetings,
 “they accused them to conspire against the par-
 “liament. That when his majesty returned, and
 “all the world was full of joy and delight to serve

“him, and persons were willing and importunate
 “to receive direction how they might do it in
 “that convention; care had been taken without
 “any noise, or bringing any prejudice upon those
 “who were willing to be instruments towards
 “the procuring what was desirable, and to pre-
 “vent what would be ingrateful, that little notice
 “might be taken of them, which had good success.

“That since this parliament the lord treasurer
 “and he had, by his majesty’s direction, made
 “choice of some persons eminent for their affec-
 “tion to the crown, of great experience and known
 “abilities, to confer with for the better preparing
 “and conducting what was to be done in the
 “house of commons: but the number of them
 “was not so great as to give any umbrage. Nor
 “did they meet oftener together with them, than
 “upon accidents and contingencies was abso-
 “lutely necessary; but appointed those few who
 “had a mutual confidence in each other, and
 “every one of which had an influence upon others
 “and advised them what to do, to meet by them-
 “selves, either at the lord Bridgman’s or Mr.
 “Attorney’s chambers, who still gave notice to
 “the other two of what was necessary, and re-
 “ceived advice. That there were very few of any
 “notable consideration, who did not frequent to
 “both of them, either to dine with them or to
 “perform some office of civility; with every one
 “of whom they conferred, and said what was
 “necessary to inform and oblige them what was
 “fit for them to do.

“That two of those who were named by his
 “majesty, Mr. Clifford and Mr. Churchill, were
 “honest gentlemen, and received the advice they
 “were to follow from sir Hugh Pollard, who had
 “in truth a very particular influence upon all the
 “Cornish and Devonshire men. And that his
 “majesty might know that he had not been well
 “informed, that the others named by him took it
 “unkindly that they did not know his pleasure,
 “who were leading men, as indeed they were; he
 “assured his majesty that there was not one of
 “those, who was not particularly consulted with,
 “and advertised by some person who was chosen
 “by every one of them for that [purpose]; and
 “that they would by no means resort to any
 “meeting, fearing to undergo the odious name of
 “undertakers, which in all parliaments hath been
 “a brand: but as they had never opposed any
 “thing that related to his service, so upon any
 “private insinuation they had been ready to pro-
 “pose any thing which would not have been so
 “acceptable from any, who had been known to
 “have relation to his service, or to depend upon
 “those who had.”

He besought his majesty to consider, “whether
 “any thing had hitherto, in near three years,
 “fallen out amiss, or short of what he had ex-
 “pected, in the wary administration that had
 “been in that affair;” and did not conceal his
 own fears, “that putting it into a more open and
 “wider channel, his majesty’s own too public
 “speaking with the members of parliament, and
 “believing what every man who was present told
 “him passed in debates, and who for want of
 “comprehension as well as memory committed
 “many mistakes in their relations, would be at-
 “tended with some inconveniences not easy to
 “be remedied.” The king was not dissatisfied
 with the discourse, but seemed to approve it:

however he would have sir Harry Bennet, Mr. Clifford, and Churchill, called to the next meeting; and because they were to be introduced into company they had not used to converse with, that it should be at the chancellor's chamber, who should let the rest know the good opinion his majesty had of those who were added to the number.

By this means and with these circumstances this alteration was made in the conduct of the king's service in the parliament; upon which many other alterations followed by degrees, though not at once. Yet presently it appeared, that this introduction of new confidants was not acceptable to those, who thought they had very well discharged their trust. Sir Harry Bennet was utterly unknown to them, a man unversed in any business, who never had nor ever was like to speak in the house, except in his ear who sat next him to the disadvantage of some who had spoken, and had not the faculties to get himself beloved, and was thought by all men to be a Roman catholic, for which they had not any other reason but from his indifference in all things which concerned the church.

When they met first at the chancellor's chamber, as the king had directed, they conferred freely together with little difference of opinion: though it appeared that they, who had used to be together before, did not use the same freedom as formerly in delivering their particular judgments, not having confidence enough in the new comers, who in their private meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to advise; so that the other grew unsatisfied in their [conversation]. And though the meetings continued at one of the places before mentioned, some always discontinued their attendance; so that by degrees there were less resolutions taken than had been formerly; nor was there so cheerful a concurrence, or so speedy a despatch of the business depending in the house, as had been.

However, there appeared nothing of disunion in the parliament, but the same zeal and concurrence in all things which related to the king. The murmurs and discontents were most in the country, where the people began to talk with more license and less reverence of the court and of the king himself, and to reproach the parliament for their raising so much money, and increasing of the impositions upon the kingdom, without having done any thing for the redress of any grievance that lay upon the people. The license with reference to religion grew every day greater, the conventicles more frequent and more insolent, which disturbed the country exceedingly; but not so much as the liberty the papists assumed, who behaved themselves with indiscretion, and bragged as if they had a toleration and cared not what the magistrates could do. The parliament had a desire to have provided against those evils with the same rigour: but though there would have been a general consent in any provision that could be made against the fanatics and the conventicles, yet there would not be the like concurrence against the papists; and it was not possible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the court, that they might be sure to prevent the last, interrupted all that was proposed against the former, which they wished provided against, and chose to have neither out of fear of

both; which increased the disorders in the country, and caused more reflections upon the court: so that this session of parliament produced less of moment than any other.

And the king, after they had given him four subsidies, which was all the money they could be drawn to give, that he might part as kindly with them as he used to do, and upon discovery of several seditious meetings amongst the officers of the disbanded army, which he could best suppress when he had most leisure, he resolved to prorogue the parliament. And so sending for them upon the twenty-seventh of July, he thanked them for the present which they had made to him of the four subsidies, "which," he told them, "he would not have received from them, if it were not absolutely necessary for their peace and quiet as well as his: and that it would yet do him very little good, if he did not improve it by very good husbandry of his own; and by retrenching those very expenses, which in many respects might be thought necessary enough. But they should see that he would much rather impose upon himself, than upon his subjects; and that if all men would follow his example in retrenching their expenses, (which possibly they might do with much more convenience than he could do his,) the kingdom would in short time gain what they had given him that day." He told them, "he was very glad that they were going into their several countries, where their presence would do much good: and he hoped their vigilance and authority would prevent those disturbances, which the restless spirits of ill and unquiet men would be always contriving, and of which his majesty did assure them they promised themselves some effects that summer. And that there had been more pains and unusual ways taken to kindle the old fatal fears and jealousies, than he thought he should ever have lived to have seen, at least to have seen so countenanced."

He told them, "that he had expected to have had some bills presented to him against the several distempers in religion, against seditious conventicles, and against the growth of popery: but that it might be they had been in some fear of reconciling those contradictions in religion into some conspiracy against the public peace, to which himself doubted men of the most contrary motives in conscience were inclinable enough. He did promise them that he would lay that business to heart, and the mischiefs which might flow from those licenses; and if he lived to meet with them again, as he hoped he should, he would himself take care to present two bills to them to that end. And that, as he had already given it in charge to the judges, in their several circuits, to use their utmost endeavours to prevent and punish the scandalous and seditious meetings of sectaries, and to convict the papists; so he would be as watchful, and take all the pains he could, that neither the one or the other should disturb the peace of the kingdom." And adding many gracious expressions of his esteem and confidence in their affections, he caused them to be prorogued towards the end of March, which would be the beginning of the year 1664.

The king had an intention at that time to have prepared against the next meeting two such bills

as he mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the parliament had not presented such to him, which he well foresaw would not have been such as he should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous acts against all the other factions in religion, but did not think the papists had deserved the same severities, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the kingdom generally had resumed their old jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary behaviour of that people, who bragged of more credit in the court than they could justify, though most men thought they had too much: and that was the reason that he had commanded the chancellor to require the judges, who were then beginning their circuits, to cause the Roman catholics to be convicted, which he believed would allay much of the jealousies in the country, as for the present it did. And then he resolved to cause two such bills to be prepared for several reasons, of which the principal was, that he might divide them into two bills; presuming that when he had sent one against either, they would not affect reducing both into one, which was that which the catholic party most apprehended.

His majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent carriage of the catholics, and thought they did affect too much to appear as if they stood upon the level with all other subjects: and he received very particular and unquestionable information, that some priests had made it an argument to some whom they endeavoured to make their proselytes, "that the king was of their religion in his heart, and would shortly declare it to all the world;" with which his majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet persons might be proceeded against with severity. Yet he had no mind that any man should be put to death, which could hardly be avoided if any man should be brought to trial in the case aforesaid, except he had granted his pardon, which with these circumstances would have carried scandal in it. Besides, he did think the wisest of that party had not carried themselves with modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his majesty's honour. And therefore he had, without imparting it to any friends of theirs, given that direction to the judges for convicting them, as the best means to reclaim them to a better temper: and he had a purpose, that the bill he meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that part, without exposing them to any notable inconveniences in their persons or their fortunes, if they behaved themselves well and warily.

He did believe, that it was necessary for his service that they should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their numbers consisted of and amounted to, which he believed would be found much inferior to what they were generally computed, and then the danger from their power would not be thought so formidable: and it could be no prejudice to them without a further proceeding upon their conviction, which he was resolved to restrain, as he well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no man should suffer under those penal laws which had been made against them in the age before, if they lived like good subjects, and administered no occasion of scandal. And as he

was not reserved in declaring that his gracious purpose towards them, (as hath been said before;) so hitherto it had not been attended by any murmurs: and yet he was not without a purpose of keeping such a power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

His majesty did, in his judgment and inclination, put a great difference between those Roman catholics, who being of ancient extraction had continued of the same religion from father to son, without having ever been protestant, amongst whom there were very few who had not behaved themselves very worthily; and those, who since the late troubles had apostatized from the church of England to that of the Roman, without any such evidence of conscience, as might not administer just reason to suspect, that their inducements had been from worldly temptations. And he did resolve in his bill to make a distinction between those classes, and to prevent, or at least to discourage, those lapses which fell out too frequently in the court; nor did men believe that they need make any apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all places. He did resolve likewise to contract and lessen the number of the ecclesiastical persons, who upon missions resorted hither as to an infidel nation, (which was and is a grievance that the catholics would be glad to be eased in,) and to reduce them into such an order and method by this bill, that he might himself know the names of all priests remaining in the kingdom, and their several stations where they resided; which must have produced such a security to those who stayed, and to those with whom they stayed, as would have set them free from any apprehension of any penalties imposed by preceding parliaments.

But this design (which comprehended many other particulars) vanished as soon as it was discovered. The king's own discourse of a bill that he would cause to be drawn against the Roman catholics awakened great jealousies; nor did they want instruments or opportunities to discover what the meaning of it could be. Nor was the king reserved in the argument, but communicated it with those who he knew were well affected to that party, and to one or two of themselves who were reputed to be moderate men, and to desire nothing but the exercise of their religion with the greatest secrecy and caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the folly and vanity of some of their friends, and more particularly of the presumption of the Jesuits." And such kind of factions and divisions there are amongst them, which might be cultivated to very happy productions: but such ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own pretences, there is not amongst them.

These moderate men complained already, "that the king was deceived by their enemy the chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other reason, but because they knew he was irreconcilable to their profession; not that they thought he desired that the laws should be put in execution against them; and some of the chief of them believed him to be much their friend, and had obligations to him. But they all lamented this direction given to the judges for their conviction, "which," they informed the king, "was the necessary preamble to the highest persecution the law had prepared against them."

"That till they were convicted they were in the same predicament with the rest of his subjects; but as soon as they were convicted," (which the judges now caused to be prosecuted throughout the kingdom,) "they were liable to all the other penalties, which his majesty was inclined to protect them from." They presented to him a short memorial of the disadvantages which were consequent to a conviction, in which they alleged some particulars which were not clear in the law, at least had never been practised in the severest times.

Though the king had well weighed all he had done before he did it, and well knew, after all their insinuations and allegations, that none of those inconveniences could ensue to them, if he restrained any further prosecution, which he always had intended to do; yet they wrought so far upon him, that he was even sorry that he had proceeded so far: and though it was not fit to revoke any part of it, yet he cared not how little it was advanced. And for the bill he meant to present in the next session, they said, "all their security and quiet they had enjoyed since his majesty's happy return depended wholly upon the general opinion, that he had favour for them, and satisfaction in their duty and obedience as good subjects, and their readiness to do him any service, which they would all make good with their lives and all that they had. But if he should now discover any jealousy of their fidelities, and that there was need of a new law against them, which his purpose of providing a bill implied, what mitigation soever his majesty intended in it, it would not be in his majesty's power to restrain the passion of other men; but all those animosities which had been hitherto covered and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this occasion break out to their destruction: and therefore they hoped, that whatever bitterness the parliament might express against them when they came together, they should receive no invitation or encouragement by any jealousy or displeasure his majesty should manifest to have towards them."

These and the like arguments, or the credit of those who urged them, made that impression, that he declined any further thought of that bill; nor was there ever after mention of it. The catholics grew bolder in all places, and conversant in those rooms of the court into which the king's chaplains never presumed to enter; and to crown all their hopes, the lady declared herself of that faith, and inveighed sharply against the church she had been bred in.

During the interval of the parliament, there was not such a vacation from trouble and anxiety as was expected. The domestic unquietness in the court made every day more noise abroad: infinite scandals and calumnies were scattered amongst the people; and they expressed their discontents upon the great taxes and impositions which they were compelled to pay, and publicly reproached the parliament; when they were in truth vexed and grieved at heart for that which they durst not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the nation, and resolved to exercise it under greater tribulation than he had so lately freed them from. The general want of money was complained of, and a great decay of trade; so that the native commodities of the

kingdom were not transported. Yet both these were but pretences, and resulted from combinations rather than from reason. For it appeared by the customs, that the trade was greater than it had ever been, though some of our native commodities, especially cloth, seemed for some time to be at a stand; which proceeded rather from the present glut, which in the general license the interlopers had irregularly transported in great quantities, by which the prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a restraint for some time, which the merchant adventurers put upon themselves, and would have put upon the interlopers, who were at last too hard for them, even upon the matter to the suppressing the company, that had stood in great reputation for very many years, and had advanced that manufacture to a great height; and whether it deserved that discountenance, time must decide. How unreasonable the other discourse was of want of money, there needs no other argument, but the great purchases which were every day made of great estates; nor was any considerable parcel of land in any part of England offered to be sold, but there was a purchaser at hand ready to buy it.

However, these pretences, together with the sudden bringing up all the money, that was collected for the king, in specie to London, which proceeded from the bankers' advancing so much present money for the emergent occasions, for which they had those assignments upon the money of the country, did really produce such a sudden fall of the rents throughout the kingdom, as had never been known before: so that men were compelled to abate generally a fourth part of their annual rents at the least, or to take their lands into their own hands, for which they were as ill provided. All this mischief fell upon the nobility and greatest gentry, who were owners of the greatest estates, every body whose estate lay in land undergoing a share in the suffering, which made the discontent general; which they thought the best [way] to remedy would be to raise no more taxes, which they took to be the cause why the rents fell. In the mean time the expenses of the court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the king himself less intent upon his business, and more loved his pleasures, to which he prescribed no limits, nor to the expenses which could not but accompany them.

There was cause enough to be jealous of the public peace; there being every day discoveries made of private meetings and conferences between officers of the old army; and that correspondences were settled between them throughout the kingdom in a wonderful method; and that they had a grand committee residing in London, who had the supreme power, and which sent orders to all the rest, who were to rise in one day, and meet at several rendezvouses. Hereupon several persons were apprehended and committed to prison; and the king himself often took the pains to examine them; and they confessed commonly more to his majesty himself than upon any other examination. Proclamations issued often for the banishing all officers who had ever borne arms against the king twenty miles from London, which did more publish the apprehension of new troubles.

There can be no doubt, but that there were many seditious purposes amongst that people, of

which there often appeared so full evidence, that many were executed for high treason, who were tried and condemned by the judges at the general sessions at Newgate: yet there was often cause to believe that many men were committed, who in truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill company and in hearing idle discourses. Informing was grown a trade, which many affected to get money by: and as the king's ministers could not reject in a time of so much jealousy, so the receiving them gave them great trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as evidence against those they accused, pretending, sometimes with reason, "that if they were known they should be rendered useless for the future, whereas they were yet unsuspected and admitted into all councils." All the sects in religion spake with more boldness in their meetings, and met more frequently, than they had used to do in the times that sir Richard Browne and sir John Robinson had been lord mayors; and the officers who succeeded them proved less vigilant. A general despondency seemed to possess the minds of men, as if they little cared what came to pass; which did not proceed so much from malice, as from the disease of murmuring, which had been contracting above twenty years, and became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation.

There happened about this time an alteration in the court, that produced afterwards many other alterations which were not then suspected, yet even at that time was not liked in the court itself, and less out of it. The keeper of the privy purse, who was more fit for that province than for any other to which he could be applied, did not think himself yet preferred to a station worthy of his merit and great qualifications. Some promises the king had made to him when he was at Fuentarabia, and had long much kindness for his person and much delight in his company: so that his friend, Mr. O'Neile, who was still ready to put his majesty in mind of all his services, had nothing hard to do but to find a vacancy that might give opportunity for his advancement; and he was dexterous in making opportunities which he could not find, and made no scruple to insinuate to the king, "that the abilities of neither of his secretaries were so great but that he might be better served." Indeed his majesty, who did not naturally love old men, had not so much esteem of them as their parts and industry and integrity deserved, and would not have been sorry if either or both of them had died.

Secretary Nicholas had served the crown very many years with a very good acceptance, was made secretary of state by the late king, and loved and trusted by him in his nearest concerns to his death: nor had any man, who served him, a more general reputation of virtue and piety and unquestionable integrity throughout the kingdom. He was a man to whom the rebels had been always irreconcilable; and from the end of the war lived in banishment beyond the seas, was with his majesty from the time he left France (for whilst the king was in France with his mother, to whom the secretary was not gracious, he remained at a distance; but from the time that his majesty came into Germany he was always with him) in the exercise of the same function he had under his father, and returned

into England with him, with hope to repair his fortune by the just perquisites of his office, which had been very much impaired by his long sufferings and banishment. He had never been in his youth a man of quick and sudden parts, but full of industry and application, (which it may be is the better composition,) and always versed in business and all the forms of despatch. He was now some years above seventy, yet truly performed his office with punctuality, and to the satisfaction of all men who repaired to him: and the king thought it an envious as well as an ill-natured thing, to discharge such an officer because he lived too long.

The other secretary was secretary Morrice, whose merit had been his having transacted all that had been between the king and the general, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet he had behaved himself very well, and as much disposed the general as he was capable of being disposed; and his majesty had preferred him to that office purely to gratify and oblige the general; and he had behaved himself very honestly and diligently in the king's service, and had a good reputation in the house of commons, and did the business of his office without reproach. He had lived most part of his time in the country, with the repute of a wise man and a very good scholar, as indeed he was both in the Latin and Greek learning; but being without any knowledge in the modern languages, he gave the king often occasion to laugh at his unskilful pronunciation of many words. In the Latin despatches, which concern all the northern parts, he was ready, and treated with those ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestic affairs no man doubted his sufficiency, except in the garb and mode and humour of the court.

And the inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, lest it might grieve the general, whose friend and kinsman he was: so that there was no expedient to provide for sir Harry Bennet, but by removing secretary Nicholas by his own consent; for the king would not do it otherwise to so old and faithful a servant. And his majesty was the more inclined to it, because it would give him the opportunity to bring another person into the office of the privy purse, of whom he was lately grown very fond, and towards whom he had, when he came into England, a greater aversion than to any gentleman who had been abroad with him; and that was sir Charles Berkley, who was then captain of the duke of York's guard, and much in the good grace of his royal highness.

Whilst this intrigue was contriving and depending, great care was taken that it might not come to the notice of the chancellor, lest if he could not divert the king from desiring it, which they believed he would not attempt, he might dissuade his old friend the secretary, with whom he had held a long and particular friendship, from hearkening to any proposition, or to accept any composition; which they believed not unreasonably that the other would be very solicitous in, as well to keep a man in, whom he could entirely trust, as to keep another out, of whose abilities he had no esteem, and in whose affection he had no confidence: and it was thought by many, that the same apprehension prevailed with the good old man himself to cherish the secrecy. Certain

it is, that the whole matter was resolved and consented to, before ever the chancellor had a suspicion of it.

O'Neile, who had always the skill to bring that to pass by others which he could not barefaced appear in himself, insinuated to Mr. Ashburnham, who pretended, and I think had, much friendship for the secretary, "that the king thought the secretary too old to take so much pains, and often wished that his friends would persuade him to retire, that there might be a younger man in the office, who could attend upon his majesty at all hours and in all journeys; but that his majesty always spake kindly of him, and as if he resolved to give him an ample recompense:" and in confidence told him, "that the king had an impatient desire to have sir Harry Bennet secretary of state." Ashburnham was well versed in the artifices of court too; and thought he might very well perform the office of a friend to his old confidant, and at the same time find a new and more useful friend for himself, by having a hand in procuring a large satisfaction for the old, and likewise facilitating the way for the introduction of a new secretary, who could not forget the obligation. So he told O'Neile, "that all the world knew that he had for many years professed a great friendship for secretary Nicholas," (they had been both servants at the same time to the duke of Buckingham, when he was killed,) "and that he should be much troubled to see him displaced in his old age with contempt; but if his majesty would dismiss him with honour and reward, that he might be able to provide for his wife and children, he would make no scruple to persuade him to quit his employment." O'Neile had all he looked for, and only enjoined him secrecy, "that it might not come to the king's ear that he had communicated this secret to any man; and he did presume, that before any resolution was taken in it, his majesty would speak of it to the chancellor."

Within a day or two the king sent for Ashburnham, and told him "he knew he was a friend to the secretary, who was now grown old, and not able to take the pains he had done; that he had served his father and himself very faithfully, and had spent his fortune in his service; that if he were willing to retire, for without his consent he would do nothing, he would give him ten thousand pounds, or any other recompense he should choose," implying a title of honour: but intimated, though he referred all to his own will, "that he wished, and that it would be acceptable to him, that the office might be vacant and at his majesty's disposal."

He undertook the employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had passed from the king, and all that he knew before, to the secretary; who was not fond of the court, and thought he had lived long enough there, having seen and observed much that he was grieved at heart to see. He considered, that though this message was very gracious, and offered a noble reward for his service, it did withal appear that the king did desire he should be gone; and having designed a successor to him, who had already much credit with him, if he should seem sullen or unwilling, he might in a short time be put out without any

consideration, or at most with the promise of one. Thereupon he wished his friend "to assure the king, that he would very readily do whatsoever his majesty thought necessary for his service; but he hoped, that after above forty years spent in the service of the crown, he should not be exposed to disgrace and contempt. That he had a wife and children, who had all suffered with him in exile till his majesty's return, and for whom he could not make a competent provision without his majesty's bounty; and therefore he hoped, that before his majesty required the signet, he would cause the recompense he designed to be more than what he had mentioned, and to be first paid."

This province could not be put into a fitter hand, for it was managed with notable skill. And as soon as it was known that the secretary would willingly resign, which was feared, and that only a better recompense was expected, every body was willing that the king should [make] the act look as graciously as might be, that the successor might be attended with the less envy. And Mr. Ashburnham cultivated their impatience so skillfully, that it cost the king, in present money and land or lease, very little less than twenty thousand pounds, to bring in a servant whom very few cared for, in the place of an old servant whom every body loved: and he received all that was promised, before he resigned his place. And if the change had been as good for the king, as it was for the good old secretary, every body would have been glad. And thus sir Harry Bennet was at the king's charge accommodated, even to the satisfaction of his own ambition: and his majesty was as well pleased, that he had gotten sir Charles Berkley into the other office about his person, whom he every day loved with more passion, for what reason no man knew nor could imagine.

And from this time they who stood at any near distance could not but discern, that the chancellor's interest and credit with the king manifestly declined: not that either of these two pretended to be his rival, or appeared to cross any thing in council that he proposed or advised; on the contrary, they both professed great respect towards him. One of them, being no privy counsellor, made great professions and addresses to him by himself, and by some friends who had much credit with him; protested "against meddling at all in business, and that he only hoped to gain a fortune by his majesty's favour, upon which he might be able to live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that he did to his death wish that the chancellor's power should be lessened: and the other made all the professions imaginable of affection and respect to him, and repaired upon occasions to him for advice and for direction. Nor in truth could either of them have done him any prejudice at that time with the king by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by degrees got power to do it.

His majesty did not in the least degree withdraw his favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reserved in any thing; only in one particular he did with some solemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which he did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid seasonably saying any thing to him which he believed to be his duty, and

which his majesty never seemed to take ill. And whenever he spake to him of either of the other two gentlemen, which he frequently did with much kindness, he always added somewhat of both their respects and esteem for him, as a thing that pleased him well; and said once, "that it concerned them, for whenever he should discern it to be otherwise, he should make them repent it." Yet notwithstanding all this, from that time counsels were not so secret, and greater liberty taken to talk of the public affairs in the evening conversation, than had been before, when they happened sometimes to be shortly mentioned in the production of some wit or jest; but now they were often taken into debate, and censured with too much liberty with reference to things and persons; and the king himself was less fixed and more irresolute in his counsels; and inconvenient grants came every day to the seal for the benefit of particular persons, against which the king had particularly resolved, and at last by importunity would have passed. Lastly, both these persons were most devoted to the lady, and much depended upon her interest, and consequently were ready to do any thing that would be grateful to her.

There was another mischief contrived about this time, that had a much worse influence upon the public, except we shall call it the same, because it did in truth proceed from it. Though the public state of affairs, in respect of the distempers and discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great debt was little diminished, yielded little delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholic and dreadful apprehension of consequences: yet whilst the nation continued in peace, and without any danger from any foreign enemy, that the prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a distance, that they saw nothing worthy of any man's fear; and there was reasonable hope, that the expenses might every year be reduced within reasonable [bounds]. But all that hope vanished, when there appeared an immoderate desire to engage the nation in a war.

Upon the king's first arrival in England, he manifested a very great desire to improve the general traffick and trade of the kingdom, and upon all occasions, conferred with the most active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof. He erected a council of trade, which produced little other effect than the opportunity of men's speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than they could in such a crowd of commissioners. Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the duke of York, "for the erection of a company in which they desired his royal highness to preside," (and from thence it was called the Royal Company,) "to which his majesty should grant the sole trade of Guinea, which in a short time they presumed would bring great advantage to the public, and much profit to the adventurers, who should begin upon a joint stock, to be managed by a council of such as should be chosen out of the adventurers."

This privilege had before the troubles [been] granted by the late king to sir Nicholas Crisp and others named by him, who had at their own charge sent ships thither: and sir Nicholas had at his own charge bought a nook of ground, that lay into the sea, of the true owners thereof, (all that coast being inhabited by heathens,) and built thereon a good fort and warehouses, under which the ships lay; and he had advanced this trade so far before the troubles, that he found it might be carried on with very great benefit. After the rebellion began, and sir Nicholas betook himself to serve the king, some merchants continued the trade, and either by his consent or Cromwell's power had the possession of that fort, called Cormantine; which was still in the possession of the English when his majesty returned, though the trade was small, in respect the Dutch had fixed a stronger quarter at no great distance from it, and sent much more ships and commodities thither, and returned once every year to their own country with much wealth. The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices.

The model was so well prepared, and the whole method for governing the trade so rationally proposed, that the duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a charter to be granted from the king to this company with ample privileges, and his majesty himself to become an adventurer, and, which was more, to assist them for the first establishment of their trade with the use of some of his own ships. The duke was the governor of the company, with power to make a deputy: all the other officers and council were chosen by the company, which consisted of persons of honour and quality, every one of which brought in five hundred pounds for the first joint stock, with which they set out the first ships; upon the return whereof they received so much encouragement and benefit, that they compounded with sir Nicholas Crisp for his propriety in the fort and castle; and possessed themselves of another place upon the coast, and sent many ships thither, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes and other the king's plantations at their own prices, and brought home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same species, was coined of the gold that was brought from that coast by the royal company. In a word, if that company be not broken or disordered by the jealousy that the gentlemen adventurers have of the merchants, and their opinion that they understand the mysteries of trade as well as the other, by which they refuse to concur in the necessary expedients proposed by the other, and interpose unskilful overtures of their own with pertinacy, it will be found a model equally to advance the trade of England with that of any other company, even that of the East Indies.

From the first entrance into this trade, which the duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all councils,

which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall, it was easily discovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the English, which they were then willing to believe that they had no right to, for that the trade was first found out and settled there by the English; which was a sufficient foundation to settle it upon this nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same law that the Spaniard enjoys the West Indies, and the Dutch what they or the Portuguese possessed in the East. But this they quickly found would not establish such a title as would bear a dispute: the having sent a ship or two thither, and built a little fort, could not be allowed such a possession as would exclude all other nations. And the truth was, the Dutch were there some time before us, and the Dane before either: and the Dutch, which was the true grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the bank of a river, than we had done; and by the erection of more forts were more strongly seated, and drove a much greater trade, which they did not believe they would be persuaded to quit. This drew the discourse from the right to the easiness, by the assistance of two or three of the king's ships, to take away all that the Dutch possessed in and about Guinea, there having never been a ship of war seen in those parts; so that the work might be presently done, and such an alliance made with the natives, who did not love the Dutch, that the English [might] be unquestionably possessed of the whole trade of that country, which would be of inestimable profit to the kingdom.

The merchants took much delight to enlarge themselves upon this argument, and shortly after to discourse "of the infinite benefit that would accrue from a barefaced war against the Dutch, how easily they might be subdued, and the trade carried by the English. That Cromwell had always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greatest glory he had, and brought them upon their knees; and could totally have subdued them, if he had not thought it more for his interest to have such a second, whereby he might the better support his usurpation against the king. And therefore, after they had consented to all the infamous conditions of the total abandoning his majesty, and as far as in them lay to the extirpation of all the royal family, and to a perpetual exclusion of the prince of Orange, he made a firm peace with them; which they had not yet performed, by their retaining still the island of Poleroone, which they had so long since barbarously taken from the English, and which they had expressly promised and undertaken to deliver in the last treaty, after Cromwell had compelled them to pay a great sum of money for the damages which the English had sustained at Amboyna, when all the demands and threats from king James could never procure any satisfaction for that foul action."

These discourses, often reiterated in season and out of season, made a very deep impression in the duke; who having been even from his childhood in the command in armies, and in his nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war, in which he knew he could not but have the chief command. But these kind of debates, nor the

place in which they were made, could contribute little to an affair of so huge an importance, other than by inciting the duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the same thoughts into him, as an argument in which his honour would be much exalted in the eye of all the world: and to the good offices they were enough disposed by the restlessness and unquietness of their own natures, and by many other motives for the accomplishing their own designs, and getting more power into their own hands.

But there was lately, very lately, a peace fully concluded with the States General upon the same terms, articles, and conditions, which they had formerly yielded to Cromwell, being very much more advantageous than they had ever granted in any treaty to the crown. And at the time of the conclusion of the peace, they delivered their orders from the States General and their East India company for the delivery of the island of Poleroone to the English, and which Cromwell himself had extorted from them with the greatest difficulty: so that there was now no colour of justice to make a war upon them. Besides that there were at present great jealousies from Spain upon the marriage with Portugal; nor did France, which had broken promise in making a treaty with Holland, make any haste to renew the treaty with England. And therefore it could not but seem strange to all men, that when we had only made a treaty of peace with Holland, and that so newly, and upon so long consideration, and had none with either of the crowns, we should so much desire to enter into a war with them.

However, the duke's heart was set upon it, and he loved to speak of it, and the benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the king, whom he found no ways inclined to it, and therefore he knew it was unfit to propose it in council: yet he spake often of it to such of the lords of whom he had the best opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the opinion of the advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes he thought he left the king disposed to it, by an argument which he found prevailed with many: "that the differences and jealousies in point of trade, which did every day fall out and would every day increase between the English and the Dutch, who had in the late distractions gotten great advantages, would unavoidably produce a war between them; and then that the question only was, whether it were not better for us to begin it now, when they do not expect it, and we are better prepared for it than probably we shall be then; or to stay two or three years, in which the same jealousy would provoke them to be well provided, when probably we might not be ready. That we had the best sea officers in the world, many of whom had often beaten the Dutch, and knew how to do it again; and a multitude of excellent mariners and common seamen: all which, if they found that nothing would be done at home, would disperse themselves in merchant voyages to the Indies and the Straits; and probably so many good men would never be found together again."

And with such arguments he many times thought that he left the king much moved: but when he spake to him again (though he knew

that he had no kindness for the Dutch) his majesty was changed, and very averse to a war; which he imputed to the chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And he did take all the opportunities he could find to confirm the king in his aversion to it, who was in his heart averse from it, by presenting to him the state of his own affairs, "the great debt that yet lay upon him, which with peace and good husbandry might be in some time paid; but a war would involve him in so much greater, that no man could see the end of it. That he would be able to preserve himself against the factions and distempers in his own kingdom, and probably suppress them, if he were without a foreign enemy: but if he should be engaged in a war abroad, his domestic divisions, especially those in religion, would give him more trouble than he could well struggle withal."

"That it was an erroneous assumption, that the Dutch would be better provided for a war two or three years hence, and his majesty worse, for which there was no reason. That within that time it would be his own fault, if the distempers in his three kingdoms were not composed, which would make him much fitter for a war; whereas now neither of them could be said to be in peace, that of Ireland being totally unsettled, and that of Scotland not yet well pleased, and England far from it. That in that time it was very probable that the two crowns would be again engaged in a war; since it was generally believed, and with great reason, that France only expected the death of the king of Spain, who was very infirm, and meant then to fall into Flanders, having at the same time with great expense provided great magazines of corn and hay upon the borders, which could be for no other end. That whilst he continued in peace, his friendship would be valuable to all the princes of Europe, and the two crowns would strive who should gain him: but if he engaged in a war, and in such a war as [that with] Holland, which would interrupt and disturb all the trade of the kingdom, upon which the greatest part of his revenue did rise; all other princes would look on, and not much esteem any offices he could perform to them. And lastly, that a little time might possibly administer a just occasion of a war, which at present there was not."

These, and better arguments which the king's own understanding suggested to him, made him fully resolve against the war, and to endeavour to change his brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many things fell from the king in the argument, which had been alleged to himself by the chancellor, he concluded the mischief came from him, and was displeased accordingly, and complained to his wife, "that her father should oppose him in an affair upon which he knew his heart was so much set, and of which every body took so much notice;" which troubled her very much. And she very earnestly desired her father, "that he would no more oppose the duke in that matter." He answered her, "that she did not enough understand the consequence of that affair; but that he would take notice to the duke of what she had said, and give him the best answer he could." And accordingly he

waited upon the duke, who very frankly confessed to him, "that he took it very unkindly, that he should so positively endeavour to cross a design so honourable in itself, so much desired by the city of London; and he was confident would be very grateful to the parliament, and that they would supply the king with money enough to carry it on, which would answer the chief objection. That he was engaged to pursue it, and he could not but be sorry and displeased, that every body should see how little credit he had with him."

The chancellor told him, "that he had no apprehension that any sober man in England, or his highness himself, should believe that he could fail in his duty to him, or that he would omit any opportunity to make it manifest, which he could never do without being a fool or a madman. On the other hand, he could never give an advice, or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his judgment and conscience would be very mischievous to the crown and to the kingdom, though his royal highness or the king himself were inclined to it." He did assure him, "that he found the king very averse from any thought of this war, before he ever discovered his own opinion of it;" but denied not, "that he had taken all opportunities to confirm him in that judgment by arguments that he thought could not be answered; and that the consequence of that war would be very pernicious. That he did presume that many good men, with whom he had conferred, did seem to concur with his highness out of duty to him, and as they saw it would be grateful to him, or upon a sudden, and without making those reflections which would afterwards occur to them, and make them change their minds. That a few merchants, nor all the merchants in London, were [not] the city of London, which had had war enough, and could only become rich by peace. That he did not think the parliament would be forward to encourage that war; nor should the king be desirous that they should interpose their advice in it, since it was a subject entirely in the king's own determination: but if they should appear never so forward in it, he was old enough to remember when a parliament did advise, and upon the matter compel, his grandfather king James to enter into a war with Spain, upon promise of ample supplies; and yet when he was engaged in it, they gave him no more supply; so that at last the crown was compelled to accept of a peace not very honourable."

Beside the arguments he had used to the king, he besought his highness to reflect upon some others more immediately relating to himself, "upon the want of able men to conduct the counsels upon which such a war must be carried on; how few accidents might expose the crown to those distresses, that it might with more difficulty be buoyed up than it had lately been;" with many other arguments, which he thought made some impression upon the duke. And for some months there was no more mention or discourse in the court of the war; though they who first laid the design still cultivated it, and made little [doubt] of bringing it at last to pass.

At or about this time there was a transaction of

great importance, which at the time was not popular nor indeed understood, and afterwards was objected against the chancellor in his misfortunes, as a principal argument of his infidelity and corruption; which was the sale of Dunkirk: the whole proceeding whereof shall be plainly and exactly related from the beginning to the end thereof.

The charge and expense the crown was at; the pay of the land forces and garrisons; the great fleets set out to sea for the reduction of the Turkish pirates of Algiers and Tunis, and for guarding the narrow seas, and security of the merchants; the constant yearly charge of the garrison of Dunkirk, of that at Tangier, and the vast expense of building a mole there, for which there was an establishment, together with the garrisons at Bombayne and in Jamaica, (none of which had been known to the crown in former times;) and the lord treasurer's frequent representation of all this to the king, as so prodigious an expense as could never be supported; had put his majesty to frequent consultations how he might lessen and save any part of it. But no expedient could be resolved upon. The lord treasurer, who was most troubled when money was wanted, had many secret conferences with the general and with the best seamen, of the benefit that accrued to the crown by keeping of Dunkirk; the constant charge and expense whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly: and he found by them that it was a place of little importance. It is true that he had conferred of it with the chancellor, with whom he held a fast friendship; but found him so averse from it, that he resolved to speak with him no more, till the king had taken some resolution. And to that purpose he persuaded the general to go with him to the king and to the duke of York, telling them both, "that the chancellor must know nothing of it:" and after several debates the king thought it so counsellable a thing, that he resolved to have it debated before that committee which he trusted in his most secret affairs; and the chancellor being then lame of the gout, he commanded that all those lords should attend him at his house. Beside his majesty himself and the duke of York, there appeared the lord treasurer, the general, the earl of Sandwich, the vice-chamberlain sir George Carteret, who had been a great commander at sea, and the two secretaries of state. When the king entered the room with the lord treasurer, he desired his majesty, smiling, "that he would take the chancellor's staff from him, otherwise he would break his head." When they were all sat, the king told him, "they were all come to debate an affair that he knew he was against, which was the parting with Dunkirk; but he did believe, when he had heard all that was said for it and against it, he would change his mind, as he himself had done." And so the debate was entered into in this method, after enough was said of the straits the crown was in, and what the yearly expense was.

1. "That the profit which did or could accrue to the kingdom by the keeping of Dunkirk was very inconsiderable, whether in war or peace. That by sea it was very little useful, it being no harbour, nor having place for the king's ships to ride in with safety; and that if it were in the hand of an enemy, it could do us little pre-

judice, because three or four ships might block it up, and keep it from infesting its neighbours: and that though heretofore it had been a place of license at sea, and had much obstructed trade by their men of war, yet that proceeded only from the unskilfulness of that time in applying proper remedies to it; which was manifest by Cromwell's blocking them up, and restraining them when he made war upon them, insomuch as all the men of war left that place, and betook themselves to other harbours. That it was so weak to the land (notwithstanding the great charge his majesty had been at in the fortifications, which were not yet finished) by the situation and the soil, that it required as many men within to defend it, as the army should consist of that besieged it; otherwise that it could never hold out and endure a siege of two months: as it appeared clearly by its having been taken and retaken so many times within the late years, in all which times it never held out so long, though there was always an army at no great distance to relieve it.

2. "That the charge of keeping and maintaining it, without any accidents from the attempt of an enemy, did amount unto above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by the year, which was a sum the revenue of the crown could not supply, without leaving many other particulars of much more importance unprovided for." And this was not lightly or cursorily urged; but the state of the revenue, and the constant and indispensable issues, were at the same time presented and carefully examined.

3. "It could not reasonably be believed, but that if Dunkirk was kept, his majesty would be shortly involved in a war with one of the two crowns. The Spanish ambassador had already demanded restitution of it in point of justice, it having been taken from his master by the late usurper, in a time when there was not only a peace between his majesty and the king of Spain, but when his majesty resided, and was entertained by the catholic king, in Flanders: and at this time both France and Spain inhibited their subjects from paying those small contributions to the garrison at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to restrain the governor himself from enjoying some privileges, which had been always enjoyed by him from the time that it had been put into Cromwell's hands." And it was upon this and many other reasons then conceived, that as it would be very hard for the king to preserve a neutrality towards both crowns, even during the time of the war between them," (which temper was thought very necessary for his majesty's affairs;) "so it would be much more difficult long to avoid a war with one of them upon the keeping Dunkirk, if the peace that was newly made should remain firm and unshaken."

Upon these reasons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent judges, in respect of their several professions and great experience, the king resolved to ease himself of the insupportable burden of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in such a manner as might be most for his advantage and benefit. There remained then no other question, than into what hand to put it: and the measure of that was only who would give most money for

it, their being no inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough understood, that both crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably both make large offers for it. But it was then as evident, that whatsoever France should contract for, the king would be sure to receive, and the business would be soon despatched: whereas on the other hand it was as notorious and evident to his majesty, and to all who had any knowledge of the court of Spain, and of the scarcity of money there and in Flanders; that how large offers soever the Spaniard might make, they could not be able in any time to pay any considerable sum of money; and that there would be so much time spent in consult between Madrid and Brussels before it could be despatched, that the keeping it so long in his majesty's hands would in the expense disappoint him of a good part of the end in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that time probable, that the Spaniard would shortly declare himself an enemy; for besides that he demanded Dunkirk as of right, so he likewise required the restitution of Tangier and Jamaica upon the same reason, and declared, "that without it there could be no lasting peace between England and Spain," and refused so much as to enter upon a treaty of alliance with the king, before he should promise to make such a restitution.

There wanted not in this conference and debate the consideration of the States of the United Provinces, as persons like enough to desire the possession of Dunkirk, from whence they had formerly received so much damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever they should be engaged in any war: and if in truth they should have any such desire, more money might be reasonably required, and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the kings. But upon the discussion of that point, it did appear to every man's reason very manifest, that though they had rather that Dunkirk should be put into the hands of the Spaniard than delivered to France, or than it should be detained by the English; yet they durst not receive it into their own possession, which neither of the two crowns would have approved of, and so it would have exposed them to the displeasure, if not to the hostility, of both the kings.

Upon this full deliberation, his majesty inclined rather to give it up to France than to Spain; but deferred any positive resolution till he had imparted the whole matter to the council-board, where the debate was again resumed, principally, "whether it were more counsellable to keep it at so vast a charge, or to part with it for a good sum of money." And in that debate the mention of what had been heretofore done in the house of commons upon that subject was not omitted, nor the bill that they had sent up to the house of peers for annexing it inseparably to the crown: but that was not thought of moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the house of commons, upon the Spanish ambassador's first proposition for the restitution, so it was looked upon in the house of peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read, (which had been in the first convention soon after the king's return,) and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long debate of the whole matter at the council-board, where all was averred con-

cerning the uselessness and weakness of the place, by those who had said it at the committee; there was but one lord of the council who offered his advice to the king against parting with it: and the ground of that lord's dissenting, who was the earl of St. Alban's, was enough understood to have nothing of public in it, but to draw the negotiation for it into his own hands. In conclusion, his majesty resolved to put it into the hands of France, if that king would comply with his majesty's expectation in the payment of so much money as he would require for it: and a way was found out, that the king might privately be advertised of that his majesty's resolution, if he should have any desire to deal for it.

The advertisement was very welcome to the French king, who was then resolved to visit Flanders as soon as he should know of the death of the king of Spain, which was expected every day. Nor had he deferred it till then, upon the late affront his ambassador had received at London from the Spanish ambassador, (who by a contrived and laboured stratagem had got the precedence for his coach before the other; which the king of France received with that indignation, that he sent presently to demand justice at Madrid, commanded his ambassador to retire from thence, and would not suffer the Spanish ambassador to remain in Paris till he should have satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a war upon it,) if the king of Spain had not acknowledged the fault of his ambassador, and under his hand declared the precedence to belong to France; which declaration was sent to the courts of all princes: and so for the present that spark of fire was extinguished, or rather raked up.

The king sent M. D'Estrades privately to London to treat about Dunkirk, without any character, but pretending to make it his way to Holland, whither he was designed ambassador. After he had waited upon the king, his majesty appointed four or five of the lords of his council, whereof the chancellor and treasurer and general were three, to treat with M. D'Estrades for the sale of Dunkirk; when the first conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him to make the first offer for the price, which he could not be drawn to: so that the king's commissioners were obliged to make their demand. And they asked the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon the delivery of Dunkirk and Mardike into the possession of the king of France; which sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that he seemed to think the treaty at an end, and resolved to make no offer at all on the part of his master. And so the conference brake up.

At the next meeting he offered three millions of livres, which according to the common account amounted to three hundred thousand pistoles, which the king's commissioners as much undervalued; so that any further conference was discontinued, till he had sent an express or two into France, and till their return: for as the expectation of a great sum of ready money was the king's motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly charge; so they concluded that his necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate price. And after the return of the expresses, the king's commissioners insisting still upon what D'Estrades thought too much, and he offering what they thought too little, the treaty

seemed to be at an end, and he prepared for his return. In conclusion, his majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the king of France could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon the payment of five hundred thousand pistoles in specie at Calais to such persons as the king should appoint to receive it, his majesty's garrison of Dunkirk and Mardike should be withdrawn, and those places put into the hands of the king of France:" all which was executed accordingly. And without doubt it was a greater sum of money than was ever paid at one payment by any prince in Christendom, upon what occasion soever; and every body seemed very glad to see so vast a sum of money delivered into the Tower of London, as it was all together; the king at the same time declaring, "that no part of it should be applied to any ordinary occasion, but be preserved for some pressing accident, as an insurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

Nor was [there] the least murmur at this bargain in all the sessions of the parliament which sat after, until it fell out to some men's purposes to reproach the chancellor: and then they charged him "with advising the sale of Dunkirk, and that the very artillery, ammunition, and stores amounted to a greater value than the king received for the whole;" when upon an estimate that had been of all those, they were not esteemed to be more worth than twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the consideration of those, when the king's commissioners insisted upon their being all shipped for England, and the necessity of keeping them upon the place where they were, had prevailed with M. D'Estrades to consent to that sum of five hundred thousand pistoles. But whether the bargain was ill or well made, there could be no fault imputed to the chancellor, who had no more to do in the transaction than is before set down, the whole matter having been so long deliberated and so fully debated. Nor did he ever before, or in, or after the transaction, receive the value of half a crown for reward or present, or any other consideration relating to that affair: and the treatment he received after his coming into France was evidence enough, that that king never thought himself beholden to him.

A little before this time, the queen mother returned again for England, having disbursed a great sum of money in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerset-house. With the queen there came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, because the lord Crofts had been trusted to take care of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be the king's son, begotten upon a private Welch woman of no good fame, but handsome, who had transported herself to the Hague, when the king was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bed-chamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for some years in France in the king's sight, and at last lost his majesty's favour: yet the king desired to have the son delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which she would not consent to. At last the lord Crofts got him into his charge; and the mother dying at Paris, he had the sole tuition of him, and took

care for the breeding him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman. And the queen after some years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much grace; and upon the king's desire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age, very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that every body should believe him to be his son, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of [him] as his age required.

The general, during the time of his command in Scotland, had acquaintance with a lady of much honour there, the countess of Weemes, who had been before the wife of the earl of Buccleugh, and by him had one only daughter, who inherited his very great estate and title, and was called the countess of Buccleugh, a child of eight or ten years of age. All men believed, that the general's purpose was to get this lady for his own son, a [match] suitable enough: but the time being now changed, the lord Lautherdale, being a good courtier, thought his countrywoman might be much better married, if she were given to the king for this youth, towards whom he expressed so much fondness, those kinds of extractions carrying little disadvantage with them in Scotland; and the general, whatever thoughts he had before, would not be so ill a courtier as not to advance such a proposition. The lady was already in possession of the greatest fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother.

The king liked the motion well; and so the mother was sent to, to bring up her daughter to London, they being then both in Scotland. And when they came, the king trusted the earl of Lautherdale principally to treat that affair with the mother, who had rather have been referred to any other body, having indeed some just exceptions. They were both yet under the years of consent; but that time drawing on, such a contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the king, which was, "that the whole estate, for want of issue by the young lady, or by her death, should be devolved upon the young man who was to marry her, and his heirs for ever; and that this should be settled by act of parliament in Scotland." Matters being drawn to this length, and writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young gentleman must have a name, and the Scots advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was styled the king's natural son: and the king was every day pressed by the great lady, and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create him a nobleman of England; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that purpose.

Till this time, this whole matter was treated in secret amongst the Scots: but now the king thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the chancellor of all that had passed, shewed him the draught prepared by the Scots advocate, and asked him "what he thought of it," and likewise implied, "that he thought fit to give him some

“title of honour.” After he had read it over, he told his majesty, “that he need not give him any other title of honour than he would enjoy by his marriage, by which he would by the law of Scotland be called earl of Buccleugh, which would be title enough; and he desired his majesty to pardon him, if he found fault with and disliked the title they had given him who prepared that draught, wherein they had presumed to style him the king’s natural son, which was never, at least in many ages, used in England, and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified. That France indeed had, with inconvenience enough to the crown, raised some families of those births; but it was always from women of great quality, and who had never been tainted with any other familiarity. And that there was another circumstance required in Spain, which his majesty should do well to observe in this case, if he had taken a resolution in the main; which was, that the king took care for the good education of that child whom he believed to be his, but never publicly owned or declared him to be such, till he had given some notable evidence of his inheriting or having acquired such virtues and qualities, as made him in the eyes of all men worthy of such a descent. That this gentleman was yet young, and not yet to be judged of: and therefore if he were for the present married to this young lady, and assumed her title, as he must do, his majesty might defer for some years making any such declaration; which he might do when he would, and which at present would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit.”

Though the king did not seem to concur in all that was said, he did not appear at all offended, and only asked him, “whether he had not conferred with the queen his mother upon that subject.” When he assured him, “he had not, nor with any other person, and though he had heard some general discourse of his majesty’s purpose to make that marriage, he had never heard either of the other particulars mentioned;” the king said, “he had reason to ask the question, because many of those things which he had said had been spoken to him by the queen his mother, who was entirely of his opinion, which she used not to be;” and concluded, “that he would confer with them together,” seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the matter of the declaration, than in the other of the creation; and said, “there was no reason, since she brought all the estate, that she should receive no addition by her husband.” The queen afterwards took an occasion to speak at large to the chancellor of it with much warmth, and manifestation that she did not like it. But the king spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the declaration, and created him to be duke of Monmouth; very few persons dissuading it, and the lady employing all her credit to bring it to pass: and the earl of Bristol (who in those difficult cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only way to make the king’s friendship valuable.

Since the earl of Bristol is mentioned upon this occasion, it will not be unseasonable to give him

the next part in this relation. Though he had left no way unattempted to render himself gracious to the king, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such meetings and jollities as he was pleased with; and though his majesty had been several ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one time ten thousand pounds in money, with which he had purchased Wimbleton of the queen, and had given him Ashdown-forest and other lands in Sussex: yet he found he had not that degree of favour and interest in the king’s affections, as he desired, or desired that other people should think he had. The change of his religion kept him from being admitted to the council, or to any employment of moment. And whereas he made no doubt of drawing the whole dependance of the Roman catholics upon himself, and to have the disposal of that interest, and to that purpose had the Jesuits firm to him; he found that he had no kind of credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret consultations, and that the fathers of the society had more enemies than friends amongst the catholics.

His estate had been sold and settled by his own consent, upon the marriage of his eldest son twice to great fortunes: so that when he returned from beyond the seas, he could not return to his estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the king’s bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the measure he wished, though few persons tasted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all ways that were offered to get money, whether honourable or no, for he had not a great power over himself, and could not bear want, which he could hardly avoid, for he was nothing provident in his expenses, when he had any temptation from his ambition or vanity. Besides, his appetite to play and gaming, in which he had no skill, and by which he had all his life spent whatever he could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much money at Wimbleton in building and gardening, as the land was worth.

By all these means he found himself in straits, which he could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that degree, that he resolved to treat the king in another manner than he had ever yet presumed to do. And having asked somewhat of him that his majesty did not think fit to grant, he told him, “he knew well the cause of his withdrawing his favour from him; that it proceeded only from the chancellor, who governed him and managed all his affairs, whilst himself spent his time only in pleasures and debauchery:” and in this passion upbraided him with many excesses, to which no man had contributed more than he had done. He said many truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the presence of the lord Aubigny, who was as much surprised as the king; and concluded, “that if he did [not give him satisfaction] within such a time,” (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours,) “he would do somewhat that would awaken him out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business;” and added many threats against the chancellor. The king stood all this time in such confusion, that though he gave him more sharp words than

were natural to him, he had not that presentness of mind (as he afterwards accused himself) as he ought to have had; and said, "he ought presently to have called for the guard," it being in his own closet, "and sent him to the Tower."

The court and the town was full of the discourse that the earl of Bristol would accuse the chancellor of high treason, who knew nothing of what had passed with the king. And it seems when the time was past that he prescribed to the king to give him satisfaction, he came one morning to the house of peers with a paper in his hand; and told the lords, "that he could not but observe, that after so glorious a return with which God had blessed the king and the nation, so that all the world had expected, that the prosperity of the kingdom would have far exceeded the misery and adversity that it had for many years endured; and after the parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever parliament had done: notwithstanding all which, it was evident to all men, and lamented by those who wished well to his majesty, that his affairs grew every day worse and worse; the king himself lost much of his honour, and the affection he had in the hearts of the people. That for his part he looked upon it with as much sadness as any man, and had made inquiry as well as he could from whence this great misfortune, which every body was sensible of, could proceed; and that he was satisfied in his own conscience, that it proceeded principally from the power and credit and sole credit of the chancellor: and therefore he was resolved, for the good of his country, to accuse the lord chancellor of high treason; which he had done in the paper which he desired might be read, all written with his own hand, to which he subscribed his name."

The paper contained many articles, which he called Articles of High Treason and other Misdemeanors; amongst which one was, "that he had persuaded the king to send a gentleman (a creature of his own) to Rome with letters to the pope, to give a cardinal's cap to the lord Aubigny, who was almoner to the queen." The rest contained "his assuming to himself the government of all public affairs, which he had administered unskilfully, corruptly, and traitorously; which he was ready to prove."

The chancellor, without any trouble in his countenance, told the lords, "that he had had the honour heretofore to have so much the good opinion and friendship of that lord, that he durst appeal to his own conscience, that he did not himself believe one of those articles to be true, and knew the contrary of most of them. And he was glad to find that he thought it so high a crime to send to Rome, and to desire a cardinal's cap for a catholic lord, who had been always bred from his cradle in that faith: but he did assure them, that that gentleman was only sent by the queen to the pope, upon an affair that she thought herself obliged to comply with him in, and in hope to do some good office to Portugal; and that the king had neither writ to the pope, nor to any other person in Rome." He spake at large to most of the articles, to shew the impossibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the king's honour than upon his; and concluded, "that he

"was sorry that lord had not been better advised, for he did believe that though all that was alleged in the articles should be true, they would not all amount to high treason, upon which he desired the judges might be required to deliver their opinion; the which the lords ordered the judges to do." It was moved by one of the lords, "that the copy of the articles might be sent to the king, because he was mentioned so presumptuously in them;" which was likewise agreed; and the articles were delivered to the lord chamberlain to present to the king.

The chancellor had promised that day to dine in Whitehall, but would not presume to go thither till he had sent to the king, not thinking it fit to go into his court, whilst he lay under an accusation of high treason, without his leave. His majesty sent him word, "that he should dine where he had appointed, and as soon as he had dined that he should attend him." Then his majesty told him and the lord treasurer all that had passed between the earl of Bristol and him in the presence of the lord Aubigny; and in the relation of it expressed great indignation, and was angry with himself, "that he had not immediately sent him to the Tower, which," he said, "he would do as soon as he could apprehend him." He used the chancellor with much grace, and told him, "that the earl of Bristol had not treated him so ill as he had done his majesty; and that his articles were more to his dishonour, and reflected more upon him, for which he would have justice."

His majesty commanded the lord chamberlain to return his thanks to the house, "for the respect they had shewed to him in sending those articles to him;" and to let them know, "that he looked upon them as a libel against himself more than a charge against the chancellor, who upon his knowledge was innocent in all the particulars charged upon him;" which report the lord chamberlain made the next morning to the house; and at the same time the judges declared their opinion unanimously, "that the whole charge contained nothing of treason though it were all true." Upon which the earl of Bristol, especially upon what the lord chamberlain had reported from the king, appeared in great confusion, and lamented his condition, "that he, for endeavouring to serve his country upon the impulsion of his conscience, was discountenanced, and threatened with the anger and displeasure of his prince; whilst his adversary kept his place in the house, and had the judges so much at his devotion that they would not certify against him." The chancellor moved the house, "that a short day might be given to the earl, to bring in his evidence to prove the several matters of his charge; otherwise that he might have such reparation, as was in their judgments proportionable to the indignity." The earl said, "he should not fail to produce witnesses to prove all he had alleged, and more: but that he could not appoint a time when he could be ready for a hearing, because many of his most important witnesses were beyond the seas, some at Paris, and others in other places; and that he must examine the duke of Ormond, who was lieutenant in Ireland, and the earl of Lautherdale, who was then in Scotland, and must desire commissions to that purpose."

But from that day he made no further instance : and understanding that the king had given warrants to a sergeant at arms to apprehend him, he concealed himself in several places for the space of near two years ; sending sometimes letters and petitions by his wife to the king, who would not receive them. But in the end his majesty was prevailed with by the lady and sir Harry Bennet to see him in private ; but would not admit him to come to the court, nor repeal his warrants for his apprehension : so that he appeared not publicly till the chancellor's misfortune ; and then he came to the court and to the parliament in great triumph, and shewed a more impotent malice than was expected from his generosity and understanding.

We shall in the next place take a view of Scotland, whither we left Middleton sent the king's commissioner, who performed his part with wonderful dexterity and conduct, and with more success than some of his countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the debate upon his instructions, and the earnest advice and caution given by Lautherdale against any hasty attempt to make alteration in the matters of the church, which was at last left to the discretion of the commissioner, to proceed in such a manner, and at such a time, as he found most convenient. As soon as he came thither, he found himself received with as universal an exclamation, and the king's authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished ; and such a consent to every thing he proposed, that he made no question but any thing his majesty required would find an entire obedience. The earl of Glen-carne, who was chancellor, and the earl of Rothes, and all the nobility of any interest or credit, were not only faithful to the king, but fast friends to Middleton, and magnified his conduct in all their letters.

The earl of Crawford alone, who was treasurer, which is an office that cannot be unattended by a great faction in that kingdom, retained still his rigid affection for the presbytery, when the ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many follies and madnesses they had committed. But the earl of Crawford did all he could to raise their spirits, and to keep them firm to the kirk. In all other particulars he was full of devotion to the king, being entirely of the faction of Hamilton, and nearly allied to it ; and when the king was in Scotland had served him signally, and had then been made by him high treasurer of that kingdom ; and upon Cromwell's prevailing and conjunction with Argyle, was as odious as any man to them both, and had for many years been prisoner in England till the time of the king's return. There was always a great friendship between him and Lautherdale ; the former being a man of much the greater interest, and of unquestionable courage ; the other excelling him in all the faculties which are necessary to business, and a master in dissimulation.

Middleton, and the lords who went with him, and the general, (upon whose advice the king depended as much in the business of Scotland,) were all earnest with his majesty to remove the earl of Crawford from that great office, which would enable him to do mischief. But the king's good-nature prevailed over him, though he knew him as well as they did : and he thought it too

hardhearted a thing to remove a man, whom he found a prisoner for his service, from an office he had formerly conferred upon him for his merit, and which he had not forfeited by any miscarriage. And it may be it was some argument to him of his sincerity, that when others, who to his majesty's own knowledge were as rigid presbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all obligations from it, he, of all the nobility, was the only man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that he should upon the matter be undone by it. However, the king sent him down with the rest into Scotland, being confident that he would do nothing to disserve him, as in truth he never did ; and that, when the business of the church came to be agitated, if he did continue still refractory, he would take the staff from him, and resolved to confer it upon Middleton : who, though all things were very fair between him and Lautherdale, to whom all his despatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the English council, to whom the king had required the secretary to communicate all that he received from the commissioner, and all the despatches which he should make to him. And by this means no orders were sent from the king which restrained him from proceeding in the matter of the church according to discretion, as he was appointed by his instructions ; though Lautherdale did not dissemble, when letters came from Scotland " of the good posture the king's " affairs were in there, and that any thing might " be brought to pass that he desired," to receive other letters to which he gave more credit ; and was still as solicitous that nothing might be attempted with reference to the kirk.

As soon as the parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the commissioner found the temper of them to be such as he could wish, the marquis of Argyle (who had been sent by sea from the Tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treason and murder ; wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the resolution of taking the king's life, and advising it : and though there was great reason to suspect it, and most men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the evidence was so full and clear of so many horrid murders committed by his order upon persons in his displeasure, and his immediate possessing himself of their estates, and other monstrous and unheard of acts of oppression ; that the parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of an unusual height, and in or near the place where he had caused the marquis of Mountrose to be formerly executed : all which was performed the same day with the universal joy of the people ; the unfortunate person himself shewing more resolution and courage than was expected from him, and expressing much affection and zeal for the covenant, for which he desired all men should believe he was put to death. There was likewise one seditious preacher, Gilaspy, who had been a notorious and malicious rebel against the last and the present king, underwent the same trial and judgment, with the same faith in the covenant, and without show of repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that tribe, which had kindled the fire that had almost burned two kingdoms,

and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to justice; and that the lives of two men should be thought a sufficient sacrifice for that kingdom to offer for all the mischief it had done.

When this work was done, the parliament without hesitation repealed all those acts prejudicial to the crown and the royal dignity, which had been made since the beginning of the rebellion, and upon which all the rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved covenant with all the reproaches it deserved, and this even with the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the kirk. By all which the obstructions were removed; and it was now in the power of the king to make bishops as heretofore, and to settle the church in the same government to which it had formerly been subject. But the commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the king might yet be persuaded, though there was no such appearance, "that the people were against it, and that it would be better to defer it:" and therefore the parliament prepared a petition to the king, highly aggravating the wickedness of the former time in destroying episcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked devices to pass; and therefore they were humble suitors to his majesty, "that he would make choice of such grave divines, as he thought fit to be consecrated bishops, for all the vacant sees," they being at that time all vacant, there being not one bishop of the nation alive.

And the commissioner having declared that he meant to prorogue the parliament, they appointed a draught of an oath or subscription to be prepared against the next session, whereby every man, who was possessed of a church or any other ecclesiastical promotion in that kingdom, should be bound to renounce the covenant upon the penalty of being deprived; intimating likewise, that they resolved, at the next meeting, "that no man should be capable of holding any office, or of being a privy counsellor, who would not formally subscribe the same."

They settled a standing militia of forty thousand men, to be always ready to march upon the king's orders; and raised two good troops of horse, and provided for the payment of them; and granted such a sum of money to the king, as could be reasonably expected from so poor and harassed a country, and which would serve the defraying the necessary expenses thereof. And all this being done, and the prorogation made, the commissioner and some of the other lords came to London to kiss the king's hand, and to receive his further directions, having so fully despatched all his former orders. They brought likewise with them some other propositions, which will be mentioned anon.

The king received the commissioner with open arms, and was very well pleased with all that he had done; and nobody seemed to magnify it more than Lautherdale, who was least satisfied with it. Nor could he now longer oppose the making of bishops there: so having presented the names of such persons to the king who were thought fit to be consecrated bishops, whereof some had been with his majesty abroad, they were all sent for to London; and such of them who had not before received their ordination from a bishop,

but from the presbytery in Scotland, whereof the archbishop of St. Andrew's was one, first received orders of deacon and priest from the bishop of London, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual form by the bishops who were then near the town, and made so great a feast as if it had been at the charge of their country.

The commissioner, the chancellor, the earl of Rothes and others, with the lord Lautherdale, were deputed by the parliament to be humble suitors to the king; "since they had performed on their part all that was of the duty of good subjects, and were ready to give any other testimony of their obedience that his majesty would require; and since the whole kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and in such a posture that they were able as well as willing to preserve the peace thereof, and to suppress any seditious party that should attempt any disturbance; that his majesty would now remove the English garrisons from thence, and permit the fortifications and works, which had been erected at a vast charge, to be demolished, that there might remain no monuments of the slavery they had undergone." And this they demanded as in justice due to them, "since there were few men now alive, none in the least power, who had contributed to the ills which had been committed; and all the men of power had undergone for ten or a dozen years as great oppression as could be put upon them, because they would not renounce their fidelity to the king: and since it had pleased God to restore his majesty, they hoped he would [not] continue those yokes and shackles upon them, which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from returning to their allegiance."

This was proposed in the presence of those of the English council, who had been formally admitted to be of the council of Scotland, and continued to meet upon that affair. The Scots lords enlarged with much warmth "upon the intolerable oppression that nation had undergone, on the poverty they still suffered, and the impossibility of being able to bear any part of the charge, and the jealousy that it would keep up between the nations, which could not be to the king's profit and convenience." They had privately spoken before with the king upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what they desired had reason and justice in it; and the English lords could not upon the sudden, and without conference together, resolve what was fit for them to say: so that they desired, without expressing any inclination in the matter, "that the debate might be put off to another day;" which the Scots took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an argument that they thought it might be denied. But when they saw they would not presently speak to it, they were content that another day should be appointed for the consideration of it: and they afterwards desired the king, "that he would call the committee of the English council, who used to attend him in the most secret affairs, to consult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the Scots had reason to demand it. And they who thought it a bridle fit to keep in their mouths, to restrain them from future rebellions which they might be inclined to, could not easily resolve what answer should be given to them in the negative. And they who

thought the demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the king's benefit and advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a thing so capable of censure and reproach, in regard of the general prejudice which the English have against that people, that no particular person was able to bear the odium of the advice; nor that the king himself should take the resolution upon himself without very mature deliberation.

That which advanced the proposition as fit to be granted, was the charge of maintaining those forces; which that kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that Middleton and Glencarne (whose duties and entire devotion to the king were above all exception or suspicion) declared not only to the king, but to those of the lords with whom they would confer freely, "that if the king thought it necessary to keep that people still there, he must send more forces of horse and foot thither; otherwise they were not strong enough to subdue the whole kingdom, but would as soon as they stirred out of their garrisons be knocked in the head; nor would the country pay any thing towards their support, but what should be extorted by force: so that his majesty would not be thought to possess that kingdom in peace, which otherwise he would unquestionably do."

And this consideration was improved by the reflection upon the body of men of which those forces consisted, which was a parcel of the worst affected men to the king of the whole army, and which the general had therefore left in Scotland, when he marched into England under the command of major general Morgan, (who was worthy of any trust,) because he was not sure enough of their fidelity to take them with him, yet [thought them] fit enough to be left to restrain the Scots from any sudden insurrection. But now they saw all their model brought to confusion, they were not so much above temptation, but that they might, especially if they were drawn together, concur in any desperate design with a discontented party in Scotland, or with their brethren of the disbanded army of England, who at that season had rebellious resolutions in the north. And that which was of no small importance, there was at this very time an opportunity to transport all those forces (the very disbanding whereof would not be without danger for the reasons aforesaid) to Portugal, in compliance with the king's obligation upon his marriage.

On the contrary, it was very notorious that the people generally throughout England, of what quality soever, a few London presbyterians excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the Scots so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had Cromwell ever done an act that more reconciled the affections of the English to him, than his most rigorous treatment of that nation; and they never contributed money so willingly towards any of his designs, as for the erecting those forts in the several quarters of the kingdom; which, with a little addition of force, they had good experience would suffice to keep it from giving any disturbance to their neighbours. And the demolishing all those structures in one instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished people to their own inclinations, could not be grateful.

The king had, during the time that he resided

in Scotland before his march to Worcester, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect detestation of their kirk and presbyterian government, and a great prejudice against the whole family of Argyle and some other persons. But he was exceedingly reconciled to the nation; and besides the esteem he had of the persons of very many noblemen, he did really believe the burgesses and common people to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his disposal, as any subjects he had. And the lord Lautherdale cultivated this gracious credulity with so much diligence, that he assured the king, "that he might depend upon the whole Scots nation as upon one man, to be employed as one man in his service and commands of what kind soever, and against what enemy soever." His majesty upon the debate of this business declared, "that he did not only think it good husbandry in respect of the expense, and good policy, that he might keep Scotland entirely at his devotion, whilst Ireland remained in this confusion, and England itself was threatened by such factions in religion, to gratify them in what they desired; but that he held himself obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to send all the forces out of that kingdom, and to deface the monuments of that time: and that there would be no more to be consulted, but what to do with those forces," (which was quickly resolved, that they should be all sent for Portugal; and order was presently given for ships upon which they were to be embarked,) "and then to consider in what method the other should be done."

The Scots were very well [satisfied] with the king's resolution upon the main, but troubled at somewhat that the English lords proposed for the way, "that the privy-council first, and then the parliament, should be informed of his majesty's intentions: which," they said, "would be against the honour and the interest and the right of Scotland, which never submitted any of their concerns to be debated at the council-board of England; and the innovation would be no less in remitting it to the parliament, which had no pretence of jurisdiction over them." To both which they were answered, "that the withdrawing the English forces, and demolishing the English fortifications, concerned England no less than the other kingdom; and that his majesty did not intend it should be proposed to them, as a thing of which he made any doubt or required their advice, but only as a matter of fact, which would prevent all murmurings or censures, which otherwise might arise." The English lords desired, "that the king's orders might be very positive, and that the commissioner might see them executed, for the utter demolishing all those fortifications which the English were to abandon, that they might not be continued for the entertainment of new garrisons of the natives, which would administer matter of new jealousies:" all which they cheerfully consented to, well knowing that they might afterwards perform what they found convenient; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the places to be shelter to a rebellion hereafter.

The king appointed the chancellor to make a relation, at a conference between the two houses of parliament, "of the good posture his majesty's

"affairs of Scotland stood in; of their having repealed all those ill laws which had been made by the advantage of the rebellion, and all that concerned the church; upon which that his majesty forthwith resolved to settle bishops in that kingdom, which appeared very unanimously devoted to his service: and that the king could not but communicate this good news to them, which he knew would give them cause of rejoicing." And then he told them, "that the Scots parliament, in regard of the peace and quiet that they enjoyed, without the least apprehension of trouble from abroad or at home, had desired the king, that the English forces might be withdrawn and all the fortifications razed; and that those forces might be convenient, if his majesty thought fit, to be transported to Portugal;" without discovering what his majesty had resolved to do, or asking any opinion from them, which however they might have given if they pleased. The effect was, that both houses sent their humble thanks to the king "for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good condition of Scotland, of which they wished his majesty much joy; and hoped his other dominions would in a short time be in the same tranquillity:" without taking any notice of withdrawing the garrisons. And so that affair ended.

During this agitation in London, it was discernible enough that there were great jealousies between the Scots lords. The commissioner and the other had cause to believe, that the king gave much more credit to Lautherdale than to them, and looked upon him as a man of great interest in that country, when they knew he had none, being neither in his quality or fortune amongst those who were esteemed men of power and dependance. And he thought them linked in a faction against him, to lessen the value the king had of him, which indeed was the foundation of all his credit and interest. What countenance soever he set upon it, he was sensibly afflicted at the downfall of the presbytery, and that Middleton had brought that to pass without any difficulty, (as he had before told the king he would,) which he had assured his majesty was impossible to be effected but in long time and by many stratagems.

The marquis of Argyle had been a man universally odious to the whole nation, some ministers and preachers excepted: and there had been always thought to have been an implacable animosity from Lautherdale towards him; and after the king's return no man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his majesty's presence, or for his being sent into Scotland to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that he had interposed all he could with his majesty to save him, and employed all his interest in Scotland to the same purpose. And the marquis was no sooner executed, but the earl of Lautherdale had prevailed with the king immediately to give his son, the lord Lorne, (who had remained in London to solicit on his father's behalf,) leave to kiss his hand, and to create him earl of Argyle, and to confer on him the office of general justice in the Highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do most of the wickednesses he had committed; all which the parliament of Scotland should [have treated as] the most sensible affront to them that they could undergo.

It was well known that this young man, who was captain of the king's guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his majesty with that rudeness and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lautherdale had found opportunity to write, whilst he was a prisoner in England, to the king when he was beyond the seas, he inveighed equally against the son as the father, and never gave him any other title than, "That Toad's Bird:" so that nobody could imagine from whence this change could proceed, but from a design to preserve an interest in the presbyterian party against the time he should have occasion to use them.

Then there were circumstances in this grace of the king to the lord Lorne, that exceeded all men's comprehension: for his majesty caused all the estate of the marquis of Argyle, which did not appear in any degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the son so absolutely, that neither the owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their loyalty to the king, nor the creditors receive satisfaction for the just debts which were due to them, and which must have been satisfied if the king had retained the forfeiture. But upon the application of the commissioner and the other lords, that the king would hear all persons concerned, there was some mitigation in those particulars, notwithstanding all the opposition which Lautherdale did barefaced make on the behalf of the lord Lorne, and which the other bore with great indignation: which he knew very well, and did believe that the oath and subscription, which he well knew they had contrived for the next session of parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the secretary of Scotland's place might become void, which they had much rather should have been in any man's hand than in his. And therefore he took all occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant raillery against the presbytery, "that if they should require him to subscribe that he is a Turk, he would do it before he would lose his office."

The matter of these offences being most in private, and so not publicly taken notice of, they made a fair show and kept good quarter towards each other. And the king consenting to all that the commissioner proposed with reference to the public, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his comportment, and at parting promising to give him the office of treasurer, when by Crawford's refusing to subscribe it should become void; they, with all their bishops, returned again for Scotland with incurable jealousy of Lautherdale, who remained waiting upon the king, and resolved to cross all their designs he could, and quietly to expect a better opportunity to undo what he could not for the present prevent.

It is time now to return to the parliament of England, which, according to the time of the prorogation, met again in March towards the entrance into the year 1664: when at their first meeting the king informed them at large of the insurrection that had been endeavoured in the summer before in Yorkshire, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great instance of the distemper

of the nation ; that three years after the disbanding of the army, the officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal disturbance to the peace of the kingdom, by such a commotion as they could upon their credit raise.

The continual discourse of plots and insurrections had so wearied the king, that he even resolved to give no more countenance to any such informations, nor to trouble himself with inquiry into them ; but to leave the peace of the kingdom against any such attempts to the vigilance of the civil magistrates, and the care of the officers of the militia, which he presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatic design. And upon this resolution, and to avoid the reproach of the late times, of contriving plots only to commit men to prison against whom there was any prejudice, he totally neglected the first information he received of this seditious purpose. But when the intelligence was continued from several parts, and so particular for the time and place of the rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the city of York ; and there was evidence that some men of estate and fortune, and who were held wary and discreet men, were engaged in it ; his majesty thought it time to provide against it, and not only commended the care of it to the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties adjacent, but sent likewise several troops of his own horse to possess the city of York before the day appointed, and to attend some of the places of the rendezvous. And they came very seasonably, and surprised many upon the very place, before their company was strong enough to make resistance. Others did make some resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their examination behaved themselves as if they were sure to be quickly rescued ; for it appeared that they did believe that the insurrection would have been general throughout the kingdom, and that all the disbanded army would have been brought together at several rendezvous.

All the prisons in the north were so full, that the king thought it necessary to send down four or five of the judges of the several benches of Westminster-hall to York, with a commission of oyer and terminer, to examine the whole matter. There, though the judges did not believe that they had discovered the bottom of the whole conspiracy, they found cause to condemn very many ; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in prison to be tried at the next assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the man who was most looked upon was one Rymer, of the quality of the better sort of grand-jurymen, and held a wise man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest men who had been in rebellion : and he was discovered by a person of intimate trust with him, who had heretofore the same affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a sullen man, and used few words to excuse himself, and none to hurt any body else ; though he was thought to know much, and that having a good estate he would never have embarked in a design that had no probability of success. Some of the prisoners declared, "that they were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great men would appear at the rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient ground to

trouble any man, though some of them were very liable to suspicion ; since in all combinations of that kind, it is a most usual artifice to work upon weak men, by persuading them that other men, of whom they have great esteem, are engaged in it, who in truth know nothing of it.

The judges were returned from York little time before the parliament met ; and therefore the king thought it fit to awaken them to much vigilance, by informing them with what secrecy that conspiracy had been carried. And his majesty assured them, "that he was not yet at the bottom of that business ; and that it appeared manifestly, that this conspiracy was but a branch of that which he had discovered as well as he could to them about two years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if he had not by God's goodness come to the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, and so secured them from doing the mischief they intended."

His majesty told them, "that they would wonder (yet he said what was true) that they were now even in those parts, when they see their friends under trial and execution, still pursuing the same consultations : and it was evident that they had correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in London itself, from which they received their directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last intended insurrection. But those orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their destruction." He said, "he knew more of their intrigues, than they thought he did ; and hoped he should shortly discover the bottom : in the mean time he desired the parliament, that they might all be as watchful to prevent, as they were to contrive their mischief." He said, "he could not upon this occasion omit to tell them, that these desperate men in their counsels (as appeared by several examinations) had not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolutions. Some would still insist upon the authority of the long parliament, of which they say they have members enough willing to meet : others have fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own, upon some clause in the triennial bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since ; and that for want of new writs they may assemble themselves, and choose members for parliament : and that this is the best expedient to bring themselves together for their other purposes. For the long parliament," his majesty said, "that he and they together could do no more than he had done to inform and compose the minds of men ; let them proceed upon that at their peril. But he thought there had been nothing done to disabuse men in respect of the triennial bill. He confessed that he had often himself read over that bill ; and though there is no colour for the fancy of the determination of this parliament ; yet he would not deny to them, that he had always expected that they would, and even wondered that they had not considered the wonderful clauses in that bill, which had passed in a time very uncareful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of the people." His majesty desired the speaker and the gentlemen of the house of commons, "that they would once give that triennial bill a read-

"ing in their house; and then in God's name
 "they might do what they thought fit for him,
 "themselves, and the whole kingdom." His ma-
 "jesty said, "that he needed not tell them how
 "much he loved parliaments: never king was so
 "much beholding to parliaments as he had been;
 "nor did he think that the crown could ever be
 "happy without frequent parliaments. But he
 "wished them to assure themselves, that if he
 "should think otherwise, he would never suffer
 "a parliament to come together by the means
 "prescribed by that bill."

He renewed his thanks to them "for the free
 "supply they gave him the last session of four
 "subsidies; yet he could not but tell them, that
 "that supply was fallen much short of what he
 "expected and they intended. That it would
 "hardly be believed, yet they knew it to be true,
 "that very many persons, who have estates of
 "three or four thousand pounds by the year, do
 "not pay for these four subsidies sixteen pounds:
 "so that whereas they intended and declared,
 "that they should be collected according to
 "former precedents, they do not now arise to
 "half the proportion they did in the time of
 "queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown wants
 "more now than it did then, and the subject is
 "at least as well able to give." His majesty said,
 "the truth is, by the license of the late ill time,
 "and ill humour of this, too many of the people,
 "and even of those who make fair professions,
 "believe it to be no sin to defraud the crown of
 "any thing that is due to it. That they no sooner
 "gave him tonnage and poundage, than men
 "were devising all the means they could to steal
 "custom; nor could the farmers be so vigilant
 "for the collection, as others were to steal the
 "duties. They gave him the excise, which all
 "people abroad believed to be the most insens-
 "ible imposition that can be laid upon a people:
 "what conspiracies and combinations were en-
 "tered into against it by the brewers, who he
 "was sure did not bear the burden themselves,
 "even to bring that revenue to nothing, they
 "would hear in Westminster-hall. They had
 "given him the chimney-money, which they had
 "reason to believe was a growing revenue, for
 "men build at least fast enough; and they would
 "therefore wonder, that it was already declined,
 "and that this half year brings in less than the
 "former did." He desired them therefore, "that
 "they would review that bill; and since he was
 "sure that they would have him receive whatso-
 "ever they gave, that he might have the collect-
 "ing and husbanding of it by his own officers,
 "and then he doubted not but to improve that
 "receipt, and he would be cozened as little as he
 "could."

His majesty concluded with "desiring and
 "conjuring them to keep a very good corre-
 "spondence together, that it might not be in the
 "power of any seditious or factious spirits to
 "make them jealous of each other, or either of
 "them jealous of him, till they see him pretend
 "one thing and do another, which he was sure
 "they had never yet done." He assured them,
 "it should be in nobody's power to make him
 "jealous of them." And so desired them, "that
 "they would despatch what they found neces-
 "sary, that they might be ready for a session
 "within two months or thereabout, because the

"season of the year would invite them all to take
 "the country air."

It was very happy for his majesty, that he did
 cut out their work to their hand, and asked no
 money of them, and limited them a short time to
 continue together. It made their counsels very
 unanimous: and though they raised no new taxes
 and impositions upon the people, they made what
 they had before raised much more valuable to the
 king than it was before, by passing other acts and
 declarations for the explaining many things, and
 the better collecting the money they had formerly
 given; which much added to his majesty's profit
 without grieving the people, who were rather gra-
 tified in the remedies which were provided against
 frauds and cozenage.

The parliament had sat but very little more
 than ten days, when they presented a bill to his
 majesty for the repeal of the triennial bill, which
 he had recommended to them; and which was so
 grateful to him, that he came in person to the
 house to pass it and to thank them: and he told
 them, "that every good Englishman would thank
 "them for it; for it could only have served to
 "discredit parliaments, to make the crown jealous
 "of parliaments and parliaments of the crown,
 "and persuaded neighbour princes that England
 "was not governed under a monarch." The
 truth is: it had passed in a very jealous and sedi-
 tious time, when the wickedness was first in hatch-
 ing, that ripened afterwards to a dismal perfec-
 tion; and when all, who were sworn never to
 consent to the disherison of the crown, thought
 only of preserving their own inheritance which
 they had gotten, or improving it at the expense
 of the crown; and made it manifest enough, that
 it should wither, at least while it stood upon the
 head of that king; for at that time the conspiracy
 went no further, that is amongst those who had
 then credit to promote its passage, though they
 were weak men who thought it could rest there.

As they made this entrance, so they were wholly
 intent upon matters of moment, and despatched
 all they intended to do within the two months, in
 which the king desired they would be ready for a
 prorogation. And as there was greater order and
 unanimity in their debates, so they despatched
 more business of public importance and conse-
 quence, than any other parliament had done in
 twice the time: for, besides the repeal of the
 odious bill before mentioned, they made a very
 good additional bill for the chimney-money, which
 made that revenue much more considerable; and
 they passed likewise another bill against the fre-
 quenting of conventicles, which was looked upon
 as the greatest discountenance the parliament had
 yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it
 had been vigorously executed would no doubt
 have produced a thorough reformation. They
 made likewise a very good act, and very necessary
 for a time of such corruption, that had contracted
 new ways of dishonesty and villany that former
 times had not thought of, when many unworthy
 and cowardly masters of ships and seamen had
 been contented to be robbed, and to [suffer] all
 their owners' goods to be taken, upon an allow-
 ance made to them by the pirates; for the dis-
 covery and punishment whereof the law had not
 enough provided. They therefore presented a
 bill to the king, "for the discovery and punish-
 "ment of all such treacherous and infamous

"actions; and for the reward of such honest and stout seamen, as should manfully and courageously defend their owners' goods, and therein maintain the honour of the nation."

All this they presented to his majesty, and was confirmed by his royal assent on the seventeenth of May; when his majesty, after giving such thanks to them as they deserved, told them, "he did not intend to bring them together again till the month of November, that they might enjoy the summer in the transaction of their own affairs: yet because there might some emergent occasion fall out, that might make him wish to find them together sooner, he would prorogue them only to August; and before the day they should have seasonable notice, by proclamation, not to give their attendance, except such occasion should fall out." And so they were prorogued to a day in August, but met not till November following.

During this short session of parliament, they, who were very solicitous to promote a war with Holland, forgot not what they had to do; but they quickly discerned that it was not a good season to mention the giving of money, (which the king himself had forborne to mention, that the people might see one session of parliament pass without granting new impositions, which they had not yet seen,) and therefore it would be as unseasonable to speak of a war. However, they made such an approach towards it, as might make a further advance much more easy.

The merchants in the committee of trade much lamented the obstructions and discouragements, which they had long found in their commerce by sea, and with other nations, and which were not removed even by the blessed return of the king; all which they imputed to the pride and insolence of the Hollanders, "who," they said, "observed no laws of commerce, or any conditions which themselves consented to. That by their fraud and practice the English were almost driven out of the East and West Indies, and had their trade in Turkey and in Africa much diminished. In sum, that besides many insufferable indignities offered by them to his majesty and to the crown of England, his subjects had in few years sustained the damage of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds sterling."

All which with some particular instances being reported from the committee of trade to the house, they had desired an audience from his majesty, and then presented this grievance to him, and desired his majesty, "that he would give such order in it, as to his wisdom should seem fit, that might produce just and honourable satisfaction." The king, who continued firm to his former resolution, answered them, "that he would transmit the address they had presented to him to his resident at the Hague, with order that he should inform the States of it, and require satisfaction, which he hoped the States General would yield unto, rather than they compel him to demand justice in another way." The answer pleased them well, nor could they wish that the prosecution should be put into a better hand than the resident's, who was a member of the house, and a man who had inflamed them more than the merchants themselves against the Dutch.

That resident was sir George Downing, a man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education,

which he had received in part in New England: he had passed through many offices in Cromwell's army, of chaplain, scoutmaster, and other employments, and at last got a very particular credit and confidence with him, and under that countenance married a beautiful lady of a very noble extraction, which was the fate of many bold men in that presumptuous time. And when Cromwell had subdued the Dutch to that temper he wished, and had thereupon made a peace with them, he sent this man to reside as his agent with them, being a man of a proud and insolent spirit, and [who] would add to any imperious command of his somewhat of the bitterness of his own spirit.

And he did so fully execute his charge in all things, especially when he might manifest his animosity against the royal party, that when the king himself had once, during his residence at Brussels, for his divertisement made a journey incognito, with not above four persons, to see Amsterdam, and from thence the towns of North Holland; Downing coming to have notice of it delivered a memorial to the States of Holland, wherein he enclosed the third article of their treaty, by which they were obliged "not to suffer any traitor, rebel, or any other person, who was declared an enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reside or stay in their dominions;" and told them, "that Charles Stuart and the marquis of Ormond had been lately in Amsterdam, and were still in some places adjacent;" and required "that they might not be permitted to remain in any part of their dominions." Whereupon the States of Holland sent presently to the princess royal, who was then at her country house at Hounslerdike, "that if her brother were then with her or should come to her, he should forthwith depart out of their province:" and not satisfied herewith, they published an order in the Hague to the same purpose, which was sent to Amsterdam and other towns according to their custom.

With this rude punctuality he behaved himself during the life of Cromwell, and whilst his son retained the usurpation; but when he saw him thrown out with that contempt, and that the government was not like to be settled again till there was a resort to the old foundation, he bethought himself how he might have a reserve of the king's favour. And the marquis of Ormond making about that time a journey incognito to the Hague, [to treat of] a marriage for his eldest son with a noble lady whose friends lived there, Downing found opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made offer of his service to the king, if his devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his majesty. And for an earnest of his fidelity, he informed him of some particulars which were of moment for the king to know: amongst which one was, "that a person, who in respect of his very honourable extraction, and the present obligations himself had to the royal family, was not suspected, gave him, as he had long done, constant intelligence of what the king did, and of many particulars which in their nature deserved to be more secret, which he had always sent to Cromwell whilst he was living; but since his death, having a resolution to serve the king, he had never discovered him, and would hereafter give him notice of any thing that it would be necessary [for

"him] to be informed of with reference to England or to Holland."

The marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an instrument, and promised him "to acquaint his majesty with his good affection, who he presumed would receive it graciously, and give him as much encouragement to continue it as his present condition would permit." To which the other replied, "that he knew the king's present condition too well to expect any reward from him: but if his majesty would vouchsafe, when he should be restored, to confirm to him the office he then held of a teller in the exchequer, and continue him in this employment he then had in Holland, where he presumed he should be able to do him more service than a stranger could do, he would think himself abundantly rewarded." Of all which when the marquis advertised the king at his return to Brussels, he had authority to assure him "of the king's acceptance, and that all that he expected should be made good."

This was the ground and reason, that when the king came to the Hague the year following to embark for England, he received Downing so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his resident; which they who were near the king, and knew nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as strangers who had observed his former behaviour. And the States themselves, who would not at such a time of public joy do any thing that might be ingrateful to his majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, "that his majesty would depute a person to have his authority, who had never used any other dialect to persuade them to do any thing he proposed, but threats if they should not do it, and who at several times had disobliged most of their persons by his insolence." And from the time of his majesty's departure from thence, he never made those representations which men in those ministeries used to do, but put the worst commentaries upon all their actions. And when he sat afterwards as a member of the house, returning still in the interval of parliament to his employment at the Hague, he took all opportunities to inveigh against their usurpations in trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their mysteries of iniquity, in opening of which he rendered himself acceptable to the house, though he was a voluminous speaker, which naturally they do not like.

When this province was committed to him of expostulation for the injuries sustained in several places from the Dutch, he had his wish, and used little modesty in the urging of it. They answered, "that most of the particulars of which he complained were put under oblivion by the late treaty, and that in consideration thereof they had yielded to many particulars for the benefit of the English; and that for the other particulars, they were likewise by the same treaty referred to a process in justice, of which they had yet no cause to complain: nor had there been any action pretended to be committed since the treaty was concluded," which was not many months before, "that might occasion a misunderstanding." And surely at this time when these things were urged all this was true: but he, according to the method he had been accustomed [to], insisted upon his own demands; and fre-

quently reproached them with their former submissions to Cromwell, and their present presumptions upon the goodness and generosity of the king.

It is without question, that the States General did, by the standard of their own wariness and circumspection, not suspect that the king did intend to make a war upon them. They well knew the straits and necessities in which his affairs stood, with reference to money, and to the several distempers of the nation in matters of religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign war; and concluded, that Downing's importunities and menaces were but the results of his own impetuosity, and that the king would not be solicitous to interrupt and part with his own peace. And therefore their own ships they sent out as they used to do, and those for the coast of Guinea better prepared and stronger than of course. Nor was the royal company less vigilant to carry on that trade, but about the same time sent a stronger fleet of merchants' ships than they had ever before done; and for their better encouragement the king lent them two of his own ships for a convoy.

And at this time they gave the king an advantage in point of justice, and which concerned all other nations in point of traffick and commerce. It had been begun by them in the East Indies; where after they had planted themselves in great and strong towns, and had many harbours well fortified, in which they constantly maintained a great number of good and strong ships; by which they were absolute masters of those seas, and forced the neighbour kings and princes to enter into such terms of amity with them as they thought fit to require. And if they found that any advantageous trade was driven in any port by any other nation, they presently sent their ships to lie before that port, and denounced war against the prince to whom that port belonged; which being done, they published a declaration, "that it should not be lawful for any nation whatsoever to trade in the territories of that prince with whom they then were in war." And upon this pretence they would not suffer an English ship, belonging to the East India company, to enter into a port to lade and take in a cargason of goods, that had been provided by their factors there before there was any mention or imagination of such a war, and of which there was no other instance of hostility than the very declaration. And at this time they transplanted this new prerogative to Guinea: and having, as they said, for there was no other evidence of it, a war with one of those princes, they would not suffer the English ships to enter into those harbours where they had always traded. The king received animadversion of this unheard of insolence and usurpation, and added this more just complaint to the former, and required his resident "to demand a positive renunciation of all pretence to such an odious usurpation, and a revocation of those orders which their officers had published." To this complaint and demand they deferred to make answer, till their ambassador had presented a grievance to the king.

One of those ships of war, which the king had lent to the royal company for the convoy of their fleet to Guinea, had in the voyage thither assaulted and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch near Cape Verde; which was of more incommodity to

them than of benefit to the English. Of this invasion their ambassador made a loud complaint, and demanded, "that the captain might be punished severely; and in the mean time that the king would give a present order to him, the ambassador, for the redelivery of the place and all that was in it, and he would send it to his masters, who would forthwith send a ship to demand it." The king had in truth heard nothing of it; and assured the ambassador, "that the captain, if he had done any such thing, had not the least commission or authority for the doing it; and that he was sure he was upon his way homeward, so that he might be expected speedily; and then he should be sure to undergo such punishment as the nature of his offence required, when the matter should be examined, and they should then receive full reparation." This answer, how reasonable soever, satisfied them not: nothing would serve [their] turn but a present restitution, before his majesty could be informed of the provocation or ground that had produced so unwarrantable an action. They gave present orders for the equipping a very great fleet, and the raising many land soldiers, making greater preparations for war than they had made in many years before. They likewise prepared a strong fleet for Guinea, and granted a commission (which was published in print) to the commander in chief, "to make war upon the English in those parts, and to do them all the mischief they could."

Prince Rupert, who had been heretofore with the fleet then under his command, in the beginning of the king's reign, upon the coast of Guinea, (and by the report and testimony he gave of that coast the royal company had received great encouragement,) and now upon this insolent demeanour of the Dutch, and publishing the commission they had sent to their commander in chief, he offered his service to the king, "to sail into those parts with such a fleet as his majesty thought fit to send, with which he made little doubt to secure trade, and abate the presumption of the Dutch." And hereupon a fleet was likewise preparing for that purpose, to be commanded by prince Rupert.

The parliament had before declared, when they made their address to the king against the Dutch for obstructing the trade, "that they would with their lives and fortunes assist his majesty against all oppositions whatsoever, which he should meet with in the removal of those obstructions;" which they believed would terrify, but in truth made the Dutch merry: and in some of their declarations or answers to Downing's memorials, they mentioned it with too much pride and contempt. And in this posture the disputes were when the parliament met again in November, which came together for the most part without a desire either to give money or make war. And Downing, who laboured heartily to incense us and to provoke them, in all his despatches declared, "that all those insolences proceeded only from the malignity of the States of Holland, which could vent itself no further than in words; but that the States General, without whose concurrence no war could be made, abhorred the thought of it:" and there is no doubt that was true. And the Dutch ambassador, who remained at London, and was a very honest weak man, and did all the offices he could to prevent it, did not

think it possible it could come to pass; "and that there might be some scuffles upon the coast of Guinea, by the direction of the West India company, of whose actions the States General took notice, but would cause justice to be done upon complaint, and not suffer the public peace to be disturbed upon their pretences." And so the king forbore to demand any supply from the parliament, because an ordinary supply would rather discredit his demands than advance them, and he could not expect an extraordinary supply but when the war was unquestionable. And the States General at this time were made a property by the States of Holland, (who had given private orders for their own concerns,) and presented an humble desire to the king by their ambassador, "that prince Rupert's fleet might stay in harbour, as theirs likewise that was prepared for Guinea should do, till some means might be found for the accommodation of all differences." Whereas before they pretended, that they would send their Guinea fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their admiral with a fleet of fifty sail; which report had before stopped prince Rupert, when he was under sail for Guinea, to wait and expect that piece of bravery. But this address from the States General made all men believe there would be an accommodation, without so much as any hostility in Guinea.

But it was quickly discovered, that they were the honester men when they gave the worst words. For before the States General sent to the king to stop prince Rupert in harbour, "and that their fleets should likewise remain in their harbours," the States of Holland, or that committee that was qualified by them, had with great privacy sent orders to De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean, "to make all possible haste with his fleet to go to the coast of Guinea, and not only to retake the fort near Cape Verde that the English had taken from them, but likewise to take what places he could which were in possession of the English, and to do them what damage he could in those parts:" so that they might well offer that their fleet should now remain in their harbours in Holland.

When De Ruyter had been sent into the Mediterranean, the pretence was, that it was against the pirates of Algiers and Tunis, who had in truth preyed very much upon the Dutch, taken very many of their ships, and had abundance of their subjects in chains. And when that fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, their ambassador had desired the king, "that his majesty's fleet that was then in those parts might upon all occasions join with De Ruyter, when opportunity should be offered thereby to infest the Turks;" which the king consented to, and sent orders accordingly. But the Dutch had no such purpose: his business was to ransom their captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force; and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could. And when the English fleet was at any time in pursuit of any of the Turks' vessels, and expected that the Dutch, by whom they must pass, would have given a little stop to their flight, which they might easily have done; they rather assisted than obstructed their escape. And having made a very dishonourable peace with the pirates, he made haste to prosecute his orders for the coast of Guinea.

As soon as the king knew of this impudent affront, and that De Ruyter was in truth gone out of the Mediterranean, he thought he might justly seize upon any ships of theirs, to satisfy the damage that he could not but sustain by De Ruyter in Guinea: and so, it being the season of the year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines from Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, such of them as were forced by the weather to put into the English harbours were seized upon. And the duke of York, having put himself on board with a fleet of about fifty sail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend their ships, took many others, even upon their own coasts; which they chose rather to suffer, than to venture out of their ports to relieve them. However, there was not any one of all those ships suffered to be unladen, or any prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till notice might arrive from Guinea what De Ruyter had done there. But undoubted intelligence arrived in a very short time after, that De Ruyter had declared and begun the war upon the coast of Africa, not only by a forcible retaking the fort which had been taken from them, and which his majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several English ships in those parts, and by assaulting and taking other his majesty's forts and places, and exercising all the acts of hostility which his commission authorized [him] to do.

And in a very short time after, the East India company complained and informed the king, "that when their officer had demanded the redelivery of the isle of Poleroone according to the article of the late treaty, and delivered the letters and orders from the States General and States of Holland, which their ambassadors had given at London, to the governor and captain of that island; who, after making him stay two or three days there with his ship and the men he had brought with him, told him, that upon a better perusal of the orders which he had brought, he found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till he should receive fuller orders, he could not give up the place." And so the officer and ship, which had been sent at a great charge, were necessitated to return without any [other] effect than the affront and indignity to his majesty.

When there was now no remedy, and the war was actually made upon the king upon what provocation soever, there was nothing to be done but to resort to the parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A fleet must be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready against the spring, and worthy of the presence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own person in the conduct of it; and the king had given his promise to him that he should, when he had, God knows, no purpose that there should be a war. It was now quickly discovered, that there was not the same alacrity towards a war now, after it was begun, in the parliament, as there had been when they made their vote: and they would have been glad that any expedient might have been found for a reconciliation, and that the captain might have been called in question, who first gave offence by taking the fort from the Dutch near Cape Verde, which some had pressed for when he came home, before any more mischief [was] done; and the

not calling him in question made many believe, that he had done nothing without warrant or promise of protection.

The Dutch still disclaimed all thought or purpose of war, and seemed highly offended with their governor of Poleroone, and protested, "that the not-delivery of the place proceeded only from want of an order from the governor of Batavia, which order came the next day after the English ship was departed: but that they had given notice of it to the English factory at Bantam, that the same or another English ship might return and receive it; and they were confident that it was then in the hand of the English." But it was now too late to expect any honourable peace, at least without making very notable preparations for a war, which [could] not be done without ready money. And whatever orders had been given for the preservation of the Dutch ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or disposed of, before they were brought to any judicatory, or adjudged to be prize; and there was too much cause to fear, that the rest would be disposed of to other purposes than the support of the war; though nothing was more positively spoken, than that the war would maintain itself.

The parliament still promised fairly, and entered upon consultation how and what money to raise. And now the king commanded the chancellor and the treasurer to meet with those members of the house of commons, with whom they had used to consult, and to whom the king had joined others upon whom he was told he might more depend, and to adjust together what sum should be proposed, and how and in what manner to propose and conduct it. It was about the month of January. And though the duke took indefatigable pains, by going himself sometimes to Portsmouth and sometimes to Chatham, to cause the ships and all provisions to be ready, that he might be at sea before the Dutch; yet let what advance could be made, as indeed there was great, nothing could be said to be done, till a great stock of ready money could be provided; and it would be long after the parliament had done their part, before ready money would be got; and therefore no more time must be lost, without taking a particular resolution.

The meeting of those persons the king appointed was at Worcester-house, where the chancellor and treasurer (who were known to be averse from the war) told the rest, "that there was no more debate now to be, war or no war: it was come upon us, and we were now only to contrive the best way of carrying it on with success; which could only be done by raising a great present sum of money, that the enemy might see that we were prepared to continue it as well as to begin." They who were most desirous of the war, as sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (who were in truth the men who brought it upon the nation,) with their friends, were of the opinion, "that there should not be a great sum demanded at present, but only so much as might carry out the fleet in the spring, and sufficient provisions might be made for the summer service: and then, when the war was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better supply might be gotten about Michaelmas, when there was reason to hope, that

“some good success would dispose all men to a frank prosecution of the war.” Whereas these gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the king with an assurance, “that he could not ask more money of the parliament than they would readily give him, if he would be engaged in this war which the whole kingdom so much desired.”

The chancellor and the treasurer were of opinion, “that the house of commons could never be in a better disposition to give, than they were at present; that hereafter they might grow weary, and apt to find fault with the conduct, especially when they found the country not so well pleased with the war as they were now conceived to be: whereas, now the war was begun, and the king engaged in it as much as he could be after ten battles, and all upon their desire and their promise; they could not refuse to give any thing proposed within the compass of that reason, which all understanding men might examine and judge of. That it was evident enough, that the true ground of all the confidence the Dutch had was from their opinion of the king’s necessities and want of money, and their belief that the parliament would supply him very sparingly, and not long to continue such an expense, as they very well knew that a war at sea would require: and they would be much confirmed in this their imagination, if at the beginning they should see the parliament give him such a sum of money, as seemed to be implied by what had been said. That they therefore thought it absolutely necessary, that the king should propose as much, that is, that his friends should move for such a sum, as might upon a reasonable computation, which every man would be ready to make, and of which wise men upon experience would easily make an estimate, carry on the war for a full year; that is, for the setting out the present fleet and paying it off upon its return, and for the setting out another fleet the next spring. If this were now done, his majesty would not be involved in importunate necessities the next winter; but he might calmly and deliberately consult upon such further supplies, as the experience of what would be then past should suggest to be necessary: and that this would give his majesty such a reputation with all his neighbours, and such terror to his enemies, that it would probably dispose them to peace.”

They told them, “the best method to compute what the expense might amount to in a year, would be by reflecting upon the vast disproportion of the charge we were now already engaged in, and what had been estimated four months since, when the war was designed. That it was well known to Mr. Coventry, who had been always present at those conferences, that it had been said by the most experienced sea-officers, and those who had fought all the late battles against the Dutch, that a fleet of forty or fifty such ships, as the king’s were, would be strength sufficient to beat all the ships the Dutch had out of the narrow seas; and one very eminent man amongst them said, he would not desire above fifty ships to fight with all they had, and that he was confident that a greater number than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully: and yet that there were at present no fewer than fourscore good ships

preparing for the duke. And the charge in many other particulars appeared already to amount to double the sum that was first computed.”

They concluded, “that a less sum than two millions and a half” (which is five and twenty hundred thousand pounds sterling) “ought not to be proposed, and being once proposed ought to be insisted on and pursued without consenting to any diminution; for nobody could conceive that it would do more than maintain the war one year, which the parliament could not refuse to provide for in the beginning, and there being already so much in truth of it already expended in the preparations and expedition the duke had made in November, when he went to sea upon the fame of the Dutch fleet’s intention to convoy their Guinea ships through the channel.”

There was not a man in the company, who did not heartily wish that that sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: but they all, though they agreed in few other things, protested, “that they could not advise that so prodigious a sum should be as much as named; and that they did not know any one man, since it could not be thought fit that any man who had relation to the king’s service should move it, who had the courage to attempt it, or would be persuaded to it.”

The two lords continued very obstinate, “that a less sum should not be named for the reasons they had given,” which the other confessed to be just; and they acknowledged too, “that the proposition ought not to be made by any man who [was] related to the court, or was thought to be in any grace there that might dispose him, nor yet by any gentleman, how well soever thought of, who was of a small estate, and so to pay little of so great a sum he was so liberal to give.” They therefore desired them “to name some of those members, who were honest worthy men, and looked upon as lovers of their country, and of great fortunes, unsuspected to have any designs at court; and if they were not enough acquainted with them, the lords would find some way by themselves or others to move them to it.” Whereupon they named five or six persons very well known, of whom the house had a very good esteem, but without any hope that either of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The lords said, “they would try what might be done, and give them notice the next day, that if it were possible it might be the business of the following day.”

The chancellor and the treasurer chose three Norfolk gentlemen of those who had been named, because they were good friends and grateful to each other, and desired them the next day “that they might confer together.” They told them, “they knew well the state of affairs; the parliament had engaged the king in a war, that could not be carried on without a vast expense: and therefore if at the entrance into it there should be a small or an ordinary supply given, it would blast all their hopes, and startle all other princes from joining, with whom the Dutch were not in favour, and who would be inclined to the king, if they saw such a provision for the war as would be sufficient to continue it for some time. And therefore they desired to confer with them,

"who upon all occasions manifested good affections to the king, and whose advice had a great influence upon the house, upon the whole matter how it might be conducted." They all consented to what had been said, and promised their own concurrence and utmost endeavours to compass what the king should desire. The lords said, "they promised themselves more from them, and that they would not only concur, but propose what should be necessary to be granted." And thereupon they enlarged upon the charge which was already in view, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded "that two millions and a half were necessary to be insisted on;" and desired, "that when the debate should be entered upon, which they hoped might be the next day, one of them would propose this sum and the other would second it."

They looked long one upon another, as if they were surprised with the sum. At last one of them said, "that the reasons were unanswerable for a liberal supply; yet he did not expect that so prodigious a sum, which he believed had never yet been mentioned in parliament to be granted at one time, would be proposed: however, he did not think it too much, and that he would do the best he could to answer any objections which should be made against it, as he doubted many would; but he confessed he durst not propose it." Another was of the same mind, and with many good professions desired to be excused as to the first proposing it. The third, who was sir Robert Paston, a person of a much greater estate than both the other, who had yet very good fortunes, and a gentleman of a very ancient extraction by his father, (and his mother was daughter to the earl of Lindsey,) declared very frankly, "that he was satisfied in his conscience, that it would be very good for the kingdom as well as for the king that such a sum should be granted: and therefore if they thought him fit to do it, he would propose it the next morning, let other men think what they would of him for it."

The lords gave him the thanks they ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other gentlemen for their promise to second him, and gave notice to the rest of the resolution, that they might call for the debate the next day; which was entered into with a general cheerfulness, every man acknowledging the necessity and the engagement of the house, but no man adventuring to name the proportion that should be given. When the house was in a deep silence expecting that motion, sir Robert Paston, who was no frequent speaker, but delivered what he had a mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the obligation, the charge of the war, and "that the present supply ought to be such as might as well terrify the enemy as assist the king; and therefore he proposed that they might give his majesty two millions and a half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred thousand pounds." The silence of the house was not broken; they sat as in amazement, until a gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the king, without taking notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that they might give the king a much less proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the motion one after

the other; which seemed to be entertained with a consent of many, and was contradicted by none: so that, after a short pause, no man who had relation to the court speaking a word, the speaker put it to the question, "whether they would give the king five and twenty hundred thousand pounds for the carrying on the war against the Dutch;" and the affirmative made a good sound, and very few gave their negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the vote was presently drawn up into an order; and the house resolved the next day to be in a committee, to agree upon the way that should be taken for the raising this vast sum, the proportion whereof could no more be brought into debate.

This brave vote gave the king the first liking of the war: it was above what he had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And they, who had been at the first conference, and delivered the resolution of the two lords as impossible to be compassed, not without insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the house to the war, (yet they did not think fit to vary from the proportion, till they saw the success of the proposition, which the lords were engaged to procure a fit person to make,) when they found the conclusion to be such as could be wished, they commended the counsel, and fell into another extreme, that in the thing itself and in the consequence did very much harm; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there appeared great joy and exaltation of spirit upon this vote, and not more in the court than upon the exchange, the merchants generally being unskilfully inclined to that war, above what their true interest could invite them to, as in a short time afterwards they had cause to confess.

The king sent to the lord mayor to call a common council, and commanded the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords of his council, to go thither; who, upon the credit of this vote of the house of commons for this noble supply, prevailed with the city presently to furnish the king with the loan of two hundred thousand pounds; which being within few days paid into the hands of the treasurer of the navy, all preparations for the fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the expedition, were provided with marvellous alacrity: and the parliament made what haste was possible to despatch the bill, by which their great present might be collected from the people.

It hath been said before, that in most vacant places, upon the death of any members, ways were found out to procure some of the king's domestic servants elected in their places; so that his majesty had many voices there at his devotion; which did not advance his service. These men confidently ran out of the house still to inform the king of what was doing, commended this man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many times, when his majesty spake well of any man, ask his majesty "if he would give them leave to let that person know how gracious his majesty was to him, or to bring him to kiss his hand." To which he commonly consenting, every one of his servants delivered some message from him to a parliament-man, and invited him to court as if the king would be willing to see him. And by this means the rooms at court, where the king was, were always full of the members of the house of commons; this man brought

to kiss his hand, and the king induced to confer with that man, and to thank him for his affection, which never could conclude without some general expression of grace or promise, which the poor gentleman always interpreted to his own advantage, and expected some fruit from it that it could never yield: all which, being contrary to all former order, did the king no good, and rendered those unable to do him service who were inclined to it.

The new secretary, and sir Charles Berkley, who by this time was entered very far into the king's favour and his confidence, were the chief, and by their places had access to him in all places and hours: and they much disliked the officiousness of the others, as if they presumed to invade their province. They thought it but their due, that the king should take his measures of the house of commons by no other report but theirs, nor dispense his graces there through any other conduit. They took this occasion to caress sir Robert Paston, who was a stranger to them, and to magnify the service he had done the king, and the great sense the king had of it, and [that he] did long to give him his own thanks: they invited him to come to the court, and sir Charles Berkley told him as from the king, "that his majesty resolved to make him a baron." And by these daily courtships and importunities the gentleman, who was well satisfied with what he had done, and never proposed any advantage to himself from it, was amused, and thought he was not to refuse any honour the king thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those graces which were offered to him by persons of their interest. Yet he made not haste to go to the court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the king, and that any favour his majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest he might be thought to have made that motion in the house upon promise of the other reward. Yet after continued invitations he went thither, and those gentlemen presented him to the king, who spake very graciously to him, told him, "he had done him great service, which he would never forget," and many other princely expressions, and "that he should be glad to see him often," but no particular to that purpose which had been mentioned to him.

When he went next, he found his majesty's countenance the same: but they, who had courted and amused him so much, grew every day more dry and reserved towards him; of which he complained to a friend of his who he knew had interest in the chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had passed, who had not till then heard that he had been at court, and when he was informed of the whole relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable soever those kinds of courtships were for few days, they were attended with many inconveniences when the end was not correspondent with the beginning. He knew well the resolution the king had taken to create no more noblemen, the number whereof already too much exceeded: however, he was very sorry, that a person of that quality and merit should be exposed to any indignity, for having endeavoured in such a conjuncture to do his majesty a signal service, and succeeded so well; and spake with the king at large of it, and gave his majesty a full account of the modesty

and temper of the gentleman, of his quality and interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The king was troubled, owned all that he had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and "that he would never forget the service he had done, but requite it upon any opportunity;" but protested, "that he had never made any such promise, nor given sir Charles Berkley any authority to mention any such thing to him, which would prove very inconvenient;" and therefore wished, "that his friend would divert him from prosecuting such a pretence, which he knew to be contrary to his resolution."

The chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his friend of all the king had said, who again informed sir Robert Paston, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to sir Charles Berkley, who had not the same open arms, yet assured him, "that he had said nothing to him but by the king's direction, which he must aver." That he did not use to interpose or move the king in any of his affairs: but if he would desire the chancellor to take notice of it, who he knew had a great affection for him, and upon whose desire he had performed that great service, he was confident it would be attended with the success he wished, to which he would contribute all his endeavours; intimating, "that if he had not what he desired, he might impute it to the chancellor." Upon which sir Robert, who was well assured of the chancellor's kindness, concluded that his court friends had deluded him, or expected money, which he would not give: and so the matter ended with prejudice to the king.

Notwithstanding these and the like very inconvenient activities, which lost more friends than were gotten by them, the noise of this stupendous supply, given to the king at one time, made good impressions upon all who had any affections for the king, and was wondered at in those places where money was most plenty. In Holland it wrought even to consternation, and the common people cried aloud for peace, and the States pretended to have great hope as well as desire of it, and sent their ambassador, who remained still in England, new orders to solicit it.

In the mean time the king neglected not to apply what endeavours he could use, to dispose his allies to act such parts as their own interest might reasonably invite them to. From France he expected only neutrality, by reason he knew he had renewed the alliance with the States; but never suspected, that it was in such a manner as would hinder the neutrality. Spain could do little good or harm, nor durst it to engage against Holland: yet all was done that was necessary towards a good correspondence with it. The two northern kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one side than to the other; and had been both so disobliged by the Dutch, that had it not been for the irreconcilable jealousy they had of each other, they might have been united to the interest of England. But Denmark had in the late war given what they could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and Sweden looked with too much contempt upon the weakness and unactivity of their neighbour, to give back any thing they had got: and this restrained them both from provoking an enemy that might give strength to the other.

Yet Denmark had the year before by Hannibal Zested, who went ambassador into France and made England his way, made many complaints to the king "of the oppression the crown of Denmark underwent by the Dutch, and the resolution it had to shake off that yoke as soon as an opportunity should be offered;" and made a request to the king, "that he would endeavour to make the alliance so fast between Denmark and Sweden, that the jealousy of each other might hinder neither of them from doing any thing that was for their own interest, without prejudice to the other." And when the difficulty was alleged, in regard that Sweden would never be persuaded to part with Elsinour, and those other places which had been given up in the late treaty; Hannibal Zested consented that what was done in that treaty should be again confirmed, and said "his master was willing and desirous that the king of England should undertake and be caution for the observation of this treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the fear of any further attempt from Sweden were extinguished, Denmark would not be long without redeeming itself from the vexation which it endured from Holland, which, upon former necessities and ill bargains, upon the matter had an exemption from paying all duties upon their own great trade through the Sound, as much to the prejudice of all other princes as of the poor crown of Denmark." This having so lately passed from a minister of that crown, the king thought it a good time to endeavour to do that office between the two crowns, and thereby to unite them both to the king in this conjunction against the Dutch; at least that they might both remain good friends to his majesty, and supply him with all those provisions without which his navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the Dutch from those supplies, by making such large contracts with the English, that there would not be enough left for the other.

Upon this ground he sent Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber to the Swede, whose friendship he much more valued as more able to assist him, and upon whose word he could more firmly depend. And to Denmark he sent sir Gilbert Talbot, who was acceptable to that crown by his having performed many offices of respect to the prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England, and waited upon [him] to several parts of the kingdom which he had a mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several gentlemen's houses in his journey, of which the prince seemed very sensible when he departed. That which was expected from that negociation, except the confidence could be created between the two crowns, was only to preserve Denmark a friend, that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his subjects out of their service; and that we might have the same freedom of trade, and the security of his ports for our men of war.

Whilst the king took this care for the advancement of his affairs abroad, there was an advantage offered him, that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one day a gentleman, who looked rather like a carter, who spoke ill English, and desired that he might have a private audience with the chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short time knew him to be a Benedictine monk, who had been sometimes with him at

Cologne, and belonged to the English abbey at Lamspring in Westphalia, where a very reverend person of the family of Gascoigne in Yorkshire was abbot, with whom the chancellor had much acquaintance, and esteemed him very much; and he had, during the time the king stayed in Cologne, sent this monk several times thither, who was likewise a gentleman, but by living long in Germany had almost forgot the language as well as the manners of his own country. His business now was to deliver him a letter (whereof he knew little of the contents) from the bishop of Munster, upon the edge of whose dominions that English abbey was seated, which had likewise a territory that extended to the principality of the other, and received much favour and protection from the other; who desired the abbot to give him an honest man, that would carry a letter from him to the court of England: upon which this monk was deputed, the rather because he was known to the chancellor. The matter of the letter was no more, than "that if the war against Holland was to be resolutely prosecuted by the king of England, he (the bishop) conceived that a conjunction with those allies, who could infest the Dutch by land as his majesty would do by sea, might not be unacceptable to his majesty; and in that case, upon the answer to this letter, he would send a fit person to make some propositions to the king and to treat with him." The instructions the monk had, were "to make all possible haste back, and that as soon as he returned on that side the sea, he should send the answer he had received, by the post, so directed as was appointed; and then that himself should stay at Brussels till he received further orders."

The chancellor quickly informed the king of this despatch, to whom the monk was likewise known; and his majesty immediately assembled those lords with whom he consulted in the most secret cases. Every body knew so much of the bishop of Munster, that he was a warlike prince, having had command in armies before he dedicated himself to the church, and that he had a great animosity against Holland, which had obliged him in the highest point, by encouraging his subjects to rebel against him, and those of his city of Munster to shut their gates against him: and when he endeavoured to reduce them by force, and to that purpose had besieged them with his army, the Dutch sent an army to relieve it, and declared that they would protect that city. And by this means, and by the mediation of the neighbour princes, who had no mind that the peace of their country should be disturbed by such an incursion, the bishop was hindered from taking that vengeance upon his rebel subjects which he intended, and compelled to accept of such conditions as did not please him. And all this was but two years before, and boiled still in his breast, that was naturally very hot. But he was a poor prince, unable to give any disturbance to the United Provinces, whose dominions extended within a day's march of his. However, every man was of opinion, that the proposition ought to be very kindly received, and the bishop invited to send his agent. And to that purpose the chancellor wrote to him, and the monk was despatched the next day. And having observed his orders in sending away the answer, he was very few days at Brussels, when a servant of the

bishop arrived with orders that the monk should accompany him back into England: and so they both arrived in London in less time than could be expected.

The gentleman who came from the bishop was a very proper man, well-bred, a baron of that country, but a subject to the bishop: he brought with him a letter of credit from the bishop to the king, and full authority to treat and conclude according to his instructions, which he likewise presented to his majesty. He brought likewise a letter to the chancellor from the elector of Mentz, in which he recommended to him the person whom the bishop of Munster should send, and declared "that he believed the bishop of Munster would be able to perform whatsoever he should undertake:" which letter was a very great encouragement to the king: for his majesty knew the elector of Mentz very well to be a very wise prince and notoriously his friend, and that he would not say so much of the ability of the bishop to perform, except he knew particularly his design, and what he would undertake to do.

The baron's instructions were to propose, "that his majesty would cause one hundred thousand pounds to be immediately paid, by bills of exchange at Hamburgh or Cologne or Francfort, to such persons as the bishop should appoint to receive it; and should promise to pay fifty thousand pounds by the month in the same places for three months to come: afterwards he hoped the army would provide for its own support. This being undertaken on his majesty's part, the bishop would be engaged, within one month after the first bills of exchange for the one hundred thousand pounds should be delivered into the hands of his agent the baron, that he would be in the dominions of the States General with an army of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand horse; with which he was very confident he should within few days be possessed of Arnheim, and shortly after of Utrecht: and if the king's fleet came before Amsterdam, that army of the bishop should march to what place or quarter his majesty should direct."

The baron was asked, "how it could be possible for the bishop, though a gallant prince and very active, to draw together such an army in so short a time out of his small province; and how he was sure that his neighbours, who two years before had compelled him to make so disadvantageous a peace with the Dutch, would not again use the same violent importunity to obstruct his proceedings." To which he answered, "that the bishop would never undertake to bring such an army together in so short a time, in which they could not be levied, but that he knows they are already levied, and upon an assurance of money can be brought together in the short time proposed: for the other, the interposition of his neighbours, he had not then, when they prevailed, half that army which he was sure he should now have; besides, those neighbours were now as much incensed against the Dutch as his master was, and would all engage with him against them; and that many of the army that is designed were at present quartered in their dominions; and that the bishop intended not to march in his own private capacity, but as general of the empire, for which the elector of Mentz had undertaken to

procure him a commission." He was demanded "how his master stood with France, and whether he did not fear that it would either prevent the enterprise by mediation, or disappoint it by sending aid to Holland." He answered, "his master was confident France would not do him any harm: that he had sent an agent, from whom he should be sure to receive letters by every post." And within few days after, he shewed a letter that he had received from that agent, in which he said, "that Monsieur de Lionne bade him assure the bishop, that his Christian majesty would do nothing to his prejudice."

This being the state of that affair, the king considered what he was to do. The propositions made by the bishop were such, as it was not possible for him to comply with. But then it was presumed by every body, that very much would be abated of the money that was demanded: for it was not an auxiliary army that was to be raised for the king's service, whose conquests were to be applied to his benefit, but an army raised to revenge the injuries which himself had received, and what he should get must be to his own account; and his majesty's hostility at sea would as much facilitate his enterprise at land, as the marching of his army might probably disturb and distract their preparations for the sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the bishop could draw this army together (and the attempt was not to be made with less force) without a good supply of money, nor keep it together without pay.

The advantage, that would with God's blessing attend this conjunction, spread itself to a very large prospect. That the people generally in the provinces were very unsatisfied with this war, was a thing notorious; and that the province of Holland which began it, and was entirely governed by De Wit, did even compel the other provinces to concur with them, partly upon hope that a further progress would be prevented by treaty, or that a peace would follow upon the first engagement. But when they should see an army of twenty thousand men, which they suspected not, to invade their country at land, and in that part where they were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary provisions were daily brought; they must be in great consternation, and draw all their land army together, which they had not done in near twenty years, and could not be done to any effect without vast charge, which would put the people into a loud distraction. Finally, there was great reason to cherish the design: and therefore the king resolved by an unanimous advice to undertake any thing towards it, that could be in his power to perform.

There was one difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the baron, which was the return of the money, whatsoever should be assigned to that service; for of the three places proposed by him, besides the secrecy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign one thousand pounds in the month to be paid upon Cologne and Francfort; nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with twenty thousand pounds in three months' time: which when the agent knew, he seemed amazed, and said, "they had believed that it had been as easy to have transmitted money to those three towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence."

In conclusion, the king gave his answer in writing, what sum of money he would cause to be paid at once for the first advance, that the bishop might begin his march, and what he would afterwards cause to be paid by the month; which being less than the baron's instructions would admit him to accept, he sent an express with it to the bishop: and "till his return," he desired, "that the king would appoint some person of experience to confer with him; and they might together inform themselves of the best expedients to return money into Germany, since his majesty had hitherto only undertaken to pay his assignations in London." What success this treaty afterwards had will be related in its place.

These advantages from abroad being in this manner deliberated and designed, it may be very seasonable to look back, and consider what preparations were made at home towards the carrying [on] this war, for which the parliament had provided so bountifully: and if ordinary prudence had been applied to the managery, if any order and method had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the whole, the success would have been answerable, and at least any inconvenience from the sudden want of money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any distance in that time when those transactions were in agitation, as there are yet many worthy men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere information of the occurrences of that time, will be obliged to confess, that they who contrived the war had the entire conducting it, and were the sole causes of all the ill effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their confidence in ill instruments made accessory to those mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the end of this true relation to fix a brand upon the memory of those, who deserve it from the public and from very many worthy men, but is to serve only for a memorial to cast my own eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those proceedings; and by my consent shall never come into any hands but theirs, who for their own sakes will take care to preserve it from any public view or perusal.

It cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the hour of the king's return, and being possessed of the entire government, the naval affairs were never put into any order. That province, being committed to the duke as lord high admiral of England, was so entirely engrossed by his servants, in truth by Mr. Coventry, who was newly made his secretary, and who made use of his other servants, who were better known to him, to infuse into his highness the opinion, "that whoever presumed to meddle in any thing that related to the navy or the admiralty, invaded his jurisdiction, and would lessen him in the eyes of the people; and that he ought to be jealous of such men, as of those who would undermine his greatness; and that as he was superior to all men by being the king's brother, so being high admiral he was to render account to none but to the king, nor suffer any body else to interpose in any thing relating to it." Whereas in truth there is no officer of the crown more subject to the council-board than the admiral of England, who is to give an account of all his actions and of every branch of his office constantly

to the board, and to receive their orders: nor hath he the nomination of the captains of the ships, till upon the presentation of their names he receives their approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any counsellor who had ever sat at the board in the last king's time, to whom this was not as much known as any order of the table.

But there was no retrieving this authority, not only from the influence Mr. Coventry, and they of the family who adhered to him, had upon the duke, but from the king's own inclination, who thought that those officers, who immediately depended upon himself and only upon himself, were more at his devotion than they who were obliged to give an account to any other superior. And from the time that he came first into France, he had not been accustomed to any discourse more than to the undervaluing the privy-council, as if it shadowed the king too much, and usurped too much of his authority, and too often superseded his own commands. And the queen his mother had, upon these discourses, always some instances of the authority which in such a case the council had assumed against the king's judgment; the exception to which, according to the relation which nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This kind of discourse, being the subject of every day, made so great impression that it could never be defaced, and made the election and nomination of counsellors less considered, since they were to be no more advised with afterwards than before.

Another argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the queen, and with more passion and indignation, was of the little respect and reverence that by the law or custom of England was paid to the younger sons of the crown; and though there was nobody present in those conversations who knew any thing of the law or custom in those cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the duke but the king himself had a marvellous prejudice to the nation in that part of good manners: and it was easily agreed, that the model of France was in those and other cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

This being then the state and temper of the royal family when the king returned, which then consisted of the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses more than it now hath; the very next morning after the fleet came to Scheveling, the duke went on board and took possession of it as lord high admiral: and so his secretary provided new commissions for all the officers who were in present command, for which it is probable they all paid very liberally; for with him the custom began to receive five pounds for every warrant signed by the duke, and for which no secretary to any lord admiral formerly had ever received above twenty shillings. Mr. Coventry, who was utterly unacquainted with all the rules and customs of the sea, and knew none of the officers, but was much courted by all, as the secretary to the admiral always is, made choice of captain Pen, whom the king knighted as soon as he came on board; who from a common man had grown up under Cromwell to the highest command, and was in great favour with him till he failed in the action of St. Domingo, when he went admiral at sea, as Venables was general at land, for which they were both imprisoned in the Tower by

Cromwell, nor ever employed by him afterwards: but upon his death he had command again at sea, as he had at this time under Mountague when he came to attend the king. With this man Mr. Coventry made a fast friendship, and was guided by him in all things.

All the offices which belonged to the ships, to the navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty, (except the three superior officers, which are not in the disposal of the admiral,) were now void, and to be supplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Coventry; who by the advice of sir William Pen, who was solely trusted by him in the brocage, conferred them upon those (without observing any other rule) who would give most money, not considering any honest seaman who had continued in the king's service, or suffered long imprisonment for him. And because an incredible sum of money was and would rise this way, some principal officers in the yards, as the master smith and others, and the keepers of the stores, yielding seven, eight hundred, or a thousand pounds; he had the skill to move the duke to bestow such money as would arise upon such place upon sir Charles Berkley, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three: by which means the whole family was obliged, and retained to justify him; and the duke himself looked upon it as a generosity in Mr. Coventry, to accommodate his fellow servants with what he might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best husbandry he could have used: for by this means all men's mouths were stopped, and all clamour secured; whilst the lesser sums for a multitude of offices of all kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the estimation of those who were at no great distance, amounted to a very [great] sum, and more than any officer under the king could possibly get by all the perquisites of his place in many years. By this means, the whole navy and ships were filled with the same men who had enjoyed the same places and offices under Cromwell, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the most infamous persons which that time took notice of were now become the king's officers, to the great scandal of their honest neighbours, who observed that they retained the same manners and affections, and used the same discourses they had formerly done.

Besides many other irreparable inconveniences and mischiefs which resulted from this corruption and choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all manner of things out of the ships, even when they were in service: but when they returned from any voyages, incredible proportions of powder, match, cordage, sails, anchors, and all other things, instead of being restored to the several proper officers which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the king himself for the setting out other ships and for replenishing his stores. And when this was discovered (as many times it was) and the criminal person apprehended, it was alleged by him as a defence or excuse, "that he had paid so dear for his place, that he could not maintain himself and family without practising such shifts:" and none of those fellows were ever brought to exemplary justice, and most of them were restored to their employments.

The three superior officers of the navy were possessed of their offices by patents under the great seal of England before the king's return; and they are the natural established council of the lord high admiral, and are to attend him when he requires it, and always used of course to be with him one certain day in a week, to render him an account of all the state of the office, and to receive his orders and to give their advice. And now, because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially out of animosity against sir George Carteret, who, besides being treasurer of the navy, was vice-chamberlain of the king's household, and so a privy counsellor; Mr. Coventry proposed to the duke, "that in regard of the multiplicity of business in the navy, much more than in former times, and the setting out greater fleets than had been accustomed in that age when those officers and that model for the government of the navy had been established, his royal highness would propose to the king to make an addition, by commissioners, of some other persons always to sit with the other officers with equal authority, and to sign all bills with them;" which was a thing never heard of before, and is in truth a lessening of the power of the admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been commissioners for the navy; but it hath been in the same [place] of the admiral and to perform his office: but in the time of an admiral commissioners have not been heard of. One principal end in this was, to draw from the treasurer of the navy (whose office Mr. Coventry thought too great, and had implacable animosity against him from the first hour after he had made his friendship with Pen) out of his fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his patent and had been always enjoyed by his predecessors, were indeed greater than had used to be in times of peace, when much less money passed through his hands) what should be enough to pay those commissioners; for it was not reasonable they should serve for nothing, nor that they should be upon the king's charge, since the treasurer's perquisites might be enough for all.

The duke liked the proposition well, and, without conferring with any body else upon it, proposed it to the king at the council-board, where nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the duke proposed; and the king approved it, and ordered, "that the commissioners should receive each five hundred pounds by the year;" but finding afterwards that the treasurer of the navy's fees were granted to him under the great seal, his majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the treasurer to pay and pass those pensions in his account. The commissioners named and commended by the duke to the king were the lord Berkley, sir John Lawson, sir William Pen, and sir George Ayscue; the three [last] the most eminent sea-officers under Cromwell, but it must not be denied but that they served the king afterwards very faithfully. These the king made his commissioners, with a pension to each of five hundred pounds the year, and in some time after added Mr. Coventry to the number with the same pension: so that this first reformation in the time of peace cost the king one way or other no less than three thousand pounds yearly, without the

least visible benefit or advantage. The lord Berkeley neither understood any thing that related to the office or employment, and therefore very seldom was present in the execution. But after he had enjoyed the pension a year or thereabout, he procured leave to sell his place, and procured a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Harvey, to give him three thousand pounds for it: so soon this temporary commission, which might have expired within a month, got the reputation of an office for life by the good managery of an officer.

This was the state of the navy before the war with Holland was resolved upon. Let us in the next place see what alterations were made in it, or what other preparations were made, or counsels entered upon, for the better conduct of this war: and a clear and impartial view or reflection upon what was then said and done, gave discerning men an unhappy presage of what would follow. There was no discourse now in the court, after this royal subsidy of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds was granted, but, "of giving the law to the whole trade of Christendom; of making all ships which passed by or through the narrow seas to pay an imposition to the king, as all do to the king of Denmark who pass by the Sound; and making all who pass near to pay contribution to his majesty;" which must concern all the princes of Christendom: and the king and duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent talk, which must increase the number of the enemies. Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent port-towns, for the sale of all prize-goods; and these were chosen for the most part out of those members of the house of commons, who were active to advance the king's service, or who promised to be so, to whom liberal salaries were assigned.

There were then commissioners appointed to judge all appeals, which should be made upon and against all sentences given by the judge of the admiralty and his deputies; and these were all privy counsellors, the earl of Lautherdale, the lord Ashley, and the secretaries of state, who were like to be most careful of the king's profit. But then the rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were [warranted] by no former precedents, and acknowledged to be just by the practice of any neighbour nation, and such as would make all ships which traded for Holland, from what kingdom soever, lawful prize; which was foreseen would bring complaints from all places, as it did as soon as the war begun. French and Spaniard and Swede and Dane were alike treated; whilst their ambassadors made loud complaints every day to the king and the council for the injustice and the rapine, without remedy, more than references to the admiralty, and then to the lords commissioners of appeal, which increased the charge, and raised and improved the indignity. Above all, the Hanse-Towns of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and the rest, (who had large exemptions and privileges by charter granted by former kings and now renewed by this,) had the worst luck; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the Dutch. Their ships were so like, and their language so near, that not one of their vessels were met with, from what part of the world soever they came, or whithersoever they [were] bound, but they were brought [in];

and if the evidence was such as there could be no colour to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad remembrances of the company they had been in.

There was one sure rule to make any ship prize, which was, if above three Dutch mariners were aboard it there need [no] further proof for the forfeiture; which being no where known could not be prevented, all merchants' ships, when they are ready for their voyage, taking all seamen on board of what nation soever who are necessary for their service: so that those Dutchmen who run from their own country to avoid fighting, (as very many did, and very many more would have done,) and put themselves on board merchants' ships of any other country, where they were willingly entertained, made those ships lawful prize in which they served, by a rule that nobody knew nor would submit to.

It was resolved that all possible encouragement should be given to privateers, that is, to as many as would take commissions from the admiral to set out vessels of war, as they call them, to take prizes from the enemy; which no articles or obligations can restrain from all the villany they can act, and are a people, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable scandal, and it is to be feared a curse, upon the justest war that was ever made at sea. A sail! A sail! is the word with them; friend or foe is the same; they possess all they can master, and run with it to any obscure place where they can sell it, (which retreats are never wanting,) and never attend the ceremony of an adjudication. Besides the horrible scandal and clamour that this classis of men brought upon the king and the whole government for defect of justice, the prejudice which resulted from thence to the public and to the carrying on the service is unspeakable: all seamen run to them. And though the king now assigned an ample share of all prizes taken by his own ships to the seamen, over and above their wages; yet there was great difference between the condition of the one and the other: in the king's fleet they might gain well, but they were sure of blows, nothing could be got there without fighting; with the privateers there was rarely fighting, they took all who could make little resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those fellows were always well manned, when the king's ships were compelled to stay many days for want of men, who were raised by pressing and with great difficulty. And whoever spake against those lewd people, upon any case whatsoever, was thought to have no regard for the duke's profit, nor to desire to weaken the enemy.

In all former wars at sea, as there was great care taken to appoint commissioners for the sale of all prize-goods, who understood the value of those commodities they had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better bargains than are usually got in public markets; so there was all strictness used in bringing all receivers to as punctual an account, as any other of the king's receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the money they receive into the exchequer, that it might be issued out to the treasurer of the navy or to other officers for the expense of the war. And it had been a great argument in the first consultations upon this war, "that it would

“support itself; and that after one good fleet “should be set out once to beat the Dutch,” (for that was never thought worthy of a doubt,) “the prizes, which would every day after be taken, “would plentifully do all the rest; besides the “great sum that the Dutch would give to purchase their peace, and the yearly rent they “would give for the liberty of fishing;” with all which it was not thought fit to allow them “to “keep above such a number of ships of war, “limited to so many ton and to so many guns;” with many particulars of that nature, which were carefully digested by those who promoted the war. But now, after this supply given by the parliament, there was no more danger of want of money: and many discourses there were, “that “the prize-money might be better disposed in “rebuilding the king’s houses, and many other “good uses which would occur;” and the king forbore to speak any more of appointing receivers and treasurers for that purpose, when all or most other officers, who were judged necessary for the service, were already named; and the lord treasurer, who by his office should have the recommendation of those officers to the king, had a list of men, who for the reputation and experience they had were in his judgment worthy to be trusted, to be presented to the king when he should enter upon that subject.

But one evening a servant of the lord Ashley came to the chancellor with a bill signed, and desired in his master’s name, “that it might be “sealed that night.” The bill was, “to make “and constitute the lord Ashley treasurer of all “the money that should be raised upon the sale “of all prizes, which were or should be taken in “this present war, with power to make all such “officers as should be necessary for the service; “and that he should account for all monies so “received to the king himself, and to no other “person whatsoever, and pay and issue out all “those monies which he should receive, in such “manner as his majesty should appoint by warrant “under his sign manual, and by no other warrant; and that he should be free and exempt “from accounting into the exchequer.” When the chancellor had seen the contents, he bade the messenger tell his lord, “that he would speak “with the king before he would seal that grant, “and that he desired much to speak with himself.”

The next morning he waited upon the king, and informed him “of the bill that was brought “to him, and doubted that he had been surprised: that it was not only such an original “as was without any precedent, but in itself in “many particulars destructive to his service and “to the right of other men. That all receivers of “any part of his revenue were accountable in the “exchequer, and could receive their discharge in “no other place: and that if so great a receipt, “as this was already,” (for the fleet of wine and other ships already seized were by a general computation valued at one hundred thousand pounds,) “and as it evidently would be, should “pass without the most formal account; his majesty might be abominably cozened, nor could “it any other way be prevented. And in the “next place, that this grant was not only derogatory to the lord treasurer, but did really degrade him, there being another treasurer made

“more absolute than himself, and without dependence upon him.” And therefore he besought his majesty, “that he would reconsider “the thing itself and hear it debated, at least “that the treasurer might be first heard, without “which it could not be done in justice:” to which he added, “that he would speak with the lord Ashley himself, and tell him how much he was “to blame to affect such a province, which might “bring great inconveniences upon his person and “his estate.”

He quickly found that the king had not been surprised in what he had done, “which,” he said, “was absolutely in his own power to do; and “that it would bring prejudice only to himself, “which he had sufficiently provided against.” However, he seemed willing to decline any thing that looked like an affront to the treasurer, and therefore was content that the sealing it might be suspended till he had further considered.

The lord Ashley came shortly to the chancellor, and seemed “to take it unkindly that his patent “was not sealed:” to which he answered, “that “he had suspended the immediate sealing it for “three reasons; whereof one was, that he might “first speak with the king, who he believed would “receive much prejudice by it; another, that it “would not consist with the respect he owed to “the lord treasurer, who was much affronted in “it, to seal it before he was made acquainted “with it. And in the last place, that he had “stopped it for his, the lord Ashley’s, own sake: “and that he believed he had neither enough “considered the indignity that was offered to the “lord treasurer, to whom he professed so much “respect, and by whose favour and powerful interposition he enjoyed the office he held, nor “his own true interest, in submitting his estate “to those incumbrances which such a receipt “would inevitably expose it to. And that the “exemption from making any account but to the “king himself would deceive him: and as it was “an unusual and unnatural privilege, so it would “never be allowed in any court of justice, which “would exact both the account and the payment “or lawful discharge of what money he should “receive; and if he depended upon the exemption he would live to repent it.”

He answered little to the particulars more than, with some sullenness, “that the king had given “him the office, and knew best what is good for “his own service; and that except his majesty “retracted his grant, he would look to enjoy the “benefit of it. That he did not desire to put an “affront upon the lord treasurer; and if there “were any expressions in his commission which “reflected upon him, he was content they should “be mended or left out: in all other respects he “was resolved to run the hazard.”

The treasurer himself, though he knew that he was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the behaviour of his nephew, (for the lord Ashley had married his niece,) who he well knew had by new friendships cancelled all the obligations to him, would not appear to oppose what the king resolved, but sat unconcerned, and took no notice of any thing. And so within a short time the king sent a positive order to the chancellor to seal the commission; which he could no longer refuse, and did it with the more trouble, because he very well knew, that few men knew the lord

Ashley better than the king himself did, or had a worse opinion of his integrity. But he was now gotten into friendships which were most behooveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all prejudices: he was fast linked to sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry in a league offensive and defensive, the same friends and the same enemies, and had got an entire trust with the lady, who very well understood the benefit such an officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the king (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand pounds in his closet than nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand pounds in his exchequer) how many conveniences he would find in having so much money at his own immediate disposal, without the formality of privy seals and other men's warrants, and the indecency and mischief which would attend a formal account of all his generous donatives and expense, which should be known only to himself.

Though the king seemed to continue the same gracious countenance towards the chancellor which he had used, and frequently came to his house when he was indisposed with the gout, and consulted all his business, which he thought of public importance, with him with equal freedom; yet he himself found, and many others observed, that he had not the same credit and power with him. The nightly meetings had of late made him more the subject of the discourse; and since the time of the new secretary they had taken more liberty to talk of what was done in council, than they had done formerly; and the duke of Buckingham pleased himself and all the company in acting all the persons who spake there in their looks and motions, in which piece of mimicry he had an especial faculty; and in this exercise the chancellor had a full part. In the height of mirth, if the king said "he would go such a journey or do such a trivial thing to-morrow," somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it; and when he asked why, it was answered, "that the chancellor would not let him:" and then another would protest, "that he thought there was no ground for that imputation; however, he could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his majesty was entirely and implicitly governed by the chancellor." Which often put the king to declare in some passion, "that the chancellor had served him long, and understood his business, in which he trusted him: but in any other matter than his business, he had no other credit with him than any other man;" which they reported with great joy in other companies.

In the former session of the parliament, the lord Ashley, out of his indifferency in matters of religion, and the lord Arlington out of his good-will to the Roman catholics, had drawn in the lord privy seal, whose interest was most in the presbyterians, to propose to the king an indulgence for liberty of conscience: for which they offered two motives; the one, "the probability of a war with the Dutch;" though it was not then declared; and in that case the prosecution of people at home for their several opinions in religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous." The other was, "that in the fright men were in by reason of the late bill against conventicles, and the warmth the parliament expressed with reference to the church, had so

"prepared all sorts of non-conformists, that they would gladly compound for liberty at any reasonable rates: and by this means a good yearly revenue might be raised to the king, and a firm concord and tranquillity be established in the kingdom, if power were granted by the parliament to the king to grant dispensations to such whom he knew to be peaceably affected, for their exercise of that religion which was agreeable to their conscience, without undergoing the penalty of the laws." And they had prepared a schedule, in which they computed what every Roman catholic would be willing to pay yearly for the exercise of his religion, and so of every other sect; which, upon the estimate they made, would indeed have amounted to a very great sum of money yearly.

The king liked the arguments and the project very well, and wished them to prepare such a bill; which was done quickly, very short, and without any mention of other advantage to grow from it, than "the peace and quiet of the [kingdom], and an entire reference to the king's own judgment and discretion in dispensing his dispensations." This was equally approved: and though hitherto it had been managed with great secrecy, that it might not come to the knowledge of the chancellor and the treasurer, who they well knew would never consent to it; yet the king resolved to impart it to them. And the chancellor being then afflicted with the gout, the committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at Worcester-house: and thither likewise came the privy seal, and the lord Ashley, who had never before been present in those meetings.

The king informed them of the occasion of their conference, and caused the draught for the bill to be read to them; which was done, and such reasons given by those who promoted it, as they thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no danger in trusting the king, whose zeal to the protestant religion was so well known, that nobody would doubt that he would use this power, when granted to him, otherwise than should be for the good and benefit of the church and state." The chancellor and the treasurer, as had been presaged, were very warm against it, and used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting it, "as a thing that could never find the concurrence of either or both houses, and which would raise a jealousy in both, and in the people generally, of his affection to the papists, which would not be good for either, and every body knew that he had no favour for either of the other factions." But what the others said, who were of another opinion, prevailed more; and his majesty declared, "that the bill should be presented to the house of peers as from him, and in his name; and that he hoped none of his servants, who knew his mind as well as every body there did, would oppose it, but either be absent or silent:" to which both the lords answered, "that they should not be absent purposely, and if they were present, they hoped his majesty would excuse them if they spake according to their conscience and judgment, which they could not forbear to do;" with which his majesty seemed unsatisfied, though the lords of the combination were better pleased than they would have been with their concurrence. Within few days after, the chancellor remaining

still in his chamber without being able to go, the bill was presented in the house of peers by the lord privy seal, as by the king's direction and approbation, and thereupon had the first reading: and as soon as it was read, the lord treasurer spake against it, "as unfit to be received and to have the countenance of another reading in the house, being a design against the protestant religion and in favour of the papists," with many sharp reflections upon those who had spoken for it; and many of the bishops spake to the same purpose, and urged many weighty arguments against it. However it was moved, "that since it was averred that it was with the king's privy, it would be a thing unheard of to deny it a second reading:" and that there might be no danger of a surprisal by its being read in a thin house, it was ordered "that it should be read the second time" upon a day named "at ten of the clock in the morning;" with which all were satisfied.

In the mean time great pains were taken to persuade particular men to approve it: and some of the bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing the king's prerogative, with some intimation "that if they continued in that obstinacy they should repent it;" to which they made such answers as in honesty and wisdom they ought to do, without being shaken in their resolution. It was rather insinuated than declared, "that the bill had been perused," some said "drawn, by the chancellor," and averred "that he was not against it:" which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as he was more or less known to the persons present, he thought himself obliged to make his own sense known. And so on the day appointed for the second reading, with pain and difficulty he was in his place in the house: and so after the second reading of the bill, he was of course to propose the commitment of it. Many of the bishops and others spake fiercely against it, as a way to undermine religion; and the lord treasurer, with his usual weight of words, shewed the ill consequence that must attend it, and "that in the bottom it was a project to get money at the price of religion; which he believed was not intended or known to the king, but only to those who had projected it, and, it may be, imposed upon others who meant well."

The lord privy seal, either upon the observation of the countenance of the house or advertisement of his friends, or unwilling to venture his reputation in the enterprise, had given over the game the first day, and now spake not at all: but the lord Ashley adhered firmly to his point, spake often and with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronounciation that drew attention. He said, "it was the king's misfortune that a matter of so great concernment to him, and such a prerogative as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without any declaration of parliament, should be supported only by such weak men as himself, who served his majesty at a distance, whilst the great officers of the crown thought fit to oppose it; which he more wondered at, because nobody knew more than they the king's unshakable firmness in his religion, that had resisted and vanquished so many great temptations; and therefore he could not be thought un-

"worthy of a greater trust with reference to it, than he would have by this bill."

The chancellor, having not been present at the former debate upon the first day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till he found the house in some expectation to hear his opinion: and then he stood up and said, "that no man could say more, if it were necessary or pertinent, of the king's constancy in his religion, and of his understanding the constitution and foundation of the church of England, than he; no man had been witness to more assaults which he had sustained than he had been, and of many victories; and therefore, if the question were how far he might be trusted in that point, he should make no scruple in declaring, that he thought him more worthy to be trusted than any man alive. But there was nothing in that bill that could make that the question, which had confounded all notions of religion, and erected a chaos of policy to overthrow all religion and government: so that the question was not, whether the king were worthy of that trust, but whether that trust were worthy of the king. That it had been no new thing for kings to divest themselves of many particular rights and powers, because they were thereby exposed to more trouble and vexation, and so deputed that authority to others qualified by them: and he thought it a very unreasonable and unjust thing to commit such a trust to the king, which nobody could suppose he could execute himself, and yet must subject him to daily and hourly importunities, which must be so much the more uneasy to a nature of so great bounty and generosity, that nothing is so ungrateful to him as to be obliged to deny."

In the vehemence of this debate, the lord Ashley having used some language that he knew reflected upon him, the chancellor let fall some unwary expressions, which were turned to his reproach and remembered long after. When he insisted upon the wildness and illimitedness in the bill, he said, "it was ship-money in religion, that nobody could know the end of, or where it would rest; that if it were passed, Dr. Goffe or any other apostate from the church of England might be made a bishop or archbishop here, all oaths and statutes and subscriptions being dispensed with:" which were thought too envious instances, and gave his enemies opportunities to make glosses and reflections upon to his disadvantage. In this debate it fell out that the duke of York appeared very much against the bill; which was imputed to the chancellor, and served to "heap coals of fire upon his head." In the end, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the catholic lords, it was agreed that there should be no question put for the commitment; which was the most civil way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

The king was infinitely troubled at the ill success of this bill, which he had been assured would pass notwithstanding the opposition that was expected; and it had produced one effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the bitterness against the Roman catholics. And they, who watched all occasions to perform those offices, had now a large field to express their

malice against the chancellor and the treasurer, "whose pride only had disposed them to shew their power and credit in diverting the house from gratifying the king, to which they had been inclined;" and his majesty heard all that could be said against them without any dislike. After two or three days he sent for them both together into his closet, which made it generally believed in the court, that he resolved to take both their offices from them, and they did in truth believe and expect [it]: but there was never any cause appeared after to think that it was in his purpose. He spake to them of other business, without taking the least notice of the other matter, and dismissed them with a countenance less open than he used to have towards them, and made it evident that he had not the same thoughts of them he had formerly.

And when the next day the chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his cabinet, and began to take notice "that he seemed to have dissatisfaction in his looks towards him;" the king, in more choler than he had ever before seen him, told him, "his looks were such as they ought to be; that he was very much unsatisfied with him, and thought he had used him very ill; that he had deserved better of him, and did not expect that he would have carried himself in that manner as he had done in the house of peers, having known his majesty's own opinion from himself, which it seemed was of no authority with him if it differed from his judgment, to which he would not submit against his reason."

The other, with the confidence of an honest man, entered upon the discourse of the matter, assured him "the very proposing it had done his majesty much prejudice, and that they who were best affected to his service in both houses were much troubled and afflicted with it: and of those who advised him to it, one knew nothing of the constitution of England, and was not thought to wish well to the religion of it; and the other was so well known to him, that nothing was more wonderful than that his majesty should take him for a safe counsellor." He had recourse then again to the matter, and used some arguments against it which had not been urged before, and which seemed to make impression. He heard all he said with patience, but seemed not to change his mind, and answered no more than "that it was no time to speak to the matter, which was now passed; and if it had been unseasonably urged, he might still have carried himself otherwise than he had done;" and so spake of somewhat else.

His majesty did not withdraw any of his trust or confidence from him in his business, and seemed to have the same kindness for him: but from that time he never had the same credit with him as he had before. The lord Ashley got no ground, but sir Harry Bennet very much, who, though he spake very little in council, shewed his power out of it, by persuading his majesty to recede from many resolutions he had taken there. And afterwards, in all the debates in council which were preparatory to the war, and upon those particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the justice and policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was offered by the chancellor or treasurer was never considered. It was answer

enough, "that they were enemies to the war;" which was true, as long as it was in deliberation: but from the time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

There was another and a greater mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy debate; which was the prejudice and disadvantage that the bishops underwent by their so unanimous dislike of that bill. For from that time the king never treated any of them with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their persons very negligently, but their function and religion itself, as an invention to impose upon the free judgments and understandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and sermons vilified as laboured discourses, which the preachers made only to shew their own parts and wit, without any other design than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the court; and so much license [was] manifested in it, that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it: and all serious and prudent men took it as an ill presage, that whilst all warlike preparations were made in abundance suitable to the occasion, there should so little preparation of spirit be for a war against an enemy, who might possibly be without some of our virtues, but assuredly was without any of our vices.

There begun now to appear another enemy, much more formidable than the Dutch, and more difficult to be struggled with; which was the plague, that brake out in the winter, and made such an early progress in the spring, that though the weekly numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the outskirts of the town, and in the most obscure alleys, amongst the poorest people; yet the ancient men, who well remembered in what manner the last great plague (which had been near forty years before) first brake out, and the progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible summer. And many of them removed their families out of the city to country habitations; when their neighbours laughed at their providence, and thought they might have stayed without danger: but they found shortly that they had done wisely. In March it spread so much, that the parliament was very willing to part: which was likewise the more necessary, in regard that so many of the members of the house of commons were assigned to so many offices and employments which related to the war, and which required their immediate attendance. For though the fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many prizes daily brought in, besides the first seizure, which by this time was [adjudged] lawful prize; in all which great loss was sustained by the license of officers as well as common men, and the absence of such as should restrain and punish it: so that, as soon as the bill was passed the houses for the good aid they had given the king, and was ready for the royal assent, his majesty passed it, and prorogued the parliament in April (which was in 1665) till September following; his majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the fierceness of the plague," which at

that time raged more, "he should be glad to meet them then; by which time they would judge by some success of the war, what was more to be done. But if that visitation increased, they should have notice by proclamation that they might not hazard themselves."

The parliament being thus prorogued, there was the same reason to hasten out the fleet; towards which the duke left nothing undone, which his unwearied industry and example could contribute towards [it], being himself on board, and having got all things necessary into his own ship that he cared for. But he found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to sea, though many things were wanting in other ships, even of beer and other provision of victual; not only to be before the enemy, but he saw it would be impossible, whilst the ships were in port, to keep the seamen from going on shore, by which they might bring the plague on board with them; and there was already a suspicion that the infection was got into one of the smaller ships.

It hath been said before, that all things relating to the fleet were upon the matter wholly governed by Mr. Coventry. It is very true, that the officers of the navy constantly attended the duke together with those three sea-captains who have been named before: but from the time that the war was declared, his highness consulted daily, for his own information and instruction, with sir John Lawson and sir George Ayscue and sir William Pen, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalry between the two last, because they had been in equal command: therefore the duke took sir William Pen into his own ship, and made him captain of it; which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the other emulation, the other two being flag-officers and to command several squadrons.

In all conferences with these men Mr. Coventry's presence and attendance was necessary, both to reduce all things into writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the duke in mind of what he was to do. Lawson was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth, of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawling,) a very extraordinary person; he understood his profession incomparably well, spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp: he was of few words, yet spake to the purpose and to be easily understood. Pen, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman; he had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. Coventry, who still learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally in the debate or to cross what was not agreeable to his own fancy, by which he was still swayed out of the pride and perverseness of his will.

Upon debate and conference with these men, the duke brought propositions to the king reduced into writing by Mr. Coventry; and the king commonly consulted them with the lord treasurer in the presence, the propositions being commonly for increase of the expense, which Mr. Coventry was solicitous by all the ways possible to contrive. To those consultations the duke always brought the sea-officers, and Mr. Coventry, who spake much more than they, to explain especially what sir William Pen said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though they durst not contradict; and sir John Lawson often complained, "that Mr. Coventry put that in writing which had never been proposed by them, and would continue disputing it till they yielded." Every conference raised the charge very much; and what they proposed yesterday as enough was to-day made twice as much; if they proposed six fire-ships to be provided, within two or three days they demanded twelve: so there could be no possible computation of the charge.

By this means the fleet that was now ready to put to sea amounted to fourscore sail; and the king willingly consented, upon the reasons the duke presented to him, that they should set sail as soon as was possible. And before the end of April the duke was with the whole fleet at sea, and visited the coast of Holland, and took many ships in their view, their fleet being not yet in readiness. Many noblemen, the earl of Peterborough, the lord viscount Ferrers, and others, with many gentlemen of quality, went as volunteers, and were distributed into the several ships with much countenance by the duke, and as many taken into his own ship as could be done with convenience.

The duke of Buckingham had from the first mention of the war, which he promoted all he could, declared "that he would make one in it:" and when it was declared, he desired to have the command of a ship, which the duke positively denied to give him, except the king commanded it, (and his majesty was content to refer that, as he did the nomination of all the other officers, to his brother,) and did not think fit that a man, of what quality soever, who had never been at sea, should his first voyage have the command of any considerable ship, (and a small one had not been for his honour;) at which he was much troubled. Yet his friends told him that he was too far engaged, to stay at home when his royal highness ventured his own person: and thereupon he resolved to go a volunteer, and put himself on board a flag-ship, the captain whereof was in his favour. And then he desired, "that in respect of his quality, and his being a privy counsellor, he might be present in all councils of war." The duke thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new precedent. There were many of the ancient nobility, earls and barons, who were then on board as volunteers; and if the consideration of quality might entitle them to be present in council, all orders would be broken, there being none called but flag-officers: and therefore his royal highness positively refused to gratify him in that point; which the duke of Buckingham thought (it being enough known that the duke had neither esteem or kindness for him) to be such a personal disobligation, that would well ex-

cuse him for declining the enterprise. And pretending that he did appeal to the king in point of right, he left the fleet, and returned to the shore to complain. And we return back too to the view of other particulars.

There were two persons, whom the king and his brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary favours: one of which was equally grateful to both, sir Charles Berkley, who had been lately created an Irish viscount by the name of lord Fitzharding, the old and true surname of the family; upon whom the king had, for reasons only known to himself, set his affection so much, that he had never denied any thing he asked for himself or for any body else, and was well content that he should be looked upon as his favourite. He had been long thought so to the duke, who was willing to promote any thing to his advantage: and the king had deferred those instances only till the parliament should be prorogued, lest it should raise the appetites of others to make suits, which he had hitherto defended himself from, by declaring he would make no more lords. But the parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in execution: and when it was to be done, the chancellor had the honour to be present alone with the king and duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the duke proposed it as a suit to the king, that he would make the lord Fitzharding an earl, extolling his courage and affection to the king; who was pleased with the motion to that degree, that he extolled him with praises which could be applied to few men: and it was quickly resolved that he should be an earl of England, and a title was as soon found out; and so he was created earl of Falmouth, before he had one foot of land in the world.

And to gratify the king for this favour, the duke likewise proposed that the king would make sir Harry Bennet a lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for; which was as willingly granted: and he had no more estate than the other, and could not so easily find a title for his barony. But because he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his first warrant was to be created Cheney, which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the least relation: and for some days upon the signing the warrant he was called lord Cheney, until a gentleman of the best quality in Buckinghamshire, who, though he had no title to the barony, was yet of the same family, and inherited most part of the estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Newcastle, heard of it, and made haste to stop it. He went first to sir Harry Bennet himself, and desired him "not to affect a title to which he had no relation; and to which though he could not pretend of direct right, yet he was not [so] obscure but that himself or a son of his might hereafter be thought worthy of it by the crown; and in that respect it would be some trouble to him to see it vested in the family of a stranger." The secretary did not give him so civil an answer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon information of his condition and quality, (as he was in all respects very worthy of consideration,) the patent being not yet prepared, he was contented to take the title of a little farm

that had belonged to his father and was sold by him, and now in the possession of another private person; and so was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge.

The king took the occasion to make these two noblemen from an obligation that lay upon him to confer two honours at the same time; the one upon Mr. Frescheville, of a very ancient family in Derbyshire, and a fair estate, who had been always bred in the court, a menial servant of the last king, and had served him in the head of a troop of horse raised at his own charge in the war, and whom his late majesty had promised to make a baron.

The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, a gentleman as well known by what he had done and suffered in the late time, as by the eminency of his family, and the fortune he was still master of after the great depredation of the time. John Arundel, his father, was of the best interest and estate of the gentlemen of Cornwall: and in the beginning of the troubles, when the lord Hopton and the other gentlemen with him were forced to retire into Cornwall, he and his friends supported them, and gave the first turn and opposition to the current of the parliament's usurpation; and to them, their courage and activity, all the success that the lord Hopton had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first rise. The old gentleman was then above seventy years of age, and infirm; but all his sons he engaged in the war: the two eldest were eminent officers, both members of the house of commons, and the more zealous soldiers by having been witnesses of the naughty proceedings of those who had raised the rebellion. The eldest was killed in the head of his troop, charging and driving back a bold sally that was made out of Plymouth when it was besieged: and this other gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger brother, was an excellent colonel of foot to the end of the war.

When sir Nicholas Slanning, who was governor of Pendennis, lost his life bravely in the siege of Bristol, the king knew not into what hands to commit that important place so securely, as by sending a commission to old John Arundel of Trerice to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his interest; and in respect of his age joined his eldest son with him: and after his death he added the younger brother to the command, of whom we are speaking, who was in truth then looked upon as the most powerful person in that county.

When the king, then prince, was compelled, after almost the whole west was lost, to retire into Cornwall, he remained in Pendennis castle, and from thence made his first embarkation to Scilly: and at parting, out of a princely sense of the affection and service of that family, he took the old gentleman aside, and in the presence of his son wished him "to defend the place as long as he could, because relief might come, of which there was some hope from abroad;" and promised him, "if he lived to come back into England, he would make him a baron; and if he were dead, he would make it good to his son." The old man behaved him bravely to his death, having all his estate taken from him; and his son remained

as eminently faithful, and had as deep marks of it as any man: so that at the king's return, who never forgot his promise, he might have received the effect of it in the first creation, if he had desired it; but he chose rather to recover the bruises his fortune had endured by seizures and sequestrations, before he would embark him in a condition that must presently raise his expense in his way of living. And as soon as he found himself at ease in that respect, he got a friend to inform the king, "that he was ready to receive his bounty."

And his majesty, being under these two obligations, was willing to take the same opportunity to prefer the two other persons he loved so well. But at the same time that he declared his resolution for the last two, (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected,) his majesty reflected upon the number of the house of peers, which was in many respects found grievous, and declared to his brother and the chancellor, who were only present, "that no importunity should prevail with him to make any more lords in many years, and till the present number should be lessened;" in which resolution the duke willingly concurred, and protested "that he would never more importune him in that point." The reason of mentioning this declaration and resolution will appear hereafter. This creation was no sooner over, than the new earl of Falmouth went with the duke to sea: for though his relation was now immediately to the king and near his person, yet he thought himself obliged not to be from the duke when he was to be engaged in so much danger; and he was confessed by all men to abound in a most fearless courage.

It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of an act of state that passed about this time, and which afterwards administered matter of reproach against the chancellor, and was made use of by his enemies as an evidence of his corruption; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the relation from the original ground of the counsel. About the first Christmas after the king's happy return into England, the chancellor, treasurer, privy seal, and the two chief justices (being the persons appointed by the statute for that purpose) met together to set the prices upon the several sorts of wines; and were attended, according to custom, by the company of vintners, and the chief merchants in the city who traded in that commodity. And being first to limit the merchants to a reasonable rate, before they could prescribe any price to the vintners upon the retail, they found, by the best inquiry they could make, that the first prices beyond the seas which the merchants paid for their wines were so excessive, that the retail could not be brought within any compass; and that since the beginning of the troubles the price of wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the Canaries was almost double to what it had been in the year 1640.

The chancellor knew very well, by the correspondence he had held in the Canaries, (during the time that he had served his majesty as his ambassador in Spain,) that the whole trade for the Canary wine was driven solely by the English, and the commodity entirely vended in the king's dominions, all Christendom beside not spending

any quantity of that wine; and thereupon he asked the merchants "whether what he had reported was not true, and what would be the way to remedy that mischief."

They all confessed it to be very true, and "that it was a great reproach to the nation to be so much imposed upon in a trade that they might govern themselves: and that the unreasonable prices of the wine were not the greatest prejudice that was befallen that trade. That before the troubles they had been so far from employing any stock of money for the support of that traffick, that they used to send their ships fully laden with all commodities thither, which yielded very good markets, being sent from thence into the West Indies with their Plate fleets; and that the very pipe-staves which they carried did very near supply the value of their wine, so that they brought home the proceed of their commodities either in pieces of eight, or such other merchandizes as had been brought thither from the Indies, and upon which they received great profit. On the contrary, that the trade was now wholly driven by ready money; that the commodities they send thither are not taken off, except at their own prices, so that they have for the late years sent their vessels empty thither, except only with some few pipe-staves, which by the destruction in Ireland they could not send in any great proportion; and that their ships return from thence with no other lading but those wines, which they trade for in ready money, either by pieces of eight sent in their ships from hence, or by bills of exchange charged upon some known merchants in Spain. That over and above these disadvantages, the Spaniards in those islands had of late imposed new duties upon the wine, and laid other impositions upon the merchants than the English nation had been ever accustomed to." They said, "all these inconveniences proceeded from the immoderate appetite this nation hath for that sort of wine, and therefore they take from them as much as they can make; and from our own disorder and irregularity in buying them, and contending who shall get the most, and so raising the price upon one another, and making the Spaniards themselves the judges what the merchants shall pay."

The lords, upon consultation between themselves, found the matter too hard for them, and that the reformation of so much evil must be made by degrees, and upon a representation of the whole, with the difficulties which attended it, to the king and his privy-council, whose wisdoms only could provide a remedy proportionable to the mischiefs. For the present, as they resolved not to raise the prices at which wine was at that time bought and sold, (which they believed, how reasonably soever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular,) so they thought it not just to draw down and abate those prices, since it appeared to them that the wines cost more in proportion upon the places of their growth. They declared therefore to the merchants and to the vintners, "that though for the present they would permit the same prices to continue for the next year, which they had been sold for the present year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late act of parliament, "they should hereafter take care what markets they made; for that they

"were resolved the next year to make the prices much lower both to the merchant and to the vintner:" and so, upon the report made by the lords of the whole matter to the king in council, and of what they thought fit to be done for the present, a proclamation was published accordingly.

The next year both the merchants and vintners were very earnest suitors to the lords at their accustomed meeting, that greater prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their wines cost them more than they had done the year before. Upon the debate the Canary merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the price raised, "because it was notorious that they had paid much more than formerly, by reason," as they alleged, "that the vintage had not yielded near the proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the increase of price, yet pretended a more public spirit and the necessity of a reformation: and therefore they pressed as earnestly, "that the price might not be raised, but that they might be permitted to take what they had done already for this year." It was quickly discovered whence this moderation proceeded; and that the last proposers had a great quantity of wine upon their hands, which had been provided the year before, and so might well be sold at the same price, but that the former had no old wine left, but were supplied with a full provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the lords, "that whatever resolution they took for the present, a clause might be inserted in the proclamation, that, the next year which followed, Canary wine should not be sold for above four and twenty pounds the pipe, and that every year after it should be drawn lower," as it might well be, it having been sold in the year 1640 for twenty pounds the pipe; though, in the year when his majesty returned, it had been permitted to be sold at six and thirty pounds the pipe. "Such a clause," they said, "would give notice to the islanders, and oblige them to sell their wines at more reasonable rates, and would render the merchants unexcusable if they should give greater." Notwithstanding all their allegations, the lords remembered what they had declared to them the last year, which was as fair a warning as any thing they could now say would be. And accordingly they set lower prices upon all wines for the year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual warning for the future: which was thought a very rigorous proceeding; but being reported to the king and council, what they had done was allowed and confirmed, and his majesty was well contented that such a clause as they had proposed should be inserted in the proclamation; which was accordingly done.

The year following, when the lords met again according to custom, which is, as hath been said, about Christmas, they found not the least reformation; on the contrary, that the Canary merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the price raised, and the vintners as importunate for their retail. And indeed the vintners seemed to be in a much worse condition than the merchants. And they made it appear, "that they were often compelled to pay

"higher prices to the merchant than [were] imposed by their lordships; without which they could get no good wine, and so must give over their keeping house: that the penalty upon the merchant was very small, being not above forty shillings a pipe, and the crime not easy to be discovered, as was evident by there not having been one merchant questioned in many years for that common transgression; whereas on the vintner's part the penalty was very severe, and easily discovered by any man who went to a tavern and would be an informer, and that most of the vintners in London were at that very time sued in the exchequer upon those very penalties, which, if exacted, must produce their ruin."

The merchants excused themselves for their present pretence, and for their having given more for their wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own desire: "that they had done their best, and that the greatest traders amongst them had consented between themselves not to suffer the prices to be raised upon them; but that they found it ineffectual, and that though they should give over their trades, it would produce no reformation. That the trade was open to all adventurers, and that there had been many ships sent from England in that very year by Jews, and people of several trades, who had never been before known to trade to the Canaries: insomuch as when they who had been long bred up to the trade, and had been long factors in those islands, sent their ships thither, they found other English ships there, and the wines bought at a greater price than they had allowed their factors to give; so that they must either have their ships return empty and unladen, or take the wines at the prices other men gave. That they had chosen the latter, as well to continue their trade, as to draw home some part of the stock they had in that country. That they could imagine but two ways to reform that excess: the one, by putting the trade into such a method and under such rules, as might restrain that license, and not leave it in the power of persons who never had been in the trade to give the law to it; and by this means the islanders would find it necessary to set reasonable prices upon their commodities, and to yield such other advantages and privileges to the merchants as they had heretofore enjoyed. The other, that the king would by his proclamation prohibit the importation of any Canary wines into his dominions: and hereby he would quickly receive such propositions from Spain, as would put it into his own power to make the reformation; otherwise the islanders had been persuaded that England could not live without their wines."

The lords were resolved, notwithstanding all that had been said, that they would execute the former proclamation, and reduce the prices of wines to what had been then determined: and after they had given a full account of the whole business to the king in council, the resolution was approved, and a proclamation was issued out to that purpose. The merchants and vintners applied themselves to his majesty, and to many of the lords of the council, and thought they had encouragement enough to hope for a relief in an appeal to the king and council by petition; and they had thereupon a day assigned to be

heard. Many of the lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel men to sell cheaper than they bought, which was the truth of the case, and which must oblige both merchants and vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their wines to preserve their estates; which might probably turn to the great damage of the whole kingdom, in producing sickness and diseases: and this charitable and generous consideration prevailed with the major part of the lords to be well contented, and to wish that some indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the king had well weighed the whole proceedings, and with trouble and indignation considered the obstinate vice of the nation, which made it ridiculous to all the world, he expressed a positive resolution to vindicate himself and his government from this reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the prices which had been resolved upon by the lords would be the best preface to this reformation, though it might be attended with particular damage to particular persons, who had yet less cause to complain, because their own advice had been followed. And thereupon his majesty declared, "that he would make no alteration;" but withal told them, "that if they could make any proposition to him for the better regulation of the trade," (for they had themselves mentioned a charter,) "he would graciously receive any propositions they would make, and gratify them in what was just:" and so, notwithstanding all attempts which were often repeated, the price set by the lords was ratified for the year following.

Shortly after, many of the merchants who had always traded to the Canaries did petition the king, "that they might be incorporated; and that none might be permitted to trade thither but such who would be of that corporation, and observe the constitutions which should be made by them:" which petition was presented to the king at the council-board; and being read, his majesty (according to his custom in matters of difficulty and public concernment) directed it to be read again on that day month, at which time his majesty presumed that all who would oppose it would present their reasons and objections against it, which he desired to hear. At the day appointed, though there was no petition against it, yet it was observed that there were many of the most eminent merchants of that trade, whose names were not to the petition, nor [who] otherwise appeared desirous to have a charter granted: which his majesty considering, he put off the debate for another week, and directed "that the other merchants by name should be desired to be present, and to give their advice freely upon the point."

And there was at that day a very full appearance; when his majesty directed, "that a relation should be made to them of the whole progress that had been in the business, and the damage and dishonour the nation underwent in the carrying on that trade: that many merchants had presented a petition to him, containing an expedient to bring it into better order; but finding them not to appear in it, and being informed that they were best acquainted with and most engaged in that trade, he had sent for them to know their opinion, whether they thought what was proposed to be reasonable and fit to be granted, and if so, why they did

"not concern themselves in it." They answered, "that the reason why they had not appeared in it was, because they thought they should be losers by it, and therefore were not solicitous to procure a grant from his majesty to their own damage;" and so enlarged "upon the nature of the trade, their long experience in it, and the greatness of their stock, which they should not be allowed to continue under any regulation. But as they did not think themselves [in a situation] to be solicitous for a change, so they could not deny, being required by his majesty to speak the truth, but that the proposition that was made was for the public good and benefit of the kingdom, and that they conceived no other way to redeem that trade, and the nation from the insolence which the Spaniard exercised upon them;" implying, "that if his majesty would command them, they would likewise concur and join in the carrying on the service." To which his majesty giving them gracious encouragement, they all seemed to depart of one mind; and his majesty remained confirmed in the former opinion he had of it.

But there remained yet an objection, which was principally insisted on by the ministers of the revenue, who alleged very reasonably, "that this new-modelling the trade must produce some alteration, and would meet some opposition from the Spaniard, which for the time would lessen the customs and entitle the farmers to a defalcation." The petition was therefore referred to the farmers of the customs, who were to attend the next council-day: and being then called, they did acknowledge, "that the design proposed would prove very profitable to the kingdom in many respects," upon which they enlarged, "and that in the end it would not be attended with any diminutions of the customs; but for the present," they said, "they could not but expect, that the obstinacy and contradiction of the Spaniard would give such a stop to trade, at least for one year, that if his majesty did not reimburse them for what should fall short in the receipt of custom, they must look to be very great losers." The merchants on the other hand offered "to be bound, that if they did not the first year bring in as much as had been usually entered, they would make good what should be wanting to the farmers upon a medium." Whereupon his majesty himself declared, "that he would not, for a small damage to himself, hinder the kingdom from enjoying so great a benefit:" and he commanded his solicitor general, who then attended the board, "to prepare such a charter as might provide for all those good ends which were desired in the petition," and which had been so largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater concurrence of the board in any direction.

Many months passed before the charter was prepared; in which time there was never the least new objection made against it, nor was it known that any man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the king's hand, it was brought to the great seal; and there the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen had entered a caveat to stop the passing of it. The chancellor, according to course, appointed a time when he would hear all parties. The city alleged

an order made a year or two before by the king in council, upon a complaint then exhibited by the court of aldermen against the Turkey company and other corporations, "in which," they said, "there were very many merchants of the best trade and of the greatest estates in the city, who would never take out their freedom, and so refused to bear any charge or office in it, to the very great prejudice and dishonour of the city and of the government thereof; since they were thereby compelled to call inferior citizens to be aldermen, before they had estates to bear the charge of it, whilst the gravest and the richest men, who were most fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, because they were not freemen." The persons concerned, which were indeed a great number of very valuable and substantial men and of great estates, answered, "that they had traded very many years without finding any reason to take out their freedom, which they might do or not do as they thought best for themselves; that they had always paid scot and lot in the several parishes where they lived with the highest of the inhabitants, and were taxed the more because they had not taken out their freedom, they who taxed them being always freemen; that they were grown old now, and had no mind to become young freemen, but would rather give over their trade, and retire into the country where they had estates."

Besides the rules which the king gave upon the difference then in question, he was pleased to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an order in the council-book, "that care should be taken, that in all charters which he should hereafter renew or grant to any companies or corporations in the city of London, they should first make themselves freemen of the city; by which they might be liable to the charges of it, as other citizens are." They said, "that there were many of this company that was now to be incorporated who were not freemen:" and therefore the lord mayor and court of aldermen desired the benefit of the king's order, which was read.

The merchants confessed, "that many of them were not freemen, and resolved not to be:" they said, "they had never heard of this order, and were sorry that they had spent so much money to no purpose." The chancellor declared to them, "that he could not seal their charter till they had complied with the king's determination, and given the court of aldermen satisfaction:" and they all seemed as positive that they would rather be without their charter, than they would submit to the other inconveniences: and so they departed. But after some days' deliberation and consultation between themselves, and when they found that there was no possibility to procure a dispensation from that order, they treated with the city, and agreed with them in the preparing a clause to be inserted in their charter, by which they were obliged in so many years to become freemen; which clause, being approved by all parties, was in the king's presence entered in the bill that his majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the great seal, and presented to the chancellor to be sealed.

There were by this time several new caveats

entered against it at the seal; all which the chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint satisfaction of all parties, and all caveats were withdrawn. There was then a rumour, that there would be some motions made against it in the house of commons: and some parliament-men, who served for the western boroughs, came to the chancellor, and desired him "that he would defer the sealing it for some days till they might be heard, since it would undo their western trade; and," they said, "they resolved to move the house of commons to put a stop to it." The chancellor informed them of the whole progress it had passed, and told them, "he believed that they would hardly be able to offer any good reasons against it:" however, since it was then well known that the parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve days, he said "he would suspend the sealing it till then, to the end that they might offer any objections against it there or any where else." But though the parliament sat longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no mention or notice taken of it: and after the prorogation no application was further made for the stopping it, and the merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alleging with reason "that the deferring it so long had been very much to their prejudice." Whereupon the chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the great seal to it.

The company then chose a governor and other officers according to their charter, and made such orders and by-laws as they thought fit for the carrying on and advancement of their trade, which they might alter when they thought convenient; and for the present they resolved upon a joint stock, and assigned so many shares to each particular man. In this composition and distribution there fell out some difference between themselves, which could not be taken notice of abroad: and even some of them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the charter, did what they could to hinder the effect of it; sent privately to their factors at the Canaries, "to oppose any orders that should be sent from the governor and the company, and that they should do all they could to incense the Spaniards against the charter," and bade them promise "that all their wine should be taken off in spite of the corporation." Whereupon great disorders did arise in the Canaries between the English themselves; and by the conjunction of the Spaniards with those few English who opposed the charter, they proceeded so far as to send the principal factors for the company out of the island into Spain, and to make a public act by the governor and council there, "that no ship belonging to the company should be suffered to come into the harbour, or to take in any lading from the island:" all which was transacted there many months before it was known in England, and probably would have been prevented or easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the plague at this time spread very much in London, and if the war with the Dutch had not restrained all English ships from going to the Canaries for the space of a year; which intermission, not to be prevented nor in truth foreseen, gave some advantage to the merchants at home

who opposed their charter, who complained for the not-return of their several stocks within the time that the company had promised they should be returned.

I am not willing to resume this discourse in another place, which I should be compelled to do if I discontinued the relation in this place, as in point of time I should do; but I choose rather to insert here what fell out afterwards, and to finish the account of that affair, that there may be no occasion in the current of this narration to mention any particulars that related to it.

When the king was at Oxford, and was informed of what had passed at the Canaries, some merchants appeared there to petition against the charter, whereof there were some who were the first petitioners for it. His majesty appointed a day for the solemn hearing it in the presence of his privy-council, the governor being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their grievances the petitioners themselves confessed, "that they could not complain of the charter; that it was a just and necessary charter, and for the great benefit of the kingdom, though some private men might for the present be losers by it: that their complaint was only against their constitutions and by-laws, and the severe prosecution thereupon contrary to the intention of the charter itself;" instancing, amongst other things, "the very short day limited by the charter, after which they could not continue their trade without being members of the corporation; and that day was so soon after the sealing the charter, that it was not possible for them to draw their stocks from thence in so short a time."

When they had finished all their objections, the king observed to them, "that they complained only of what themselves had done, and not at all of the charter, which gave them only authority to choose a governor, and to make constitutions and by-laws, but directed not what the constitutions and by-laws should be, which were the result of their own [consultations], in which the major part must have concurred; and of that kind the resolution for a joint stock was one, which and all the rest they might alter again at the next court, if the major part were grieved with it." But because they had complained of some particulars, in which they might have reason on their side, his majesty expressed a willingness to mediate and to make an agreement between them: and thereupon he required the governor to answer such and such particulars which seemed to have most of justice; but the governor answered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that they had in truth no cause of complaint. As to the short day that was assigned for the drawing away their stocks, which had the greatest semblance of reason in all they complained of, he said, "they had no reason to mention their want of warning, for that the day was well enough known to them long before the sealing the charter, and might very well have been complied with," (the reasons why the sealing the charter was so long deferred are set down before,) "and could be no reason to them to neglect the giving direction in their own concerns; but that they knew likewise, that the day was enlarged to a day desired by them-

selves, that there might be no pretence for discontent:" and thereupon the order of the court to that purpose was read to his majesty, and they could not deny it to be true.

In conclusion, since it did appear that their stock did in truth still remain in the Canaries, and in justice belonged to them, whether it was their fault or their misfortune that it had not been drawn over in time; the king persuaded the governor and his assistants to give them such satisfaction in that and other particulars, that before they retired from his majesty's presence they were unanimously agreed upon all their pretences: and though some of the lords, upon some insinuations and discourses which they had heard, had believed the company to have been in the wrong, they were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the charter to be founded upon great reason of state, and that the execution of it had been very justifiable and with great moderation. And it is to be observed, that the parliament being then assembled at Oxford, there was not the least complaint against that charter or corporation.

And this was the whole progress of that affair, until it served some men's turns to make it afterwards matter of reproach to the chancellor, in a time when he had too great a weight of the king's displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other calumnies, which few men thought him guilty of. And if the motives of state were not of weight enough to support the patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other counsellor, there having [never] been a more unanimous concurrence at that board in any advice they have given: and the delays he used in the passing the charter after it came to his hand, his giving so long time for the making objections against it, and his so positively opposing the company with reference to their being freemen of the city, are no signs that he had such a mind to please them, as a man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a share in the profit of the patent, as was afterwards suggested, but never believed by any to whom he was in any degree known, who knew well that he frequently refused to receive money that he might very lawfully have done, and never took a penny which he was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often as that affair came to be debated, very clear in his judgment for the king's granting it, and always continued of the same opinion: nor did he ever deny, that some months after the patent was sealed the governor made him a present in the name of the corporation, as it is presumed he did to many other officers through whose hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his predecessors when it came from a community upon the passing a charter; which he never concealed from the king, who thought he might well do it. In the last place it is to be remembered, that after all the clamour against this charter in parliament, and upon the arguing against the legality of it by eminent lawyers before the house of peers, it was so well supported by the king's attorney general and other learned lawyers, that the lords would not give judgment against it: but the governor and the corporation durst not dispute it further with the house of commons, but chose to surrender their charter into the king's hands.

The French had their ambassador, monsieur Comminge, remaining still in England, who pretended to be ready to finish still the treaty of commerce, but formalized so much upon every article, though nothing was demanded but what had been granted to Cromwell, that it was concluded that he wanted power, though somewhat was imputed to the capriciousness of his nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the hours himself assigned, being hypochondriac and seldom sleeping without opium. As soon as the war was declared, the king of France sent two other ambassadors, whereof, for the countenance and splendour of it, the duke of Vernueil was one, who being uncle to both the kings was received rather under that relation than in the other capacity, and was lodged and treated by the king during the whole time of his stay. With him came likewise monsieur Courtine, a master of requests, and much the quicker man of the three, and upon whose parts and address most of the business depended. The former ambassador was joined in commission with the other two: and their declared business was to mediate a peace between the king and the Dutch, when there had been yet little harm done, only great preparations made on both sides for the war; which they did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first audience, "that the king their master out of Christianity, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, desired to mediate a peace, which the States of the United Provinces were very [willing] he should do, and professed to have a very great desire of peace; which made his Christian majesty hope that he should find the same good inclinations here, and if he might be informed what his majesty did require, or what would be grateful to him, he did not doubt but that he should persuade the States to submit to it."

And with this general discourse, and without delivering any memorial in writing, the ambassadors acquiesced for many months, as if their business was only that the Dutch ambassador, who remained still in London, might know and send word to his masters that they had begun their mediation. Otherwise they seemed in all their discourses to make some kind of apology for being sent, implying, "as if the extraordinary importunity of the Dutch had prevailed with the king to undertake this mediation, and which he did the rather, upon their promise that they would yield to any thing he should advise them; and he was very far from desiring that his majesty might not receive ample satisfaction in whatsoever he required:" so that the king did not imagine, whatever information he had received before, and whatever jealousy he had entertained, that this embassy would be concluded in the denunciation of a war against him. Nor is it probable that the ambassadors themselves at that time knew that they were to perform that office, though it was afterwards evident that the matter had been long before resolved in France. They lived between the two courts, for the queen mother was likewise at that time at her palace of Somerset-house, in much jollity, and as vacant from any affairs till they might receive new orders from court, but spending much time with the Dutch ambassador, whom they persuaded

"that they were very intent upon and had much advanced the treaty," as appeared by the ambassador's letters to the Hague.

The plague increased so fast, that the queen mother, who had all the winter complained of her indisposition of health, and declared that she would in the summer go again into France, took that occasion, albeit she was recovered to a very good state; and about the end of July removed and embarked for France, and took so many things with her, that it was thought by many that she did not intend ever to return into England. Whatever her intentions at that time were, she never did see England again, though she lived many years after.

It was in April that the duke went to sea: and from the day of his going thither with the fleet, letters and orders came from him to the day of the battle for an addition of more ships, upon intelligence of an increase of strength added to the enemy, though they yet lay still in the harbours, whilst the duke was upon their coasts. But Mr. Coventry still made new demands, and wrote to the chancellor, "that whilst the king's brother was at sea and ventured his own person, nobody who wished him [well] would, for saving money, hinder any thing from being sent that his highness thought necessary for his defence:" and all things were sent, though procured with wonderful difficulty.

The treasurer had believed, when all the provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all computations satisfied which had been made, and the fleet at sea, that there would have been no more expense till its return; whereas every day added new expense which had not been thought of: and the requiring of more ships was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the restless spirit of Mr. Coventry, who cared not how much to increase the expense, and was willing to put the treasurer and all the king's ministers to contend with all difficulties, that he might reproach their laziness or want of ability. But they did not gratify him in that, but all the ships, and whatever else was sent for, were sent; insomuch as the fleet amounted to no less than one hundred sail, and was now retired, for want of somewhat to do, to our own coast, where they resolved to attend the motion of the enemy: and in this time most of the volunteers, having endured the unpleasantness of the sea above a month, begun to think that the war was not so necessary as they had thought it to be.

The duke's family, that was numerous in his own ship, were not at ease, and found less respect from the seamen than they looked for: they grew into factions between themselves, and the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Coventry were rivals who should have most interest in the duke, who loved the earl best, but thought the other the wiser man, who supported Pen (who disoblged all the courtiers) even against the earl, who condemned Pen as a fellow of no sense, and not worthy of the charge and trust that was reposed in him. In this discomposure, and having nothing to do, every body grew angry at the occasion that brought them thither, and wished for peace.

The earl of Falmouth, as in a time of leisure, was sent by the duke with compliments to the king, and to give him an account of the good state of the fleet: he visited the chancellor, to

whom he had always paid great respect and made many professions; and he told him, "that they were all mad who had wished this war, and that himself had been made a fool to contribute to it, but that his eyes were open, and a month's experience at sea had enough informed him of the great hazards the king ran in it." He reproached Pen "as a sot, and a fellow he thought would be found without courage." He told him, "that the king and the duke too were both inclined to peace, and discerned that the charge and expense of the war would be insupportable;" and concluded, "that as soon as this action should be over, which could not be avoided many days if the Dutch fleet put to sea, as it could not be doubted it would, it would be good time to make a peace, which he desired him to think of, and to speak with the king, whom he would find disposed to it:" and so he returned to the fleet.

And by that time the Dutch were come out, and the next day were in view. They were near of equal number, and well manned, under the command of Opdam, the admiral of the whole fleet, upon whom the States had conferred that charge, that the prince of Orange's party might conclude, that they never intended that he should have the charges of his father and grandfather, and likewise to gratify the nobility of Holland, that had a very small share in the government. And this gentleman, who had never been at sea before, and had but a small fortune, was of that number, and had joined with that faction which was averse from the family of Orange. The fleets came within sight of each other on the first of June, and had some skirmishes, which continued on the second, the wind favouring neither party, as willing to keep them asunder: but upon the third it served both their turns, and brought them as near each other as they could desire to be.

Nor did the Dutch seem to advance with less courage and resolution. Opdam the Dutch admiral with his squadron bore directly upon the duke, with a resolution to board him: but before he came near enough, and very little before, whether by an accident within his own ship, or from a grenado or other shot out of the duke's ship, his gunroom took fire, and in a moment the ship sunk without any man being saved. The vice-admiral of the same squadron, being a Zealander, pursued the same resolution, and had boarded the duke if captain Jeremy Smith, a captain of the duke's squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the vice-admiral, who was equally attacked by the duke: and so that ship was taken after most of the men were killed; and the captain himself was so wounded, that he only lived to be brought on board the duke's ship, and to complain of his companions "for not having second-ed him according to an oath they had taken on board their admiral the day before," and died within half an hour, to the great trouble of the duke, who gave him a great testimony for a very gallant man, and much desired to preserve him.

The fight continued all the day with very great loss of men on all sides, though after the first two hours the Dutch, seeing many of their best ships burned and more taken, did all that the wind would give them leave to separate themselves from the English fleet, which pursued them so close, that they found they lost more by flying than

by fighting, and did lessen their sails to give some stop to the pursuit till the night might favour them: and the evening no sooner came, but they hoisted up all their sails, and intended nothing but their escape.

When there was no more to be done by the approach of the night, the duke, who was infinitely tired with the labour of the day, having lost above two hundred men aboard his own ship, whereof some [were] persons of quality, who stood next his own person, and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after he had taken some sustenance; which he did, after he had given the master of the ship, an honest and a skilful seaman, direct and positive charge "to bear up in that manner upon the Dutch fleet that he might lose no ground, but find himself as near, when the day should appear, as he was then when he went to sleep." The fleet had no guide but the lanthorn of the admiral, and were not to outsail him of course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the duke arose and the day appeared, the Dutch fleet was out of view; and before he could reach them, they were got into their ports, or under the shelter of their flats, that it was not counsellable for the great ships to pursue them further: yet some of those ships which made not so much way, or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser ships that followed them. And the duke had received so many blows on his own and the other ships, that it was necessary to retire in port, where they might be repaired.

It was a day of signal triumph, the action of it having much surpassed all that was done in Cromwell's time, whose navals were much greater than had ever been in any age: but the Dutch had never then fought with so much courage and resolution; nor were their ships then in strength to be compared to the English, as Van Trump assured them, "and that except they built better ships, they would be as often beaten as they fought with the English." And from that time they new-built all their navy, and brought now with them as good ships as any the king had: and the men for some hours behaved themselves well. In that day the duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good ships of war, whereof half were of the best they had, with the loss of one single small ship, for there was no more missing of his whole fleet. It is true the number of the killed and wounded men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great massacre that was on the other side there was no man, except Opdam their admiral, who had a name. There were many excellent officers killed and taken, men of courage and of great experience in naval affairs, and therefore an irreparable damage to them; but they had grown up from common seamen, and so were of no other quality than every mariner of the fleet.

On the part of the English, besides above two hundred men that were killed on board the duke's own ship, there fell the earl of Falmouth, who hath been lately spoken of, and the lord Musker-ry, eldest son to the earl Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer: he was of the duke's bed-chamber, and the earl and he were at that time so

near the duke, that his highness was all covered with their blood. There fell likewise in the same ship Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who came newly home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. There were many other gentlemen volunteers in the same ship, who had the same fate.

In prince Rupert's ship, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved him with notable courage and conduct, there were very many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers, of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died few months before: and he having a long and entire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely.

There was another almost irreparable loss this day in sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell: and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship; which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal; and they made haste to send him on shore, as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery; but shortly his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

He was indeed of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and the wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle. And a young man of that profession he was, when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy; and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service: and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till from a common sailor he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in which he was a signal officer and very much valued by him. He was of that classis of religion which were called independents, most of which were anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and therefore employed in most offices of trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out: and when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert, he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which brake the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

When the council of state was settled between the dissolution of the rump and the calling the parliament, they did not like the temper of the fleet, nor especially of Lawson, who, under the title of vice-admiral, had the whole command of the fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many captains they liked well: yet they durst not remove the vice-admiral, lest his interest in the seamen, which was very great, should give them new trouble. The expedient they resolved upon was to send colonel Mountague as admiral to command the fleet, without removing Lawson, who continued still in his command, and could not refuse to be commanded by Mountague, who had always been his superior officer, and who had likewise a great interest in very many of the officers and seamen. Yet Mountague, who brought with him a firm resolution to serve the king, which was well known to his majesty, had no confidence in Lawson till the parliament had proclaimed the king: and when he brought the fleet to Scheveling to receive the king, all men looked upon the vice-admiral as a great anabaptist, and not fit to be trusted. But when the king and the duke had conferred with him, they liked him very well: and he was from time to time in the command of vice-admiral in all the fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean. Nor did any man perform his duty better: he caused all persons, how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service, and brought very good order into his own ship, and frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any body to the duke to be preferred but such; and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man.

It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that before he went to sea he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne much respect, and spake to them in a dialect he had never before used, for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them, "that he was going upon an expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives: and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that God would protect him as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he thought it became him against the worst to make his condition known to them, and the rather, because

"he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich." He said, "in truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he was worth eight or nine thousand pounds: but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much above him, (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampshire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of tenderness to his son, had consented to it,) had obliged him to give her such a portion as might in some degree make her worthy of so great a fortune; and that he had not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter." He desired them therefore, "that if he should miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a year for her life; if he lived, he desired nothing. He hoped he should make some provision for them by his own industry: nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two hundred pounds yearly, than the king's word and promise, and that they would see it effectual." The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spake himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed that the promise was as well performed to his wife: sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power.

The victory and triumph of that day was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy: how it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations: but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immensity of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it; the safety and preservation of his brother with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days' fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight: yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation of his passion for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality which they did not wish their best friends without; and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young and of insatiable ambition; and a little more experience might have taught him all things which his weak parts were capable of. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from

thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way.

The duke, after he had given directions for the speedy repairing of the fleet, and for the present sending out such ships as could quickly be made ready to [ride] before the coast of Holland, made haste to present himself to the king, and to the queen his mother, who was ready to begin her journey to France, and had stayed some days to see the success of the naval fight, and afterwards to see the duke; and within few days after his arrival her majesty left the kingdom.

And now the whisper began in the duke's family of the reason, why the victory, after so great advantages, had not been pursued with that vigour that might have made it more destructive to the enemy than it proved to be. The master of the duke's ship (captain) pursued his orders very punctually after the duke was gone to sleep, and kept within a just distance of the Dutch fleet that remained in order together, for many fled in confusion and singly to that part of the coast that they thought they knew best; and many of them were taken. But the duke was no sooner in sleep, but Mr. Brounker of his bed-chamber, who with wonderful confusion had sustained the terror of the day, resolved to prevent the like on the day succeeding. He first went to sir William Pen, who commanded the ship, and told him, "that he knew well how miraculously the duke was preserved that day, and that they ought not further to tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that the duke was not only the king's brother, but the heir apparent of the crown, and what the consequence would be if he should be lost. And therefore it would concern him not to suffer the duke's known and notorious courage to engage him in a new danger, which he would infallibly be [exposed to] the next morning, if they continued to make so much sail as they did, and to keep so near the Dutch, who fled, but if they were pressed and in despair would fight as stoutly as they had done in the beginning. And therefore he desired and advised him to give the master order to slacken the sails, that the Dutch might get what ground they could, to avoid a further encounter." Pen answered him honestly, and told him, "he durst give no such orders, except he had a mind to be hanged, for the duke had himself given positive charge to the contrary."

Mr. Brounker, when he could not prevail there, confidently went to the master of the ship, who was an honest and a stout man, and carefully kept the steerage himself, that he might be sure to observe the order he had received from his highness, and told him, "that it was the duke's pleasure that he should slack the sails, without taking notice of it to any man." Whereupon the master did as he was commanded, making no doubt that a servant so near the person of his highness, and in so much favour with him, would [not] have brought such an order without due authority.

And by this means the remainder of the fleet escaped, which otherwise would probably have been all taken: for it was afterwards known, that there was such a confusion amongst the officers,

that nobody would obey; for though in truth the right of commanding, according to the course observed amongst them, after the death of Opdam, was in the vice-admiral of Zealand, yet, he being likewise killed, the other could not agree. But young Trump, the son of the old famous admiral, who had behaved himself very bravely all the day, challenged the command in the right of Holland; but John Evertson of Zealand, brother to him that was killed, required it as his right: which begat so great an animosity as well as confusion amongst them, that the morning, if they had been pursued, would in all probability have [proved] as dismal to them as the day before had done.

But the duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many men presume that it was done with the privity of Mr. Coventry, not only for the great friendship between him and Brounker, but because both Pen and the master were so silent when the duke was so much troubled the next morning: nor did the duke come to hear of it till some years after, when Mr. Brounker's ill course of life and his abominable nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and upon examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which he was expelled the house of commons, whereof he was a member, as an infamous person, though his friend Coventry adhered to him, and used many indirect arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more countenance from the king than most men thought he deserved, being a person throughout his whole life never notorious for any thing but the highest degree of impudence, and stooping to the most infamous offices, and playing very well at chess, which preferred him more than the most virtuous qualities could have done.

With this victory a new vast charge and expense (beside the repairing the hurt ships, masts, and rigging, and fitting out new ships of war, and buying more fireships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any computation; which was a provision for sick and wounded men, which amounted to so great a number upon all the coast, that the charge amounted in all places, notwithstanding the general charity of the people, and the convenience that many hospitals yielded, to above two thousand pounds the week for some weeks, and though less afterwards by the death and recovery of many, yet continued very great; besides the charge of keeping the Dutch prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every day increased.

The duke was very impatient to repair and set out the fleet again to sea, and resolved nothing more than to go in person again to command it, his family remaining still on board, and preparing such things as were wanting for his accommodation: but the queen mother had prevailed with the king at parting to promise her, "that the duke should not go again in person in that expedition;" which was concealed from the duke, his majesty believing that the confidence of his royal highness's going contributed very much to the setting out the fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much money as was with infinite difficulty procured, to satisfy the expenses of so many kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a benefit that flowed from a

fountain of extreme misery, which was the increase of the plague, which spread so fast that the king's staying so long in town was very dangerous. Yet the approach of this great calamity, that in other respects produced great mischiefs, advanced the present enterprise: for all people who had money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houses where they durst not stay themselves; so they willingly put it into the bankers' hands, who supplied the king upon such assignations as the late act of parliament and other branches of the king's revenue would yet bear.

And if at this time the French ambassadors had pursued their office of mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with success. For besides the great loss the Dutch had received in the battle and in their being deprived of so many of the merchants' ships, the factions were irreconcilable in the fleet: there were many officers who had behaved themselves very basely and cowardly in the action, but they knew not how to punish them; Evertson and Trump, who were their best seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the people were ready to rise upon De Wit, upon whom they looked as the occasion of the war, and cried aloud for peace. And the faction amongst the States themselves was very visible: all the other complained bitterly against the province of Holland, "which," they said, "had engaged them in a war against their will and without their privity, which was directly contrary to the form and constitution of their government." In a word, peace was universally desired and prayed for; and, in the opinion of all men, any reasonable conditions would at that time have been yielded to. And as the people of England generally had not [been] pleased with the beginning the war, so the court was weary of it; and the king would have been willing to have received any good overtures for the composing it; and the duke, since he was kept from bearing a part in it, would not have opposed it. But the ambassadors pressed no such matter, but congratulated the victory with the same joy they found in the court, and seemed to think that any misfortune that could befall the Dutch would be but a just punishment for their pride and insolence towards all their neighbour princes: the two nations had not yet worried themselves enough, entirely to submit to the arbitration of France; which it resolved they should do.

Within less than a month the fleet was again prepared and ready for the sea, as strong and in as good a condition as it had been before the battle; and the king and the duke went thither, the duke making no doubt of putting his person on board. And the king at that time resolved that prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich should have the joint command of it: in order to which prince Rupert was prepared, of whose easy concurrence only there was some doubt, his majesty promising himself all conformity and resignation from the earl of Sandwich; which he met with in both, for the prince very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure. In the journey the king acquainted his brother with his resolution, and the promise he had made to the queen their mother; with which the duke was much troubled, and offered many reasons to divert his majesty from

laying his command upon him: but when he found there was no remedy, he submitted, and gave orders for disembarking his family and goods.

But when this was communicated to Mr. Coventry, who was to prepare such commissions and warrants as upon this alteration of counsels were necessary, he persuaded the duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the sole command of the fleet to the earl of Sandwich, than to join prince Rupert in it with him," who, for no other reason but for not esteeming him at the rate he valued himself, had been long in his disfavour. He suggested some defects in the prince, which nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle temper of the earl of Sandwich, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: and many thought it would have in the conjunction produced a very good mixture, the danger from the prince being too sudden resolutions from too much heat and passion, and the earl having enough of phlegm and wariness in deliberating, and much vigour in the executing what was concluded; and they were both well prepared and inclined to perform the function.

But Mr. Coventry's advice prevailed both with the duke and king: and so in the instant that the king and duke were to return from the fleet that was ready to set sail with the first wind, and not till then, the king told prince Rupert, without enlarging upon the reasons, "that he would have him to return with him to London, and accompany him this summer, and that the earl of Sandwich should have the sole command of the fleet;" with which the prince was wonderfully surprised and perplexed, and even heart-broken; but there was no contending. He stayed behind the king only till he could get his goods and family disembarked, and then returned with very much trouble to the court: and the earl of Sandwich set sail with the fleet, with direction first to visit the coast of Holland, and if he found that the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, that he should go to the northward to watch the East India fleet, which had orders from their superiors to come by the north, that they might avoid the English fleet, that was master of the sea.

It was in the end of June or beginning of July that the king and duke returned from the fleet; and within few days after, it set sail: when the plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a week; so that all men cried out against the king's staying so long at Whitehall, the sickness being already in Westminster. Whereupon the king, after he had taken the best care he could with the lord mayor for the good ordering the city, and published such orders as were thought necessary for the relief and regulation of infected persons, and prevailed with some justices of the peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there, (which they were the more easily persuaded to do by the general's declaring that he would stay in his lodgings at Whitehall, which he did during the whole time of the pestilence; and the lord Craven, out of friendship to him, stayed likewise in his house in Drury-lane: and it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs which would have fallen out by

the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town :) I say, when the king had settled all this, he removed to Hampton, resolving there to consider how to dispose of himself for the remainder of the summer. And because there were many particulars still unresolved concerning the business of Ireland, his majesty for some days appointed that numerous people, that they might have no pretence to come to Hampton-Court, to attend at Sion; where for many days together his majesty spent many hours, till he had composed that affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

The plague still increased at London, and spread about the country; so that it was not thought safe for the court to remain longer where it then was, the sickness being already in some of the adjacent villages. Whereupon the king resolved that his own family and his brother's should remove to Salisbury, and spend the summer there. And because it was already in view, that it would not be fit for the parliament to assemble again at Westminster in September, to which time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what time it could be safe to meet in that place; and it was as notorious that if the parliament met not somewhere, whereby the king might have another supply before the winter, there would be very great confusion for want of money: he caused therefore a proclamation to issue out, "that he intended to adjourn the parliament to meet at Oxford upon the tenth of October next, and that the members need not to attend at Westminster in September." And then he directed the speaker of the house of commons, who lived within half a day of London, and the general and the lord Craven, to give notice to the members of both houses, who lived within that distance, to be present in both houses at the day to which they were prorogued, and then to adjourn to Oxford according to the proclamation. And this being settled, his majesty appointed a day for beginning his progress from Hampton-Court to Salisbury; against which time all carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the journey [were prepared].

In the morning, when every body believed that the king and queen and duke and duchess, with both their families, were to go together one way, Mr. Coventry found a way to break that resolution, having no mind to be in so great a court that his greatness would not appear. He told the duke, "that there were general discontents throughout the kingdom," which was true, "and a probability of insurrections," which were much spoken of and apprehended; "and therefore it might be better that the king and the duke might not be together, but in several places, that they might draw what forces were necessary to them, which the presence of their own persons would easily do: that the fleet would probably be all the summer upon the northern coast in expectation of the Dutch East India fleet;" for it was not then thought that the Hollanders would have been able to have set out another fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole matter he proposed to him, "that since the king meant to spend the summer in the west, with which there could very hardly be any correspondence from the fleet, his highness should go into the north, and reside at York;

"by which he would have an influence upon all those parts where the most disaffected persons [were] most inhabitant, and from Hull and those maritime parts he could not be long without receiving intelligence from the fleet."

The truth is; the constitution of the court at this time was such, the prevalence of the lady so great, and the queen's humour thereupon so inconstant, and all together so discomposed the king, that there was no pleasure in being a part of it: and therefore the advice was as soon embraced as given, by the duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own family apart. And the duke presently proposed it to the king, and Mr. Coventry discoursed all the motives to him so fully, that his majesty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the first attending the king to Salisbury, which was so much out of the way, would be to no purpose: and therefore it was resolved (all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors to go to Farnham, which was the first day's journey towards Salisbury) that the king and his brother would part upon the place, and that the king and queen should continue their purpose for Farnham, and the duke and his wife should go that night to St. Alban's, and so prosecute his journey for York; and all orders were in the instant given out to this purpose.

Whether the reasons of this counsel were of importance or not, the alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: for on the sudden it was, there having been no such thought overnight, when the chancellor left the court to go to his own house at Twickenham. And when he returned the next morning, the resolution was taken, and every body well pleased with the change, and both the king and the duke told him with satisfaction of it; nor did he understand it enough to make objections against it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to spend longer time in deliberation at that place, where some of the inferior servants had died the night before of the plague: and so they all entered upon their journey by nine of the clock the same morning.

It is necessary in this place to remember, that the express, that had been sent by the bishop of Munster's agent with the conditions which were offered by the king, returned with great expedition, and brought the bishop's acceptation and engagement, "that, upon the payment of the first sum that was agreed upon, he would draw his army together, and march with an army of twenty thousand horse and foot into the States' dominions." And the king before he left London had signed the treaty, and made the first payment, and provided for the second: so that he now expected that the bishop should be shortly upon his march, and fix his winter quarters in those provinces; which he did resolve and intend with courage and sincerity, and which in that conjuncture must have put the counsels of Holland into great confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some order.

The indefatigable industry and dexterity of the pensionary De Wit prevailed with the States to believe, "that he thought a peace to be necessary

"for their affairs, and desired nothing but that it might be upon honourable and safe conditions, and that France was very real in the endeavouring it: but that the enemy was so insolent upon their late success, that they neglected all overtures, and believed that the factions and divisions amongst themselves would hinder them from being able to set out another fleet; and therefore that ought to be the first design. And if their fleet were ready to go out, he doubted not but a peace would quickly follow: for that France was engaged, if the king should not consent to what is just and reasonable, to declare a war against England, and to assist them with men and money, and all his own naval power, which the duke of Beaufort was then preparing and making ready in all the ports of France. But that it was not to be expected that they would send out their fleet, which was much inferior to the English, except they first saw a Dutch fleet at sea ready to join with them." He wished them to consider how much they were all concerned in their India ships, which were in their voyage, and could not be far from their coasts in a short time; all which would inevitably fall into the hands of the English, if they had no fleet at sea to relieve them."

These reasons, of weight in themselves, and the concernment of most of them in the preservation of the Indian ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new fleet: and to that purpose they sent very strict and severe orders to their several admiralties, for the proceeding against all, without distinction of persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late battle, and to provide new ships and all necessary provisions, to the end that their fleet might be at sea by a time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable return of De Ruyter with his fleet from Guinea, which brought a present addition of good strength; and he had began the war upon the English, and was the best sea-officer they had, and had exercised those commands that no other officer could refuse to obey him.

For the speedy carrying on these present preparations, they made, according to their usual custom in extraordinary occurrences, committees of the States to assist in the admiralties of Zealand, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam; and to that purpose De Wit, and such other as he thought fittest at this time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the fleet to reform the disorders there: and though they durst not proceed with that severity as had been fit, yet they cashiered many captains and other officers, and put some other marks of disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

But that which De Wit's heart was most set upon was to take revenge upon Van Trump, and to remove him from ever having any command at sea: for though he was an excellent officer, and upon the stock of his father's credit of great estimation with the seamen, and inferior to no man but De Ruyter, and had behaved himself in the battle with signal courage; yet his dispute with Evertson upon command had brought much prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed De Wit implacably was, that he was of entire devotion to the prince of Orange, as his father had always been, and all his children con-

tinued to be, and he knew well had an especial part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the murmurs of the people [against] him and the war: and he resolved to take this opportunity of the good temper the States were in in their concurrence for the setting out the fleet, not only to provide for the better government of their ships and marine conduct, but to punish and prevent the murmurs at land, by removing all those out of any power whom he suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all he could to make Van Trump's offence capital, as if the right of command had been so clear in Evertson that the other could not dispute it: but Van Trump defended himself [so well], and had so many friends, that he was absolved from that guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet words, in which he did naturally abound, he was deprived of his command, with a declaration, "that he should no more be employed in the service of the States;" which whilst the government was in those hands he cared not for, and had a good estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all differences were composed so far, as to have a general concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their fleet to sea.

The king had been few days at Salisbury before the French and Spanish ambassadors arrived there, and then they made some instance with the king, that there might be a treaty for peace; and [the French ambassadors] declared, "that the king their master was so far engaged by treaty with the Dutch, that if the king would not accept of a just and an honourable peace, his majesty must declare himself on their behalf, which he was unwilling to do." The king answered, "that if there were any such engagement he had not been well dealt with; for that the French king had given his word to him, that he would not enter into any treaty with the Dutch but 'pari passu' with his majesty," (and when his majesty had been informed that there was some treaty concluded with them, he was assured from France "that it was only a treaty of commerce, which he had been obliged to enter into to prevent an edict in Holland, by which strong waters and other French commodities would have been inhibited to be brought into those provinces, but that there was nothing in that treaty that could be to his majesty's prejudice:") "that his majesty had been always ready to embrace peace, which had been never yet offered by the Dutch, nor did he know what conditions they expected."

The ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent behaviour of the Dutch; and confessed "that they were not solicitous for peace, but only desired to engage the king their master in the war: but that if his majesty would make his demands, which they presumed would be reasonable, the other should be brought to consent to them." To which the king replied, "that they had begun the war upon him, and not he upon them; and that God had hitherto given him the advantage, which he hoped he should improve; and till they were as desirous of a peace as he, it would not become him to make any propositions." And in this manner that affair stood whilst the court remained at Salisbury.

And there now fell out an unexpected accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the mischief and the damage that the plague had produced to the affairs of the king. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first thoughts of a war with the Dutch, the king had sent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to engage those crowns as far as might be on his majesty's behalf, both of them being enough disoblinded and provoked by the Dutch.

Mr. Coventry in Sweden found a frank and open reception, avowing a hearty affection to the king, and an inclination to join in any thing that might not be destructive to their own affairs: nor did they dissemble the injuries they had received from the Hollander even to the Dutch ambassador himself, who was at the same time sent thither to unite that crown to their interest, to which purpose he had made several specious overtures. Nor did they conceal the jealousy they had of the French, who had not complied with the payment of the yearly sum of money which they were obliged to make to them for the support of their army, of which they were in a great arrear, that discomposed their affairs very much. And though M. Pomponne, who had been long resident in that court as an envoy, was now come thither as ambassador from France, and brought with him a good sum of money to retain them fast to their dependance upon them; yet the money was not half that was due to them, and they well knew what dark ends it was for: and they did exceedingly fear the omnipotence of France.

There were two things which kept them from a full declaration on the king's behalf, and engaging presently in his interest. The first was the apprehension that they had of Denmark, that it would take this opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the Hollander, and so attempt to deprive Sweden of all their late conquest, which was confirmed to them by their own treaty of Copenhagen, which they were resolved never to part from: and in this particular they were to expect some satisfaction and security from the negociation of sir Gilbert Talbot. The other was, that they might see the bishop of Munster fully engaged, upon whose expedition they had much expectation. And Mr. Coventry had informed them of that whole agreement, which would have given them opportunity to have prosecuted their own design upon Bremen, to which their hearts were most devoted.

Sir Gilbert Talbot had been as well received in Denmark, with all the professions imaginable of affection to the king, and of their detestation of the Dutch, who in truth had exercised a strange tyranny over them by the advantage of their necessities; nor is the injustice, oppression, and indignities which they had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large discourse of particulars which are foreign to this relation: let it suffice, that there needed few arguments to persuade that king to any thing that was within his power, and which would have done signal mischief to the Dutch. But the truth is, the kingdom was very poor, the people unwarlike, the king himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great men, and not yet recovered of the fright that Wolfelt had put him into. His chief minister, one Gabell, had

gotten his credit by having been his barber, an illiterate and unbred man, yet his sole confident in his business of greatest trust; which made all the persons of quality in the kingdom, who are as proud of their nobility as any nation, full of indignation. And they were able to cross many resolutions after they were taken, though they could not establish others in the place; which made the king very irresolute and unfixed: so that what was concluded to-day was reversed or not pursued to-morrow. They professed a great jealousy of the Swede, as the greatest argument, but their weakness, against [a war with] the Dutch; yet were not willing to propose any expedients which might secure them against those jealousies. And the king absolutely denied that he had ever given Hannibal Zested authority to declare, "that he would again confirm the treaty he had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because he still confessed, "that he could make no attempt to recover what he had parted with." That which he did unreasonably design, in all the disguises which were put on, was to engage the king to endeavour to persuade the Swede to give up and restore Elsinour and the other places to Denmark, or to assist him with force for the recovery of them when there should be a peace concluded with Holland: so that the king despaired of any good from that negociation, and resolved shortly to recall his minister from thence.

But there was on a sudden a change to wonder. Gabell came early in a morning to sir Gilbert Talbot, and told him, "his master was now resolved to unite his interest entirely to that of the king of England, having now an opportunity to do it securely to both their benefits." He told him, "that there were letters arrived that night from Bergen, with news that the Dutch East India ships were all arrived in that port with orders to remain there till they received new orders from Holland, which they should have as soon as their fleet should be ready to join with them. This had disposed the king to resolve to give the king of England opportunity to possess himself of all that treasure, out of which he presumed he would allow him such a share, as might enable him to declare, and assist his majesty vigorously in his war, against the Dutch. That if he gave speedy notice to the king's fleet, which every body knew was then at sea, it might easily go to Bergen, where they might as easily surprise all those ships in the port, since they should receive no opposition from the castles under whose protection they lay."

And when he had done his relation, he offered him to go with him to the king, that he might receive the obligation from himself; which sir Gilbert Talbot presently did, and found his majesty as cheerful in the resolution as Gabell had been. He repeated all that the other had said, and more particularly "that he thought it reasonable that he might expect half of the value that the whole would amount to; which he would rely upon the king's honour and justice for, after the ships should be in England, and that he might not be suspected by the Hollander, for he would protest [against] the act as a vio-

lence that he could not resist: and so he would expect so many of his majesty's [ships] to arrive in Denmark, and to assist him, before he positively declared against the Dutch." He wished sir Gilbert Talbot "to send an express forthwith to the king with all these particulars;" which he did the next day.

This express arrived within few days after the king came to Salisbury, and was despatched presently back again with letters to the king of Denmark of his majesty's consent and ratification of all that he had proposed, and with letters likewise to the earl of Sandwich, who according to his former orders had sailed northward in hope to meet with that fleet, which was before got into Norway. The king's letters to him came in a very good season, and he immediately continued his course for Norway: and when he came to that length, and near enough to that land of rocks which are terrible to all seamen, he thought it best to remain at sea with his fleet, lest De Ruyter might by this time be come out with his fleet, (since his being come northward could not be concealed, nor the arrival of the East India fleet at Bergen; which would hasten the other,) and sent in a squadron of fifteen or sixteen good ships (of strength sufficient for the business) into the harbour of Bergen with a letter to the governor. And with it he sent a gentleman that was a volunteer on board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. Clifford, the confident of the lord Arlington, who was well instructed in all the transactions which had been at Copenhagen. Before they went into the harbour, Mr. Clifford and another gentleman or two went by boat to the town, where he found all the Dutch ships (about a dozen in number) riding very near the shore, and all under the protection of the castle, into which they had put much of their richest lading from the time of their first coming thither, as to a place of unquestionable security.

The governor was not surprised with the messengers or the letter, as appeared by the reception of both, but seemed troubled that they were come so soon, before the manner of performing the action was enough adjusted: he could not deny but "that he had received orders from Copenhagen; but that he expected more perfect directions within four and twenty hours, and expected likewise the presence of the vice-king of Norway, who was his superior officer, and would infallibly be there the next day." The behaviour of the man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in truth it was, for he meant well, and was content that the ships, which though they were not come into the port did not ride safe amongst the rocks, should come into the port, upon assurance that they would not attempt any hostile act without his consent, which was till all things should be agreed between them: and so the fleet entered; which the Dutch perceived with great consternation, yet changed the posture of some of their ships, and new-moored the rest, and put themselves upon their defence.

It is a port like no other that the world knows, a very great number of formidable rocks, between each of which the sea runs deep enough for the greatest ships to ride securely; so that the ships were as in so many chambers apart between the rocks: and the Dutch, which came thither first, had possessed themselves of that line of the sea

that lay next to the shore, to which they lay so near that they could descend from their vessels on land; which had been much the better for the enterprise, if the Dane had concurred in it.

It was so late before the English ships had taken their places, which was as near the Dutch as the rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all night, which was spent in consultation between the commander in chief of the English ships (who was a stout and a good officer, but a rough man, who knew better how to follow his instructions than to debate the ground of them; but he was advised by Mr. Clifford, and conformed to his judgment) and the governor of the town and castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the English to do what they would, but to be willing to act a part in it himself from the shore, and to expect hourly orders to that purpose, as likewise the arrival of the vice-king, whose authority was more equal to that attempt, and who was a man well known to have a particular reverence for the king, and as particular a prejudice and animosity against the Dutch. The night being over, the governor continued all the next day as desirous and importunate that the enterprise might be longer deferred; upon which there were some cholerick words between the governor and a gentleman of quality who was a volunteer on board the ships, which many thought in some degree irreconciled the governor to the affair.

In conclusion, the commander of the squadron was willing to think that the governor had rather it should be done without his declared consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next morning he was resolved to weigh his anchors and to fall upon the Dutch;" to which the other made such a reply as confirmed him in his former imagination. And in the morning the ships were brought out of their several channels, and placed as near the sides of the Dutch as they could be, from whence they resolved to board them as soon as they had sent their broadsides upon them. But they found that the Dutch had spent their time well; for in the two days and two nights that the English had been in the harbour, besides the unlading the richest of their commodities that were left into the castle, they had drawn all their ordnance, which lay on that side of the ships which was to the shore, on land, and planted them upon a rising ground, that they could shoot over their own ships upon the English: and a breastwork was cast up, behind which all the inhabitants of the town were in arms.

It was a fair warning, and might very well have persuaded our men to be glad to retire out of the harbour, which yet they might have done: but their courage or their anger disposed them to make further trial of the governor, for they feared not the ordnance from the land which the Dutch had planted, nor the muskets from the breastworks, if the castle did them no harm, under the power of which they all were. And so they fell upon their work: and in some time, and [with] the loss of many men from the ships and from the land, they had dismounted many of the ordnance upon the shore, and were even ready to board the ships; when out of absurd rage or accident a ship or two of the English discharged some guns both upon the breastworks, from whence they had received no prejudice, and upon the town, which

beat down some houses. But then all the muskets from the breastworks were poured out, and guns from the castle, which killed very many common men, and five or six officers of very good account, and some gentlemen volunteers, amongst which was Edward Mountague, eldest son to the lord Mountague of Boughton, and cousin german to the earl of Sandwich, a proper man and well-bred, but not easy to be pleased, and who was then withdrawn from the court, where he was master of the horse to the queen, and in some discontent had put himself on board the fleet with a captain, without the privity of the earl of Sandwich, and was now slain. There was now no further experiment to be made, but how they could get to sea, which might easily have been prevented from the shore and from the rocks: but from the minute that they prepared to be gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and they had pilots from the country that carried them safe out.

The noise of the guns had called the earl of Sandwich as near the mouth of the harbour as could safely be, to discover what became of his squadron; so that they came shortly to him with the whole account of their ill success, and within a short time after a shallop [from the governor], with a letter to the officer who had commanded the squadron, complaining as much as he could do of the misbehaviour of the English in shooting upon the town, and desiring "that Mr. Clifford would give him a meeting at a place he appointed, to which the shallop should convey him." Mr. Clifford was more willing to go than the earl was to permit him; yet at last upon his earnest desire he consented, and he put himself into the shallop. It happened that when the action was over and the English under sail, the vice-king arrived at Bergen, with two or three regiments of the country; and the orders were likewise come from Copenhagen, whereby, at least as they pretended, they were required to permit all that the English desired: and the vice-king had caused the shallop to be sent, and was himself with the governor at the place whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he spake with them together.

The governor with many protestations excused himself for shooting from the castle, after the town was assaulted, and many of the burghers killed, who had stood in arms only to defend the town, without being concerned for the Dutch or their ships; and made it an argument of his integrity and respect, "that he had permitted them to depart when it was in his power to have sunk them." He complained, "that the commander would not have the patience to defer the assault one day longer, which if he had done, the orders from Copenhagen had been come, and the vice-king had been present with his forces, which would have secured the enterprise." The vice-king seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or another squadron might be again sent in, when they should be at liberty to do what they would upon the Dutch; and if they stood in need of assistance, they should have as much as was necessary."

Mr. Clifford replied to many of the excuses which were made, and urged "the suffering the Dutch to bring their ordnance on shore, and

"the townsmen being in arms to assist them;" and proposed, "that they would first begin by seizing upon some of their ships, and then that their fleet should answer:" but this the vice-king did absolutely refuse, and made another proposition, that startled more, and was directly new, "that when the English had seized upon all the Dutch ships, they should not have carried any of them away till a perfect division of the goods was made, that the king of Denmark might have his just proportion." Mr. Clifford made no answer but "that he would present all that they proposed to the earl of Sandwich, in whom the power of concluding and executing remained solely:" and so he returned to the fleet, and they to the town, and expected an answer.

The earl of Sandwich thought not fit to run any more hazards, and was not satisfied that they had proceeded sincerely. But that which most prevailed with him was, that he had received intelligence "that De Ruyter was come out with the fleet," and he would not he should find him entangled in those rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that coast; and the season of the year now made that station very unsecure, for it was already the beginning of October, when those seas run very high and boisterous: and therefore he resolved to be master of more sea-room, that he might fight De Ruyter, if he came; and if he did not, he might then meet those East India ships more securely in their way to Holland, than by making another attempt in the harbour. And so, after some letters had passed and repassed between the vice-king and him, and both the vice-king and governor had undertaken to keep the Dutch ships there for the space of six weeks, for they desired to see the success of another engagement between the two fleets; the earl steered that way with his fleet that most probably might bring him and De Ruyter together, which above all things he desired.

This whole affair of Bergen and the managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most probability was, that as soon as the Dutch fleet came to Bergen, they had unladen many of their richest commodities and put them into the castle, before the governor had received his orders from Copenhagen: and so both his own and his master's faith and honour were engaged to discharge the trust, of which he made haste to send an account to the king, and thereupon expected new directions, which were not arrived when the English fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that court, according to its custom, did change its mind, and believe they should make a better bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their hands in the castle, than by making an uncertain division with the king; or whether they did in truth continue firm to the first agreement, and that the messenger was stopped by extraordinary accidents in his journey, (which was positively alleged,) so that he did not arrive in time; or whether the governor was not able to master the town that was much inclined to the Hollanders, before the vice-king came with his troops, who did make all possible haste as soon as he heard that the English were arrived; or whether the English did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than they ought to have done; remains still in the dark: and both parties

reproached each other afterwards, as they found most necessary for their several defences and pretences; of which more hereafter.

The king stayed not altogether so long at Salisbury as he had intended to have done: for besides a little accidental indisposition which made him dislike the air, some inferior servants and their wives came from London or the villages adjacent, and brought the plague with them; so that the court removed to Oxford before the end of September, the parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next month. And before he left Salisbury, his majesty sent an express to York to his brother, "that he would meet him as soon as he could." The duke had lived in great lustre in York all that summer, with the very great respect and continual attendance of all the persons of quality of that large county: and the duke no sooner received his majesty's summons than he took post, and left his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and himself came to Oxford the next day after the king, where there were indeed matters of the highest importance to be consulted and resolved.

The king had sent Mr. Clifford to Denmark to be satisfied, upon conference with sir Gilbert Talbot, concerning the miscarriage at Bergen, and if the ships remained still there according to the promise the vice-king had made, and if that king were ready to perform what he had undertaken, that all particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no further mistake; and if he found that the jealousy of Sweden was a real obstruction to that alliance, that he should make a journey to Sweden, and upon conference with Mr. Coventry, who by his dexterity and very good parts had reconciled the affections of that court to a very great esteem of him, to endeavour to remove all those obstructions: and as soon as his majesty should receive full information of that whole affair, he must consider what he was to do to vindicate himself in that business of Bergen; for he knew well that he must suffer with all the world, for violating the peace of a port that was under the government of a neighbour prince with whom he was allied, if he did not make it appear that he had the consent of that prince, which he was not willing to do till he first knew what that king would do.

In the next place his majesty was to resolve what answer to make to the French ambassadors, who now desired frequent audiences, and positively declared, "that their master was engaged by his treaty with the Dutch, that in case they were invaded or assaulted by any prince, he would assist them with men, money, and ships, which he had hitherto deferred to do out of respect to the king, and in hope that he would accept his mediation, and make such propositions towards peace as he might press the others to consent to." The Dutch ambassador was likewise come to town, rather to treat concerning the prisoners and to observe what the French ambassadors did, than that he had any thing to propose in order to peace, there appearing now since their fleet was at sea more insolence in the Dutch, and a greater aversion from the peace, than had been formerly.

The king complained to the ambassadors of the French king's proceedings, "that the entering into that treaty was expressly against his word

“given to the king: that the Dutch had first
“began the war, and ought to make the first
“approach towards peace, but that [their] ambas-
“sador had no instruction to make any such in-
“stance; and therefore it seemed very strange to
“his majesty, that the French king should press
“for that which they had no desire to have.”

The ambassadors confessed “that the Dutch
“did not desire a peace; that they thought they
“were too much behindhand, and that they had
“at present great advantages; that they looked
“upon the great plague in London” (which con-
tinued in its full rage and vigour, insomuch as at
that time in the end of September there died not
so few as six thousand in the week, amongst
which some were of the best quality in the city)
“as of such insupportable damage to the king,
“that he would not be able to set out another
“fleet the year following: and therefore that,
“when they had been pressed by the French king
“to make some propositions towards peace, he
“could get no other answer from them, than that
“they expected that the island of Poleroone
“should be released to them, and that the fort at
“Cabo Corso in Guinea should be thrown down
“and slighted; which they confessed was an in-
“solent proposition. That they complained that
“the king their master, instead of giving them
“the assistance he was obliged to do, spent the
“time in procuring a peace, which they cared not
“for: so that,” they said, “their master con-
“tinued the same Christian office principally to
“do his majesty of Great Britain a service, who
“he in truth believed would be reduced to great
“straits by the terrible effect of the plague; and
“in the next place to defend himself from enter-
“ing into the war, which he could no longer de-
“fer to do, if his majesty did not, by consenting
“to some reasonable overture, give him a just
“occasion to press them to yield to it; and in
“that case he would behave himself in that man-
“ner that the king should have no cause to com-
“plain of his partiality.” The king’s indignation
was so provoked by the pride and impudence of
the Dutch demands, that he gave the ambassadors
no other answer, than “that he hoped God Al-
“mighty had not sent that heavy judgment of
“the plague upon him and his people on the be-
“half of the Hollanders, and to expose him to
“their insolence.”

The parliament convened at Oxford in greater
numbers than could reasonably have been ex-
pected, the sickness still continuing to rage and
spread itself in several counties; so that between
the danger that was in the towns infected, and the
necessary severity in other towns to keep them-
selves from being infected, it was a very incon-
venient season for all persons of quality to travel
from their own habitations. Upon the tenth of
October the king commanded both houses to
attend him in Christ Church hall, and told them,
“that he was confident they did all believe, that
“if it had not been absolutely necessary to con-
“sult with them, he would not have called them
“together at that time, when the contagion had
“spread itself over so many parts of the king-
“dom: and he thanked them for their compli-
“ance so far with his desires.”

His majesty said, “the truth was; as he had
“entered upon the war by their advice and en-
“couragement, so he desired that they might as

“frequently as was possible receive information
“of the effects and conduct of it, and that he
“might have the continuance of their cheerful
“supply for the carrying it on. He would not deny
“to them, that it had proved more chargeable
“than he could imagine it would have been: the
“addition the enemy had still made to their fleets,
“beyond their first purpose, made it unavoidably
“necessary for him to make proportionable pre-
“parations, which God had hitherto blessed with
“success in all encounters. And as they had
“used their utmost endeavours by calumnies and
“false suggestions to gain friends to themselves,
“and to persuade them to assist them against
“him, so he had not been wanting to encourage
“those princes who had been wronged by the
“Dutch, to recover their own by force; and in
“order thereunto, he had assisted the bishop of
“Munster with a great sum of ready money, and
“was to continue a supply to him, who he believed
“was at that time in the bowels of their country
“with a powerful army.

“Those issues, which he might tell them had
“been made with very much conduct and hus-
“bandry, (nor indeed did he know that any thing
“had been spent that could have been well and
“safely saved;)” he said, “those expenses would
“not suffer them to wonder, that the great supply
“which they gave him for this war in so bounti-
“ful a proportion was upon the matter already
“spent: so that he must not only expect an as-
“sistance from them to carry on that war, but
“such an assistance as might enable him to de-
“fend himself and them against a more powerful
“neighbour, if he should prefer the friendship of
“the Dutch before his.”

He put them in mind, “that when he entered
“upon this war, he had told them, that he had
“not such a brutal appetite as to make war for
“war’s sake; he was still of the same mind: he
“had been ready to receive any propositions that
“France had thought fit to offer to that end, but
“hitherto nothing had been offered worthy his
“acceptance; nor was the Dutch less insolent,
“though he knew no advantage they had got but
“the continuance of the contagion, and he hoped
“that God Almighty would shortly deprive them
“of that encouragement.”

The chancellor at the same time, by the king’s
command, made a short narrative of the history
of the war, the circumstances with which it was
begun, and the progress it had since made, and
the victory that the duke had attained; of the
vast number of the prisoners and sick and wound-
ed men, a charge that had never been computed.

He told them, “the French king had indeed
“offered his mediation, and that if he intended
“no more than a mediation, it was an office very
“worthy the most Christian king: he wished,
“that as a mediator he would make equal propo-
“sitions, or that he would not so importunately
“press his majesty to consent to those he makes,
“upon an instance and argument, that he holds
“himself engaged by a former treaty (of which
“his majesty had never heard till since the begin-
“ning of the war, and had some reason to have
“presumed the contrary) to assist the Dutch with
“men and money, if his majesty would not con-
“sent.”

He said, “his majesty had told them, that he
“had no appetite to make war for war’s sake;

"but he would be always ready to make such a peace as might be for his honour and the interest of his subjects. And no doubt it would be a great trouble and grief to his majesty to find so great a prince, towards whom he had manifested so great an affection, in conjunction with his enemies: yet even the apprehension of such a war would not terrify him to purchase a peace by such concessions as he should be ashamed to make them acquainted with; of which nature they would easily believe the propositions hitherto made to be, when they knew the release of Poleroone in the East Indies, and the demolishing the fort of Cabo Corso upon the coast of Guinea, were two; which would be upon the matter to be contented with a very vile trade in the East Indies under their control, and with none in Guinea. And yet those are not propositions unreasonable enough to please the Dutch, who reproached France for interposing for peace, instead of assisting them in the war, boldly insisting upon the advantage the contagion in London and some other parts of the kingdom gives them; by which, they confidently say, the king will be no longer able to maintain a fleet against them at sea."

He told them, "that he had fully obeyed the command that had been laid upon him, in making that plain, clear, true narrative of what had passed; he had no order to make reflection upon it, nor any deduction from it: the king himself had told them, that the noble, unparalleled supply they had already given him is upon the matter spent, spent with all the animadversions of good husbandry that the nature of the affair would bear. What was more to be done he left to their own generous understandings, being not more assured of any thing that was to come in this world, than that the same noble indignation for the honour of the king and the nation, that first provoked them to inflame the king himself, would continue the same passion still boiling in their loyal breasts; that all the world may see, which they never hoped to have seen, that never prince and people were so entirely united in their affections, for their true, joint, inseparable honour, as their only sure infallible expedient to preserve their distinct several interests."

The king could not expect or wish a fuller concurrence from a parliament than he now found. With very little hesitation they declared, "that they would supply his majesty with another million, (ten hundred thousand pounds:)" and because they desired to be dismissed as soon as might be to their several habitations, not without apprehension that so great a concourse of persons from all places, even from London itself, (for the term was likewise adjourned to Oxford,) might bring the contagion thither likewise; they rejected all other businesses but what immediately related to the public. To the supply they designed to the king they added the sum of above forty thousand pounds, which they desired his majesty to confer upon the duke, having received some insinuation, "that it would not be ingrateful to the king that such a present should be made to his brother." Then they passed two or three acts of parliament very much for the king's honour and security, amongst which one was, "for the attainting all those his subjects who either re-

"sided in Holland" (as some of the English officers who had long served in that country presumed still to do) "and continued in their service, or in any other parts beyond the seas, if they did not appear at a day prefixed, after notice by the king's proclamation:" and the nomination of the persons was entirely left to his majesty.

His majesty did hope, that this very good carriage in the parliament would have made some impression upon France, either to give over their mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just concessions from the States: but it did produce the contrary. The Hollander had received a new damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next place, whereupon they made grievous complaints to France of its breach of faith upon the promises that had been made to them. The king upon this required his ambassadors once more to make a lively instance to his majesty, "that he would declare what he meant to insist upon in order to a peace, which if he should refuse to do, they should take their leaves and return into France with all possible expedition." In this audience they spake in a higher style than they had formerly used. They complained "of the intolerable damage the subjects of France had sustained in their goods and estates by the king's ships, and those who were licensed by his authority, which without any distinction seized upon all that came in their way as if they were Dutch: and when they complained to the admiralty or to the lords commissioners, they could procure no justice, and were obliged to [such] an attendance and expense, that what they sued for did not prove of value to satisfy the charge of the prosecution; and if after a long and a tedious solicitation they did at last procure a sentence for the redelivery of what had been taken from them, when they hoped to enjoy the benefit of this just sentence by the execution, they found the goods embezzled in the port or plundered by the seamen, that the owners had rarely a third part of their goods ever restored to them. And that by this violence and unjust proceeding, of which they had often made complaint, the French merchants had lost near five hundred thousand pistoles; which their master resented and looked upon as a great indignity to himself, which he had hitherto borne, in hope that the license would have been restrained by the end of the war."

They urged it as an argument of their master's friendship to the king, "that after an offensive treaty had been so long since entered into by him, by which he was obliged to assist the Dutch with men, money, and ships, he had notwithstanding hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilst they were soundly beaten, and had lately sustained another blow; and that it was not possible for him to defer it longer:" and so concluded with very earnest persuasions, "that his majesty would consent to such a peace as their master should judge to be reasonable, who could not but be very just to his majesty;" and wished, "that it might be considered, besides the damage by the plague, which nobody knew how long it might continue, how impossible it was for the king to sustain the arms of France in conjunction with those of Holland, when possibly some other prince might join likewise with them."

They who were appointed by the king to confer with the ambassadors were most perplexed to justify their first charge, "of the depredation that had been made upon the French merchants," which had in truth been very great, though not amounting to the sum they mentioned. Yet to that they answered, "that the damage and loss which the subjects of France had undergone that way had originally proceeded from themselves, and their own default in owning the goods and merchandise of the Dutch to belong to themselves as their proper goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver the wine and other goods, which were bought and paid for in France by the Hollanders, in French vessels in that country; all which had been fully and notoriously proved, and could not be contradicted: and when that discovery was once made, it was no wonder if the seamen sometimes seized upon some vessels which were not liable to the same reproach. But when any complaints of that kind had been made, the king had always given strict charge to the judges to cause restitution to be made, and the transgressors to be severely punished; and his majesty presumed that the judges had done their duty. For the French king's being bound by his treaty to assist the Hollanders," they said, "that if the king had any such obligation upon him, it was subsequent to his obligation to his majesty, by which he was bound to make no such treaty: nor in truth did they believe that he had entered into any such treaty; for if it were only such as they themselves stated it to be, a defensive league, it would neither engage nor excuse France in giving assistance to them who had done the wrong and begun the war; and therefore if the king was in truth bound to assist them, it must be from some offensive, not defensive clause."

The ambassadors replied, "that their master concluded that their king was the aggressor, and then the defensive article did oblige him;" and they acknowledged there was no other. It was answered, "that the king had assumed a power to judge upon a matter of fact of which he had taken no examination; and that it was a partiality not agreeable to the office of a judge, to believe what the Dutch said, and not to believe what the king said, who had clearly published the true history of the fact; and that it was notorious, and not possible to be denied, that they had refused to deliver Poleroone according to their treaty, and that De Ruyter had begun the war in Guinea before one of their ships had been seized on by the king." To which they replied, "that their master thought otherwise, and did look upon the king as aggressor." When they were urged with the violation of the former obligation by entering into the latter, all the answer they gave was, "that they knew nothing of it, and that they had commission only to treat upon the present state of affairs, and not upon what had passed long before;" and so, according to the character they underwent near fourteen hundred years since, "*Galli ridentes fidem fregerunt.*"

The counsellors of the king told them, "that their master had very well considered the disadvantage he must undergo by the access of so powerful a friend, and of whose friendship he

had thought himself possessed, to the part of his enemies, who were too insolent already; and therefore to prevent that disadvantage, he had and would do any thing that would consist with the dignity of a king: but that he must be laughed at and despised by all the world, if he should consent to make him the arbitrator of the differences who had already declared himself to be a party, and that he is resolved to make war against him on the behalf of his enemy; and that such menaces would make no impression in the last article of danger that could befall the king." The ambassadors took that expression of menaces very heavily, as if it were a tax upon their manners, and said "they had never used words that could imply a menace." To which it was replied, "that there was no purpose to make any reflection upon their persons, who had always carried themselves with great respect to the king, and who his majesty believed did in their own particular affection wish him better than they did the Dutch: however the declaring, that if the king did not do this or that, the French king would make war upon him, could in no language be looked upon to have any other signification than of a menace and threat." This raised a little warmth on both sides, which made the conference break off at that time.

The ambassadors prepared to be gone; and the king discerned clearly that there was no way to divert the French from an entire conjunction with the Dutch: and thereupon he assembled his secret council together again, to consult what should be the final answer his majesty should give to the French ambassadors at parting. There was no person present, who had not a deep apprehension of the extreme damage and danger that must fall upon the king's affairs, if in this conjuncture France should declare a war against England.

It was well known, that the duke of Beaufort was forthwith to be at Brest, where all the French king's ships were to assemble at their rendezvous by Christmas; that [the French king] had already sent to the bishop of Munster to dissuade him from prosecuting his enterprise against Holland, and that probably he might unite Denmark again to the Dutch, and probably even allay those warm inclinations which the Swede had for the king. It was well known, that the French king had in the last distractions in Holland contributed very much to the composing them, and to the support of the power and credit of De Wit, who was the soul of the war, and that he had sent him one hundred thousand pistoles, without which they would have hardly been able to have set out their last fleet under De Ruyter. And above all this, his giving life to some domestic rebellion in England and in Ireland, by sending money to discontented persons, was apprehended: for as there were enough discontented and desperate persons in the latter, who wanted only arms and money to declare for any prince who would take them into his protection; it was well known that there was a general combination amongst those of the late army to have risen, if the duke of York had been defeated at sea, and that it was that victory that disappointed that intended insurrection. That there had been a later design, in the very height of this dismal sickness and contagion, in London, (whither the fanatic party had repaired from all

the quarters of the kingdom, and had appointed a day upon which the general should be assassinated; which some soldiers of his own regiment had undertaken, and then the whole rendezvous was to be in several streets at the same time;) which in so formidable a conjuncture might have succeeded to a great degree, if by God's blessing it had not been discovered two days before to the general, who caused some of the chief conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the hand of justice. And yet the chief amongst them, colonel Danvers, who in spite of all the vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the time of the king's return, being at this time apprehended and brought before the general, and by him sent with a lieutenant and a guard of soldiers to the Tower, was rescued in Cheapside, and so escaped, all the citizens looking on without aiding the officer.

This was the prospect that the king had of his condition and affairs in this consultation: and therefore if any thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this storm, it would no doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding breach of faith in entering into that treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his engagement by it so long after the war was entered into, (which if he had not done, the king could never have looked upon him as a fit mediator,) and the impossibility of depending upon any thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing arguments against any such reference of the conditions to his determination as was proposed, and was the only expedient that was proposed towards the making a peace. It was well known that the chief counsels of France, since monsieur Colbert entered upon the ministry, had been directed towards the advancement of manufactures at home, by which they might have less need of commerce with their neighbours; and for the erecting a foreign trade abroad, with which they had been very little acquainted in former times. And it was justly to be feared, that where the judgment was left to them, they would imitate the infamous Roman precedent, of adjudging that to themselves that was in difference between their neighbours and left to their decision: and so both Poleroone in the East Indies, and Cabo Corso for the West, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an East India company and a West India company, before they had any visible foundation for a trade in either, to which both these places might carry with them great conveniences.

These considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous indignation to find himself thus treated, prevailed with the king to lay aside all thoughts of further complying with France, and to resolve to dismiss the ambassadors without any other answer, than what should contain complaints, "of the French king's want of kindness, which his majesty had cultivated by all the offices he could perform since his restoration, which did not receive an equal return, by the preferring the friendship of the Dutch before that of his majesty." And with this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal presents and all gracious demonstrations of esteem of their persons, and so returned for France,

where they always gave just testimony of the civilities and fair treatment they had received.

But this resolution increased the king's appetite to peace, and made him think of all other expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed so hopeful, as that France and Holland might be divided: and he would have been very willing to have agreed with Holland upon any reasonable conditions, that he might continue the war with France; which there were many reasonable inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that preparations had been made for two or three years past by France at a very great expense upon the borders, that they might be ready to enter into Flanders as soon as news should arrive of the king of Spain's death; and that war would immediately fall out as soon as that king's decease should be known, which from his age and infirmities must be expected every day: and in that case the friendship could not continue long with Holland, which thought that France was already too near a neighbour to them, to be willing that they should be nearer by a conquest of Flanders, which with its own force could not make an equal resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other provinces, Holland only excepted, did impatiently desire the peace; and Holland had only been restrained from the same impatience by the sole credit and authority of De Wit, and by his persuading them, "that France would assist them with men, money, and ships, and likewise declare a war against England, which" (as hath been said before) "would produce a peace upon such conditions as would make it happy to them:" and that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some money, it was not considerable to their vast expenses, nor in truth of importance in comparison of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed nothing. And it was evident that Holland itself was jealous of those proceedings; and even De Wit, in his private discourses to other ministers, seemed to be much unsatisfied with their breach of faith, and not to be without apprehension that they would in the end enter into a stricter alliance with England, and leave Holland as a prey to both.

The Spanish ambassador, who always desired that the peace might be established between the English and the Dutch, and that they would both join with Spain in a defensive league, into which Denmark would be glad to enter, and Sweden might be drawn in upon the same conditions which they now received from France, towards which he had often desired the king to interpose, was now very glad that the French ambassadors had taken their leaves and were gone; and he pretended to have many assurances from the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, that the Dutch had those inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that De Wit would be glad to confer in private with any man trusted by the king, if he might be sure that it should not be communicated to France." Upon all these probabilities, and the certainty that no good could be expected from France, his majesty resolved to embrace all opportunities to agree with Holland; towards which he had a secret intelligence, to which he gave more credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

There were so many great transactions during the king's residence in Oxford, besides what was done in the parliament and what related to the dismissal of the French ambassadors, so many counsels which were executed, and so many secret designs only initiated then, and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a recollection of the occurrences of all that time. And if some things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small importance to have a place in this relation, they will be found at last to be the rise and principal ingredient to some counsel and resolution, which proved afterwards of consequence enough, as well to the public as to the interest of particular persons.

The first attempt that was made was to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, who had been long fast friends, and were believed to have most credit with the king; and they who loved neither of them thought the most likely way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several attempts had been made upon the chancellor to that purpose without effect: he knew the other too well to be shaken in the esteem he had of his friendship, and the knowledge he had of his virtue.

But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an opportunity to suggest to the treasurer, "that the chancellor had failed in his friendship towards him." The occasion was upon the vacancy of an office near the queen by the death of Mr. Mountague, master of the horse to her majesty, who had been killed before Bergen: and the news arriving with the duke at York, before it was known at Salisbury to the king, the duke and his wife writ to the king and to the queen "to confer that place upon his younger brother," who was now become both the eldest and the only son to his father, the lord Mountague of Boughton; and the gentleman himself, on whose behalf the letters were writ, came himself by post with them within two or three hours after the news was brought to Salisbury, and he brought likewise a letter from the duchess to the chancellor, "to assist the gentleman all he could in his pretence," he at the same time enjoying the same office under the duchess that his brother had under the queen.

The chancellor had never used to interpose in matters of that nature, nor had he any acquaintance with this gentleman who was now recommended: yet he could not refuse to wait upon the queen, and shew her the letter he had received, without any intention to appear further in it. But when he waited upon the queen, who had received her letter before, her majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the gentleman, if the king approved it; but said, "that she would make no choice herself of any servant without knowing first his majesty's pleasure:" and she added, "that she had been informed, that the lord Mountague was very angry with his son that was unfortunately slain, for having taken that charge in her family, and that he never allowed him any thing towards his support; and if all other obstructions were out of the way, she would not receive him, except she were first assured that his father would like and desire it." Her majesty vouchsafed to wish the chancellor "to speak with the king, and as dexterously as

"he could to dispose him to recommend Mr. Mountague to her, as just and reasonable, since his brother had lost his life in his service."

This command of her majesty obliged the chancellor to wait upon the king, and to shew him the letter he had received from the duchess; and at the same time the king gave him that which he had from the duke, in which his highness desired him, "that if that place was not presently conferred upon Mr. Mountague, his majesty would not dispose of it till he waited upon him." The chancellor told him, "that the queen gave no answer, but referred it entirely to his majesty." And he said, "he would never recommend any person to her but such a one as would be very grateful to her." He said, "it would seem very hard to deny one brother to succeed another who was killed in his service." He confessed, "that the lord Crofts had moved him on the behalf of Mr. Robert Spencer, of whom he had a good opinion: but that he had answered him, that he would not do any thing in it till he saw his brother; which resolution he would keep." To which the chancellor made no reply, having in his own private inclinations and affection much more kindness for Mr. Spencer, of whose pretence he had never received the least intimation before, than for the other, with whom he had spoken very few words in his life. He told Mr. Mountague no more but that which the king himself had told him, "that he would not dispose of the place till the duke should arrive;" only he added what the queen had said of his father, and advised him to think of the way to remove that obstruction. Whereupon he resolved to make a journey to his father, which he knew he might well do before the king and his brother could meet.

The same night Mr. Spencer came to the chancellor, and brought him a letter from the treasurer (whose nephew he was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the town the day before to a house of his own twenty miles distant) to recommend his nephew to the queen, to whom and to the king he had likewise letters. The chancellor gave him an account of all that had passed, shewed him the letter that he had received from the duchess, and told him what the queen and the king had said, and "that it was not possible for him to do him service, for which he was very sorry;" but advised him "to deliver both his letters, and to attend their majesties, who he was confident had yet taken no resolution:" with all which he was very well satisfied, and confessed "he could not expect that he should appear for him." When he delivered his letters to both their majesties, he received so gracious an answer from both, that he might reasonably [expect] his suit to be granted, though the king told him, "he would not dispose of the place till he spake with his brother." And there is no doubt but if the lord treasurer had been in the town when the news first came to the king of Mr. Mountague's death, which was a whole day before the arrival of the duke's letter, the king or queen would not have denied him his request.

Within a short time after Mr. Spencer had left him, the lord Crofts, who had married his sister, and was governed by the lord Arlington, came to the chancellor, and desired him "to take care,

"out of his friendship with the treasurer, that the king might not refuse to gratify him in this suit for his nephew, which was the first he had ever made; and if he should be denied, it would exceedingly trouble him. That when he spake to the king of it, as soon as the news came, and told him, he was sure that the treasurer would be a suitor to him for his nephew, his majesty did promise him that he should have it; and that both their majesties had as good as said the same now to Robert Spencer: and therefore, if he would now use his credit, the thing might be despatched presently, and without further delay."

The chancellor asked him, "whether Mr. Spencer had informed him of all that had passed between them two:" he said, "yes; and that he had done all that the duchess had desired him, in speaking both to the king and queen, and that his friendship to the lord treasurer should prevail with him to use all his endeavours for his nephew." Whereupon the chancellor shewed the duchess's letter, and repeated to him again all that he had formerly said to Mr. Spencer, and asked him, "what the duke and his wife must think of him, if, instead of pursuing what they desired, he should solicit quite contrary to it." He said, "that he might tell them that he was engaged by the lord treasurer before he received their letter;" and then talked passionately and indiscreetly "of the affront the treasurer would think he received, if this were denied him; and that all the world would say, that he might have compassed it, if he had not failed in his friendship." To which he made no other answer, than "that the doing so base a thing as he desired would more probably destroy that friendship with a man so punctual in honour and justice as the treasurer was, than any thing that he had done or should leave undone;" and advised him "not to make the business worse by his activity, and that if he had the king's and queen's promise, as he pretended, he might very well acquiesce till the duke came."

However, his very great indiscretion and presumption made the thing much worse, by delivering messages from the king to the queen, and from her majesty to the king, that they both disavowed, and by his usual discourses, "that it should now appear who had the most credit with the king, the duke or the treasurer, and how much the king would suffer, if he disobliged the treasurer;" all which was quickly transmitted by the intelligence that was every day sent to York. On the other hand, he still advised the treasurer "to continue his importunity to the king and queen," (a thing the most contrary to his nature,) and assured him, "that it would be grateful to them, and was expected by them." Whereupon, as soon as the treasurer came to the court, which was not till the king came to Oxford, he went to both their majesties, and renewed his suit to them with more warmth and concernment than was customary to him, and received such an answer from both as very well satisfied him: and without doubt the king intended to persuade his brother to desist from pressing him further on the behalf of the other, for whom he had no kindness.

But the duke, who arrived by post the very

next day, came in another temper than was expected. The intelligence from Salisbury of the contest that was for that place, and the insolent behaviour and expressions used by the lord Crofts, had exceedingly moved him, and he looked upon the treasurer as engaged to try who had the greatest power, and in opposition to him: so that the same night that he came to town, when the king and he were in private, he complained of it with much warmth; and he besought his majesty importunately "that he would declare, that the world might know who had most interest in his favour, he or the treasurer." The king was so much put out of the method he intended to use in this affair, knowing that the expressions the duke had mentioned had been too often used by the lord Crofts, for which he had often reprehended him, that he presently applied that remedy which he thought most proper; and, after conference with the queen, signed the warrant for admitting Mr. Mountague into the office, who was sworn the next morning: so that the first news the treasurer heard, after both their majesties had the day before said all to him that he could desire, was, that the place was already full; which he received with more commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a designed contrived affront, to expose him to contempt. "Why would not the king, if he had changed his mind after he left him, first send him word of it, that he might have known his purpose?"

All this storm fell presently upon the chancellor: the lord Crofts assured him, "that it had been done at Salisbury, if he had not hindered it; that he had been with the duke before he spake with the king, and given him advice what tune he should speak in, which was used accordingly, and had prevailed; and that when he came into the duke's chamber to kiss his hand, his highness turned away, and would not speak to him, which must proceed from the influence of the chancellor." Whereas in truth the chancellor had only seen the duke in public, and said no more to him than what he said in public, thinking it no good manners to trouble him with any private discourse, when he was so weary of his journey; nor did he know that any thing was done in that affair till the day after it was done, and after it was known to the treasurer. Upon the whole matter, how unwilling soever he was to believe that he could be so grossly faulty to him, when he saw the chancellor next, his countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking notice of, asked him, according to his usual familiarity, "what the matter was;" but received such an answer as made him discern that there was somewhat amiss: and so he said no more. The other being the same day with the king, the duke came into the room, and in his looks manifested a displeasure towards the treasurer, which confirmed the former jealousy of the chancellor; which was improved by the ladies, who did not like their lodging, and thought it proceeded from want of friendship in him, who had the power over the university, and might have assigned what lodgings he pleased to the treasurer; and he had assigned this, as the best house in the town for so great a family, and which their own servant had desired as the best in the town, as it was.

When the chancellor discovered the ground of this alteration, he grew out of humour too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: and so for two or three days the two friends came not together. And in that time the chancellor had enough to do to inform the duke, who was not only very much offended with the treasurer, but thought that he had been, out of his friendship to the treasurer, more remiss than he ought to have been in a business so earnestly recommended by him and his wife; and the intelligence from Salisbury had made reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his royal highness willingly received information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul carriage of others as well as of the lord Crofts; and was pleased to confess, "that he had done all he ought to do, and that he had been misinformed of the lord treasurer's part in that affair, which had made him think amiss of him; which he would acknowledge to him next time he saw him."

After this the chancellor, having a more clear view, upon conference with the king and the duke, of this pernicious design, which in some degree had compassed its end, if there grew a strangeness between the treasurer and him, went to him: and they being together without any others, he told him, "it should not be in his power to break friendship with him to gratify the humour of other people, without letting him know what the matter was," which he conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, "that he would find that nothing was more impossible than that he could commit a fault towards him, and that they who wished well to neither of them had contrived this separation as the best way to hurt them both." And when he saw that he did not yet open himself, he told him, "that he had heard that he had received some umbrage in the pretence of his nephew, and therefore he would give him an account of all that he knew of it," which he did exactly; and concluded with a protestation, "that he had not known what had been done at Oxford till after he came from him, when he observed the change of his countenance towards him, of the cause of which he could not then make any conjecture."

The treasurer thereupon with his usual freedom told him, "that if his part had been no other than as he related, he thought himself obliged to give him a narration of all he had done, and of the grounds and motives he had to think that he had failed in his friendship." And thereupon he mentioned "the kindness and esteem he had for his nephew, whom he thought in all respects of birth and breeding at least as worthy of that relation as the gentleman who was possessed of it; and yet that since he was not upon the place, he had no mind to engage himself in the suit: and that when his nephew had given him an account what the chancellor had said to him," which he did with great ingenuity, "and he knew that the duke of York appeared in it for another, he resolved to prosecute it no further; until the lord Crofts with all confidence assured him, that the king had promised him to confer the place upon Robert Spencer, and that both their majesties expected that he should make it his suit, to the end that they might thereby decline the importunity that he expected from his brother." He told him of some expressions

he had used to the king in that affair, which the king himself had reported; and "that when he took his leave of the queen to go to Oxford," (which was the next day after Mr. Mountague came from York,) "he dissuaded her majesty from receiving Mr. Spencer, alleging some reasons against it, which a lady who was near overheard, and informed the person of it who acquainted him with it: all which, with the king's and queen's so ample promises to him so few hours before the conferring the place upon another, and the duke of York's manner of receiving him after he had been shut up with him, as he was informed, might very well excuse him for thinking he had some share in the affront he had undergone."

To which the other replied, "that if indeed he did believe all that he had been told, he could not but think so; but," he said, "he thought he had known him better than to give credit to such reports, which must make him a fool and a knave: that for the words he should have used to the king or the queen, there had nothing passed like it to either of them, but that they were purely devised out of malice; which should be manifest unto him, for he would not speak a word of it to the king till they were both with him together, and then he would ask before him what his carriage had been, and by his majesty's sudden answer he might judge of the report." He told him then, "how much he had suffered with the duke, and what excellent stories had been made to his royal highness of both of them, and of the good part the lord Crofts had acted, of which he was not without some evidence." After this eclaireissement, of the sincerity whereof every day administered new testimony, they both returned to their mutual confidence in each other: and they who had contrived this former device entered into a new confederacy, how they might first remove the treasurer, which would facilitate the pulling the chancellor down; of which anon.

Within a short time after the duke returned out of Yorkshire, his highness told the chancellor in confidence, "that he had two suits which he intended to make to the king, and with which he first acquainted him, that he might have his assistance in the obtaining them. The first was, in which he and his wife were equally engaged, to prevail with the king to make sir George Savile a viscount." He said, "he knew well the resolution the king had taken, to which he had contributed his advice, to make no more lords: but that he hoped in this particular case his majesty would upon his desire dispense with a general rule. That sir George had one of the best fortunes of any man in England, and lived the most like a great man; that he had been very civil to him and his wife in the north, and treated them at his house in a very splendid manner; and that he was engaged to prevail with the king in this point, or to confess he had no power, which he hoped he should not be without in this matter;" and asked his opinion. The chancellor in his usual freedom, which he always took when he was to deliver his advice to the king or duke, said, "that he could not advise his highness to move the king in it; for besides that he knew the king's positive determination, the departure from which might be of ill con-

sequence, sir George Savile was a man of a very ill reputation amongst men of piety and religion, and was looked upon as void of all sense of religion, even to the doubting, if not denying, that there is a God, and that he was not reserved in any company to publish his opinions: which made him believe that it would neither be for his highness's honour to propose it, nor for the king's to grant it, in a time when all license in discourse and in actions was spread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of very many good [men], who had terrible apprehensions of the consequence of it." The duke was not at all pleased with his discourse, and said, "he was resolved to use all his credit with the king to compass it, and that he hoped, that whatever he thought, he would not oppose it."

The other particular was, "that he would move the king to make Mr. Coventry his secretary a privy counsellor;" and asked him "what he thought of that." To which he answered, "that his opinion in that point would please him no better than in the former. That he did not think it fit to be asked: and if the king his brother were inclined to be jealous of him, as some had endeavoured to persuade him, such an instance as this would very much confirm it; for never any prince of Wales had a servant of the highest degree about him called to the council, till his father called the earl of Newcastle, who was the prince's governor, to the board; which was not till upon the approach of the troubles he discerned that he should employ him in another charge. That the members of that board had been always those great officers of state, and other officers, who in respect of the places they held had a title to sit there, and of such few others who, having great titles and fortunes and interest in the kingdom, were an ornament to the table. That there were at present too many already, and the number lessened the dignity of the relation: that his highness had already brought the lord Berkley thither, who had no manner of title to be there but his dependance upon him; and now to bring in his secretary, for no other reason but for being his secretary, might be thought an encroachment, and be misinterpreted by the king." He added, "that his wrangling litigious nature would give the board much trouble; and that he knew him to be so much his particular enemy, that he would watch all the opportunities to do him all possible ill offices to the king and to his royal highness."

The duke replied only to the last, and said, "he perceived somebody had done Will. Coventry ill offices, which he knew to be unjust and false: and that he could assure him, upon his own knowledge, that he had a great respect for him, and desired his favour; and that he would pass his word for him, that he would never do any thing to disserve him, which if he should do, he should for ever lose his favour, which he knew well." And no doubt the duke did believe all he said, for he had a perfect kindness for the chancellor; and when he did not comply with what he wished, he knew that it was out of the integrity of his judgment, and his strict duty to the king and himself, and that he had never flattered or dissembled with either of them. And Mr. Coventry had skill enough to persuade him

to believe what he desired should be true, though there were in the view of all men frequent instances of the contrary, and of the absence of all ingenuity and sincerity in his actions.

Within very few days after this conference, and when the duchess had made new instance with her father in the case of sir George Savile, and with more importunity than the duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that he should not be more forward to comply with the duke's desires, (but the chancellor, who always with the respect that was due to her quality preserved the dignity of a father very entire, would give no other answer than he had done to the duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the request to the king;) his highness one day desired the king that he would retire into his closet, and call the chancellor to him: and when they three were together in the room, after a short discourse of letters which he had received from the earl of Sandwich, which there will be occasion anon to mention at large, the duke told the king, "he had an humble suit to his majesty;" and then spake much of the great interest that sir George Savile had in the northern parts, of the greatness of his estate, and his orderly and splendid way of living, and concluded with his desire, "that his majesty would make him an English viscount." Upon which the king presently put him in mind of the resolution he had formerly made in that room, and he thought upon his own motion, "but he was sure it had been with his concurrence and approbation."

The duke replied, "that he remembered it very well, and thought he should do well still in the general to observe it: yet it was in those cases always supposed, that an extraordinary case might fall out, that might produce an exception; and he did most humbly beseech his majesty, that he would, upon his very earnest interposition, from which nobody could make a precedent, dispense with the rule." He did confess, "that he was so confident of his majesty's favour, that he had given sir George Savile cause to believe that he would prevail in that suit; which if he should not do, he must be thought either not to have intended what he promised, or to have no credit with his majesty, neither of which would be for his honour."

The king replied roundly, and with more presence of mind than he had always about him, "that it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in the observation of the rule, which if he should once break, a world of inconveniences would break in upon him, which he could not defend himself against." He named two or three persons who were very solicitous for honours, and had several pretences to it, and his majesty had only been able to resist and evade their importunity, by objecting this declared resolution to them. The plain truth is; he had made some promise (a weakness he was too often liable to) to those persons or to their friends, "that when he should make any new creations, they should be sure to be in the number:" nor did he apprehend any inconvenience from redeeming himself from the present importunity, which was still grievous to him, since he had resolved to make no new creation. And this was the true reason that made him now

so inexorable to his brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any thing else in so unlucky a season, not without some apprehension, from the king's quicker way of discourse, that he had been prepared for it by the chancellor, who though present had not spoke one word in the debate, nor indeed ever informed the king of the conference his highness had formerly held with him upon that subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it.

However, in this perplexity, as the duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. Coventry, who had principally advanced this pretence, all that had passed before the king, that his nephew (for so sir George Savile was) might see he could make no further progress in it; so in the passion he unwarily told him all that had passed in the former conference with the chancellor, which he took care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the duke, to shew how willing he was to oblige the family, immediately received a younger brother of sir George Savile, whom he had only seen in the north, to wait upon him in his bedchamber; who being a young man of wit, and incredible confidence and presumption, omitted no occasion to vent his malice against the chancellor, with a license that in former times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a person of a much inferior quality in the state.

Within a short time after, the king told the chancellor, "that his brother had desired him that his secretary Mr. Coventry might be admitted of the privy-council, which he could not deny, but had promised it should be done at the next meeting;" which was accordingly done, and he knighted: and quickly after, upon the like desire of the duke, he was called to that committee with which his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs. And from this time there was an alteration in the whole carriage and debate of all manner of business: and as the chancellor had found his own credit with the king much diminished from the time of the lord Arlington's being secretary; so a greater decrease of it was now visible to all men from the access of this new counsellor.

The lord Arlington had not the gift of speaking nor of a quick conception, and so rarely contradicted any thing in council: his talent was in private, where he frequently procured, very inconveniently, changes and alterations from public determinations. But sir William Coventry (between whom and the other there was an entire conjunction and combination) was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or submission to the age, experience, or dignity of other men, equally censorious of what had been done before he was a counsellor, as solicitous in contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: insomuch as the very first time that he was admitted to the private committee, the debate being about providing money to be paid at a day approaching to the bishop of Munster, according to the king's obligation, he said, "we had need enough of money for our own immediate occasions; and that we ought not to assign any to the advancement of the affairs of other men." Whereupon he was informed "of the treaty the king had entered into, and that the bishop was at that time upon his march, which was by every body looked upon as of great importance

"to his majesty;" to which he answered, "that he had heard somewhat of it, how secretly soever it had been carried, and that he had never liked it from the beginning, nor would give his consent that any more money should be paid towards it;" which the king himself looked upon as a rare impudence.

His great ambition was to be taken notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the chancellor or treasurer, towards whom all other counsellors, how little soever they cared for their persons, had ever paid respect in regard of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itself; and any thing passed under the great seal of England was of no more authority with him, than if it were the scroll of a scrivener. He had no principles in religion or state; of one mind this day, and another to-morrow; and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him; whose pride and insolence will administer frequent occasions of mention throughout the ensuing relation.

The king had not been many days in Oxford, when news arrived that the earl of Sandwich had been engaged in some conflict with the Dutch fleet; of the particulars whereof there was a general longing to be advertised. The truth was, that whilst the earl rode, after the business of Bergen, as near that coast as was safe, in expectation of the Dutch fleet, the winds, which are always tempestuous in that season of the year, September, made it absolutely necessary for him to remove with his whole fleet to the coast of Scotland, where there were harbours enough for him to ride safe; and in this interval of time De Ruyter was passed by towards that of Norway. The news of their Indian fleet having been attacked by the English in Bergen, and the letters of some of their officers, which implied as if they were not satisfied in the security of the port and of the fidelity of the governor, produced a wonderful consternation in Holland; and if they should be deprived of that wealth, the very company of the East Indies would be in danger of being dissolved.

The fleet was ready to set sail, under the command of De Ruyter, well fitted and manned: but there were still so many factions amongst the captains and other officers, that might upon any accidents produce many mischiefs; for the better prevention whereof, the pensionary De Wit was willing to venture his own person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on shore, if any misfortune should befall the fleet. And so he was by a special commission made plenipotentiary, with an ample allowance for his table, and a guard of halberdiers for the safety of his person, with a good train of volunteers: and so he put himself on board the ship of De Ruyter, who received orders from him.

The earl of Sandwich, after he had received advertisements of the Dutch fleet's being passed by for Norway, took all the care he could to put himself and his fleet in the way of their return. They made a short stay on the coast of Norway, where upon good consideration their ships were dismissed, and loud clamour raised against the hostility of the English. And notwithstanding all the vigilance the earl could use, the darkness and length of the nights so favoured them, that he could not engage their whole fleet, as he endea-

voured to do: yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their great ships of war, two of their best East India ships, and about twenty of their other merchant ships, which were all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been. After which he was by tempest driven to put the fleet into security in the English harbours, it being already the month of October.

It was a fair booty, and came very opportunely to supply the present necessities of the navy, and to provide for the setting out of the next fleet at spring, and was in truth gotten with very good conduct, and without any considerable damage: but it being much less than was expected, (for whatsoever was upon the sea was looked upon as our own,) the news no sooner arrived at Oxford, but intelligence came with it of many oversights which had been committed and opportunities lost, otherwise it had been easy to have taken the whole fleet; and that it might have been pursued further when it was in view, after those East India ships were taken, which were indeed surprised and boarded at the break of day, when they thought themselves in the middle of their own fleet. And it is as true that the earl did then pursue to engage the fleet, till they were got so near the French shore, that the wind blowing in to the land, it was by all the flag officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the chase.

Sir William Coventry, who had never paid a civility to any worthy man but as it was a disobligation to another whom he cared less for, and so had only contributed to the preferment of the earl of Sandwich in the last expedition that he might cross prince Rupert, received much intelligence from several officers in the fleet, which he scattered abroad to the prejudice of the earl, and was willing that it should be believed that he had been too wary in avoiding danger. But the king and the duke were very just to the earl, and discountenanced all those reports as scandals and calumnies: and the duke, who had seen his behaviour in the most dangerous action, gave him a loud testimony "of a prudent and brave commander, and as forward and bold in the face of danger as the occasion required or discretion permitted." And his highness undertook "that he had in all this expedition done what a man of honour was obliged to do," and was abundantly satisfied (as his majesty likewise was) with the rich prizes he had brought home, which had caused equal lamentation in Holland, and almost broke the heart of De Wit himself. But what success soever the earl had at sea, it was his misfortune to do an unadvised action when he came into the harbour, that lessened the king's own esteem of him, and to a great degree irreconciled the duke to him, and gave opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

It was a constant and a known rule in the admiralty, that of any ship that is taken from the enemy bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the port and adjudged lawful prize. It seems that when the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the earl of Sandwich, "in regard of their having continued all the summer upon the seas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would distribute amongst them some reward out of the Indian ships;" which he

thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a letter to the vice-chamberlain to inform the king of it, and "that he thought it fit to be done;" to which the vice-chamberlain, having shewed the letter to the king, returned his majesty's approbation. But before the answer came to his hand, he had executed the design, and distributed as much of the coarser goods to the flag-officers, as by estimation was valued to be one thousand pounds to each officer, and took to the value of two thousand pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a noise and outcry, as if all the Indian and other merchant ships had been plundered by the seamen: and they again cried out as much, that no care was taken of them, but all given to the flag-officers; which the other captains thought to be an injury to them.

The general (who had nothing like kindness for the earl of Sandwich, whose service he thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the king at his arrival) had notice of it before it came to Oxford; and, according to his universal care, (which was afterwards found to proceed from private animosity,) sent orders to all the port towns, to seize upon goods which were brought in shallops from the fleet; and gave advertisement to Oxford of the extraordinary ill consequence of that action, and "that it would spoil the sale of all that remained of those ships, since the East India company, which probably would have been the best chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, since so much was disposed of already to other hands as would spoil their market." And by this time the earl himself had given an account of all that had been done, and the motives, to the duke. The king was justly displeased for the expedition he had used, "Why had his approbation been desired, when he resolved to do the thing before he could receive an answer?" and was glad that he had done so, because he would have been more excusable if he had received it.

But the duke, who had been constantly kind to the earl, was offended in the highest degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any precedent. "This most unjustifiable action could proceed only from two fountains: the one of extreme vanity and ambition, to make himself popular amongst the officers of the fleet, who ought not to have been gratified by him at the king's charge. When any such bounty should be seasonable, it was the duke's province to have been the author, and the conduit to have conveyed it: he had himself been an eyewitness of their behaviour in the greatest action; and for the earl to assume the rewarding them by his own authority, was to defraud and rob him of his proper right and jurisdiction." And he looked upon his having desired the king's allowance by the vice-chamberlain, as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice, as his superior officer: and the poor vice-chamberlain underwent his share in the reproach, for having presumed to move the king in a particular, that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the duke. "The other fountain which might produce this presumption might be avarice," which was the sole blemish (though it never appeared in any gross instance) that seemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the

irresistible strength and power of envy; which though it feeds on its own poison, and is naturally more grievous to the person who harbours it, than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in revenge than any passion the soul is liable unto.

He was a gentleman of so excellent a temper and behaviour, that he could make himself no enemies; of so many good qualities, and so easy to live with, that he marvellously reconciled the minds of all men to him, who had not intimacy enough with him to admire his other parts: yet was in the general inclinations of men upon some disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the king whilst he as constantly adhered to Cromwell, and knew not how early he had entertained repentance, and with what hazards and dangers he had manifested it, did believe the king had been too prodigal in heaping so many honours upon him. And they who had been familiar with him and of the same party, and thought they had been as active as he in contributing to the revolution, considered him with some anger, as one who had better luck than they without more merit, and who had made early conditions: when in truth no man in the kingdom had been less guilty of that address; nor did he ever contribute to any advancement to which he arrived, by the least intimation or insinuation that he wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this blast the winds rose from all quarters, reproaches of all sorts were cast upon him, and all affronts contrived for him.

The earl had conveyed that part of the goods which he had assigned to himself in a shallop to Lynn, from whence it could pass by water to his own house. An officer in that port seized upon it by virtue of the general's warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which he began to do. But the servants of the earl appealed to the other officers in equal authority, to whom they brought a letter with them from the earl of Sandwich, in which he owned all those goods to be his, (amongst which were his bedding and furniture for his cabin, and all his plate, and other things suitable,) and likewise a note of all the other goods which might be liable to pay custom; and desired them "to send one of their searchers with the boat to his house, where he should receive all their dues, without being unladen in the port;" which, besides the delay, would be liable to many inconveniences. The officer who had first arrested it, and who had dependance upon a great man of the country, who was not unwilling that any affront should be put upon the earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being overruled by the other officers, vented his anger in very unmannerly language against the earl: of all which he, being advertised by his servants, sent a complaint to the lords of the council, and desired "the fellow might be sent for and punished;" which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the inquiry. For the officer, who was a gentleman of a fair behaviour and good repute, denied all those words which carried in them the worst interpretation; but justified the action, and produced the general's warrant, which had unusual expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general intention.

The general had quick advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from London, "that an officer should be sent for without having committed any other offence than in obeying and executing a warrant of his:" and the other great man, who was of great importance to the king's service, and in the highest trust in that country, writ several letters, "how impossible it would be to carry on the king's service in that country, if that officer should be punished for doing that, when he ought to be punished if he had not done it;" and therefore desired, "that he might be repaired by them who had caused him to be sent for."

Sir William Coventry had now full sea-room to give vent to all his passions, and to incense the duke, who was enough offended without such contributions: "if this proceeded from covetousness, it was not probable that it would be satisfied with so little; and therefore it was probable, that though the officers might not have received above the value of one thousand pounds," which was assigned to each, "yet himself would not be contented with so little as two thousand; and they might therefore well conceive that he had taken much more, which ought to be examined with the greatest strictness." There had been nothing said before of not taking advantage enough upon the enemy in all occasions which had been offered, and of not pursuing them far enough, which was not now renewed without advice, "that he might be presently sent for;" though it was known that, as soon as he could put the ships into the ports to which they were designed, he would come to Oxford. And there were great underhand endeavours, that the house of commons might be inflamed with this miscarriage and misdemeanor, and present it as a complaint to the house of peers, as fit to be examined and brought to judgment before that tribunal. And they, who with all the malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this fire, persuaded the king and the duke, "that by their sole activity and interest it was prevented for that time, because the session was too short, and that all necessary evidence could not be soon produced at Oxford; but that, as soon as the plague should cease to such a degree in London that the parliament might assemble there, it would be impossible to restrain the house of commons from pursuing that complaint," of which nobody thought but themselves and they who were provoked by them.

The earl of Sandwich had so good intelligence from Oxford, that he knew all that was said of him, and began to believe that he had done unadvisedly in administering occasion of speaking ill to those who greedily sought for it: and as soon as his absence from the fleet could be dispensed with, he made haste to Oxford, and gave so full an account of every day's action, from the time that he went to sea to the day of his return, and of his having never done any thing of importance, nor having left any thing undone, but with and by the advice of the council of war, upon the orders he had received, that both the king and the duke could not but absolve him from all the imputations of negligence or inadvertency.

But for the breaking bulk, and the circumstances that attended it, they declared they were unsatisfied. And he confessed "that he had been

"much to blame," and asked pardon, and with such excuses as he thought might in some degree plead for him. He protested, "it seemed to him to have had some necessity: that the whole fleet was in a general indisposition, and complained, that for all that summer action" (which indeed had been full of merit) "they had nothing given to them, not without some muttering that they would have somewhat out of those Indian ships before they would part with them; inso-much as he had a real apprehension that they had a purpose to plunder them. And he should have feared more, if he had not complied with the flag-officers' importunity: and thereupon he consented that they should have each of them the value of one thousand pounds, and which he was most confident the goods which had been delivered to them did not exceed." He confessed "he had not enough considered the consequence, and that they who had not received any donative would be more displeased, than they who had it were satisfied with it; which he acknowledged was the case: that he was heartily sorry for permitting any such thing to be done, and more for having taken any himself, and humbly [asked] pardon for both; and [desired] that his own part, which remained entire, might be restored to the ship from whence it had been taken, which he would cause to be done."

A more ingenuous acknowledgment could not be made: and they who could not but observe many persons every day excused for more enormous transgressions, did hope that he, who had so few faults to answer for, would have been absolved for that trespass. And the king himself used him very graciously, and so did the duke; and he was sent back to the fleet, to give order for the sending out a winter-guard and ordering all other maritime affairs, and for the sending up the India ships into the river, with great care that none of the seamen should go on shore, where the plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the summer: and so he himself and most other men believed and were glad, that an ill business was so well composed. But sir William did not intend that it should end there.

The present business, that must admit no interruption, was the raising what money might be to supply the present necessities of the fleet, to pay the seamen, and to make all preparations to set out the fleet against the spring, when the French ships would be infallibly ready to join with the Dutch; and the money that was given by the parliament would not be paid till long after; and the affairs of the bankers were in such disorder by the death of servants, and the plague having been in some of their houses, that the usual course of advancing monies by assignments could not be depended upon. The general had written to the lord treasurer, "that he thought that there could not be so good chapmen for those ships as the East India company, some whereof had been with him to know the king's pleasure; and if authority were granted to any men to treat upon that affair, they would send for members enough of their company, who were dispersed in the country, to be present at a court, which would authorize a committee to treat and contract with them:" and he said, "that he was confident that half the money would be paid

"upon the making the bargain." The king was no sooner advertised of this overture, than he sent sir George Carteret and Mr. Ashburnham to London, to confer with the general and to be advised by him, and granted authority to them three to sell those two prizes to those who would give most. And they found no overtures to be so advantageous as those which were made by that company: and yet they made so much use of the advantage of the time, when all men of notorious wealth were out of the town, that they thought not fit to make any agreement till they gave the king an account of the whole transaction, with their opinions, upon conference with other men of business; and to that purpose the two persons who had been sent to the general returned safe to Oxford.

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great presumption in any body to presume to interpose in the maritime affairs, which was interpreted to be an invasion of the duke's peculiar [province]; and by this means the credit of sir William Coventry was so absolute, that the disposal of all was in his power. He had persuaded the duke, and the lord Arlington, who was in firm conjunction with him, had prevailed with the king to believe, "that the house of commons was so incensed against the lord Sandwich for his late presumption, that it would not be possible to hinder them in their next assembling" (which was appointed or resolved to be in April, if it pleased God to extinguish the sickness) "[from falling] very severely upon the earl of Sandwich, which would be a very great dishonour to the king, if he were at that time in the command of the fleet; and that there was no way to preserve him" (for that was their method when they had a mind to ruin a man, to pretend a great care that he might not be undone) "but by dismissing him from that charge, which probably might preserve him from being further questioned, since it would be interpreted a punishment inflicted on him by the king for his crime, and so might stop him from being further prosecuted for the same offence." To which they added, "that it would be necessary in another respect; for that many of the officers, as well as common seamen, had opened their mouths very wide against him, especially after it was generally known that the king and the duke were offended with him, and had not been at all reserved in charging him with several reproaches: and that if the same command were still continued in him, it could not be presumed that those men would ever put themselves under his command whom they had so much provoked."

These arguments, urged by men who were not known, at least by the king and duke, to be his enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in truth was, but for his conjunction with the other) his friend, and to wish him very well, prevailed upon the judgments of both of them; insomuch as they resolved to confer with the chancellor, whom they knew to be much the earl's friend. And they both expressed "very much kindness to and confidence in the affection and integrity and courage of the earl of Sandwich, though he was to be blamed for his late indiscretion, and a resolution with their utmost power to defend him from undergoing any disgrace by it: but

“that it would contribute most to his preservation, that he quitted the employment, and that some other persons should be sent to command the next fleet in the spring. For if he should again go to sea, and parliament should press to have him sent for, to answer what they had to object against him, his majesty must either refuse to consent to it, which would make a breach with his parliament, or by consenting disorder his maritime affairs to that degree, that the enemy could not but take very great advantage of it.” Therefore they commanded the chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole matter to him, [to assure] him “of the king’s and duke’s favour, and that they were in this particular moved only by their tenderness to him; and that some expedient should be first found out to remove him with honour, before any notice should be taken of the purpose to remove him, and before any other person should be deputed to the command; and that he himself should either propose the expedient, if any such occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that should be proposed to him.”

The chancellor did presume to declare, “that he thought that they were persuaded to apprehend somewhat that could not fall out. That he would not take upon him to excuse the earl of Sandwich for any offence he had committed: if it were of that magnitude that his majesty thought fit to remove him from his command, nobody could censure it; and it may be, in a time of so much license, the severity might be thought seasonable. But the apprehension that the parliament would take more notice of what the earl had done, than they would of any other breach of order that was every day committed, was without any just reason.” But that argument was presently silenced by their undertaking to know somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other way to preserve [him] but that which was proposed.

There was at that time an opportunity in view, that might give the earl of Sandwich an employment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be assigned to any man who was in disgrace. Sir Richard Fanshaw, who was a gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been first ambassador in Portugal, and had behaved himself so well there, that when he returned from thence, he was recommended, and upon the matter desired, by that crown to be sent to Spain, as the fittest person to mediate in the king’s name between Spain and Portugal; and the king had before designed to send him ambassador into Spain, as well to settle a treaty between England and Spain, (for there was none yet,) as to do all the offices between those other crowns which were requisite to the end aforesaid. No man knew that court [better], or was so well versed in the language, having lived many years before in that court in much better times. He had remained now about two years, with such frequent mortifications as ministers use to meet with in courts irresolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the counsels of Madrid were in the last years of the king, as his indisposition increased, or by relaxing administered some hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earnest desire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace

was equally desired and equally necessary to both nations: but the Portugal [was] unmoveable in the conditions of it, preferring the worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their country, rather than to be without the sovereignty of it; and the Spaniard as positive not to part with their title, though they had no hope of their subjection. Nor did Spain appear solicitous to conclude any treaty with England, except either Portugal might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

On a sudden, when the recovery or long continuance of the king grew more desperate, (which is never a thing notoriously known in that court,) a project for a treaty was sent to the ambassador, containing more advantages in trade to the nation, (which are the most important matters in all those treaties,) and insisting upon fewer inconvenient conditions, than had ever been in any former treaties; without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty since the king’s return made the progress impossible: only it was urged, “that it might either be presently accepted and signed by the ambassador, with a covenant that it should be confirmed by the king within so many days after it should be presented to him, or else that there should be no more mention or discourse of it.”

The ambassador, surprised with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his instructions; and what was defective in those particulars he added to the articles presented to him, with such additions as, upon his own observation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These alterations and amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the king, on condition to be presently signed by him, with the undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the ambassador, and no more than his duty, if he had first acquainted his master or the ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular order before he had signed it. But that being expressly refused, without concealing the reason or the king’s weakness, “which,” they declared, “might make such an alteration in counsels, that if it were not done in his lifetime, they knew not what might happen after:” this was thought as good an argument by him for the despatch, as it was to them; and that if he should not make use of this conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous treaty offered again. Hereupon he presently signed the treaty, with some secret article which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwise than that he concluded, by what had been said to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them.

This treaty was no sooner brought to the king by the Spanish ambassador, (who had received it by an express,) and perused at the council-table, but many gross faults were found to be in it. Besides the gentleman’s absence, who would with greater abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no advantage to him that he was known to be much in the chancellor’s confidence: and therefore the more pain was taken to persuade the king that he was a weak man, (which the king himself knew him

not to be;) and they put such a gloss upon many of the articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain matters of great moment, as they would not consent that a trade to the West Indies could be any benefit to England, and the like. In the end, the king concluded that he would not sign the treaty; for which he had some access of reason within a month after, by the death of the king of Spain.

When all these reproaches were cast upon the ambassador, and notice given that the king did disavow the treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambassador, but to be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London and dispersing the council, the pursuing this resolution was no more assumed, till the business of the earl of [Sandwich] made it thought on as a good expedient; and the chancellor was directed in his discourse with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced.

The chancellor entered upon the whole discourse with that freedom and openness that became a man who he knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the affair, and the apprehension the king had of the parliament, and the expedient he had thought of to remove him out of the reach or noise of clamour, of which he made him the judge; and "if he did not like this [employment] for Spain, some other should be thought of and published before it should be known, and before the command of the fleet should be committed to any other."

The earl of Sandwich lamented "that it had been in any body's power to make so ill impressions in the king and the duke, upon his having committed a trespass, for which he was heartily sorry;" and confessed "it was a presumption and indiscretion, the ill consequence whereof he had not had wit enough to discover: however, he did not yet think it so great, as to make him fear to give an account of it before the parliament, or any thing that they could do upon it." He seemed not to be ignorant of the offices sir William Coventry did him, "in drawing complaints and reproaches from those who had neither cause nor inclination to speak to his disadvantage. He was sensible of the general's want of justice towards him, which he knew not to what to impute, but to his pride and weakness. He did acknowledge it great bounty in the king, since he thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the command he had, that he would yet assign him to so honourable an employment; which, though it could not wipe off the reproach of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his majesty's good opinion and confidence: and therefore he did with all cheerfulness submit to his majesty's pleasure, and would be ready for his journey to Spain as soon as his despatch should be prepared."

He told him then, "that he was in one respect glad to be removed from his present command, for he was confident that he would see no more great matters done at sea, for that the common men were weary of the war; and that sir William would never suffer any peace to be in the fleet, but had creatures ready to do all ill offices

"amongst them, whom he cherished and preferred before the best officers;" and told him many other things which fell out afterwards, and said, "sir William would make any man who should succeed him weary of his command, by sending such variety of orders that he would not know what to do." And shortly after, he gave him a perfect journal of his last expedition, in which there were indeed many orders which must needs startle and perplex a commander in chief, it being his usual course to signify the duke's pleasure in matters of the greatest importance without the duke's hand; which yet they durst not disobey, nor produce in their own justification, being such as in truth were no such warrants as they ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his royal highness: and told him likewise of the ill inventions he had set on foot, by which prince Rupert was stopped from being joined with him in the command of the last fleet.

When the chancellor had informed the king of the earl of Sandwich's submission to his pleasure, and that he would be ready to undertake the employment for Spain as soon as his majesty pleased; hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to correct and amend the mistakes and errors in the late treaty, and further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in some respect more practicable. And to that purpose he sent sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people: and all instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to both those ends.

This first work being thus despatched, it remained to settle the command, for the ensuing year, of the fleet; and there can be little doubt made, but that the king and the duke had resolved this at the same time that they determined that the earl of Sandwich should not continue in it: however, it was communicated to nobody, till the designation of the other was published. Then the king told the chancellor, "that his brother and he had long considered that affair, and could not think of any expedient so good for the performance of that service, as a conjunction between prince Rupert and the general, and making them both joint commanders in chief of the fleet for the next expedition." There had many exceptions occurred to them against committing the charge to either of them singly; nor were they without apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if they were not both well prepared to embrace the occasion, and themselves to like the designation. For the doing this the chancellor was again thought to be the fittest man, being believed to have the greatest interest in both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest difficulties were expected to arise, which was prince Rupert. It was easy to know prince Rupert's mind, who was in the house: yet they were both in cases of that nature desirous always to impart what they desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the general was at London, besieged by the plague; and the matter was not fit to be communicated by letter, because, if he should make any scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Upon these considerations it was resolved, first, that the chancellor should prepare prince Rupert, and then that the general should be sent for to Oxford upon pretences, of which enough would occur. The prince, though he was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the king's pleasure: and so both the king and duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted. And the general was sent to, "that it was necessary for the king to confer with him upon some propositions, which were made to him upon the East India ships," (which transaction was not at that time yet concluded;) "and therefore that on such a day he should come from London early in the morning," (for it was deep winter,) "in his own coach to Beaconsfield, where he should find another coach ready to receive him, and another at another stage; so that he might be with ease at Oxford the same night," as he was, and very graciously received by the king, as he deserved to be. But as he had no manner of imagination of the true reason why he was sent for, so neither his majesty nor the duke would impart it to him, out of real imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that he had great confidence.

He the next morning entered into conference with him, and after general discourses told him, "that the king had disposed the earl of Sandwich to another employment, for which he did not seem sorry; and that it must be now thought of, who was fit to command in his place: that there was no hope of peace, instead whereof there would be an entire conjunction between France and the Dutch; and that the French fleet" (the ambassadors being about this time gone) "would be ready to join with them as soon as they should put to sea; and there was much doubt that the Dane would betake himself to the same alliance; and all would be at sea before we should be, except extraordinary diligence were used, which the continuance of the plague would hardly admit." The general presently answered, "that no person was so fit for that command as prince Rupert, who understood the seas well, and had that courage that was necessary in this conjuncture."

The chancellor told him, "that the king had great confidence in the affection and unquestionable courage of prince Rupert: but he was not sure, that the quickness of his spirit and the strength of his passion might not sometimes stand in need of the advice and assistance of a friend, who should be in equal authority with him; and had therefore thought of finding some fit person to be joined with him, and so make one admiral of two persons." To which the other not replying suddenly, he continued his discourse, saying, "that the king had such a person in his view, whom he would never acquaint with it, until he might find some way to discover that the proposing it would not be ingrateful to him; and that he was obliged to make this discovery, and that the person in the king's view was himself; and that if he and prince Rupert were joined in the command of the fleet and undertook it, his majesty would believe that he had done all that was in his

power, and would, with great hope, commit all the rest to God Almighty." He said, "he thought he had behaved himself most like a friend in telling him shortly and plainly what the king's drift was, towards which, though the secret was known to none but the duke of York, yet such an advance was made, that his majesty was well assured that prince Rupert would readily comply with his pleasure." Upon the whole matter he desired him "to deal as like a friend with him, and to tell him freely if he had no mind to the employment; and he would take upon him to prevent the making the proposition to him, and that neither the king nor duke should take it unkindly."

The general appeared really surprised and full of thoughts; and after a short pause he desired him "not to believe that he made the least [difficult] in his thoughts of undertaking the service; but many things had occurred to him in the discourse, which he would mention anon." He said, "that for his own part he should be willing to go out of London to-morrow, and think himself much safer in any action against the Dutch than he could be in the post he was, where every day men died about him and in his view; and as he thought that he had done the king better service by staying in London, than he could have done in any other place, so he believed, if the sickness should continue," (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little decrease,) "his majesty might think that his presence might be as necessary there as it had been." The chancellor replied, "that his majesty had foreseen that contingency; and had already resolved, that if that fell out to be the case, he should rather desire his residence should be where it had been (though he was much troubled to expose him to so much hazard) than in any other place: but that his majesty's confidence in the mercy of God, that he would take off this heavy visitation before the end of winter, had suggested the other designation of him to the service of the fleet, upon the good conduct whereof his own and the kingdom's happiness so much depended."

The general quickly replied, "that for that matter he was so willing to engage himself, that if the king pleased, he would most readily serve under the command of prince Rupert:" to which the other answered as readily, "that the king would never consent to that." And so they resolved presently to go to the king, that his majesty and the duke might know what would please them so much. And as they were going, the general said smiling, "that he would tell him now what the true cause was, that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business; and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king and duke and prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and prince Rupert be understood to have that command alone. For if his wife should come to know it, before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him: but he would in a short time dispose her well enough; and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part, that was necessary for the advancement of the service." Hereupon the king, the

duke, the prince, and the general consulted of all that was to be done: and he at the end of two days returned to London with the same expedition that he came to Oxford, together with sir George Carteret the treasurer of the navy, and all orders that were requisite for the sale of the East India ships, upon which all provisions for the fleet were to be made.

Though the parliament at Oxford had preserved that excellent harmony that the king had proposed, and hardly wished any thing in which they had not concurred, insomuch as never parliament so entirely sympathised with his majesty; and [though] it passed more acts for his honour and security than any other had ever done in so short a session: yet it introduced a precedent of a very unhappy nature, the circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large.

The lord Arlington and sir William Coventry, closely united in the same purposes, and especially against the chancellor, had a great desire to find some means to change the course and method of the king's counsels; which they could hardly do whilst the same persons continued still in the same employments. Their malice was most against the chancellor: yet they knew not what suggestions to make to the king against him, having always pretended to his majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great esteem of him. Their project therefore was to remove the treasurer, who was as weary of his office and of the court as any body could be of him: but his reputation was so great, his wisdom so unquestionable, and his integrity so confessed, that they knew in neither of those points he could be impeached. And the king himself had kindness and reverence towards him, though he had for some years thought him less active, and so less fit for that administration, than every body else knew him to be: and these men had long insinuated unto his [majesty], "how ill all the business of the exchequer was managed by the continual infirmities of the treasurer, who, between the gout and the stone, had not ease enough to attend the painful function of that office, but left the whole to be managed and governed by his secretary sir Philip Warwick;" upon whose experience and fidelity he did in truth much rely, as he had reason to do, his reputation for both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this reproach they had the contribution of the lord Ashley, who was good at looking into other men's offices, and was not pleased to see sir Philip Warwick's credit greater than his with the treasurer, and his advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that he would make much a better treasurer; which, whilst he thought they were in earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest materials to them for that reproach, but to inculcate the same to the king upon several occasions: but when he discovered that they intended nothing of advantage to his particular, he withdrew from that intrigue, though in all other particulars he sided with them.

The king was too easy in making assignments upon his revenue, which would make it incapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant suits by lease or farm, (sometimes to worthy men,) which were of mischievous conse-

quence to all the measures which could be taken; and those the treasurer found himself obliged to stop: and commonly, upon informing the king of it and of his reasons, his majesty was very well pleased with what he had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself ease from the importunity of many, by signing the warrants they brought to him, in confidence that either the chancellor or treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However, it raised clamour; and there were men enough who had the same provocation to make a great noise; and they easily found countenance from others, who desired it should be believed, "that it was a high arrogance and presumption in any subject to stop any signature of the king, and so make his majesty's grace and bounty to be ineffectual, if his approbation and consent was not likewise procured." There was visibly great want of money, though there were vast sums of money raised; which they laboured to persuade the king proceeded from the unskilfulness or unactivity of the treasurer, who was again tired with the vexation and indignity, when he had so frequently presented the king with the particulars of the receipts and disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his expenses exceeded all his income; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply [necessary occasions]: but this was an ungracious subject, and opened more mouths than could easily be stopped.

There was a man who hath been often named, sir George Downing, who by having been some years in the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer, and being of a restless brain, did understand enough of the nature of the revenue and of the course of the receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients, which should be proposed by him towards a reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were lessened by the assignments made to the bankers, upon the receipts themselves, without the money's ever passing through the tellers' office; by which, though they did receive their just fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had passed through their own hands. He was a member of parliament, and a very voluminous speaker, who would be thought wiser in trade than any of the merchants, and to understand the mystery of all professions much better than the professors of them. And such a kind of chat is always acceptable in a crowd, (where few understand many subjects,) [who] are always glad to find those put out of countenance who thought they understood it best: and so they were much pleased to hear sir George Downing inveigh against the ignorance of those, who could only smile at his want of knowledge.

This gentleman was very grateful to sir William Coventry as well as to lord Arlington, and was ready to instruct them in all the miscarriages and oversights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. "The root of all miscarriage was the unlimited power of the lord treasurer, that no money could issue out without his particular direction, and all money was paid upon [no] other rules than his order; so that, let the king want as much as was possible,

"no money could be paid by his, without the treasurer's warrant;" which, to men who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. "But," he said, "if there were such a clause inserted into the bill which was to be passed in the house of commons for money, it might prevent all inconveniences, and the king's money would be paid only to those persons and purposes to which his majesty should assign them; and more money would be presently advanced upon this act of parliament, than the credit of the bankers could procure;" for he foresaw that would be a very natural objection against his clause and the method he proposed.

He made his discourse so plausible to them, that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends, that they neither did nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no obstructions arise in the way. If it should come to the knowledge of the chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it; and if the treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it for the indignity that his office was subjected to: they therefore discoursed it to the king as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his majesty of the many benefits which would accrue to his service by this new method that he had devised, and the many mischiefs which would be prevented.

There were so many things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some fancies that the king himself had entertained; there would not need now so many formalities, as warrants and privy seals, before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the treasurer's privy; in which many conveniences seemed to appear: though besides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great inconveniences in view in those very particulars which they fancied to be conveniences. But it was enough that the king so well liked the advice, upon conference with them three, that he resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed, that when the bill for supply should be brought into the house, (it being to be, as was said before, for the sum of) at the commitment Downing should offer that proviso, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the king and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the king's service, they had all authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the king's approbation.

Against the time that the bill was to be brought in, they prepared the house by many unseasonable bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, bloodsuckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches which can be cast upon the worst men in the world, and would have them looked upon as the causes of all the king's necessities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom: all which was a plausible argument, as all invectives against particular men are; and all men who had faculties of depraving, and of making ill things appear worse than they are, were

easily engaged with them. The bankers did not consist of above the number of five or six men, some whereof were aldermen, and had been lord mayors of London, and all the rest were aldermen, or had fined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had risen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money had passed through the hands of the scriveners: they were for the most part goldsmiths, men known to be so rich, and of so good reputation, that all the money of the kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their hands.

From the time of the king's return, when though great and vast sums were granted, yet such vast debts were presently to be paid, the armies by land and sea to be presently discharged, [that] the money that was to be collected in six and six months would not provide for those present unavoidable issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand pounds gotten together in few days, before they could begin to disband the armies or to pay the seamen off; the deferring whereof every month increased the charge to an incredible proportion: none could supply those occasions but the bankers, which brought the king's ministers first acquainted with them; and they were so well satisfied with their proceedings, that they did always declare, "that they were so necessary to the king's affairs, that they knew not how to have conducted them without that assistance."

The method of proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an act of parliament was passed, the king sent for those bankers, (for there was never any contract made with them but in his majesty's presence:) and being attended by the ministers of the revenue, and commonly the chancellor and others of the council, the lord treasurer presented a particular information to the king of the most urgent occasions for present money, either for disbanding troops, or discharging ships, or setting out fleets, (all which are to be done together, and not by parcels;) so that it was easily foreseen what ready money must be provided. And this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told, "that the king had occasion to use such a sum of ready money within such a day; they understood the act of parliament, and so might determine what money they could lend the king, and what manner of security would best satisfy them." Whereupon one said, "he would within such a time pay one hundred thousand pounds," another more, and another less, as they found themselves provided; for there was no joint stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his ability. They were desirous to have eight in the hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask, and the king was "willing to give:" but upon better consideration amongst themselves, they thought fit to decline that demand, as being capable of turning to their disadvantage, and would leave the interest to the king's own bounty, declaring "that themselves paid six in the hundred for all the money with which they were intrusted," which was known to be true.

Then they demanded such a receipt and assignment to be made to them by the lord treasurer, for the payment of the first money that should be payable upon that act of parliament, or a branch of that act, or tallies upon the farmers of the customs or excise, or such other branches of the

revenue as were least charged; having the king's own word and the faith of the treasurer, that they should be exactly complied with; for, let the security be what they could desire, it would still be in the power of the king or of the lord treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other purposes. Therefore there is nothing surer, than that the confidence in the king's justice, and the unquestionable reputation of the lord treasurer's honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit which supplied all his majesty's necessities and occasions; and his majesty always treated those men very graciously, as his very good servants, and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men. And in this manner, for many years after his majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the public expenses were carried on, it may be, with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expenses; and nobody opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal.

The solicitor general brought in the bill for supply according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be: and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Downing offered his proviso, the end of which was, "to make all the money that was to be raised by this bill to be applied only to those ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the war, and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what authority soever;" with many other clauses in it so monstrous, that the solicitor, and many others who were most watchful for the king's service, declared against it, as introductive to a commonwealth, and not fit for monarchy. It was observed, "that the assignment of the money that was given by act of parliament to be paid in another manner and to other persons than had been formerly used, though there wanted not plausible pretences, was the beginning of the late rebellion, and furnished the parliament with money to raise a rebellion, when the king had none to defend himself; which had made Cromwell wise enough never to permit any of those clauses, or that the impositions which were raised should be disposed to any uses or by any persons but by himself and his own orders." And by such and other arguments, which the contrivers had not foreseen, the proviso had been absolutely thrown out, if sir William Coventry and Downing had not gone to the solicitor and others who spake against it, and assured them, "that it was brought in by the king's own direction, and for purposes well understood by his majesty." Upon which they were contented that it should be committed, yet with direction "that such and such expressions should be reformed and amended."

In the afternoon the king sent for the solicitor, and forbade him any more to oppose that proviso, for that it was much for his service. And when he would inform him of many mischiefs which would inevitably attend it, some were of those which he had no mind to prevent, being to lessen their power who he thought had too much, and

the other he cared not to hear; and said only, "that he would bear the inconveniences which would ensue upon his own account, for the benefits which would accrue, and which it was not yet seasonable to communicate with other members of the house of commons, whom he thought not to be so able to dispute it with him."^a

He enlarged more in discourse, and told them, "that this [would be an] encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed, that there could be [no] security in the kingdom like it, when it should be out of any man's power to cause any money that should be lent to-morrow to be paid before that which was lent yesterday, but that all should be infallibly paid in order; by which the exchequer (which was now bankrupt and without any credit) would be quickly in that reputation, that all men would deposit their money there: and that he hoped in few years, by observing the method he now proposed, he would make his exchequer the best and the greatest bank in Europe, and where all Europe would, when it was once understood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they should receive their money." And with this discourse the vain man, who had lived many years in Holland, and would be thought to have made himself master of all their policy, had amused the king and his two friends, undertaking to erect the king's exchequer into the same degree of credit that the bank of Amsterdam [stood upon], the institution whereof he undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that should be transplanted into England, and all nations would sooner send their money into the exchequer, than into Amsterdam or Genoa or Venice." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this intoxication prevailed so far, that no argument would be heard against it, the king having upon those notions, and with the advice of those counsellors, in his own thoughts new-modelled the whole government of his treasury, in which he resolved to have no more superior officers. But this was only reserved within his own breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the project, without weighing that the security for monies so deposited in banks is the republic itself, which must expire before that security can fail; which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's sole word can cancel all those formal provisions which can be made, (as hath since been too evident,) by vacating those assignments which have been made upon that and the like acts of parliament, for such time as the present necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

And so without any more opposition, which was not grateful to the king, that act passed the house of commons, with the correction only of such absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the proviso, and which did indeed cross their own designs: and so it was sent from the commons to the house of peers for their consent.

^a Something seems to be wanting here to make the sense clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was spoken by Downing to the king, Arlington, and Coventry; or, by the king to the solicitor. In the latter case, *told them* (as it is in the MS.) should be altered to *told him*. [Note in the first edition.]

Bills of that nature, which concern the raising of money, seldom stay long with the lords; but as of custom, which they call privilege, they are first begun in the house of commons, where they endure long deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the house of peers with the reading twice and formal commitment, in which any alterations are very rarely made, except in any impositions which are laid upon their own persons, for which there are usually blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the amendment or alteration that is commonly made by the lords: so that the same engrossment that is sent up by the commons, is usually the bill itself that is presented to the king for his royal assent. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt made, but that those bills of any kind of subsidies, as excise, chimney-money, or any other way of imposition, are as much the gift and present from the house of peers as they are from the house of commons, and are no more valid without their consent than without the consent of the other; and they may alter any clause in them that they do not think for the good of the people. But because the house of commons is the immediate representative of the people, it is presumed that they best know what they can bear or are willing to submit to, and what they propose to give is proportionable to what they can spare; and therefore the lords use not to put any stop in the passage of such bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the king.

And in this parliament the expedition that was used in all business out of fear of the sickness, and out of an impatient desire to be separated, was very notorious: and as soon as this bill for supply was sent to the lords, very many members of the house of commons left the town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally [thought], that at the passing that act, with the rest which were ready, the king would prorogue the parliament. Yet the novelty in this act so surprised the lords, that they thought it worthy a very serious deliberation, and used not their customary expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill conjuncture, when the terrible cold weather kept the lord treasurer from going out of his chamber for fear of the gout, of which the chancellor laboured then in that extremity, that he was obliged to remain in his bed; and neither of them had received information of this affair. Many of the lords came to them, and advertised them of this new proviso; and some of them went to the king, to let him [know] the prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill hand that had contrived it.

The lord Ashley, who was chancellor of the exchequer, and had been privy in the first cabal in which this reformation was designed, whether because he found himself left out in the most secret part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it, both publicly and privately, and, according to the fertility of his wit and invention, found more objections against it than any body else had done, and the consequences to be more destructive; with which he so alarmed the king, that his majesty was contented that the matter should be debated in his presence; and because the chancellor was in his bed, thought his chamber to be the fittest place

for the consultation: and the lord [treasurer], though indisposed and apprehensive of the gout, could yet use his feet, and was very willing to attend his majesty there, without the least imagination that he was aimed at in the least.

The king appointed the hour for the meeting, where his majesty, with his brother, was present, the chancellor in his bed, the lord treasurer, the lord Ashley, the lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry; the attorney general and the solicitor were likewise present, to word any alterations which should be fit to be made; and sir George Downing likewise attended, who the king still believed would be able to answer all objections which could be made. The chancellor had never seen the proviso which contained all the novelty, (for all the other parts of the bill were according to the course,) and the treasurer had read it only an hour or two before the meeting: the lord Ashley therefore, who had heard it read in the house of peers, and observed what that house thought of it, opened the whole business with the novelty, and the ill consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which he enforced with great clearness and evidence of reason, and would have enlarged with some sharpness upon the advisers of it.

But the king himself stopped that by declaring, "that whatsoever had been done in the whole transaction of it had been with his privy and approbation, and the whole blame must be laid to his own [charge], who it seems was like to suffer most by it." He confessed, "he was so fully convinced in his own understanding, that the method proposed would prove to his infinite advantage and to the benefit of the kingdom, that he had converted many in the house who had disliked it; and that since it came into the house of peers, he had spoken with many of the lords, who seemed most unsatisfied with it: and he was confident he had so well informed many of them, that they had changed their opinion, and would be no more against that proviso. However, he confessed that some remained still obstinate against it, and they had given some reasons which he had not thought of, and which in truth he could not answer: he wished therefore that they would apply themselves to the most weighty objections which were in view, or which might probably result from thence, and think of the best remedies which might be applied by alterations and amendments in the house of lords, which he doubted not but that the commons would concur in."

The first objection was "the novelty, which in cases of that nature was very dangerous, remembering what hath been mentioned before of the beginning of the late rebellion, by putting the money to run in another channel than it had used to do: and that when once such a clause was admitted in one bill, the king would hardly get it left out in others of the same kind hereafter; and so his majesty should never be master of his own money, nor the ministers of his revenue be able to assign monies to defray any casual expenses, of what nature soever; but that upon the matter the authority of the treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer must be invested in the tellers of the exchequer, who were subordinate officers, and qualified to do nothing but by the immediate order of those

"their superior officers. And though there are
"four tellers in equal authority, yet sir George
"Downing would in a short time make his office
"the sole receipt, and the rest neither receive nor
"pay but by his favour and consent."

The king had in his nature so little reverence
or esteem for antiquity, and did in truth so much
contemn old orders, forms, and institutions, that
the objections of novelty rather advanced than
obstructed any proposition. He was a great lover
of new inventions, and thought [them] the effects
of wit and spirit, and fit to control the superstitious
observation of the dictates of our ancestors:
so that objection made little impression. And for
the continuance of the same clause in future bills,
he looked for it as necessary, in order to the estab-
lishment of his bank, which would abundantly
recompense for his loss of power in disposal of
his own money. And though it was made ap-
pear, by very solid arguments, that the imagina-
tion of a bank was a mere chimera in itself, and
the erecting it in the exchequer must suppose
that the crown must be always liable to a vast
debt upon interest, which would be very ill hus-
bandry; and that there was great hope, that after
a happy peace should be concluded, and care
should be taken to bring the expenses into a nar-
rower compass, the king might in a short time be
out of debt: yet all discourse against a bank was
thought to proceed from pure ignorance. And
sir George was let loose to instruct them how
easy it was to be established, who talked impe-
riously "of the method by which it came to be
"settled [in Holland] by the industry of very
"few persons, when the greatest men despaired
"of it as impracticable; yet the obstinacy of the
"other prevailed, and it was now become the
"strength, wealth, and security of the state: that
"the same would be brought to pass much more
"easily here, and would be no sooner done, than
"England would be the seat of all the trade of
"Christendom." And then assuming all he said
to be demonstration, he wrapped himself up, ac-
cording to his custom, in a mist of words that
nobody could see light in, but they who by often
hearing the same chat thought they understood
it.

The next objection was "against the injustice
"of this clause, and the ill consequence of that
"injustice. The necessities of the crown being
"still pressing, and the fleet every day calling
"for supply, money had been borrowed from the
"bankers upon the credit of this bill, as soon as
"the first vote had passed in the house of com-
"mons for so considerable a supply; and the
"treasurer had made assignments upon several
"branches of the revenue, which had been pre-
"served and designed for the army and the im-
"mediate expenses of the king's and queen's
"household, and the like unavoidable issues,
"upon presumption that enough would come in
"from this new act of parliament to be replaced
"to those purposes, before the time that would
"require it should come. But by this proviso
"especial care was taken, that none of the money
"that should be raised should be applied to the
"payment of any debt that was contracted be-
"fore the royal assent was given to the bill: so
"that both the money lent by the bankers upon
"the promise made to them must be unpaid and
"unsecured, and the money that had been sup-

"plied from other assignments must not be ap-
"plied to the original use; by which the army
"and household would be unprovided for, the
"inconvenience whereof had no need of an en-
"largement.

"Besides that the bankers had the king's word,
"and the engagement of the ministers of the re-
"venue, that all new bills of supply should still
"make good what former securities were not suf-
"ficient to do; as by this heavy visitation of the
"plague, the assignments which had been made
"upon the excise and chimney-money, and by
"the decay of trade that the war and sickness
"together had produced, the assignments made
"upon the customs had brought in so little
"money, that the debt to the bankers, which,
"but for those obstructions, might by this time
"have been much abated, remained still very
"little less than it was in near a year before.
"And when it should be known, that this sum
"of money that was to be raised was exempt
"from the payment of any of those and the like
"debts, it would be a great heartbreaking to all
"those, who had not only lent all their own
"estates, but the whole estates of many thou-
"sands of other men, to the king, and must
"expect to be called upon by all who have trust-
"ed them for their money, which, by this inven-
"tion, they have no means to pay: and for the
"future, let the necessities be what they will that
"the crown may be involved in, there is no hope
"of borrowing any money, since it is not in the
"power of the king himself to make any assign-
"ment upon this new imposition."

Very much of this had been so absolutely un-
thought of by the king, that he was very much
troubled at it; and he had in his own judgment
a just esteem of the bankers, and looked upon
any [prejudice] that they should suffer as hurtful
to himself, and a great violation of his honour
and justice. But it was plain enough that the
principal design of the contrivers was to prejudice
the bankers, nor did they care what ruin befell
them, and so talked loosely and bitterly "of their
"cozening the king, and what ill bargains had
"been made with them;" though it was made
manifest, that no private gentleman in England
did, upon any real or personal security, borrow
money, but considering the brocage he pays,
[and] the often renewing his security, it costs
him yearly much more than the king paid to the
bankers.

They slighted what was past as sufficiently
provided for; and for the future confidently un-
dertook the king should never more have need of
the bankers, "for that this act would be no
"sooner passed, but, upon the credit of it, money
"would be poured into the exchequer faster than
"it could be told." And when they were told,
"that expectation would deceive them, and that
"great sums would not come in, and small sums
"would do hurt, because they would but stop up
"the security from giving satisfaction to others,
"because whatever was first paid in must be
"first paid:" all this was answered confidently,
"that vast sums were ready, to their knowledge,
"to be paid in as soon as the bill [should pass];"
which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or
twenty thousand pounds were delivered in by
themselves and their friends to save their credit,
there was no more money like to come; and that

sum did more harm than good, by interrupting the security.

But notwithstanding all their answers, the king remained unsatisfied in many particulars which he had not foreseen, and wished "that the matter had been better consulted;" and confessed "that Downing had not answered many of the objections;" and wished "that alterations might be prepared to be offered in the house of peers as amendments, and transmitted to the commons, without casting out the proviso;" the foundation and end of which still pleased him, for those reasons which he would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very easy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper remedy; so the mending it would leave much argument for debate, and would spend much time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were so many of the best affected members of the house of commons gone out of the town, as having no more to do, that when it should be sent down thither again, it might be longer detained there than would be convenient for the public; and so the parliament be kept longer from a prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the king.

And therefore, upon the whole matter, his majesty chose that no interruption should be given to it in the house of peers, and only such small amendments, which would be as soon consented to in both houses as read, should be offered, rather than run the other hazard of delay: and so accordingly it was passed; and upon the doing thereof, the parliament was prorogued to April following.

In this debate, upon the insolent behaviour of Downing in the defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the extremity of the pain which at that time he endured in his bed, the [chancellor] had given some very sharp reprehensions to Downing, for his presumption in undertaking to set such a design on foot that concerned the whole fabric of the exchequer, (in which he was an inferior officer,) and such a branch of the king's revenue, without first communicating it to his superior officers, and receiving their advice; and told him, "that it was impossible for the king to be well served, whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind to; and that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council, without the king's taking notice of it:" which, with what sharpness soever uttered, (in which he naturally exceeded in such occasions,) in a case of this nature, in which, with reference to any disrespect towards himself, he was not concerned, he thought did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place he held; and for which there were many precedents in the past times.

At the present there was no notice taken, nor reply made to what he said. But they who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed they were reflected upon, found quickly opportunity to incense the king, and to persuade him to believe, "that the chancellor's behaviour was a greater affront to him than to Downing: that a servant should undergo such reproaches in the king's own presence, for no other reason but having,

"with all humility, presented an information to his majesty, which was natural for him to understand in the office in which he served him, and afterwards followed and observed the orders and directions which himself had prescribed; that this must terrify all men from giving the king any light in his affairs, that he may know nothing of his own nearest concerns but what his chief ministers thought fit to impart to him." All which, and whatsoever else was natural to wit sharpened with malice to suggest upon such an argument, they enforced with warmth, that they desired might be taken for zeal for his [service] and dignity, which was prostituted by those presumptions of the chancellor.

And herewith they so inflamed the king, that he was much offended, and expressed to them such a dislike that pleased them well, and gave them opportunity to add more fuel to the fire; and told them, "that the chancellor should find that he was not pleased;" as indeed he did, by a greater reservedness in his countenance than his majesty used to carry towards him; the reason whereof his innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a short time he vouchsafed plainly to put him in mind of his behaviour at that time, and to express a great resentment of it, and urged all those glosses which had been made to him upon it, and "what interpretation all men must make of such an action, and be terrified by it from offering any thing, of what importance soever to his service, if it would offend his ministers;" and all this in a choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the chancellor, and made him more discern, though he had evidence enough of it before, that he stood upon very slippery ground.

He told his majesty, "that since he thought his behaviour to be so bad in that particular, for which till then his own conscience or discretion had not reproached him, he must and did believe he had committed a great fault, for which he did humbly ask his pardon; and promised hereafter no more to incur his displeasure for such excesses, which he could never have fallen into at that time and upon that occasion, but upon the presumption, that it had been impossible for his majesty to have made that interpretation of it which it seems he had done, or that any body could have credit enough with him to persuade him to believe, that he desired that his majesty should not have a clear view, and the most discerning insight, into the darkest and most intricate parts of all his affairs, which they knew in their consciences to be most untrue. And he must with great confidence appeal to his majesty, who knew how much he had desired, and taken some pains, that his majesty might never set his hand to any thing, before he fully understood it upon such references and reports, as, according to the nature of the business, was to be for his full information."

He besought him to remember, "how often he had told him, that it was most absolutely necessary that he should make himself entirely master of his own business, for that there would be no acquiescence in any judgment but his own; and that his majesty knew with what boldness he had often lamented to himself, that

“he would not take the pains perfectly to understand all his own affairs, which exposed his ministers to the censures of half-witted men, and was the greatest discouragement to all who served him honestly : and he desired his pardon again for saying, that he would hereafter find that they who had advised him in this late transaction, in the handling whereof he had taken the liberty that had offended his majesty, had but a very dim insight into that business which they took upon themselves to direct.”

But his majesty was not willing to enter again into that discourse, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, “that it was or could be in any men’s power to make him suspect his affection or integrity to his service ;” and used many other very gracious expressions to him, nor ever after seemed to remember that action to his prejudice. But within a short time the bishopric of Salisbury becoming void by the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle, his majesty conferred that bishopric upon Dr. Hyde, the dean of Winchester, upon the chancellor’s recommendation, whose near kinsman he was. Nor was his credit with the king thought to be lessened by any body but himself, who knew more to that purpose than other people could do : yet he judged more from the credit that he found his enemies got every day, than from the king’s withdrawing his trust and kindness from him ; nor did the king believe that they had then that design against him, which shortly after they did not dissemble.

The purpose of making the alteration in the government of the treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that proviso, with all the circumstances thereof, had not produced the effect they proposed, for they had believed that the indignity of the affront would have wrought so far upon the great heart of the treasurer, that he would thereupon have given up his staff ; which he was too much inclined to have done, if he had not been prevailed with by those who he knew were his friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their way, in doing that which they of all things wished : therefore, that plot not succeeding, they persuaded the king to try another expedient. For they all knew, that it was too envious a thing for his majesty himself to remove him from his office by any act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if he could be himself persuaded to quit that which every body knew he was weary of, it would prevent all inconveniences : and they had been told that the chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which he would not presume to do, if he were clearly told that the king desired that he should give it up.

Hereupon the king one day called the chancellor to him, and told him, “that he must speak with him in a business of great confidence, and which required great secrecy ;” and then enlarged in a great commendation of the treasurer, (whom in truth he did very much esteem,) “of his great parts of judgment, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his general interest and reputation throughout the kingdom. But with all this,” he said, “he was not fit for the office he held : that he did not understand the mystery of that place, nor could in his nature [go through] with the necessary obligations of it. That his bodily infirmities were such, that many

times he could not be spoken with for two or three days, so that there could be no despatch ; of which every body complained, and by which his business suffered very much. That all men knew that all the business was done by sir Philip Warwick, whom, though he was a very honest man, he did not think fit to be treasurer ; which he was to all effects, the treasurer himself doing nothing but signing the papers which the other prepared for him, which was neither for the king’s honour nor his.” The truth was, that his understanding was too fine for such gross matters as that office must be conversant about, and that if his want of health did not hinder him, his genius did not carry him that way ; nor would the laziness of his nature permit him to take that pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great office.

His majesty concluded, “that he loved him too well to disoblige him, and would never do any thing that would not be grateful to him : but he had some reason, even from what he had sometimes said to him, to think that he was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his staff, which his majesty would be very glad of ; and therefore he wished that he, the chancellor, who was known to have most interest in him, would persuade him to it, in which he would do his majesty a singular service.”

The chancellor presently asked him, “if he were so unfit, whom he would make treasurer in his room.” The king as presently answered, “that he would never make another treasurer, which was an office of great charge, and would be much more effectually executed by commissioners ; which had been done in Cromwell’s time, as many offices had been : and that his majesty found by experience, that in offices of that kind commissioners were better than single officers ; for though sir William Compton was a very extraordinary man, of great industry and fidelity, yet that the office of the ordnance was neither in so good order nor so thriftily managed whilst he was master of it, as it hath been since his death, since when it hath been governed by commissioners ; and so he was well assured his treasury would be.”

The chancellor replied, “that he was very sorry to find his majesty so much inclined to commissioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all offices according to the model of a commonwealth, but not at all agreeable to monarchy : that if he thought the precedent of Cromwell’s time fit to be followed, he should be in the posture that Cromwell was, with an army of one hundred thousand men, which made him have no need of the authority and reputation of a treasurer, either to settle his revenue or to direct the levying it ; he could do both best himself.” But he very passionately besought his majesty to believe, “that they who advised him to this method of government, though they might have good affection to his person and his service, were very unskilful in the constitution of this kingdom and in the nature of the people. That the office of treasurer had sometimes, upon the death of a present officer, been executed by commissioners, but very seldom for any time, or longer than whilst the king could deliberately make choice of a fit minister. That himself had

“been twice a commissioner for the treasury, once in the time of his father, and again upon his majesty’s return: and therefore that he could upon experience assure him, that commissioners, in so active a time as this, could never discharge the duty of that office; and that the dignity of the person of the treasurer was most necessary for his service, both towards the procuring the raising of money in parliament, and the improving his revenue by the grant of additions there, as likewise for the collecting and conducting it afterwards. For the present treasurer,” he said, “there was no question, but if he knew that his majesty was weary of his service, and wished to have the staff out of his hand, he would most readily deliver it: but that they who gave the counsel, and thought it fit for his majesty’s service, were much fitter to give him that advertisement, than he who in his conscience did believe, that the following it would be of the most pernicious consequence to his service of any thing that could be done.”

He most humbly and with much earnestness besought his majesty “seriously to reflect, what an ill savour it would have over the whole kingdom, at this time of a war with at least two powerful enemies abroad together, of so great discontent and jealousy at home, and when the court was in no great reputation with the people, to remove a person the most loved and revered by the people for his most exemplary fidelity and wisdom, who had deserved as much from his blessed father and himself as a subject can do from his prince, a nobleman of the best quality, the best allied and the best beloved; to remove at such a time such a person, and with such circumstances, from his councils and his trust: for nobody could imagine, that, after such a manifestation of his majesty’s displeasure, he would be again conversant in the court or in the council, both which would be much less esteemed upon such an action. That many with the same diseases and infirmities had long executed that office, which required more the strength of the mind than of the body: all were obliged to attend him, and he only to wait upon his majesty.

“That it was impossible for any man to discharge that office without a secretary: and if the whole kingdom had been to have preferred a secretary to him, they would have commended this gentleman to him whom he trusted, who had for many years served a former treasurer in the same trust, in the most malignant, captious, and calumniating time that hath been known, and yet without the least blemish or imputation; and who, ever since that time, had served his father in and to the end of the war, and himself since in the most secret and dangerous affairs,” (for he had been trusted by the persons of the greatest quality to hold intelligence with his majesty to the time of his return;) “so that all men [rather] expected to have found him preferred to some good place, than in the same post he had been in twenty years before; which he would never have undertaken under any other officer than one with whom he had much confidence, and who he knew would serve his majesty so well. Yet,” he said, “that whoever knew them could [never] believe that sir Philip Warwick could govern the lord treasurer.”

The king said, “he had a very good opinion of sir Philip Warwick, and had never heard any thing to his prejudice.” But upon the main point of the debate he seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good fortune the duke of York came into the room, who had been well prepared to like the king’s purpose, and to believe it necessary; and therefore his majesty was glad of his presence, and called him to him, and told him what he had been speaking of; and the chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the king and him, and told him, “that he could never do a better service to the king his brother, than by using his credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a purpose that would prove so mischievous to him.” And so the discourse was renewed: and in the end the duke was so entirely converted, that he prevailed with his majesty to lay aside the thought of it; which so broke all the measures the other contrivers had formed their counsels by, that they were much out of countenance. But finding that they could not work upon the duke to change his mind, and to return to the former resolution, they thought not fit to press the king further for the present; and only made so much use of their want of success, by presenting to his majesty his irresoluteness, which made the chancellor still impose upon him, that the king did not think the better of the chancellor or the treasurer, for his receding at that time from prosecuting what he had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them “to be firmer to his next determination.”

After Christmas the rage and fury of the pestilence began in some degree to be mitigated, but so little, that nobody who had left the town had yet the courage to return thither: nor had they reason; for though it was a considerable abatement from the height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the week, and of those, some men of better condition than had fallen before. The general writ from thence, “that there still arose new difficulties in providing for the setting out the fleet, and some of such a nature, that he could not easily remove them without communication with his majesty, and receiving his more positive directions; and how to bring that to pass he knew not, for as he could by no means advise his majesty to leave Oxford, so he found many objections against his own being absent from London.” Windsor was thought upon as a place where the king might safely reside, there being then no infection there: but the king had adjourned the term thither, which had possessed the whole town; and he was not without some apprehension, that the plague had got into one house.

In the end, towards the end of February, the king resolved that the queen and duchess and all their families should remain in Oxford; and that his majesty and his brother, with prince Rupert, and such of his council and other servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick journey to Hampton-Court, where the general might be every day, and return again to London at night, and his majesty give such orders as were requisite for the carrying on his service, and so after two or three days’ stay there return again to Oxford; for no man did believe it counsellable, that his majesty should reside longer there, than

the despatch of the most important business required: and with this resolution his majesty made his journey to Hampton-Court.

It pleased God, that the next week after his majesty came thither, the number of those who died of the plague in the city decreased one thousand; and there was a strange universal joy there for the king's being so near. The weather was as it could be wished, deep snow and terrible frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the infection, though it might put an end to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a week or two the number of the dead was very little diminished. The general came and went as was intended: but the business every day increased; and his majesty's remove to a further distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no danger in remaining where he was.

And after a fortnight's or three weeks' stay, he resolved, for the quicker despatch of all that was to be done, to go to Whitehall, when there died above fifteen hundred in the week, and when there was not in a day seen a coach in the streets, but those which came in his majesty's train; so much all men were terrified from returning to a place of so much mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined what numbers flocked thither from all parts upon the fame of the king's being at Whitehall, all men being ashamed of their fears for their own safety, when the king ventured his person. The judges at Windsor adjourned the last return of the term to Westminster-hall, and the town every day filled marvellously; and which was more wonderful, the plague every day decreased. Upon which the king changed his purpose, and, instead of returning to Oxford, sent for the queen and all the family to come to Whitehall: so that before the end of March the streets were as full, the exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous, as they had ever been seen, few persons missing any of their acquaintance, though by the weekly bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand persons: and many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in truth double that number who died; and that in one week, when the bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent deaths of the clerks and sextons of parishes hindered the exact account of every week; but that which left it without any certainty was the vast number that was buried in the fields, of which no account was kept. Then of the anabaptists and other sectaries, who abounded in the city, very few left their habitations; and multitudes of them died, whereof no churchwarden or other officer had notice; but they found burials, according to their own fancies, in small gardens or the next fields. The greatest number of those who died consisted of women and children, and the lowest and poorest sort of the people: so that, as I said before, few men missed any of their acquaintance when they returned, not many of wealth or quality or of much conversation being dead; yet some of either sort there were.

The business of the king and of all about him was, that the fleet might be ready and at sea with all the possible expedition: and in or towards this there was less disturbance and interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal

cheerfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the people generally being abundantly satisfied in the king's choice of the commanders. Prince Rupert was very much beloved, for his confessed courage, by the seamen; and the people believed that they could not but have the victory where the general commanded, who only underwent unquietness and vexation from the tempestuous humour of his wife. She, from his return from Oxford, and from the time that she had the first intimation that the king had designed her husband for the command of the fleet, was all storm and fury; and, according to the wisdom and modesty of her nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed curses against all those who had contributed to that counsel: but the malice of all that tempest fell upon the chancellor. She declared, "that this was a plot of his to remove her husband from the king, that he might do what he had a mind to;" and threw all the ill words at him which she had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good wishes of what she would have befall him. But the company she kept, and the conversation she was accustomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far; and the poor general himself felt them most, who knew the chancellor to be his very fast and faithful friend, and that he would not be less so because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains night and day, that the fleet might be at sea.

The duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, was already gone to Brest, and had taken leave of the king at Paris, whither he was not to return till after the summer's service at sea, and had appointed a rendezvous of all the ships to be at Brest by the middle of March, which they reported should consist of fifty ships of war.

The rupture was declared on both sides with Denmark. That king had appeared much troubled at the ill accident at Bergen, which had fallen out merely by the accidents of weather, which had hindered the positive orders from arriving in the precise time: and he seemed still resolved to detain the Dutch ships there, and only to fear the conjunction of the Swede with the Hollander, which the king's agent, sir Gilbert Talbot, assured him he need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. Clifford, who had been present at Bergen, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the king to Denmark, went from thence into Sweden (where Mr. Coventry yet remained) with a project of such a treaty as would have been with little alterations consented to in Sweden, who had good inclinations to the king, and resolved to join with the bishop of Munster, when he should advance, according to his engagement. But the Danish resident in Sweden delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive orders than the nature of the affair required, and that he expected fuller: and so all matters were deferred, till ambassadors came from Holland with no expostulations, and a desire to renew their alliance, and release some engagements they had upon the Sound, which had been very grievous to the Dane; and many other conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An ambassador likewise arrived in the nick of time from France, to dispose them to a conjunction with Holland, and to warrant the

performance of whatsoever the Hollander should promise, and likewise to undertake that France would protect them against England, and therefore that they should not apprehend any danger from a war from thence; and De Ruyter was now gone with the fleet for Bergen.

Upon all these motives concurring in the same conjuncture, the poor king embraced that party; and then declared and complained, "that the English had broken the law of nations in violating the peace of his ports, and endeavouring to fire his town, when they were hospitably received and treated there under the protection of his castle." He denied that he had ever made such an offer or promise as sir Gilbert Talbot still charged him with, and which he had not denied to Mr. Clifford when he came first thither. But now he reproached sir Gilbert Talbot "for falsifying his words, at least for mistaking them, and sending that to the king his master which he gave him no liberty to do." And now sir Gilbert found his error in not having drawn from him or his servant Gabell, in writing, some evidence of the engagement: but after many indignities he left the court and returned to England. All English ships in Denmark or Norway were seized upon; and the persons of all merchants and others who were his majesty's subjects, and to some of whom the king of Denmark owed great sums of money, which they had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their goods seized and confiscated.

All which proceedings provoked the king to give the like orders, and to look upon them as enemies, and to emit a declaration of the motive he had to send his fleet to Bergen, "which he could never have done but upon the invitation and promise of that king; which was evident enough by the reception his ships had there, and expectation the governor had of their arrival, and his allegation, that he expected that very night fuller orders than he had yet received; and lastly, his suffering them to depart securely, after all the acts of hostility had passed in the port." Much of this was denied with many indecent expressions, and such evasions as made all that was said believed by equal considerers: and so the war was declared.

And then in the beginning of the year 1666, a year long destined by all astrologers for the production of dismal changes and alterations throughout the world, and by some for the end of it, the king found his condition so much worse than it had been the last year, as the addition of France and Denmark could make it; against all which, and the prodigies which the year was to produce, (and it did truly produce many,) the king prepared with his accustomed vigour and resolution, though the predictions had a strange operation upon vulgar minds.

The proclamation of the war in France, and the seizure upon the estates of the English, with some circumstances in the point of time, and other actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime preparations there, and the visible assistance of force that was sent thence to the Dutch, did not trouble nor hurt the king so much as the secret and invisible negotiations of that crown. From the first declaration of the bishop of Munster of his resolution to make a war upon Holland, (with which he acquainted the king of

France before he resolved it, and received such an answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first address to the king of Great Britain) that he should meet with no obstruction from thence; and upon that confidence the treaty was concluded with the king, and great sums of money paid to the bishop upon his promise and engagement, "that he would fix himself with his army within the territories of the States General before the winter was ended; that against the spring, when the king's fleet should be ready for the sea, he would at the same time march with an army of twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse into the heart of their country;" and what the effect of that would have been in that conjuncture may be in some degree guessed at by what hath since fallen out:) [I say], France, from the first knowledge they had of his purpose, and before they declared on the behalf of the Dutch, secretly sent to the neighbour princes "not to join with the bishop, and to do all that was in their power to hinder his levies;" and prevailed with the elector of Brandenburg, who had given hopes to the bishop of a powerful assistance upon the expectation of the restoration of Wesel, and other towns then possessed by Holland, totally to decline any conjunction with him, upon promise "that he should find his own account better from the friendship of France." The dukes of Lunenburg, who had made the bishop believe that they would join with him, and had made levies of soldiers to that purpose, having abundant argument of quarrel with Holland, were now persuaded by the same way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves enemies to the bishop, if he would not desist, and "that they would serve the Dutch with their forces."

When all this could not discourage the bishop from prosecuting his intention, but that he still gathered troops, and gave new commissions to officers who had prepared for their levies further in Germany; the king of France sent an envoy expressly to the bishop himself, and offered his mediation and interposition with the Dutch, "that they should do him all the right that in justice he could demand from [them], and if [this] were not accepted by him, that he [must] expect what prejudice the arms of France could bring upon him;" and then sent to all those princes who had permitted levies to be made in their countries, "that they should not suffer those troops to march out of their country," but offered "to receive and entertain them in his own army." With this he sent to the other princes of Germany and to the emperor himself, "that if they did not prevent this incursion of the bishop of Munster," (to which they all wished well,) "they would involve the empire in a war."

When all this could not terrify the bishop, who defended himself by his engagement to the king of Great Britain, "that he could not enter into treaty nor give over his enterprise without his consent," and drew his forces together to a rendezvous, and had got permission from the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, then governor of Flanders, to make levies in those provinces without noise or avowing it, and marched with his army into the States' dominions, and took a place or two even in the sight of prince Maurice, (who

drew as many of the States' troops together as could be spared out of their garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after he had found in some light skirmishes that they were not firm;) so that the bishop, by the advantage of the situation of which he was possessed, began to fasten himself in full assurance of increasing his army, in spite of all discouragements, before the spring, (and he had already received some troops out of Flanders, and advertisement from other of his officers, that they were well advanced in their levies:) the king of France in this conjuncture, in the imperious style he customarily used in those cases, sent to the governor of Flanders for a license for such troops, as he had occasion to send into Germany, to pass through such a part of his government; which as he had no mind to grant, so he durst not deny, having orders from Spain to be very careful, that no disgusts might be given to France which might give any occasion, or pretence, or opportunity for a breach, which they well knew was desired and longed for.

Upon this permission the French troops marched into Flanders: and in the first place, whether in their way or out of their way, they fell upon the levies which were made for the bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them prisoners. In one place, by the strength of their quarter and a neighbour church, they defended themselves, imagining the country would relieve them, without suspecting that they had license and permission to march through: but they were so much inferior in number or strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their arms and become prisoners at mercy, the officers not comprehending what declared enemy could fall upon them in those quarters. With this triumph they marched, and joined with prince Maurice by the time the bishop had notice of the disaster, and speedily advanced upon his quarters, and beat some of his troops.

Upon which the poor bishop (who instead of the supplies and commissions and other countenance that he had reason to expect from those princes, who had been privy and with great promises encouraged his enterprise, received every day arguments from them against his proceeding further, with many conjurations, that he would entirely submit to the king of France's determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heart-broken signed a treaty with the French, who then were careful enough both of his honour and interest in the conditions with the Dutch, as for an ally of whom they meant to make more use in another conjuncture. Upon all which the bishop had been much more excusable, if he had not received some of the king's money, even after he saw that he should be obliged to sign the treaty; which he ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before he had any such intention, and to which, it cannot be denied, he had most forcible compulsions.

This was the most sensible blow, but the plague, that the king had felt from the beginning of the war, and was instance enough how terrible the king of France was to all the neighbour kings and princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own inclinations and resolutions, and from their own interest, only upon his insinuations, which became orders to them. And Spain, if

they knew that which all the world besides discerned, could not but believe that France would break all treaties as soon as the other king should die, the news of which was expected and provided for every week. But the drowsy temper of that monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole reign, extended so far only as to prepare a stock of peace that would last during his own time, that he saw would be very short, and to leave his dominions and his infant son to shift for themselves when he was dead: and it was an unhappy maxim of that state, that it was the best husbandry to purchase present peace and present money at how dear interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new expedients, as Spain had always been.

All these disadvantages made the king the more solicitous to have but one enemy to struggle with, though it were France: and therefore he was very solicitous, by all ways he could devise, to make a peace with Holland, and to leave Denmark to their own inventions; and he had some encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate Holland from France. They were sensible enough, that they had been upon the matter betrayed into the war, by the positive promise of assistance, and a firm conjunction from France in the instant that the war should be entered upon, without any mention of mediation or interposition for peace, which was against their desire; and that they had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleased to see them beaten, and their own people ready to rise against the government. Then they knew that France did already provide for an expedition against Flanders, which could not long defend itself with its own forces; and that they depended upon this war between England and the Dutch, as what must hinder both those nations from giving it assistance: and they as well knew what their own portion must be, when that screen was removed, that was their best security against so mighty a neighbour. And this De Wit himself, who was the chief supporter of the war, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom he had most conversation, and in whom he was believed to have most trust: and all those advertisements were transmitted to the king by those whose integrity could not be suspected, and who did not dissemble, being of the States themselves, to be very desirous of peace and very jealous of France.

There was a gentleman, one monsieur Bewett, of a good family in France and born there, but long bred in Holland whilst the wars were there, and who had been captain in the last prince of Orange's horse-guards, and in very particular favour with him, by which he was married to a woman of Holland very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest influence upon the government; and was now looked upon rather as a Dutchman than a Frenchman, and conversed most familiarly amongst the burgo-masters, and other principal persons of the States. And by this interest, after the death of the prince of Orange, that troop was still preserved for a guard to the States, and was the only horse-troop that remained constantly in the Hague. And for the better pleasing the people, it was still called the Prince of Orange's Guard, and continued to wear the same livery it had always

done: and the young prince took much delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their captain; and the commander thereof, Bewett, professed and paid the same devotion to him that he had done to his father.

This gentleman was generally beloved, and held a man of great sincerity, brave in point of courage, and of good parts of wit and judgment, save that he was immoderately given to wine and to the excess of it, which, being the disease or rather the health of the country, made him not the worse thought of or less fit for business. He was well known to the king, and well thought of by him, and had great familiarity with some of the bed-chamber, and others near the king and trusted by him. He had made a journey once, since the king's return into England, only to kiss his hand, and profess the same affection and duty he had often done when his majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

He was a bold speaker, and from the time that the war was begun against England much inveighed against the counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the affairs of that country; and in this argument used not more freedom with any than with De Wit himself, who loved his person and his spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though he knew his friendships were chiefly with the dependents upon the house of Orange, and with others of the States who were of his own opinion with reference to the war: and the publishing his opinion drew many of the greatest interest amongst the burgomasters to delight in his conversation, and to trust him much. With those he consulted freely what means should be used to procure a peace, and [prevent] the mischief that must attend the continuance [of the war], with good sense and judgment: but those consultations were always in the exercise of drinking, which never ended without the utmost excess, though without noise or disquiet or unkindness, which are never the effects of those excesses amongst that people.

After the first battle, when the Dutch were so much beaten, and the people in that consternation that they called aloud for peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those De Wit principally, who had the more enemies, and peace the more friends, for the differences which had arisen amongst the officers of the fleet upon the death of Opdam, and upon the disgrace which Trump had undergone by the power and injustice, as they said, of De Wit upon personal dislikes, and because he was known to have great affection for the prince of Orange, (and Van Trump himself, as hath been said, was not only of much interest amongst the seamen, but very popular in the government, and had his sisters married to burgomasters in some of the greatest towns; so that the disgrace of him increased the number of De Wit's enemies:) in this conjuncture Bewett cultivated the best he could all those ill humours, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for peace; yet without any reflection upon the person of De Wit, with whom he was known by the company he most kept to have much familiarity, and whom he did at that time really believe to be inclined to peace, and declared he did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being as-

sured he would never deceive them for want of integrity.

But he took advantage of this general distemper and of the prejudice the people had against him, to talk very frankly to De Wit of both; and admired, "since he did, as he professed, "desire peace, that he would not find some way "to undeceive the people, which was necessary "for his own security; and it might easily be "effected, by giving a beginning to such a consultation as might look towards an accommodation." De Wit had his spies in all places, and knew well what company Bewett most delighted in, though his acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all men: and he was informed too of his particular behaviour with reference to him, and that he did constantly and confidently vindicate him from many imputations, in the presence of those who were not pleased with his contradictions; so that he looked upon him as his friend, and one that might by his interest and credit divert some of that popular envy and malice, of which he had no contempt, but much apprehension.

He renewed his former professions of his desire of peace, and gave so good reasons for it as might naturally gain belief; amongst which one was always a vehement jealousy of France, "which," he said, "though it had at last declared war "against England, which they ought to have "done so long before, [had done it] only to draw "England into some conditions which might "facilitate their own enterprise upon Flanders, "which it concerned them to prevent by all the "ways possible; of which none would be so probable as a peace between England and them, "which would immediately make each solicitous "for their own interest. But how to set any "thing on foot that might contribute to this "he knew not; and the doing that which the "other had proposed, by declaring himself, was "the way only to slacken all the provisions for "war, the expediting of which would most advance a peace."

Bewett replied, "that he knew he had many "friends in the English court, whereof some were "of near trust about his majesty, for whose "secrecy he would be accountable;" and named the lord Arlington, who had lately married a lady of the Hague, the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a person in his quality and fortune in the first rank. He offered to him, "that he would "himself write such a letter to the lord Arlington "in his own name, which he should first see and "approve, without which he would not send it, "as should only testify his own good wishes for "a peace between the two nations, which were "not unknown to the king himself; and would "make no other mention of him, than that he "had reason to believe, that monsieur De Wit "(in whose good opinion he had the honour to "be known to have some place) would not be "unwilling to promote any good overture that "should be made." After some debate he was content that he should write, provided that he would promise to write nothing but what he should first see, and would still bring the answers to him which he should receive; to which the other consented.

Upon this encouragement he begun his correspondence with the lord Arlington, and acquainted

his bosom-friends with it, to dispose them the more to hope for peace, and to look upon De Wit as not averse to it. But what he writ was with so much wariness, being dictated upon the matter by the pensioner, that it could draw no other answers from the secretary but of the same style, with expressions of his majesty's desire of peace and esteem of De Wit, and as if he expected some overtures to arise from thence. This intelligence had not been long on foot, but he begun to suspect the sincerity of De Wit, and that indeed he was not so well inclined to peace as he had pretended to be: his countenance was not so open, nor he so vacant when he came, as he used to be; he grew less jealous of the French, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the people, as he found them more composed, and a greater concurrence in the making all things ready for the fleet. All which observations he likewise imparted to his companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that time he was apter to concur with them in the fiercer counsels, how to compass a peace in spite of him by a majority of votes in the States, with the help of the people, for the suppression of any accidental [insurrection] whereof, there were no other forces in view than those horse-guards that were commanded by him.

Hereupon he took a new resolution, but would not lose the advantage he had by the knowledge De Wit had of his correspondence, and therefore shewed him a letter that he had received from the lord Arlington, in which he pressed him "to inform him, what particulars would dispose the States to peace, and to separate from the French," and had sent him a cipher for the more free and safe communication; which cipher he deposited in the hands of De Wit, having received his directions and observed them by using the same cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the answer to put an end to that correspondence, of which he grew weary, and less confident of the person, because he heard that he was grown less zealous in his defence than he had been.

Bewett upon this grew more resolute one way and less apprehensive the other way, and sent a person with whom he had great friendship, and who was well known to the king and most about him, monsieur Silvius, a servant to the late princess royal, and a native of Orange, with a full account "of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and his discovery that De Wit did not in truth desire a peace, nor would consent to it, but upon very unreasonable terms," whereof some were mentioned in his letter in cipher which he had dictated; "but that he was most assured, that he should be compelled at the next assembly of the States to submit to more reasonable conditions." He gave the king an account of the ground of his confidence, and an information of the persons who were combined together to press it in the States, amongst which there were some of the greatest power: and by their advice he offered the substance of a message they wished the king should send to the States General at the time of their convening, in which there was nothing contained against which any thing could be objected on his majesty's behalf; and "upon the delivery thereof there would so few adhere to De Wit, that he should not be able to pre-

vent a treaty, though France should protest against it." He sent likewise at the same time, and by the same person, another cipher to the lord Arlington, with direction "that in such letters as were intended for the view of the pensioner the former cipher should be used, and in the other letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were for the most part to contain intelligence and advice against him, the latter cipher was only to be made use of."

Those informations by Silvius, who was a man of parts, and had dependance upon the duke of York, and meant not to return into Holland except upon a pressing occasion, when he durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an inhabitant of the Hague, having been always bred there, and his relation to the duke scarce yet taken notice of; I say, those informations the king thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the chancellor upon the whole, and appointed the lord Arlington to inform him of all that had passed from the beginning; and that Silvius, who was concealed, that they might have no advertisement in Holland of his having been in England, should likewise attend him in some evening; which he shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear relation of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and the several factions amongst them, and the distemper of the people. He had himself spoken with many of the burgomasters and others in authority, who were privy to his coming, and communicated the method they meant to proceed in towards the depressing De Wit, by mingling the proposition for peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which the people thought to be inseparable.

In fine, he gave a perfect good account of all to which he was instructed, with great modesty: and when the chancellor, to whom Bewett and he were both well known, would have induced him to deliver somewhat of his own judgment, whether he thought that combination to be strong enough to overrule De Wit; he could draw no other answer from him than the magnifying the credit and interest of Bewett, which he seemed principally to rely upon, and the impossibility that he should fail in point of integrity or courage.

Silvius had settled a sure way of correspondence, and by every post received fresh intelligence of the preparations and progress Bewett and his friends made in their designs, of the success whereof they were every day more confident, and thought their party so much to increase, that as they did not apprehend any discovery like to be made by treachery, so they did not seem to fear it, if De Wit himself should know all that they intended: and they pressed very earnestly, "that the king's letter, in the manner they had proposed, might be at the Hague when the General States were to meet," the time whereof approached.

The king called those to him to whom the whole negotiation had been imparted, to advise what was to be done. On the king's part nothing was considerable, but whether he should write to the States at all, and what he should write: and against writing there seemed to be no objection, and as little against writing what they advised, which was no more than he had formerly writ, and always said to their ambassador. And

that this might be a more favourable conjuncture for the good reception of it, and hearkening to it, his majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own reasons: and therefore the time and the manner of the delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the king having no minister there to present it.

The way that they had thought of was, that Bewett should at the proper time deliver it to De Wit, who durst not conceal it, and if he should, there would be ways enough to publish it to his reproach; nor could he take any advantage of Bewett for his correspondence with their enemies, because it had been entered into with his approbation. But for the better security in the sending it, and the better information of the persons engaged, of all the reflections which had been made by the king, and those with whom he had conferred by his majesty's order, it was thought best that Silvius should return; and if Bewett thought fit to decline the delivery of the king's letter, and no better way could be found for the delivery of it, he might present it in the manner his friends there should direct, and avow his having been at London to solicit his own pretences since the death of the princess royal his mistress, and that he had received the letter from the king's own hand. This being the concurrent opinion of all, and the gentleman himself willing to undertake it, Silvius was despatched.

In the debate of the matter, the king asked the chancellor "what he thought of the design, and whether he thought it would succeed;" who said, "he doubted it much, and that it would conclude in the loss of poor Bewett's head, who had not a talent for the managery of an affair of that weight, which would require great secrecy and great sobriety, and the consideration of more particulars at once than his comprehension could contain together." Then he did not like the method they proposed, of joining the demand of peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which, though it might probably follow the peace and be an effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in regard of his infancy; and that many did heartily desire the peace, who had no mind that the prince should be restored to the offices of his father and family, or that there should be any debate of it, till the prince came to the age that was provided by the solemn act and declaration of the States: which had been the reason that his majesty (who had all the tenderness for his nephew that a parent could have) would never be persuaded to mention him (though it had been proposed by many, and even by the elector of Brandenburg and the princess dowager) in the conditions of the peace; the king foreseeing that De Wit would have been glad to have that advantage, as to observe to the people, that the king would prescribe to them what officers they should choose and admit into their government, and that they must have no peace, except they would take a general and a stadtholder and an admiral of his nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

And this was the reason, that in all conferences with the French ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the prince of Orange with compassion for the ingratitude of the States towards him, and add, "that they doubted not their

"master would be ready to join with his majesty in doing him all offices;" and sometimes when the Dutch ambassador (who was of that party that did really wish the restoration of the prince) in conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the prince of Orange would be the consequence of the peace: the king never gave other answer, than "that he should be very glad that the States would gratify his nephew; but that it was a matter he had nothing to do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own good will and pleasure."

The rest who were present had much more esteem of Bewett than the chancellor had, (who thought as well of his courage and integrity as they did,) and believed he would have success in what he designed, his interest in the right of his wife being confessedly very great amongst the States, and his jolly course of living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to men of the most different affections; and then of all the officers of the militia he was most esteemed, which was like to be of moment, if the dispute brought the matter to a struggle: but the event shewed the contrary.

After Silvius's departure, letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three posts. And Bewett one day meeting De Wit when he came from his good fellows, and they walking a turn together in common discourse, De Wit asked him, "when he had any letter from England, and how affairs went there:" to which he suddenly answered, "that he came just then from receiving one, which he had not yet deciphered," and put his hand into his pocket, and took thence a letter; and casting his eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the company he had left) upon the superscription, he gave it to him, and said, "he would go with him that they might decipher it together according to custom."

De Wit presently found that it was not the accustomed cipher, (for he had delivered the wrong letter, that which he ought not to see,) and desired him "that he would walk before, and he would presently overtake him, after he had spoken a few words at a house in his way." And so leaving him, he took present order for the apprehending him and searching his pockets; and at the same time sent to his house, and caused his cabinet, where all his papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor Bewett, whilst he stayed at the other's house that they might decipher the letter, was apprehended, and all his papers taken out of his pockets, and he sent to prison. The other cipher was quickly found, and many letters and other papers, which discovered many secrets. Whereupon a court of justice was speedily erected: and within three days, according to the expedition used there in such cases, a scaffold was erected, and the poor gentleman brought thither in the sight of all his friends; and there, with his known courage, and in few words declaring "that he had honest purposes to the country," lost his head.

Silvius quickly heard of his imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own escape, and arrived in England before he heard of his last misfortune, which he did not suspect, nor knew how the discovery had been made. The knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: most of

them got into Flanders; the burgomaster of Rotterdam, and two or three others of note, made all the haste they could into England; some thought themselves secure in Antwerp and other parts of Flanders; and some were seized upon in several places of the States' dominions, and imprisoned with all the circumstances of severity, though upon the want of clear proofs few of them were put to death. The troop of guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new officers, and assigned for a constant guard to the States, without the least formal relation to the prince of Orange, or using his name or livery, or permission to pay any reverence to him. And so the prince was much lower than before, and all hopes of reviving almost extinguished or expired; De Wit stood firmer upon his own feet than ever, and directed all preparations for the war without control; and all the present expectation in England vanished: whilst the pensionary informed France of the dangers he had escaped for them, and what great matters had been offered to him if he would have departed from their interest; and made the plot to contain all that he fancied it might have done.

When the parliament at Oxford was prorogued, it was to a day in April: but the king had reason to believe that they would not so soon be in good humour enough to give more money, which was the principal end of calling them together. And the dregs of the plague still remaining, and venting its malignity in many burials every week, his majesty thought fit to dispense with their attendance at that time by a proclamation: and he caused it at the day to be prorogued to the twentieth of September following. In the mean time the court abounded in all its excesses. There had been some hope during the abode at Oxford, that the queen had been with child; and whilst that hope lasted, the king lived with more constraint and caution, and prepared to make himself worthy of that blessing: and there are many reasons to believe, besides his own natural good inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a child, and the queen that blessing to have merited from him, he would have restrained all those inordinate appetites and delights; and that he would seriously have applied himself to his government, and cut off all those extravagant expenses of money and time, which disturbed and corrupted the evenness of his own nature and the sincerity of his intentions, and exposed him to the temptations of those who had all the traps and snares to catch and detain him.

The imagination of the queen's breeding was one cause of her stay there; and her stay there was the longer, because she miscarried when she intended to begin her journey. And though the doctors declared that it was a real miscarriage, ripe enough to make a judgment of the sex; yet some of the women who had more credit with the king assured him, "that it was only a false conception, and that she had not been at all with child:" insomuch that his majesty, who had been so confident upon a former [occasion], as to declare to the queen his mother and to others, "that upon his own knowledge her majesty had miscarried of a son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those ladies and other women, that he did as positively believe that she never had, never could be, with child. And from that time he took little pleasure in her conversation, and more

indulged to himself all liberties in the conversation of those, who used all their skill to supply him with divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his thoughts, and make him undervalue those whom he had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what he thought most important; though he sometimes thought many things not of importance, which in the consequence were of the highest.

The lady, who had never declined in favour, was now greater in power than ever: she was with child again, and well enough contented that his majesty should entertain an amour with another lady, and made a very strict friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of confidence that he would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without doubt the king's passion was stronger towards that other lady, than ever it was to any other woman: and she carried it with that discretion and modesty, that she made no other use of it than for the convenience of her own fortune and subsistence, which was narrow enough; never seemed disposed to interpose in the least degree in business, nor to speak ill of any body; which kind of nature and temper the more inflamed the king's affection, who did not in his nature love a busy woman, and had an aversion from speaking with any woman, or hearing them speak, of any business but to that purpose he thought them all made for, however they broke in afterwards upon him to all other purposes.

The lady herself, who every day (as was said before) grew in power and credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other business, than in giving all the imaginable countenance she could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their right as well as her own, in depressing the credit of those who she knew wished hers much less than it was; but in this last argument she was hitherto wary, and took only such opportunities as were offered, without going out of her way to find them. Her principal business was to get an estate for herself and her children, which she thought the king at least as much concerned to provide as she to solicit; which however she would not be wanting in, and so procured round sums of money out of the privy purse, (where she had placed Mr. May,) and other assignments in other names, and so the less taken notice of, though in great proportions: all which yet amounted to little more than to pay her debts, which she had in few years contracted to an unimaginable greatness, and to defray her constant expenses, which were very excessive in coaches and horses, clothes and jewels, without any thing of generosity, or gratifying any of her family, or so much as paying any of her father's debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her name was not used in any suits for the grant of lands; for besides that there was no avowing or public mention of natural children, she did think the chancellor and treasurer willing to obstruct such grants, and desired not to have any occasion to try the kindness of either of them: and so all the suits she made of that kind were with reference to Ireland, where they had no title to obstruct, nor natural opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that kingdom she procured the grant of several great quantities of land, like to prove of great benefit and value to her or her children.

The chief design they now began to design, and the worst they could ever design, was to raise a jealousy in the king of his brother, to which his majesty was not in any degree inclined, and had in truth a just affection for him and confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural parts than he thought there was cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, he did very often depart in matters of the highest moment from his own judgment to comply with his brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the king's nature, to adhere to any thing he once advised, and to be importunate in any thing he proposed; in which he prevailed the more easily, because he never used it in any thing that concerned himself or his own benefit.

The truth is, it was the unhappy fate and constitution of that family, that they trusted naturally the judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in understanding as they were in quality, before their own, which was very good; and suffered even their natures, which disposed them to virtue and justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make use of some one infirmity that they discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, they by degrees wrought upon the mass, and sacrificed all the other good inclinations to that single vice. They were too much inclined to like men at first sight, and did not love the conversation of men of many more years than themselves, and thought age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to strangers than to their friends; not out of bounty or generosity, which was a flower that did never grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stuart or the other of Bourbon, but out of an unskilfulness and defect in the countenance: and when they prevailed with themselves to make some pause rather [than] to deny, importunity removed all resolution, which they knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that they had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like bounty lose all its grace and lustre.

If the duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his resolutions, it was rather from an obstinacy in his will, which he defended by aversion from the debate, than by the constancy of his judgment, which was more subject to persons than to arguments, and so as changeable at least as the king's, which was in greatest danger by surprise: and from this want of steadiness and irresolution (whencesoever the infirmity proceeded) most of the misfortunes, which attended either of them or their servants who served them honestly, had [their] rise and growth; of which there will be shortly an occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any prince had a more humble and dutiful condescension and submission to an elder brother, than the duke had towards the king: his whole demeanour and behaviour was so full of reverence, that [it] might have given example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater distance. And the conscience and resentment he had within himself, for the sally he had made in Flanders, made him after so wary in his actions, and so

abhorring to hear any thing that might lessen his awe for the king, that no man who had most credit with [him] durst approach towards any thing of that kind; so that there was never less ground of jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the king (who was in his nature so far from any kind of jealousy, that he was too much inclined to make interpretations of many words and actions, which might reasonably harbour other apprehensions) was as incapable of any infusions which might lessen his confidence in his brother, as any noble and virtuous mind could be. And therefore those ill men, who began about this time to sow that cursed seed that grew up to bear a large crop of the worst and rankest jealousy in the succeeding time, did not presume to make any reflection upon the duke himself, but upon his wife, "upon the state she assumed, and "the height of the whole family, that lived in much "more plenty," they said, "than the king's, and "were more regarded abroad."

Such kind of people are never without some particular stories of the persons whom they desire to deprave: and so had many instances, which they used upon all occasions, of some levity or vanity, of some words affected by the duchess, or some outward carriage, true or false, which for the most part concluded in mirth and laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the method they used in all their approaches of that kind towards the highest acts of malice, first to make the person, whom they hoped to ruin in the end, less esteemed, by the acting and presentation of his words and gestures and motions; which commonly is attended with laughter. And this is the first breach they make upon any man's reputation; and the frequent custom of this kind of laughter and mirth, which is easily produced without any malice, doth in the end open a space large enough to let [in] calumny and scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built reputation.

This was the course they held with reference to the duchess, whom the king had from the beginning treated with great grace and favour, and considered her as a woman of more than an ordinary wit and understanding: and the queen mother had from the reconciliation used her with that abundant affection and familiarity that was very wonderful; and the heights she assumed, and all that greatness which many thought too much, [were] not only inculcated, but enjoined by the queen as a duty due to her husband, of whose high degree she thought she could not be too tender and careful. And she had the happiness so well to behave herself towards the duke, that he was exceedingly pleased with her, and lived towards her with an affection so remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the public discourse and commendation; and which made the liberties that were taken elsewhere the more spoken of and censured. It was very visible that he liked her company and conversation very well, and was believed to communicate all his counsels, and all he knew or thought, without reserve to her; which, being so contrary to the professed doctrine of the court, administered occasion to the men of mirth, in those seasons which took up a good part of every night, to be very pleasant upon the government of the duchess, and the submission [of the duke]; in which there were always some

witty reflections upon the chancellor. And this kind of liberty, being first grateful to the king for the wit that accompanied it and the mirth that it produced, grew by the custom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and public observation of the disparity in the lives of the two brothers made it wished, that there were no more of that strictness in the one place than in the other, towards which there wanted not application and advice accordingly as well as example.

In the mean time the chancellor had a hard part to act, being neither able to do the good he constantly endeavoured on one side, nor remove the ill he disliked on the other side; for he saw well the mischief that would inevitably follow the great expenses of the duke, which exceeded all limits, and could never be provided for; and thought the duchess to be blamed for what she spent upon herself, and used all the credit he had with both to begin in time to reform what necessity would shortly do with more dishonour: but the disease had grown from the first ill digestion.

The lord Berkley had upon the king's first arrival formed a family without rule or precedent, and made the servants in a much better condition than the master, by assigning liberal pensions and allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their places, without considering from what fund they should arise: and now they all would have the duke believe, "that he spent not too much; but that he had too little provision assigned to him for his quality and relation, and this proceeded from the neglect in the chancellor, who was able, if he endeavoured it, to persuade the king to enlarge it to a just proportion." And this was as much urged to the duchess as to the duke, and it made in her a greater impression; and though she had in all other respects a very entire affection and even a duty and resignation to her father, yet in this he had no authority with her, nor did she think him a competent judge what expenses princes should make: and having seen the state and lustre in which the duke of Anjou lived in France, and having received many infusions from the queen, of the great defect in the customs of England, in providing either for the respect or for the support of the younger sons of the crown, [she thought] that the chancellor should rather use his credit for the enlarging that narrowness, which the king was enough disposed to, than to reform their expenses. But of this enough.

The plague had really swept away and destroyed so many seamen, (Stepney and the places adjacent, which were their common habitations, being almost depopulated,) that now, all other obstructions being removed, there seemed even an impossibility to procure sailors and mariners enough to set out the fleet; insomuch as they found it necessary to press many watermen, and to dis-furnish all merchant ships which were prepared to be set out to the plantations or to other places of trade: all which turned not so much to benefit one way, as it did to loss another way. But the best way to expedite all things was the two admirals going to the fleet themselves, that they who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that they who had no mind to go might, out of shame, likewise accompany them.

There appeared great unanimity and consent

between them. Only prince Rupert had a great desire to go in a ship apart, and that they might not be both [in one] ship: but upon debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a time of action the orders could not be the same, if they who gave them were not together and in the same place; and so the prince was persuaded not to be positive in that particular. And so they both went together, and took leave of the king towards the end of April, and laboured so effectually, (as they were both men of great dexterity and indefatigable industry in such conjunctures,) that they carried the fleet out to sea, well fitted and provided, by the middle of May; with which they presently visited the coast of Holland, and took many prizes; and, by the intelligence they met with, concluded that the Dutch fleet would not be ready in a month, of which they gave the king advertisement, and returned into the Downs. And prince Rupert at the same time expressed an inclination to go himself with part of the fleet to meet the duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be under sail to join with the Dutch, and "that they would not put to sea till they foresaw that they were like to join about Calais."

At or near the same time the lord Arlington received intelligence, "that the Dutch were not yet well manned; and that the ships which were in the Texel, and were to join with the other under De Ruyter in the Wierings, were more unprovided:" though at the same time secretary Morrice (who had always better intelligence from Holland) was assured from thence, "that all the ships in both places were so ready that they would join within very few days." But the lord Arlington, who thought he ought to be more believed, received as positive advertisement from France, "that the duke of Beaufort set sail from Brest on such a day:" and though the wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that he must be well advanced in his way, and he had no port to friend till he came to the coast of France near Calais.

Upon this there seemed a great desire that prince Rupert might take the course he had proposed; for the convenience was agreed to be very great, if the French could be met with before the conjunction. However, the council was so wary that at that time attended the king at Worcester-house, the chancellor being affected with the gout, that they advised the king "not to send positive orders for the dividing the fleet, which by many accidents might produce inconveniences; but rather to send two of the council to the fleet, with an account of all the intelligence, and the reflections which occurred to the king upon it." And hereupon sir George Carteret and sir William Coventry were presently sent, and carried such orders with them, as would be necessary if the generals had not other intelligence, or did think that the division was not liable to more objections than had been in view. And this caution I set down more particularly, because the council underwent reproaches which it did not deserve.

The two counsellors used such expedition, and found so good conveniences by land and water, that they returned to the king the next day with an account, "that the state of the Dutch fleet was confirmed to be the same that his majesty had heard, and that they believed the other concern-

“ing the duke of Beaufort to be very probable; “whereupon they had concluded with a mutual “consent and approbation, that prince Rupert “should take twenty of the ships, which he had “already chosen, to meet the French, though “they were superior in number, whilst the general “remained in the Downs with the rest: and in “order to this, that the prince went aboard his “ship before they came away, and the rather, because the wind was so much against him, that “his majesty’s orders, if he found cause to send “any, would be sure for some days to find him “upon the western coast; and the wind that was “against him was so favourable to the duke of “Beaufort, that it was probable they might “speedily meet, and in a place to be wished.” The king saw no cause yet to send orders to the contrary; and this was the reason, and all the circumstances, of the separation of the fleet, that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which secretary had the better intelligence: for the very next day after the departure of the prince, the general, who remained in the Downs, had certain intelligence that the Dutch were come out of their harbours, having it seems received intelligence likewise of the French fleet’s being at sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the court, they believing that they stayed because they were not ready to come out; whereas they were ready, and expected only the other advertisement.

As soon as the general was informed, he sent notice presently to the duke late in the same evening, who, informing the king of it, gave orders to sir William Coventry to prepare orders to prince Rupert immediately to return; and if those orders had been carefully despatched, they might have come to the prince before the morning. But sir William Coventry thought he had done his part when he got the order signed, which was about twelve of the clock at night, and then sent them by his servant to the lord Arlington, whose part he thought it was to charge a messenger with them: but he was gone to bed, and his servants durst not disquiet him, a tenderness not accustomed to be in the family of a secretary. But whether they did not wake him, as he pretended, or being awake he deferred it, it was not sent away till the next day, and never came to prince Rupert’s hand till he had turned his sails upon the thunder of the cannon; and he no sooner endeavoured to return, but the wind chopped about to retard him, that he could make little way that day or the night following. Whose fault it was that these important orders were not sent with more expedition, whether sir William Coventry ought not to have taken care for the conveying them, at least to have given the lord Arlington notice what the contents of them were, of which he denied to have any notice, was disputed with some warmth between themselves, and so came to be published: but it was never examined any where else, though the negligence was very mischievous in its effect; but they were both too great men to be questioned in any judicatory.

The general, after the notice he had received of the motion of the Dutch, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor about three of the clock in the morning upon the first of June 1666, to sail to the Buoy

of the Gunfleet to join with some other ships which lay there, to get more men, being then but ill manned: and about seven of the clock in the morning the scouts came in, and brought the general notice, that the Dutch fleet was to the leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till they might join with the French. And it had been to be wished that the English had stood off too, upon confidence that prince Rupert, whom the wind had kept from being far off, as they could not but know, would receive direction from court to return. But the general (who was as impatient upon the sight of an enemy to engage with him as prince Rupert himself, and had a natural contempt of the Dutch) called his flag-officers to council, and quickly resolved, “that it “was not convenient nor safe nor honourable to “decline the battle, lest it might take off the pre- “sent courage of the seamen.” And truly in all those consultations, upon the like occasions, whoever proposed any wary advice ran great hazard of being reputed a coward. And so they bore up with a full wind upon the enemy, notwithstanding the visible disadvantage they were in, in respect of the strength of the enemy, for in the absence of prince Rupert there remained little above fifty sail with the general; whereas De Ruyter’s fleet consisted of above fourscore sail, who easily perceived his advantage, and that a great part of the English fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the occasion, and made what sail he could to meet with them.

It was about two of the clock in the afternoon when the engagement began; and the English had got the wind, which was so high that they could not carry out their lower tiers. The admiral was so shattered in his rigging and masts, that he was compelled to get off and anchor, that he might mend what was amiss; and many of his squadron had their main-yards shot off, and received such damage in their tackling, which was the chief aim of the Dutch, that they could hardly govern their ships. And by this means the enemy got the wind; and the battle continued with great fierceness, and loss of many men on both sides, till nine or ten of the clock at night, when all were willing to have some rest.

That night was spent in repairing masts and rigging: and at six of the clock in the morning the battle began again with the same fierceness, and lasted till night. And that day the Dutch suffered much, and one of their vice-admirals was boarded and afterwards sunk, as many of their other ships likewise were; so that they began to fall off: when sixteen new great ships came to their aid, which gave them new courage; so that they renewed and maintained the fight with great resolution, and killed many men of the English, and disabled many of the ships, till the night again parted them.

Upon the account the general received that night, and the new access of force to the Dutch, he thought it necessary to retire; for though he had lost no ship, very many were so disabled, that there was reason to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the shore. And thereupon he caused all those ships to be put before and make all the sail they could, and himself with sixteen ships in a breadth went in the rear: which as soon as the enemy perceived, they pursued, but came not within reach of their guns till four of

the clock in the afternoon ; and then, though they shot hard, they did very little harm, the stern-pieces of the English over-reaching their broad-sides, which made many of them get off as quickly as they could. But by this time the English descried about twenty sail of ships standing towards them, which they concluded to be prince Rupert, (as it proved :) and so being earnest to join, they edged up towards them, but so unfortunately, that many of the flag ships were on ground off the Galloper-sand. But with much ado they all got off safe, the Royal Prince only excepted, which for this last age, and till the late war, was held the best ship in the world. This brave ship stuck so fast, that no art or industry could move her ; so that the enemy, when they found they could not carry her off, set her on fire, and took the captain, sir George Ayscue, and all the company prisoners, and without distinction used all with great barbarity, in which they pretended only to use retaliation. That night prince Rupert joined : and then they bore to the northward, that they might get clear of the sands ; and thereby the enemy got the wind again.

The fourth day of the battle, which was the fourth of June, the enemy being to windward about three leagues, the generals in the morning made all sail towards them : and they lay with their sails to the masts to stay for them, which they would not have had the courage to have done, if they had not had intelligence from the prisoners of the Prince, in how tattered a condition the fleet was. The battle began about eight of the clock in the morning with extraordinary confidence on both sides, the Dutch continuing their old guard, to spend all their shot upon the rigging and masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the English most intended and laboured to do. But the design of the others succeeded better : insomuch that one of the vice-admirals of a squadron, and other of the best ships, were so disabled that they bore off from the battle, that they might mend and repair ; which gave no small encouragement to the enemy. But the two generals were invincible, and continued the battle all the day in several forms, and by the advantage of the wind fired six or seven of their ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at night, as if by consent, (and no doubt both sides were very weary of the encounter,) they separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several coasts ; many of the English being so hurt in yards, masts, rigging, and hulls, many of them wanting men to ply their guns, and their powder and shot near spent, that with very much difficulty they got into harbour : and so concluded that great action, wherein either side pretended to have advantage, and both lost very much.

The next day after the battle was spent in fitting their masts and repairing their rigging, that they might be able to reach the coast : and when they came near it, the generals called a council about disposing those ships which could not remain at sea, and sent them to such several places as they might be soonest repaired in ; and gave every captain very strict order, "that all possible diligence and expedition should be used to get their ships ready, and furnished with whatsoever was want-

ing ;" and the commissioners of the navy were required to be assistant in all places. And so wonderful diligence was used, (which appears almost incredible,) that the whole fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth day of the same month, within a fortnight after so terrible a battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous to the Buoy of the Nore. The enemy made as much haste, rather to meet with the French, who were every day still expected, than to fight with the English, and kept as near to their own coast as conveniently they could : so that how ready soever the generals were (who had never left their ships) with the fleet by the seventeenth of the month, the winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four and twentieth day of that month before they could reach the sight of the enemy.

And the next day, which was the twenty-fifth, the English made all the sail they could, and by ten in the morning engaged in as hot an encounter as had hitherto been in any engagement : and though the Dutch seemed not to fight with the same spirit and mettle, yet the battle held till two in the afternoon, when by the advantage of the wind they bore away faster than the English could follow. However, here they took vice-admiral Banchart, and his ship of threescore guns and three hundred men was burned ; and another ship of seventy guns and three hundred men was likewise taken and burned ; which the generals thought better, than to undergo the possible inconvenience of keeping them : and so they kept up as close to the enemy in the night as they could do. The next morning they used all their sails, and designed to board De Ruyter ; which, the wind lessening, they could not effect, he fighting very well, but running faster : and so, though very well pursued, he got into his fastness at the Wierings, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest who were further off, and were like to have the benefit of the night, tacked about : which they who attacked De Ruyter perceiving, and that they could follow him no further, and that the rest were five and forty sail, they followed them, the generals doing all they could with their squadron to put themselves between them and the coast ; but the wind growing on a sudden calm, about midnight they dropped their anchors, that they might not be driven further than they had a mind to be. But in the morning, when they weighed anchor to pursue them, and made all the way they could with a little wind, the enemy got so close to their own shore, their ships drawing less water than the English, that there could be no further pursuit.

Another part of the fleet, which was separated when De Ruyter got into the Wierings, and which the generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by men of very good name, that they escaped ; which raised a great distemper in the fleet, whilst some officers of the prime and most unquestionable courage charged and accused others, who had always given great testimony that they durst do any thing, "of base declining to fight when the enemy was in their power, and that they chose rather to suffer them to escape than to encounter them." And this dispute and expostulation, between men who had many seconds, divided the generals, one declaring himself on the one side and the other ; but they

wisely laid aside the debate, till they should be at more leisure with less inconvenience to determine it.

The generals thereupon, having thus scattered the enemy, resolved to ply upon the Dutch coast to take all ships of trade, which they did; and off the Texel and the Flie took many rich prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great value. And they having now nothing to do but to lie still, there was a Dutch captain, one Laurence Van Humskerke, who after the first battle, in the faction between Evertson and Van Trump, had given De Wit so great an advantage, that if he had not made his escape, he had been hanged, who from that time had always been on board with prince Rupert: this man, whilst the fleet lay in this posture, advised prince Rupert to attempt a place near the Flie, which was so locked in the land that it was always looked upon as very secure, (and where all ships laden at Amsterdam for the Straits and those parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three days, as in a safe port, until all things which might be forgotten [were prepared], and all the company came together,) and had never been invaded in any war; and by it was a pretty large village, called Schelling, which had many good houses in it, besides others inhabited by, and for the entertainment of, seamen.

This enterprise was committed to sir Robert Holmes, a very bold and expert man; who, with a number of small vessels very well manned, besides a body of stout foot to land upon occasions, being assisted by the Dutchman, so vigorously assaulted it, that he burned all the Dutch ships lying there, being of inestimable value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hundred thousand pounds each ship. They burned likewise the whole town of Schelling; which conflagration, with that of the ships, appearing at the break of day so near Amsterdam, put that place into that consternation that they thought the day of judgment was come, not thinking of their ships there, as being out of the power or reach of any enemy: and no doubt it was the greatest loss that state sustained in the whole war, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this victory, if it can be called a victory when there is no resistance, occasioned great triumph in England, so it raised great thoughts of heart in De Wit, and a resolution of revenge before any peace should be consented to; which they effected to a good degree the next year.

There appeared no more likelihood of the Dutch coming out again: so about the fifteenth of August the generals returned to Southwold Bay, to receive a recruit of men, provisions, and ammunition, having left ships enough upon the coast of Holland to take prizes, and scouts upon the coast to get intelligence in what readiness the enemy's fleet was, and what was done within the land. And about the twenty-seventh a little pink, that waited upon the coast of Zealand, brought notice that the enemy, consisting of about four-score sail of ships, were ready to come out from the Wierings; and the next day they were assured that they were come out and bound westward, by which they concluded that they had hope to join the French fleet. Whereupon the generals gave present orders to unmoor the fleet; and weighing

anchor about seven of the clock in the morning stood to sea, and about noon discovered the Dutch fleet about four leagues to the leeward. The generals made all sail towards them: but the enemy stood away for the coast of Flanders, whilst the English were so entangled upon the Galloper-sands, that they could not stand after the enemy till late in the afternoon; so that it was night before they came near each other, and then several guns were fired to little purpose.

The next morning, being the first of September, the season when the winds begin to grow boisterous, they had, upon the breaking of the day, lost the sight of the enemy, and believed that they had bore up in the night for them: but when it was light, they found that they were to the leeward, as far as they could discover, near St. John's Bay beyond Calais. The English pursued them, and making some stay for the fireships, which could not make haste by reason of the blustering weather, it was four in the afternoon before the fleet came up together to them; when De Ruyter made a show as if he would draw off from the shore towards them. But when he saw the English stand with him and advance with their usual resolution, he tacked back again, and stood close in to the shore, where the rest of the fleet was, in the Bay of Staples. And then the night came, and the wind blew so violently, that the English were forced to tack, and many of the ships were forced to the leeward, the night being so foul, that neither the generals nor the chief flags could be discerned. And though the storm continued very violent the next day, a good part of the fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of Staples, where the Dutch still remained close under the shore at anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the English found it necessary to stand further out to the sea; and then they discovered the rest of the fleet at a great distance to the leeward, and so bore after them, and at night they all arrived at St. Helen's Point. And though the tempest still increased, a squadron went every day out to the coast of France.

In this tempest the French fleet had a very narrow escape, by a providence they are seldom without. A gentleman of good quality of that nation returned at this time out of England, (whither they repaired with as much liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no war, whilst no Englishman could be safe there;) and landing at Calais, and finding that the duke of Beaufort was every day expected, he despatched two or three barks to find him, with information how and where the English lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the evening, that he changed his course, and by the darkness of the night got into the road of Dieppe, where he dropped his anchors. But his vice-admiral, being the biggest and the best ship but one in the fleet, and carrying seventy pieces of cannon, pursuing the course he was directed, in the dark of the night fell amongst the English, as the rest had done if it had not been for that advertisement; and after a little defending himself, which he saw was to no purpose, was taken prisoner, and desired to be brought to prince Rupert, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant person ought to be, and caused many things which belonged to his own person to be restored to him;

and when he was brought into England, he found another kind of reception (though he was prisoner in the Tower) than any of the English, though of the same quality, met with abroad. By this accident the French fleet made a happy state: and the continuance of the storm for many days kept the English and the Dutch from any further engagement. But the same winds, and at the same time, did much more mischief at land than at sea.

It was upon the first day of that September, in the dismal year of 1666, (in which many prodigies were expected, and so many really fell out,) that that memorable and terrible fire brake out in London, which begun about midnight, or nearer the morning of Sunday, in a baker's house at the end of Thames-street next the Tower, there being many little narrow alleys and very poor houses about the place where it first appeared; and then finding such store of combustible materials, as that street is always furnished with in timber-houses, the fire prevailed so powerfully, that that whole street and the neighbourhood was in so short a time turned to ashes, that few persons had time to save and preserve any of their goods; but were a heap of people almost as dead with the sudden distraction, as the ruins were which they sustained. The magistrates of the city assembled quickly together, and with the usual remedies of buckets, which they were provided with: but the fire was too ravenous to be extinguished with such quantities of water as those instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that day, to that degree that all men stood amazed, as spectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give; yet it kept within some compass, burned what was next, and laid hold only on both sides; and the greatest apprehension was of the Tower, and all considerations entered upon how to secure that place.

But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible violence, that as it kept the English and Dutch fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the fire from pursuing the line it was in with all its force, and spread it over the city: so that they, who went late to bed at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavour was used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come; all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.

Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and then an universal conclusion, that this fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination. And this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into

prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman catholics, the papists, who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their houses, and carried to prison.

When this rage spread as far as the fire, and every hour brought reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth there were, the king distributed many of the privy-council into several quarters of the city, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they or any other person thought it [not] safe to declare, "that they believed that the fire came by accident, or that it was not a plot of the Dutch and the French and papists to burn the city;" which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the contrary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the furthest end of Bread-street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the fire had approached near them; he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame. Nor did there want, in this woful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villany committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fire-balls into houses, which were presently burning.

The lord Hollis and lord Ashley, who had their quarters assigned about Newgate-market and the streets adjacent, had many brought to them in custody for crimes of this nature; and saw, within a very little distance from the place where they were, the people gathered together in great disorder; and as they came nearer saw a man in the middle of them without a hat or cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom they knew to be a servant to the Portugal ambassador, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial citizen was ready to take his oath, "that he saw that man put his hand in his pocket, and throw into a shop a fireball; upon which he saw the house immediately on fire: whereupon, being on the other side of the way, and seeing this, he cried out to the people to stop that gentleman, and made all the haste he could himself;" but the people had first seized upon him, and taken away his sword, which he was ready to draw; and he not speaking nor understanding English, they had used him in the manner set down before. The lord Hollis told him what he was accused of, and "that he was seen to have thrown somewhat out of his pocket, which they thought to be a fireball, into a house which was now on fire:" and the people had diligently searched his pockets to find more of the same commodities, but found nothing that they meant to accuse him of. The man standing in great amazement to hear he was so charged, the lord Hollis asked him, "what it was that he pulled out of his pocket, and what it was he threw into the house:" to which he answered, "that he did

"not think that he had put his hand into his pocket; but he remembered very well, that as he walked in the street, he saw a piece of bread upon the ground, which he took up, and laid upon a shelf in the next house;" which is a custom or superstition so natural to the Portuguese, that if the king of Portugal were walking, and saw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he saw a fit place to lay it down.

The house being in view, the lords with many of the people walked to it, and found the piece of bread just within the door upon a board, where he said he laid it; and the house on fire was two doors beyond it, which the man who was on the other side of the way, and saw this man put his hand into the house without staying, and presently after the fire break out, concluded to be the same house; which was very natural in the fright that all men were in: nor did the lords, though they were satisfied, set the poor man at liberty; but, as if there remained ground enough of suspicion, committed him to the constable, to be kept by him in his own house for some hours, when they pretended they would examine him again. Nor were any persons who were seized upon in the same manner, as multitudes were in all the parts of the town, especially if they were strangers or papists, presently discharged, when there was no reasonable ground to suspect; but all sent to prison, where they were in much more security than they could have been in full liberty, after they were once known to have been suspected; and most of them understood their commitment to be upon that ground, and were glad of it.

The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. And indeed whoever was an eyewitness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the last conflagration till he beholds it; the faces of all people in a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that people left their houses and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they afterwards returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the fire. The king and the duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the faces of all men appeared ghastly and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods: and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbour villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the other about London and Westminster.

It was observed that where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell, it fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making a further progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all London seemed but one fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full fury a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; insomuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far as the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the bridge to Dorset-house, which was burned on Tuesday night after Baynard's-castle.

On Wednesday morning, when the king saw that neither the fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster-abbey. But having observed by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, by which the progress of the fire was interrupted, it changed its course and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton-Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell: and as in an instant the fire decreased, having burned all on the Thames side to the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White-friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding further into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings which joined to Ram-alley, and swept all those into Fleet-street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter-lane, it advanced no further; but left the other part of Fleet-street to the Temple-bar, and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time: so that the greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, but watched with much less distraction; though the same distemper still remained in the utmost extent, "that all this had fallen out by the conspiracy of the French and Dutch with the papists;" and all gaols were filled with those who were every hour apprehended upon that jealousy; or rather upon some evidence that they were guilty of the crime.

And the people were so sottish, that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to prosecute those by the sword who were preserved from the fire: and the inhabitants of a whole street have ran in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it; so terrified men were with their own apprehensions.

When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and all other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire had prevailed, had not only left all that people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers, which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch as many days passed, before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts of the town which God had spared and preserved were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four and twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.

The king was not more troubled at any particular, than at the imagination which possessed the hearts of so many, that all this mischief had fallen out by a real and formed conspiracy; which, albeit he saw no colour to believe, he found very many intelligent men, and even some of his own council, who did really believe it. Whereupon he appointed the privy-council to sit both morning and evening, to examine all evidence of that kind that should be brought before them, and to send for any persons who had been committed to prison upon some evidence that made the greatest noise; and sent for the lord chief justice, who was in the country, to come to the town for the better examination of all suggestions and allegations of that kind, there having been some malicious report scattered about the town, "that the court had so great a prejudice against any kind of testimony of such a conspiracy, that they discountenanced all witnesses who came before them to testify what they knew;" which was without any colour of truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their testimony would remove all

doubts, made such senseless relations of what they had been told, without knowing the condition of the persons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard matter to forbear smiling at their evidence. Some Frenchmen's houses had been searched, in which had been found many of those shells for squibs and other fireworks, frequently used in nights of joy and triumph; and the men were well known, and had lived many years there by that trade, and had no other: and one of these was the king's servant, and employed by the office of ordnance for making grenades of all kinds, as well for the hand as for mortarpieces. Yet these men were looked upon as in the number of the conspirators, and remained still in prison till their neighbours solicited for their liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general rage of the people no mischief was done to the strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six and twenty years of age, the son of a famous watchmaker in the city of Roan; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Roan and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed "that he had set the first house on fire, "and that he had been hired in Paris a year before to do it: that there were three more combined with him to do the same thing; and that they came over together into England to put it in execution in the time of the plague: but when they were in London, he and two of his companions went into Sweden, and returned from thence in the latter end of August, and he resolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into France."

The whole examination was so senseless, that the chief justice, who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, "who it was in Paris that suborned him to this action:" to which he answered, "that he did not know, having never seen him before;" and in the enlarging upon that point he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked "what money he had received to perform a service of so much hazard," he said, "he had received but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles more when he should have done his work;" and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were surprised with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, "if he knew the place where he first put fire:" he answered, "that he knew it very well, "and would shew it to any body." Upon this the chief justice, and many aldermen who sat with him, sent a guard of substantial citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and

they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him "if that were it:" to which he answered presently, "No, it was lower, nearer to 'the Thames.'" The house and all which were near it were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where his own house had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars.

This silenced all further doubts. And though the chief justice told the king, "that all his discourse was so disjointed that he did not believe 'him guilty;'" nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him: yet upon his own confession, and so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, (without the least show of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or to take delight in it; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether he intended to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession; yet neither the judges nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the king's command, and then by the diligence of the house, that upon the general jealousy and rumour made a committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature's only excepted) that there was any other cause of that woful fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty: the first accident of the beginning in a baker's house, where there was so great a stock of fagots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin and the like, that led it in an instant from house to house through Thames-street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it.

Let the cause be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city were burned to ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greatest warehouses and the best shops stood. The Royal Exchange, with all the streets about it, Lombard-street, Cheapside, Paternoster-row, St. Paul's church, and almost all the other churches in the city, with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all Paul's churchyard even to the Thames, and the greatest part of Fleet-street, all which were places the best inhabited, were all burned without one house remaining.

The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, over and above the houses, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that the first night (which in a moment swept away the vast wealth of Thames-street) there was

[not] anything that could be preserved in respect of the suddenness and amazement, (all people being in their beds till the fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves,) the next day with the violence of the wind increased the distraction; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them, and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a season in the year, the beginning of September, when very many of the substantial citizens and other wealthy men were in the country, whereof many had not left a servant in their houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary accidents more secure in the goodness and kindness of their neighbours, than they could be in the fidelity of a servant; and whatsoever was in such houses was entirely consumed by the fire, or lost as to the owners. And of this classis of absent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Sergeants-Inn in Fleet-street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White-friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained who was in Town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value. But of particular men's losses could never be made any computation.

It was an incredible damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small company, the company of stationers, in books, paper, and the other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, which amounted to no less than two hundred thousand pounds: in which prodigious loss there was one circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near Paul's carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither: which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had [saved], upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the driest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from that greater, had better fortune; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they securely opened the doors, and received all from thence that they had there.

If so vast a damage as two hundred thousand pounds befell that little company of stationers in books and paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell-hall against Michaelmas, which was all burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures? Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the ruins of those houses which the owners took care to watch, as containing somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which deluge there were men ready enough to fish.

The lord mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object pressed him very earnestly, "that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the fire climbed to go further," (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer, "than that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners." His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, "because," they said, "it was against the law to break up any man's chamber."

The so sudden repair of those formidable ruins, and the giving so great beauty to all deformity, (a beauty and a lustre that city had never before been acquainted with,) is little less wonderful than the fire that consumed it.

It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal calamity, for the effects of it covered the whole kingdom, would have made impression, and produced some reformation in the license of the court: for as the pains the king had taken night and day during the fire, and the dangers he had exposed himself to, even for the saving the citizens' goods, had been very notorious, and in the mouths of all men, with good wishes and prayers for him; so his majesty had been heard during that time to speak with great piety and devotion of the displeasure that God was provoked to. And no doubt the deep sense of it did raise many good thoughts and purposes in his royal breast. But he was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholic [thoughts] might not long possess him, the consequence and effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the fire itself; of which that loose company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an argument for mirth and wit to describe the wildness of the confusion all people were in; in which the scripture itself was used with equal liberty, when they could apply it to their profane purposes. And Mr. May presumed to assure the king, "that this was the greatest blessing that God had

"ever conferred upon him, his restoration only excepted: for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open, that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force."

This kind of discourse did not please the king, but was highly approved by the company; and for the wit and pleasantness of it was repeated in all companies, infinitely to the king's disservice, and corrupted the affections of the citizens and of the country, who used and assumed the same liberty to publish the profaneness and atheism of the court. And as nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public in pasquils and libels, which were as bold with reflections of the broadest nature upon the king himself, and upon those in whose company he was most delighted, as upon the meanest person.

All men of virtue and sobriety, of which there were very many in the king's family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what they could not choose but hear, and seeing many things which they could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the council that did not to one another lament the excesses, which must in time be attended with fatal consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the reverence to the king, that is the best support of his royalty: but few of them had the courage to say that to his majesty, which was not so fit to be said to any body else. Nor can it be denied, that his majesty did, upon all occasions, receive those advertisements from those who presented them to him, with patience and benignity, and without the least show of displeasure; though the persons concerned endeavoured no one thing more than to persuade him, "that it was the highest presumption imaginable in the privy-council to believe, that they had any jurisdiction in the court, or ought to censure the manners of it."

Nor were all those endeavours without making some impression upon his majesty, who rather esteemed some particular members of it, than was inclined to believe that the body of it ought to receive a reverence from the people, or be looked upon as a vital part of the government: in which his majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill principles he had received in France, and the accustomed liberty of his bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the constitution of the kingdom, and the very laws and customs of the nation, as the privy-council and every member of it is of the king's sole choice and election of him to that trust, (for the greatest office in the state, though conferred likewise by the king himself, doth not qualify the officer to be of the privy-council, or to be present in it, before by a new assignation that honour is bestowed on him, and that he be sworn of the council;) so the body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest authority in the government of the state, next the person of the king himself, to whom all other powers are equally subject: and no king of England can so well secure his own just prerogative, or preserve it

from violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the dignity of his privy-council.

When it was too much taken notice of, that the king himself had not that esteem or consideration of the council that was due to it, what they did or ordered to be done was less valued by the people; and that disrespect every day improved by the want of gravity and justice and constancy in the proceedings there, the resolutions of one day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some whispers in the king's ear, or some new fancy in some of those counsellors, who were always of one mind against all former orders and precedents; the pride and insolent humour of sir William Coventry taking not so much delight in any thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the chancellor or the treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that ground. And though he had sucked his milk at the charge of the law, no man was so professed an enemy to it and to the professors of it, and shewed so little respect to any thing passed and granted under the great seal of England, but spake against it with the same confidence as if it had been a common scroll of no signification; which kind of behaviour in a person unqualified by any office to speak much in such an assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much reprehension there, if it had not been for respect to the duke, and if the king himself had not very often declared himself to be of his opinion, even in particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary purpose.

One day his majesty called the chancellor to him, and complained very much of the license that was assumed in the coffeehouses, which were the places where the boldest calumnies and scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a people who knew not each other, and came together only for that communication, and from thence were propagated over the kingdom; and mentioned some particular rumours which had been lately dispersed from those fountains, which on his own behalf he was enough displeased with, and asked him what was to be done in it.

The chancellor concurred with him in the sense of the scandal, and the mischief that must attend the impunity of such places, where the foulest imputations were laid upon the government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every body but to the magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no precedent, people generally believed that those houses had a charter of privilege to speak what they would, without being in danger to be called in question: and "that it was high time for his majesty to apply some remedy to such a growing disease, and to reform the understanding of those who believed that no remedy could be applied to it. That it would be fit, either by a proclamation to forbid all persons to resort to those houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to employ some spies, who, being present in the conversation, might be ready to charge and accuse the persons who had talked with most license in a subject that would bear a complaint; upon which the proceedings might be in such a manner, as would put an end to the confidence that was only mischievous in those meetings." The king liked both the expedients, and thought that the last

could not justly be made use of till the former should give fair warning; and commanded him to propose it that same day in council, that some order might be given in it.

The chancellor proposed it, as he was required, with such arguments as were like to move with men who knew the inconveniences which arose from those places; and the king himself mentioned it with passion, as derogatory to the government, and directed that the attorney might prepare a proclamation for the suppression of those houses, in which the board seemed to agree: when sir William Coventry, who had been heard within few days before to inveigh with much fierceness against the permission of so much seditious prattle in the impunity of those houses, stood up and said, "that coffee was a commodity that yielded the king a good revenue, and therefore it would not be just to receive the duties and inhibit the sale of it, which many men found to be very good for their health," as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious meetings. "That it had been permitted in Cromwell's time, and that the king's friends had used more liberty of speech in those places than they durst do in any other; and that he thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the hazard of ill being continued, notwithstanding his command to the contrary." And upon these reasons his majesty was converted, and declined any further debate; which put the chancellor very much out of countenance, nor knew he how to behave himself.

The truth is, he had a very hard province, and found his credit every day to decay with the king; whilst they who prevailed against him used all the skill and cunning they had to make it believed, "that his power with his majesty was as great as it had ever been, and that all those things which he most opposed were acted by his advice." And whilst they procured all those for whom he had kindness, or who professed any respect towards him, to be discountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but such who were known to have an aversion for him upon somewhat that he had, or they had been told that he had, obstructed their pretences in; they persuaded men, "that nobody had any credit with the king to dispose of any place but he."

Those very men would often profess to him, "that they were so much afflicted at the king's course of life, that they even despaired that he would be able to master those difficulties which would still press him;" and would then tell him some particulars which he himself had said or done, or had been said or done lately in his own presence, and of which he had never heard before; which gave him occasion often to blame them, "that they, having the opportunity to see and know many things which he had no notice of or could not take any, and foresaw the consequence that did attend them, did yet forbear to use the credit they had with his majesty, in advertising him what they thought and heard all others say;" and he offered "to go with them to his majesty, and make a lively representation to him of the great decay of his reputation with the people upon his exorbitant excesses, which God could never bless:" to all which they were not ashamed to confess, "that

"they never had nor durst speak to his majesty to that purpose, or in such a dialect." Indeed they were the honester men in not doing it, for it had been gross hypocrisy to have found fault with those actions, upon the pursuing whereof they most depended; and the reformation which they would have been glad to have seen, had no relation to those inordinate and unlawful appetites, which were the root from whence all the other mischiefs had their birth. They did not wish that the lady's authority and power should be lessened, much less extinguished; and that which would have been the most universal blessing to the whole kingdom, would have been received by them as the greatest curse that could befall them.

One day the chancellor and the lord Arlington were together alone, and the secretary, according to his custom, was speaking soberly of many great miscarriages by the license of the court, and how much his majesty suffered thereby; when the king suddenly came into the room to them, and after he was sat asked them what they were talking of: to which the chancellor answered, "that he would tell him honestly and truly, and was not sorry for the opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled countenance, he proceeded and said, "that they were speaking of his majesty, and, as they did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he lived, both with respect to himself, who, by the excess of pleasures which he indulged to himself, was indeed without the true delight and relish of any; and in respect to his government, which he totally neglected, and of which the kingdom was so sensible, that it could not be long before he felt the ill effects of it. That the people were well prepared and well inclined to obey; but if they found that he either would not or could not command, their temper would quickly be changed, and he would find less obedience in all places, than was necessary for his affairs: and that it was too evident and visible, that he had already lost very much of the affection and reverence the nation had for him."

He said, "that this was the subject they two were discoursing upon when his majesty entered; and that it is the argument, upon which all those of his council with whom he had any conversation did every day enlarge, when they were together, with grief of heart, and even with tears; and that he hoped that some of them did, with that duty that became them, represent to his majesty their own sense, and the sense his good subjects had, of his condition of living, both with reference to God, who had wrought such miracles for him, and expected some proportionable return; and with reference to his people, who were in the highest discontent. He doubted all men did not discharge their duty this way; and some had confessed to him that they durst not do it, lest they might offend him, which he had assured them often that they would not do, having had so often experience himself of his goodness; and that he had the rather taken this opportunity to make this representation to him in the presence of another, which he had never used to do:" and concluded "with beseeching his majesty to believe that which he had often

said to him, that no prince could be more miserable, nor could have more reason to fear his own ruin, than he who hath no servants who dare contradict him in his opinions, or advise him against his inclinations, how natural soever."

The king heard all this and more to the same effect with his usual temper, (for he was a patient hearer,) and spake sensibly, as if he thought that much that had been said was with too much reason; when the other, who wished not such an effect from the discourse, instead of seconding any thing that had been said, made use of the warmth the chancellor was in, and of some expressions he had used, to fall into raillery, which was his best faculty; with which he diverted the king from any further serious reflections; and both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch severity, now he grew old, and considered not the infirmities of younger men: which increased the passion he was in, and provoked him to say, "that it was observed abroad, that it was a faculty very much improved of late in the court, to laugh at those arguments they could not answer, and which would always be requited with the same mirth amongst those who were enemies to it, and therefore it was pity that it should be so much embraced by those who pretended to be friends;" and to use some other, too plain, expressions, which it may be were not warily enough used, and which the good lord forgot not to put the king in mind of, and to descant upon the presumption, in a season that was more ripe for such reflections, which at the present he forbore to do, and for some time after remembered only in merry occasions.

Though the king did not yet, nor in a good time after, appear to dislike the liberty the chancellor presumed to take with him, (who often told him, "that he knew he made himself grievous to him, and gave his enemies too great advantages against him; but that the conscience of having done his duty, and having never failed to inform his majesty of any thing that was fit for him to know and to believe, was the only support he had to bear the present trouble of his mind, and to prepare him for those distresses which he foresaw he was to undergo:" which his majesty heard with great goodness and condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, "that it was in nobody's power to divert his kindness from him:") yet he found every day that some arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant conversation with men of great profaneness, whose wit consisted in abusing scripture, and in repeating and acting what the preachers said in their sermons, and turning it into ridicule, (a faculty in which the duke of Buckingham excelled,) did much lessen the natural esteem and reverence he had for the clergy, as a rank of men that compounded a religion for their own advantage, and to serve their own turns. Nor was all he could say to him of weight enough to make impression to the contrary.

And then he seemed to think, "that men were bolder in the examining his actions and censuring them than they ought to be:" and once he told him, "that he thought he was more severe against common infirmities than he should be; and that his wife was not courteous in return-

“ing visits and civilities to those who paid her respect; and that he expected that all his friends should be very kind to those who they knew were much loved by him, and that he thought so much justice was due to him.”

The chancellor, who had never dissembled with him, but on the contrary had always endeavoured to persuade him to believe, that dissimulation was the most dishonest and ungentlemanly quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, “that he might seem not to understand his meaning, and so make no reply to the discourse he had made: but that he understood it all, and the meaning of every word of it; and therefore that it would not become him to suffer his majesty to depart with an opinion, that what he had said would produce any alteration in his behaviour towards him, or reformation of his manners towards any other persons.

“That for the first part, the liberty men took to speak of him and to censure his actions, he was of the opinion that it was a very great presumption, and a crime very fit to be punished: for let it be true or false, men had been always severely chastised for that license, because it tended to sedition. However, he put his majesty in mind of the example of Philip of Macedon, who, when one of his servants accused a person of condition to him of having spoken ill of him, and offered to go himself to the magistrate and make proof of it, answered him; that the person he accused was a man of the greatest reputation of wisdom and integrity in the kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the first place to examine, whether himself, the king, had not done somewhat by which he had deserved to be so spoken of: indeed this way the best men would often receive benefit from their worst enemies. For the matter itself,” he said, “he need make no apology: for that it was notoriously known, that he had constantly given it in charge to all the judges, to make diligent inquiry into misdemeanours and transgressions of that magnitude, and to punish those who were guilty in the most exemplary manner; and that he took not more pains any way, than to preserve in the hearts of the people that veneration for his person that is due to his dignity, and to persuade many who appeared afflicted with the reports they heard, that they heard more than was true; and that the suppressing all reports of that kind was the duty of every good subject, and would contribute more towards the reforming any thing that in truth is amiss, than the propagating the scandal by spreading it in discourses could do. However, that all this, which was his duty, and but his duty, did not make it unfit for him, or any other under his obligations, in fit seasons to make a lively representation to his majesty of what is done, and how secretly soever, that cannot be justified or excused; and of the untruths and scandals which spring from thence to his irreparable dishonour and prejudice.

“For the other part, of want of ceremony and respect to those who were loved and esteemed by his majesty, he might likewise avoid enlarging upon that subject, by putting his majesty in mind, that he had the honour to serve him in a province that excused him from making visits, and exempted him from all ceremonies

“of that kind. But he would not shelter himself under such a general defence, when he perceived that his majesty had in the reprehension a particular intention: and therefore he confessed ingenuously to his majesty, that he did deny himself many liberties, which in themselves might be innocent enough and agreeable to his person, because they would not be decent or agreeable to the office he held, which obliged him, for his majesty’s honour, and to preserve him from the reproach of having put a light person into a grave place, to have the more care of his own carriage and behaviour. And that, as it would reflect upon his majesty himself, if his chancellor was known or thought to be of dissolute and debauched manners, which would make him as incapable as unworthy to do him service; so it would be a blemish and taint upon him to give any countenance, or to pay more than ordinary, cursory, and unavoidable civilities, to persons infamous for any vice, for which by the laws of God and man they ought to be odious, and to be exposed to the judgment of the church and state. And that he would not for his own sake and for his own dignity, to how low a condition soever he might be reduced, stoop to such a condescension as to have the least commerce, or to make the application of a visit, to any such person, for any benefit or advantage that it might bring to him. He did beseech his majesty not to believe, that he hath a prerogative to declare vice virtue; or to qualify any person who lives in a sin and avows it, against which God himself hath pronounced damnation, for the company and conversation of innocent and worthy persons. And that whatever low obedience, which was in truth gross flattery, some people might pay to what they believed would be grateful to his majesty, they had in their hearts a perfect detestation of the persons they made address to: and that for his part he was long resolved that his wife should not be one of those courtiers; and that he would himself much less like her company, if she put herself into theirs who had not the same innocence.”

The king was not the more pleased for the defence he made, and did not dissemble his dislike of it, without any other sharpness, than by telling him “that he was in the wrong, and had an understanding different from all other men who had experience in the world.” And it is most certain, it was an avowed doctrine, and with great address daily insinuated to the king, “that princes had many liberties which private persons have not; and that a lady of honour who dedicates herself only to please a king, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any name or mark of infamy, but hath been always looked upon by all persons well-bred as worthy of respect:” and to this purpose the history of all the amours of his grandfather were carefully presented to him, and with what indignation he suffered any disrespect towards any of his mistresses.

But of all these artifices the chancellor had no apprehension, out of the confidence he had in the integrity of the king’s nature; and that though he might be swayed to sacrifice his present affections to his appetite, he could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real suspicion of his very pas-

sionate affection and duty to his person. That which gave him most trouble, and many times made him wish himself in any private condition separated from the court, was that unfixedness and irresolution of judgment that was natural to all his family of the male line, which often exposed them all to the importunities of bold, and to the snares of crafty, men.

One day the king and the duke came to the chancellor together; and the king told him with a very visible trouble in his countenance, "that they were come to confer and advise with him upon an affair of importance, which exceedingly disquieted them both. That Dick Talbot" (which was the familiar appellation, according to the ill custom of the court, that most men gave him) "had a resolution to assassinate the duke of Ormond. That he had sworn in the presence of two or three persons of honour, that he would do it in the revenge of some injuries which, he pretended, he had done his family: that he had much rather fight with him, which he knew the duke would be willing enough to do; but that he should never be able to bring to pass; and therefore he would take his revenge in any way that should offer itself. And every body knew that the man had courage and wickedness enough to attempt any think like it. That the duke of Ormond knew well enough that the fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act it; but that he thought it below him to apprehend it; and that his majesty came to the notice of it by the earl of Clancarty, to whom sir Robert Talbot, the elder brother of the other, told it, to the end that the earl might give the duke notice of it, and find some way to prevent it; and the earl had that day informed the king of it, as the best way he could think of to prevent it." His majesty said, "there remained no doubt to be made of the truth of it; for there were two or three more of unquestionable credit who had heard him use the same expressions: and that he had first spoken with his brother, whose servant he was, whom he found equally incensed as himself; and that they came immediately together to consult with him what was to be done."

The chancellor knew all the brothers well, and was believed to have too much prejudice to them all. They were all of an Irish family, but of ancient English extraction, which had always inhabited within that circle that was called the Pale; which, being originally an English plantation, was in so many hundred years for the most part degenerated into the manners of the Irish, and rose and mingled with them in the late rebellion: and of this family there were two distinct families, who had competent estates, and lived in many descents in the rank of gentlemen of quality; and those brothers were all the sons, or the grandsons, of one who was a judge in Ireland, and esteemed a learned man. The eldest was sir Robert Talbot, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse men: a man, whom the duke of Ormond most esteemed of those who had been in rebellion, as one who had less malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the king as a person fit for his favour. But because he did not ask all on his behalf, which he must have done for a man entirely innocent, this refusal was looked upon as the highest disobligation.

The second brother was a Jesuit, who had been very troublesome to the king abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a manner, that his majesty had forbidden him his court; after which he went into England, and applied himself to the ruling power there, and was by that sent into Spain, at the time when the treaty was at Fuentarabia between the two crowns, to procure that England might be included in that peace, and the king excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in Flanders. Of all which his majesty having advertisement, sent positive orders to sir Harry Bennet his resident then in Madrid to complain of him, and to desire don Lewis de Haro, that he might receive no countenance in that court. But the Jesuit had better and more powerful recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his talent of understanding) in a short time got so much interest in the resident, that he received him into all kind of familiarity and trust, and undertook to reconcile the king to him, and was as good as his word: and from the time of his majesty's return, or rather from the return of sir Harry Bennet, he was as much and as busy in the court as if he were a domestic servant. And after the queen came to Whitehall, he was admitted one of her almoners; and walked with the same or more freedom in the king's house (and in clergy habit) than any of his majesty's chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the galleries and other reserved rooms, where he was conversant with the same confidence as if he were of the bedchamber.

The third brother was Gilbert, who was [called] Colonel Talbot, from some command he had with the rebels against the king. And he had likewise been with the king in Flanders, that is, had lived in Antwerp and Brussels whilst the king was there; and being a half-witted fellow did not meddle with any thing nor angered any body, but found a way to get good clothes and to play, and was looked upon as a man of courage, having fought a duel or two with stout men.

The fourth brother was a Franciscan friar, of wit enough, but of so notorious debauchery, that he was frequently under severe discipline by the superiors of his order for his scandalous life, which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland: but not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always called his "fool's coat," and came seldom into those places where he was known, and so wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the places where the king was; and so he came to Cologne and Brussels and Bruges, and being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother the Jesuit, who had not so good natural parts, though by his education he had more sobriety, and lived without scandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbot, and after the king's return was in London in his man's clothes, (as he called them,) with the natural license of an Irish friar, (which are a people, for the most part, of the whole creation the most sottish and the most brutal,) and against his obedience, and all orders of his superiors, who interdicted him to say mass.

The fifth brother was this Dick Talbot, who

gave the king and the duke the trouble mentioned before. He was brought into Flanders first by Daniel O'Neile, as one who was willing to assassinate Cromwell; and he made a journey into England with that resolution not long before his death, and after it returned into Flanders ready to do all that he should be required. He was a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and [was] without doubt of a clear, ready courage, which was virtue enough to recommend a man to the duke's good opinion; which, with more expedition than could be expected, he got to that degree, that he was made of his bedchamber; and, from that qualification, embarked himself after the king's return in the pretences of the Irish, with such an unusual confidence, and upon private contracts with very scandalous circumstances, that the chancellor had sometimes at the council-table been obliged to give him severe reprehensions, and often desired the duke to withdraw his countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the Jesuit, and, though he had made many addresses unto him by letters and by some friends who had credit with him, would never, from the time of the king's return, be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the king so far, that he was forbid to come to the court; but he had a friend, who after some time got that restraint off again. The chancellor had likewise observed the friar to be too frequently in the galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the court: and the eldest brother, towards whom he had rather kindness than prejudice, finding many obstructions in his pretences, was persuaded to think him not his friend. And so he got the reproach of being an enemy to the whole family.

This consideration did really affect the chancellor, so that he appeared more reserved and more wary in this particular proposed by the king and by the duke, than he used to be. He said, "that in many respects he was not so fit to advise in this particular as other men were. Though this man's behaviour was so scandalous that it deserved exemplary punishment, yet he did not conceive any present danger from it: that he would deny it and repent it, and give any other satisfaction that would be required or assigned; and then his majesty and the duke would be prevailed with to take off their displeasure; and therefore not to make such a matter public, which, considering the person and the circumstances, would make a deep impression upon the minds of all wise men; than, after the world takes notice of it, to pass it over with a light and ordinary punishment." The king interrupted him as he was going on, and told him, "there was no danger of that, and that he would deal freely with him. That as the offence was in itself unpardonable, so he and his brother were resolved to take this opportunity and occasion to free themselves from the importunity of the whole family: that all the brothers were naughty fellows, and had no good meaning." And thereupon his majesty enlarged with much sharpness upon the Jesuit and friar, with charges upon both very weighty and unanswerable; and the duke upon this man who was the subject of the debate: and both concluded, "that they should be in great ease by the absence of all

of them, which should be enjoined as soon as a resolution should be taken in this particular."

The chancellor knew that there was somewhat else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had offended them both as much; and thought he had reason to believe that they would be both resolute in the punishment, and that they had deliberated it too long to depart from the prosecution. He therefore advised, "that the gentleman should be presently apprehended and examined upon the words, which some witness should be ready to affirm: and that thereupon he should be sent to the Tower, and the next day that his majesty should inform the privy-council of the whole, which without question would give direction to his attorney general to prosecute this foul misdemeanour in such a manner, that should put this gentleman in such a condition, that he should not trouble the court with his attendance; and other men should by his example find, that their tongues are not their own, to be employed according to their own malicious pleasures."

The person was the same night sent to the Tower; and both the king and the duke declared themselves, in the presence of their servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much vengeance upon the impudent presumption of the offender as the rigour of the law would inflict, as [ever] they had done upon any occurrence and accident in their lives: and if they had had persons enough about them, who out of a just sense of their honour would have confirmed them in the judgment they were of, it would have been in nobody's power to have shaken them. But as from the first day of his commitment, the servants near the person both of the king and duke presumed, against all ancient order, (which made it a crime in any to perform those civilities to persons declared to be under his majesty's displeasure,) to visit Mr. Talbot, and to censure those who had advised his commitment; and after some few days, when they thought the duke's passion in some degree abated, the lord Berkley confidently told the duke, "that he suffered much in the opinion of the world, in permitting a servant of so near relation to his person to be committed to prison for a few hasty and unadvised words to which he had been provoked; and that it was well enough known that it was by the contrivement and advice of the chancellor, who was taken notice of to be an enemy to that whole family, nor any great friend to any of his highness's servants; and if he had that credit to remove any of them from his person, there would in a short time be few of them found in his court."

This was seconded by all the standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its effect, yet the continual pressing it by degrees weakened the resolution: and the same offices being with equal importunity performed towards the king, and with the more zeal after it was published that the whole was done by the chancellor's procurement; both his majesty and his highness grew weary of their severity, and, upon conference together, resolved to interpose with the duke for his remission, who disdained to make himself a prosecutor in such a transgression. And so the prisoner returned to Whitehall, with the advantage which men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive:

and all men thought he triumphed over the chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy constitution grew so notorious, (for there were too many instances of it,) that all men grew less resolute in matters which concerned the king and drew the displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

According to their last prorogation the parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of September; when the king told them, "that he was very glad to meet so many of them together again, and thanked God for their meeting together again in that place." He said, "little time had passed since they were almost in despair of having that place left to meet in. They saw the dismal ruins the fire had made; and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preserved what was left from the same destruction."

His majesty told them, "he need make no excuse to them for having dispensed with their attendance in April; he was confident they all thanked him for it: the truth is, he desired to put them to as little trouble as he could; and he could tell them truly, he desired to put them to as little cost as was possible. He wished with all his heart that he could bear the whole charge of the war himself, and that his subjects should reap the whole benefit of it to themselves. But he had two great and powerful enemies, who used all the ways they could, fair and foul, to make all the world to concur with them; and the war was more chargeable by that conjunction, than any body thought it would have been. He needed not tell them the success of the summer, in which God had given them great success; and no question the enemy had undergone great losses; and if it had pleased God to have withheld his late judgment by fire, he had been in no ill condition." His majesty confessed, "that they had given him very large supplies for the carrying on the war: and yet," he told them, "that if he had not, by anticipating his own revenue, raised a very great sum of money, he had not been able to have set out the fleet the last spring; and he had some hope upon the same credit to be able to pay off the great ships as they should come in. They would consider what was to be done next, when they were well informed of the expense: and he would leave it to their wisdoms, to find out the best expedients for the carrying on the war with as little burden to the people as was possible." He said, "he would add no more than to put them in mind, that their enemies were very insolent; and if they were able the last year to persuade their miserable people whom they misled, that the contagion had so wasted the nation, and impoverished the king, that he would not be able to set out any fleet; how would they be exalted with this last impoverishment of the city, and condemn all reasonable conditions of peace? And therefore he could not doubt but that they would provide accordingly."

Indeed the king did not till now understand the damage he had sustained by the plague, much less what he must sustain from the fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the plague had prevailed, which was over all the city and over a great part of the country; the collect-

ors durst not go to require it or receive it. Yet the fountains remained yet clear, and the waters would run again: but this late conflagration had dried up or so stopped the very fountains, that there was no prospect when they would flow again. The two great branches of the revenue, the customs and excise, which was the great and almost inexhaustible security to borrow money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in money nor supply credit: all the measures by which computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a medium of the constant receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that fund would by this time have been fully satisfied with all the interest, whereby the money would have been replaced in the hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the security remained still in vigour to be applied to any other urgent occasions: but now the plague had routed all those receipts, especially in London, where the great conduits of those receipts still ran. The plague and the war had so totally broken and distracted those receipts, that the farmers of either had not received enough to discharge the constant burden of the officers, and were so far from paying any part of the principal that was secured upon it, that it left the interest unpaid to swell the principal. And now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the reimbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade. And the third next considerable branch of the revenue, the chimney-money, was determined; and the city must be rebuilt before any body could be required to pay for his chimneys.

This was the true state of the crown, if all other inconveniences and casual expenses had been away, and all application to things serious had been made by all persons concerned. And this woful prospect was in view when the parliament met again; which came not together with the better countenance by seeing all hopes abroad with so sad an aspect, and all things at home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many respects. Yet within few days after the king had spoken to them, the house of commons being most filled with the king's servants, the gentlemen of the country being not yet come, there was a faint vote procured, "that they would give a supply to the king proportionable to his wants," without mentioning any sum, or which way it should be raised: nor from that minute did they make the least reflection upon that engagement in many months after. Whilst the enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as they had good cause, that they should reap a much greater benefit by the burning of London than they had from the contagion.

When the numbers of the members increased, the parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there: and the very idle discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable event of the fire made them even believe, that the former jealousies of the city, when

they saw their houses burning at such a distance from each other, were not without some foundation, nor without just apprehension of a conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore they appointed a committee, with large authority to send for and examine all persons who could give any information concerning it.

When any mention was made of the declaration they had so lately passed, for giving the king supply, and "that it was high time to despatch it, "that all necessary provisions might be made for "the setting out a fleet against the spring;" it was answered with passion, "that the king's wants "must be made first to appear before any supply "must be discoursed of: that there were already "such vast sums of money given to the king, "that there was none left in the country; nor "could any commodities there, upon which they "should raise wherewith to pay their taxes, be sold "for want of money, which was all brought to "London in specie, and none left to carry on the "commerce and trade in the country, where they "could not sell their corn or their cattle or their "wool for half the value."

They who had not sat in the parliament at Oxford were exceedingly vexed, that there had been so much given there, so soon after the two millions and a half had been granted; and said, "if the "king wanted again already, that he must have "been abominably cheated, which was fit to be "examined. That the number of the ships, which "had been set out by the king in several fleets "since the beginning of this war, was no secret; "and that there are men enough who are acquainted with the charge of setting out and "manning and victualling ships, and can make "thereby a reasonable computation what this vast "expense can amount to: and that they cannot "but conclude, that if his majesty hath been "honestly dealt with, there must remain still a "very great proportion of money to carry on the "war, without need of imposing more upon the "people, till they are better able to bear it. And "therefore that it was absolutely necessary, that "all those, through whose hands the money had "passed, should first give an exact account of "what they had received, and what and how they "had disbursed it: and when that should appear, "it would be seasonable to demand an addition "of supply, which would be cheerfully granted."

And for the better expedition of this (for every body confessed that the time pressed) it was proposed, "that forthwith a bill should be prepared, "which should pass into an act of parliament, in "which such commissioners should be appointed "as the houses should think fit, to examine all "accounts of those who had received or issued "out any monies for this war; and where they "found any persons faulty, and who had broken "their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit:" and a committee was presently named to prepare such a bill accordingly. This proposition found such a concurrence in the house, that none of the court thought fit to oppose it; and others who knew the method to be new, and liable to just exceptions, thought it to as little purpose to endeavour to divert it: and so all motions for present supply were to be laid aside till a more favourable conjuncture; and the overture had been contrived

and put on by many who seemed not to like it, which is an artifice not unusual in courts or parliaments.

The persons, who were principally aimed at, (for no doubt they believed that others would be comprehended,) were sir George Carteret, the treasurer of the navy, through whom all that expense had passed, who had many enemies upon the opinion that his office was too great, and the more by the ill offices sir William Coventry was always ready to do him; and the lord Ashley, who was treasurer of all the money that had been raised upon prizes, which could not but be a great proportion. The former was a punctual officer and a good accountant, and had already passed his account in the exchequer for two years, upon which he had his "quietus est;" which was the only lawful way known and practised by all accountants to the crown, who can receive a good discharge no other way: and he was ready to make another year's account. But what method commissioners extraordinary by act of parliament would put it into, he could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the lord Ashley, had more reason to be troubled, for he was by his commission exempted from giving any other account but to the king himself, which exemption was the only reason that made him so solicitous for the office; and he well knew that there were great sums issued, which could not be put into any public account: so that his perplexity in several respects was not small. And they both applied themselves to the king for his protection in the point.

His majesty was no less troubled, [knowing] that both had issued out many sums upon his warrants, which he would not suffer to be produced; and called that committee of the privy-council with which he used to advise, and complained of this unusual way of proceeding in the house of commons, which would terrify all men from serving his majesty in any receipts; to which employment men submitted because they knew what they were to do, and what they were to suffer. If they made their account according to the known rules of the exchequer, their discharge could not be denied; and if they failed, they knew what process would be awarded against them. But to account by such orders as the parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such punishment as the parliament would inflict, was such an uncertainty as would deprive them of all rest and quiet of mind; and was in itself so unjust, that his majesty declared "that he would never suffer "it: that he hoped it would never find a consent "in the house of commons; if it should, that the "house of peers would reject it; but if it should "be brought to him, he was resolved never to "give his royal assent." There was no man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his majesty that he should never consent to it: "however, that the best care and diligence should be "used, that it might never be presented to him, "but stopped in the houses; and to that purpose, "that the members should be prepared by giving "them notice of his pleasure."

The chancellor upon this argument, in which he discerned no opposition, enlarged himself upon what he had often before put his majesty in mind of; "that he could not be too indulgent in the "defence of the privileges of parliament; that he

“hoped he would never violate any of them :” but he desired him “to be equally solicitous to prevent the excesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with ; and that to restrain them within their proper bounds and limits is as necessary, as it is to preserve them from being invaded. That this was such a new encroachment as had no bottom ; and the scars were yet too fresh and green of those wounds which had been inflicted upon the kingdom from such usurpation.” And therefore he desired his majesty “to be firm in the resolution he had taken, and not to depart from it ; and if such a bill should be brought up to the house of peers, he would not fail in doing his duty, and speaking freely his opinion against such innovations, how many soever it might offend.” All which discourse of his was in a short time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make use of it to his disadvantage.

There was a correspondence by this time begun and warmly pursued between some discontented members of the house of peers, who thought their parts not enough valued, (and the duke of Buckingham was in the head of them,) and some members of the house of commons, who made themselves remarkable by opposing all things which were proposed in that house for the king’s service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as sir Richard Temple, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Garraway, and sir Robert Howard ; who were all bold speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable by saying, upon all occasions, what wiser men would [not], whatever they thought.

The duke [of Buckingham] took more pains than was agreeable to his constitution to get an interest in all such persons, invited them to his table, pretended to have a great esteem of their parts, asked counsel of them, lamented the king’s neglecting his business, and committing it to other people who were not fit for it ; and then reported all the license and debauchery of the court in the most lively [colours], being himself a frequent eye and earwitness of it. He had a mortal quarrel with the lady, and was at this time so much in the king’s displeasure, (as he was very frequently,) that he forbore going to the court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry tales he could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, considering the loose life he led (which was a life more by night than by day) in all the liberties that nature could desire or wit invent, how great an interest he had in both houses of parliament ; that is, how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he proposed. His quality and condescensions, the pleasantness of his humour and conversation, the extravagance and sharpness of his wit, unrestrained by any modesty or religion, drew persons of all affections and inclinations to like his company ; and to believe that the levities and the vanities would be wrought off by age, and there would enough of good be left to become a great man, and make him useful to his country, for which he pretended to have a wonderful affection and reverence ; and that all his displeasure against the court proceeded from their declared malignity against the liberty of the subject, and their desire that the king should govern by the example of France. He had always held intelligence with the

principal persons of the levelling party, and professed to desire that liberty of conscience might be granted to all ; and exercised his wit with most licence against the church, the law, and the court.

The king had constant intelligence of all his behaviour, and the liberty he took in his discourses of him, for which he had indignation enough : but of this new stratagem to make himself great in parliament, and to have a faction there to disturb his business, his majesty had no apprehension, believing it impossible for the duke to keep his mind long bent upon any particular design, or to keep and observe those hours and orders of sleeping and eating, as men who pretend to business are obliged to ; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve a friendship with any serious persons, whom he could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as he was out of their company. Yet, with all these infirmities and vices, he found a respect and concurrence from men of different tempers and talents, and had an incredible opinion with the people.

The great object of his dislike, displeasure, and hatred, was the duke of Ormond, who being his equal in title, and superior in credit with the king, and at least equal to him in all other respects, he looked upon him as his rival ; and that his constant attendance upon the king through all his fortunes, was a reproach to him for not having performed his duty that way, and gave him a general reputation in the kingdom with all men who had been faithful to the crown. The duke of Ormond’s younger son had married his niece, who was the heir apparent of his house ; to which, though he had given his consent when he saw it was not in his power to contradict it, yet he pretended that the duke had made many promises of friendship to him which he had not made good ; whereas in truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good offices he could with the king, which some other new extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the ground and reason be what they will, he did not dissemble to hate the duke of Ormond heartily, and to be willing to undertake the prosecution of any complaint against him ; of which, in that distempered and disjointed condition of Ireland, there could not be [occasion] wanting, as soon as it was known that such a patron was ready to undertake their defence. And it cannot be denied, (the spirit of envy is so powerful,) that there were too many, who had no affection for the duke of Buckingham, who were yet willing that any thing should be done to the prejudice of the duke of Ormond, who they thought eclipsed the nobility of England.

There had been for many months a great murmur, rather than complaint, “of the great damage the kingdom in general sustained by the importation of such great quantities of Irish cattle, which were bred there for nothing, and transported for little, that they might well undersell all the cattle here ; and from hence the breed of cattle in the kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the land would yield no rent proportionably to what it had ever done : and that this was a principal cause of the want of money in the country, which could only be remedied by a very strict act of parliament, to forbid the

"importation of any sort of cattle out of Ireland into this kingdom." And some of them who had most thought of the matter had prepared a bill, and brought it into the house of commons, where it was read. At first it underwent very calm and reasonable debates. Very many members of several counties desired, "that their counties might not undergo any damage for the benefit of other individual places." They professed "that their counties had no land bad enough to breed: but that their great traffick consisted in buying lean cattle, and making them fat, and upon this they paid their rent; and if the bringing over Irish cattle should be restrained, their counties must be undone." And this appeared to be the case of very many counties in England. And the complaint was of so new a nature, that it had never been heard of in England till some few months before this meeting in parliament; only it had been mentioned in the parliament at Oxford, as a grievance to the northern counties, which complained no less of the Scots than of the Irish cattle; and the bill that was at this time brought into the house of commons provided as well against the one as the other.

Whether this complaint originally proceeded from the damage which the people of some counties sustained, or thought they sustained, which made their members in parliament press the restraint with much earnestness, (and it cannot be denied that many worthy men were passionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious contests, to comply with the humours of other men,) is not easy to other men to judge of than those who sat in the houses, and observed the manner and the passion in which those debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the consideration and wisdom of the house, the carrying it on was with unusual heat and passion, different from what appeared in the transaction of any other business, that had an aspect only to the public: and it was observed, that the cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the house of peers and of the house of commons, began at this time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that importance, that there could be no debate begun with reference to the giving money to the king, till this bill were first passed.

In the mean time the council of Ireland had the alarm of what was intended before the parliament, and did not only write to the king himself, but a large letter to the lords of the privy-council, in which they represented the present distracted condition of that kingdom, "that there were more than one hundred thousand persons who had nothing else to live upon but their droves of cattle; out of which they twice a year sent as many as they could spare into England, which enabled them to pay their rents, and return such goods and merchandise from thence as the kingdom [stood] in need of;" for no money in specie was returned upon that commerce. "That if this liberty of trade, which they had enjoyed in all ages, should be taken from them, the king's army could not be supported, nor the government maintained, but the kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and probably a

"new rebellion, in so general a discontent as this restraint would administer, might be again entered into: and therefore they desired, that at least some years might be allowed to that traffick which had been always enjoyed; to the end that some other husbandry might be introduced into the kingdom, by which the people might live, and which the government would endeavour to plant with all possible diligence and encouragement."

The king himself was so much moved with those letters, that he declared, "that he could neither in justice nor in conscience consent to such a bill, which upon pretence of benefit to one of his kingdoms might and must be so mischievous to the other two," (for Scotland, as is said, was yet comprehended as well as Ireland:) "that he was equally king of all, and obliged to have an equal care of all; and never to consent to any thing that might be prejudicial to either of the other, especially if the benefit to the one were not proportionable to, and as evident as, the damage was to the other." And upon these grounds he recommended to them, "to give such a stop to this bill, that it might never be presented to him; for if it were, he must positively reject it:" and without doubt his majesty at that time did not resolve any thing more within himself, than never to give his royal assent to that bill.

The letters from Ireland did not make the same impressions upon the lords of the council, who were very much divided in their opinions, even they whose zeal for the king's service was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole consideration of the injustice of it, and the mischief that it would produce in Ireland, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the house of commons, or thrown out of the lords' house, that it should never come to the king: others did as much believe that it was a real grievance, in which the subject should have relief; and insisted much, "that in a point evidently for the benefit and advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be put into the scale, because it would be some inconvenience there." Some did in truth think that the king was too much inclined to favour the Irish, and in that respect were well content that this bill should be a mortification to them: and there wanted not others, who in dark expressions (which grew clearer when the matter came into the house of peers) seemed to think, "that the estates in Ireland were more valuable than they were in England; and that some noblemen of that kingdom lived in a higher garb, and made greater expenses, than the noblemen in England were able to do; which had not been in former times." But they never considered, that those noblemen had nothing but what descended to them from their ancestors; and that they had faithfully adhered to the king, and undergone as much damage for doing so, as any men had done.

The house of commons seemed much more morose and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and solicitous to grasp as much power and authority as any of their predecessors had done, though no doubt with no ill intention: and it may be this would not have so much appeared, if there had been the same vigour in those who had used to conduct the king's business in that house, as there had used to be. But that spirit was

much fallen. The chief men of the court, upon whose example other men looked, were much more humble than they had used to be, and took more pains to ingratiate themselves than to advance the interest of their master: and instead of pressing what was desirable upon the strength of reason and policy, as they had used to do, and by which the major part of the house had usually concurred with them, they now applied themselves with address to those, who had always frowardly opposed whatsoever they thought would be grateful to the king; and desired rather to buy their votes and concurrence by promises of reward and preferment, (which is the most dishonourable and unthrifty brokery that can be practised in a parliament, which from this time was much practised, and brought many ill things to pass,) than to prevail upon those weighty and important arguments which would bear the light. Which low artifice raised the insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still overruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who, upon the principles of honour and wisdom, had hitherto swayed the house in all matters of public concernment, and who now concluded by those new condescensions that the former sober spirit and resolution was laid aside, and that peevish men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the success of this stratagem might be discerned.

And by this means the bill for Irish cattle was driven on with more fury, and the other concerning accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the advice that had been given them on the behalf of the king, fell off to the other party, but many of his household servants concurred in the bill for Ireland; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the king for his leave that they might do the same. And sir William Coventry, who had now by his insinuations and communication made himself very grateful to the refractory party, persuaded the king, "that the house had taken the Irish bill so much to heart, that they would never enter upon the debate of money, till that had passed the house and was sent to the lords, who no doubt, upon the knowledge of his majesty's mind and resolution, would easily throw it out. That if his servants continued obstinate in opposing it below, they should but provoke and anger the house, and render themselves useless to other parts of his majesty's more important business: whereas if they did now gratify the house by concurring with them in this matter, they should make themselves acceptable, have credit enough to divert the bill of accounts, and presently to dispose every body to enter upon the matter of supply."

The king was not pleased with the counsel, but had a very good opinion of the counsellor, who he believed could not but judge aright of the temper of those with whom he had sat and conversed so long: and so his majesty told him, "he was contented he should follow the dictates of his own judgment and conscience;" and the same answer he gave to all such members of the house of commons who came to receive his orders. And after all this, the bill was carried with great difficulty, and long opposition given to it by those members of several counties, which professed,

"that the bringing over the Irish cattle was so much for their benefit, that they could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet they hoped would be prevented in the house of peers: and so the bill was in great triumph, and by all the members, (as in cases they much delight in is usual,) presented to the house of peers.

And the commons no sooner repaired to their own house, than they assumed the debate upon the accounts, with the same fervour they had pursued the other bill of Ireland, and with the same declaration, "that they would not enter upon the subject of money, till they saw what success that bill would likewise have;" and appearing every day more out of humour, expressed less reverence towards the court. And some expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the license and disorders and extravagant expense of that place, not without some reflections which aimed at the lady, and at the exorbitant power exercised by her. And this imperious way of proceeding confirmed those in their wariness, who had no mind to oppose or contradict the party that they would and meant should prevail: but they the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the leaders, as being willing to administer fuel to the fire the others intended to kindle; and, so they might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other ministers to the jealousy of them, who they thought would not be quiet without some sacrifice. And thus they alarmed the king with the new apprehensions, "that the house, which had yet dutiful intentions, if they were crossed in what they designed for his service, might be provoked to be bolder with his majesty than they had been yet, and to mention the prevalence of the lady," which every body knew the duke of Buckingham would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued representations, but especially with their old argument of casting it out by the house of peers, where his power could not be doubted, they at last prevailed with the king to leave all men to themselves in the business of the accounts, (where there was a greater concurrence,) as he had done in the Irish bill: and so that bill likewise was transmitted to the lords.

And at this time many wise men thought, that it would have been very happy for the king if he would have dissolved the parliament, and presently after called another; which would have discovered many combinations, when the actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the stage; and it would have appeared, that all the storms had been raised by those winds which had their birth in the king's own house. And such a dissolution (to which the king himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the kingdom, which naturally doth not love long parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their money, and raised a war of which they saw no end nor possible benefit, without passing any good laws for the advancement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten credit in the house to obstruct what the king desired, were men of any interest or reputation with the people.

But as nobody was forward publicly to own and avow this counsel, the consequence whereof

they knew if it were not consented to; so they who meant to do themselves more good by the present indisposition and distemper, than they could propose from a new convention of men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring prejudice against their own particulars, used all the means they could devise to divert the king from that inclination. They told him, "that he would never have such another parliament, where he had near one hundred members of his own menial servants and their near relations, who were all at his disposal; by which they had incurred so much prejudice in the country, that very few of them would ever be elected again. That the present distemper was contracted by accidents and mistakes, and would vanish upon very reasonable condescensions, and in another prorogation: whereas if it should be dissolved and new writs sent out, the people would return none but presbyterians and known enemies to the church, and such who were most notoriously disaffected to the court." And this argument, pressed by men who had no more affection for the church than the Quakers had, prevailed with most of the bishops to dissuade the king from kearking to any such advice; when they had much more reason to expect a stronger party in a new parliament, and might have observed that their friends fell from them every day in both houses, and that the court was not propitious to them, of which they had afterwards a sad experience, and which they might then have well foreseen.

The house of peers was no sooner possessed of the bill against Irish cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen resolution appeared in many to use all expedition in the passing it; though if the matter itself had been without exception, there were so many clauses and provisos in it so derogatory to the king's honour and prerogative, that many thought it a high disrespect to his majesty to admit them into debate. But of these anon. The duke of Buckingham appeared in the head of those who favoured the bill, with a marvellous concernment: and at the times appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his custom of coming into the house, indeed of not rising till eleven of the clock, and seldom staying above a quarter of an hour, except upon some affair which he concerned himself in, he was now always present with the first in a morning, and stayed till the last at night; for the debate often held from the morning till four of the clock in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in.

And it grew quickly evident, that there were other reasons which caused so earnest a prosecution of it, above the encouragement of the breed of cattle in England: insomuch as the lord Ashley, who next the duke of Buckingham appeared the most violent supporter of the bill, could not forbear to urge it as an argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this bill did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in a vast proportion, and those in England fall as much; so that in a year or two the duke of Ormond would have a greater revenue than the earl of Northumberland;" which made a visible impression in many, as a thing not to be endured. Whereas the duke had indeed at least four times the proportion of land in Ireland that descended to him from his ancestors, that the earl had in England; and the revenue of it before the rebellion was not inferior

to the other's. But nothing was more manifest, than that the warmth of that prosecution in the house of peers in many lords did proceed from the envy they had of the duke's station in one kingdom, and of his fortune in the other.

And the whole debate upon the bill was so disorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: no rules or orders of the house for the course and method of debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the bill, fewer speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than they ought to do, and to reply to every man who declared himself to be of another opinion: and when they were put in mind of the rule of the house, "that no man should speak above once upon the same question," they called presently to have the house resolved into a committee, which any single member may require, and then every man may speak as often as he please; and so the time was spent unprofitably without the business being advanced. In the mean time the house of commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent messages to hasten the despatch of the bill, when they knew well the debate of every day: and it was frequently urged as an argument, "that the house of commons was the fittest judge of the necessities and grievances of the people; and they having passed this bill, the lords ought to conform to their opinion." In fine, there grew so great a license of words in this debate, and so many personal reflections, that every day some quarrels arose, to the great scandal and dishonour of a court that was the supreme judicatory of the kingdom.

The duke of Buckingham, who assumed a liberty of speaking when and what he would in a dialect unusual and ungrave, his similes and other expressions giving occasion of much mirth and laughter, one day said in the debate, "that whoever was against that bill had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding:" which so much offended the lord Ossory, who was eldest son to the duke of Ormond, (who had very narrowly escaped the censure of the house lately, for reproaching the lord Ashley with having been a counsellor to Cromwell, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present answer,) [that] meeting him afterwards in the court, [he] desired the duke "that he would walk into the next room with him;" and there told him, "that he had taken the liberty to use many loose and unworthy expressions which reflected upon the whole Irish nation, and which he himself resented so much that he expected satisfaction, and to find him with his sword in his hand;" which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and shifts he could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place where they would presently meet, which he found the other would exact to prevent discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a message to him. And so he named a known place in Chelsea Fields, and to be there within less than an hour.

The lord Ossory made haste thither, and expected him much beyond the time; and then seeing some persons come out of the way towards the place where he was, and concluding they were

sent out to prevent any action between them, he avoided speaking with them, but got to the place where his horse was, and so retired to London. The duke was found by himself in another place on the other side of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelsea Fields, which he said was the place he had appointed to meet.

Finding that night that the lord Ossory was not in custody, and so he was sure he should quickly hear from him, and upon conference with his friends, that the mistake of the place would be imputed to him; he took a strange resolution, that every body wondered at, and his friends dissuaded him from. And the next morning, as soon as the house was sat, the lord Ossory being likewise present that he might find some opportunity to speak with him, the duke told the house, "that he must inform them of somewhat that concerned himself; and being sure that it would come to their notice some other way, he had therefore chose to acquaint them with it himself;" and thereupon related "how the lord Ossory had the day before found him in the court, and desired him to walk into the next room, where he charged him with many particulars which he had spoken in that place, and in few words told him he should fight with him; which though he did not hold himself obliged to do in maintenance of anything he had said or done in the parliament, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to his nature, to fight with any man who had a mind to fight with him," (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exercise and inclination,) "he appointed the place in Chelsea Fields, which he understood to be the fields over against Chelsea; whither, having only gone to his lodging to change his sword, he hastened, by presently crossing the water in a pair of oars, and stayed there in expectation of the lord Ossory, until such gentlemen," whom he named, "found him there, and said, they were sent to prevent his and the lord Ossory's meeting, whom others were likewise sent to find for the same prevention. Whereupon, concluding that for the present there would be no meeting together, he returned with those gentlemen to his lodging, being always ready to give any gentleman satisfaction that should require it of him."

Every body was exceedingly surprised with the oddness and unseasonableness of the discourse, which consisted, with some confusion, between aggravating the presumption of the lord Ossory, and making the offence as heinous as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own courage and readiness to fight upon any opportunity, when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a gross shift: and it was wondered at, that he had not chosen rather that some other person might inform the house of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined and the mischief prevented. But he believed that way would not so well represent and manifest the lustre of his courage, and might leave him under an examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own information: and therefore no persuasion and importunity of his friends could prevail with him to decline that method.

The lord Ossory seemed out of countenance,

and troubled that the contest was like to be only in that place, and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accused him of; only "wondered, that he should say he had challenged him for words spoken in the house, when he had expressly declared to him, when his grace insisted much upon the privilege of parliament to decline giving him any satisfaction, that he did not question him for any words spoken in parliament, but for words spoken in other places, and for affronts, which he had at other times chosen to bear rather than to disturb the company." He confessed, "he had attended in the very place where the duke had done him the honour to promise to meet him;" and mentioned some expressions which he had used in designing it, which left the certainty of it not to be doubted.

When they had both said as much as they had a mind to, they were both required, as is the custom, to withdraw to several rooms near the house: and then the lords entered upon debate of the transgression; many insisting "upon the magnitude of the offence, which concerned the honour and safety of the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the liberty and security of every member of the house, That if in any debate any lord exceeded the modest limits prescribed, in any offensive expressions, the house had the power and the practice to restrain and reprehend and imprison the person, according to the quality and degree of the offence; and that no other remedy or examination could be applied to it, even by the king himself. But if it should be in any private man to take exceptions against any words which the house finds no fault with, and to require men to justify with their swords all that they say in discharge of their conscience, and for the good and benefit of their country; there is an end of the privilege of parliament and the freedom of speech: and therefore that there could not be too great a punishment inflicted upon this notorious and monstrous offence of the lord Ossory, which concerned every lord in particular, as much as it did the duke of Buckingham; who had carried himself as well as the ill custom and iniquity of the age would admit, and had given no offence to the house, towards which he had always paid all possible respect and reverence."

They who considered the honour and dignity only of the house, and the ill consequence of such violations as these, which way soever their affections were inclined with reference to their persons, were all of opinion, "that their offences were so near equal that their punishment ought to be equal: for that besides the lord Ossory's denial that he had [made] any reflection upon any words spoken in parliament, which was the aggravation of his offence, there was some testimony given to the house by some lords present, that the lord Ossory had complained of the duke's comportment towards him before those words used in the house by him, of the Irish interest or Irish understanding, and resolved to expostulate with him upon it; so that those words could not be the ground of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's own confession and declaration, that he was as ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by himself for encounter; which made the offence equal." And therefore they moved, "that

“they might be both brought to the bar, and upon their knees receive the sentence of the house for their commitment to the Tower.”

Some, who would shew their kindness to the duke, were not willing that he should undergo the same punishment with the other, until some lords, who were known not to be his friends, were very earnest “that the duke might receive no punishment, because he had committed no fault; for that it was very evident that he never intended to fight, and had, when no other tergiversation would serve his turn, prudently mistaken the place that was appointed by himself;” which was pressed by two or three lords in such a pleasant manner, with reflection upon some expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the censure of the house than the penalty of such a vindication: and so they were both sent to the Tower.

And during the time they remained there, the bill against Ireland remained in suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their cause in the absence of their strongest champion. But the same spirit was kept up in all other arguments, the displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in contradictions and sharp replies in all other occasions; a mischief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different interests are pursued; from whence personal animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the affair itself that produced those passions is composed and ended. And this kind of distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the debate and contestation upon this bill.

Those two lords were no sooner at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the king’s command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the same disturbance. It happened that upon the debate of the same affair, the Irish bill, there was a conference appointed with the house of commons, in which the duke of Buckingham was a manager; and as they were sitting down in the painted chamber, which is seldom done in good order, it chanced that the marquis of Dorchester sat next the duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correspondence. The one changing his posture for his own ease, which made the station of the other the more uneasy, they first endeavoured by justling to recover what they had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and was less active in his limbs, lost his periwig, and received some rudeness, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

The misdemeanour, greater than had ever happened, in that place and upon such an occasion, in any age when the least reverence to government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the conference was ended, was reported to the house, and both parties heard, who both confessed enough to make them undergo the censure of the house. The duke’s friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any opportunity to manifest it. But the house

sent them both to the Tower; from whence after a few days they were again released together, and such a reconciliation made as after such rencounters is usual, where either party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the marquis had much of the duke’s hair in his hands to recompense for the pulling off his periwig, which he could not reach high enough to do to the other.

When all things were thus far quieted, the bill was again entered upon with no less passion for the stock that had been wasted. The arguments which were urged against the bill for the injustice of it [were], “that they should, without any cause or demerit on their part, or any visible evidence of a benefit that would accrue from it to this kingdom, deprive his majesty’s two other kingdoms of a privilege they had ever been possessed of: that they might as reasonably take away the trade from any one county in England, because it produced some inconvenience to another county more in their favour: that the large counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and other provinces, would lose as much by the passing of this act, as the northern and any other counties would gain by it: that those two kingdoms might with the same justice press his majesty’s concurrence, that they might have no trade with England, which would bring more damage to England by much, than it would gain by this act of restraint: and that it was against all the maxims of prudence, to run the danger of a present mischief and damage, as this would produce in Ireland by the testimony of the lord lieutenant and council of that kingdom, only upon the speculation of a future benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only in speculation.”

These, and many other arguments of this kind, which for the most part were offered by men who had not the least relation to Ireland, made no other impression, than that they were content to leave Scotland out of the bill; which increased their party against Ireland, and gave little satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the commerce with the other kingdom. And this alteration the house of commons likewise consented to, but with great opposition, since in truth that concession destroyed the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the bill was supported.

Then the debate fell upon some derogatory clauses and provisos very contrary to his majesty’s just prerogative and power, (for they made his majesty’s own license and warrant of no effect or authority, but liable to be controlled by a constable; nor would permit the importation of three thousand beeves, which, by an act of parliament in Ireland, were every year to be delivered at Chester and another port for the provision of the king’s house;) which in many respects the house generally disliked, and desired “that it might have no other style than had been accustomed in all the penal acts of parliament which were in force, it being to be presumed, that the king would never dispense with any violation of it, except in such cases as the benefit and good of the kingdom required it; which might naturally fall out, if there should happen such a murrain amongst the beasts of that species, as had been these late years amongst horses, which had destroyed so many thousand, that good horses

"were now hard to be procured. And if the same or the like destruction should fall upon the other cattle, we should have then more cause to complain of the scarcity and the dearness of meat, than we have now of the plenty and cheapness, which was the only grievance now felt, and which kingdoms seldom complained of: and in such a case it would be very great pity, that the king should not have power enough to provide for the supply of his subjects, and to prevent a common dearth."

But this was again opposed with as much passion and violence as had fallen out in any part of the debate; and such rude arguments used against such a power in the king, as if the question were upon reposing some new trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a trust that was inherent in him from all antiquity: and "that it was the same thing to be without the bill, and not to provide against the king's dispensing with the not obeying it, whose inclinations were well known in this particular; and therefore the effect of them, and of the importunity of the courtiers, must be provided against." And throughout this discourse there was such a liberty of language made use of, as reflected more upon the king's honour, and indeed upon his whole council and court, as had not been heard in that house, but in a time of rebellion, without very severe reprehension: and it so much offended the house now, that, notwithstanding all the sturdy opposition, it was resolved that those clauses and provisos should be amended in some places, and totally left out in others. And with the alteration and amendments it was sent down to the house of commons.

At this time the public affairs and necessities were little looked after or considered. The fleet was come into the ports, but [there was] no money to pay off the men: and what was equally mischievous, there was no way to make the provisions for the next spring, that the fleet might be ready for the sea by the time the enemy would assuredly be out. If the victualler were not supplied, who had much money due to him, the season would be past in which he was to buy the cattle that he must kill; and he complained how much he should suffer by this bill of Ireland, which already raised the price of all meats. And the yards wanted all those tacklings and rigging and masts, without which another fleet could not be sent out, and which could no otherwise be provided than by ready money. The king had anticipated all his own revenue, and was ready to expose that for further security, but nobody would trust. The new provisos in the bill of supply at Oxford gave no new credit, but were found as mischievous as any body had apprehended they would be: and the bankers, who in all such occasions were a sure refuge, wanted now credit themselves; which that they might not recover, the parliament had treated them as ill since they came together, that is, with reproaches and threats, as they had done at Oxford. In which kind of persecution sir William Coventry, and some who followed him, led the van, very much to the king's prejudice and against his command; but they excused themselves, upon the credit it gave them in the house to do him service.

All this was well enough understood: and it was as visible, that they intended to make it a

forcible argument for the passing the Irish bill which, though from different motives, was now become the sacrifice, without which they would not be appeased; and therefore, when the bill was sent to them with those alterations and amendments, they rejected them all, and voted, "that they would adhere to their own bill without departing from a word of it, except with reference to Scotland," from which they had receded. And if upon this very unusual return the house of peers had likewise voted, "that they too would adhere," which they might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major part of the house if the question had been then put; there had been an end of that bill. But that must not be suffered: the party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what they liked not, though not to establish what they desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their passions, did not like the obstinacy of the house of commons in not departing from some unusual clauses and pretences; yet were not willing to have the like vote for adhering to pass in that house, which it might do when all other remedies should fail; and therefore moved, "that a conference might be required, in which such reasons might be given as might satisfy them." Many conferences, and free conferences, were held, in which the commons still maintained their adherence with a wonderful petulance: and those members, who were appointed to manage the conferences, took the liberty to use all those arguments, and the very expressions, which had been used in the house of peers, against leaving any power in the king to dispense; and added such other of their own as more reflected upon his majesty's honour; and yet concluded as if they could say more if they were provoked, upon which every man might make what glosses he pleased, and the king himself was left to his own imaginations.

There need be no other instance given of the unheard of and incredible passion that was shewed in the transaction of that bill, than a particular that related to the city of London. Upon the news of the great fire in London, and the devastation that it made there, there was so general a lamentation in Ireland as might be expected from a neighbour province, that had so great a commerce with and dependance upon it. And the consent in this lamentation was so digested, that the several provinces had made a computation and division between themselves, and presented a declaration to the lord lieutenant and council, "that they had so tender a sense of that calamity, that if they were able to raise money to administer some assistance to the city towards the reparation of their great loss, they would willingly offer and present it: but that not being in their power or possession, the great scarcity and want of money throughout that kingdom being notoriously known, but there being somewhat in their power to offer, which might at least testify their good-will, and not be wholly useless towards the end they designed it; they had agreed between themselves to give unto the lord mayor and city of London, and to be disposed of by them to such particular uses as

“ they should judge most convenient, the number “ of thirty thousand Irish beasts, which should be “ delivered within such a time and at such ports,” which were named, “ to any such persons as “ should be appointed to receive them.” And of this they desired the lord lieutenant and council to advertise the king, and likewise give notice to the city of London: both which were done accordingly; and the advertisement arrived in the city in the time when this bill was depending in the lords’ house. Whereupon the lord mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the lords, with a proviso that they desired might be inserted in the bill that was before them, by which it was provided, “ that nothing contained in that bill “ should hinder the city of London from enjoying the charitable donative of the thirty thousand cattle, but that they might have liberty to “ import the same.”

It can hardly be believed with what passion and indignation this petition was received by the house, what invectives were made against the city, “ for their presumption in interposing their own “ particular interest to obstruct the public affairs “ of the kingdom;” and then the reflections which were “ made upon the council of Ireland, “ for giving countenance to such an address, and “ becoming instruments themselves to promote “ and advance it:” which they would not allow “ to be an offering of charity, but a cheat and a “ cozenage by combination to elude an act of parliament, which they could not choose but hear of, “ and could not but believe that it was passed by “ this time. Which if it had been, and that “ power left in the king as had been proposed, “ they might now see how it would have been “ applied: for they could not doubt, but there “ would enough have advised the king, that he “ should gratify the city of London with a license “ for this importation; which could not or would “ not have been so warily drawn, but that, under “ the license for thirty thousand, there would be “ three hundred thousand imported into England; “ and this the great charity aimed at and was assured of.” And so, after much bitterness, they desired “ that the petition and the proviso might “ be both rejected.”

But this passion did not cover the whole house, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable intention of charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that house, and transmitted with approbation to the other. But it had the same fate there with the other provisos, and was thrown out with that bitterness and observation which had been offered against it by some lords. Nor could any expedients alter or remove their obstinacy, though many were offered upon conferences, and particularly “ that “ all the beasts should be killed in Ireland and “ powdered there, and then sent over in barrels “ or other casks;” but they found cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, [as if it would] for a time keep down the price of meat in England, which they desired to advance: so that there was nothing gotten in all those conferences, but the discovery of new jealousies of the king and the court, and new insinuations of the discontentments and murmurs in the country, that this

bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the king with the most ghastly aspects towards what effects it might produce, his majesty in the end was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest advice to the contrary, not only to be willing to give his royal assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very great pains to remove those obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many lords to depart from their own sense, and conform to what he thought convenient to his service; which gave those who loved him not great argument of triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much matter of mortification. Yet after all this, and when his majesty had changed some men’s resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great difficulty and with great opposition, and against the protestation of many of the lords.

In all the debate upon this bill, and upon the other of accounts, the chancellor had the misfortune to lose much credit in the house of commons, not only by a very [strong] and cordial opposition to what they desired, but by taking all occasions, which were offered by the frequent arguments which were urged “ of the opinion and the authority of the house of commons, and that it “ was fit and necessary to concur with them,” to mention them with less reverence than they expected. It is very true: he had always used in such provocations to desire the lords, “ to be more “ solicitous in preserving their own unquestionable rights and most important privileges, and “ less tender in restraining the excess and new “ encroachments of the house of commons, which “ extended their jurisdiction beyond their limits.” He put them often in mind “ of the mischiefs “ which had their original from the liberties the “ house of commons assumed, and the compliance the house of peers had descended to, in the “ late ill times, and which produced the rebellion; “ and were carried so far, till, after all the multiplied affronts, they had wrested the whole “ authority out of the hands of the house of peers, “ and at last declared them useless members of “ the commonwealth, and shut up the door of “ their house with a padlock, which they had never “ power to unfasten till the king’s return.” And in those occasions his expressions were many times so lively, that they offended many of the lords who were present, and had too much contributed to those extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the commons.

The truth is, he did never dissemble from the time of his return with the king, whom he had likewise prepared and disposed to the same sentiments whilst his majesty was abroad, that his opinion was, “ that the late rebellion could never “ be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till “ the king’s regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated; “ and till the usurpations in both houses of parliament since the year 1640 were disclaimed and “ made odious; and many other excesses, which “ had been affected by both before that time under “ the name of privileges, should be restrained or “ explained:” for all which reformation the kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the king to it. Nor did

the convention, which proclaimed the king and invited him to return, exercise after his return any exorbitant power, but what was of necessity upon former irregularities, and contributed to the present ends and desires of the king.

And this parliament, that was upon the dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the king's writ, willingly inclined to that method, as appears by those many excellent acts which vindicated the king's sovereign power over parliaments, and declared the nullity of all acts done by one or both houses without the king's assent; declared and settled the absolute power of the crown over the militia; repealed that act of parliament that had excluded the bishops from being members of the house of peers, and restored them to their session there; and repealed that other infamous act for triennial parliaments, which had clauses in it to have led the people into rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same method, if they had had the same advice and encouragement.

But they had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in matters out of their own sphere, to give their advice with reference to peace and war, to hold conferences with the king, and to offer their advices to him, and to receive orders from himself; when his majesty was persuaded by very unskilful men, "that they were so absolutely at his disposal, "that he need never doubt their undertaking any "thing that would be ingrateful to him, and that "whilst he preserved that entire interest he had "in the lower house, (which he might easily do,) "he need not care what the other house did or "had a mind to do;" and so induced his majesty to undervalue his house of peers as of little power to do him good or harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that false doctrine; towards which the house of peers themselves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or considering the public state of the kingdom, or providing remedies for growing evils, or indeed meddling with any thing in the government till they were invited to it by some message or overture from the house of commons: insomuch as they sat not early in the morning, according to the former custom of parliaments, but came not together till ten of the clock; and very often adjourned as soon as they met, because that nothing was brought from the house of commons that administered cause of consultation; and upon that ground often adjourned for one or two days together, whilst the other house sat, and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good.

Then when any thing fell in their way, that they could draw a consequence from that might relate to their privileges, they were so jealous of an invasion, that they neither considered former precedents, nor rules of honour or justice; and were not only solicitous for that freedom which belonged to themselves and their menial servants, who ought not to be disquieted by private suits and prosecutions in law, whilst they are obliged to attend upon the service of their country in parliament, but gave their protections "ad libitum," and which were commonly sold by their servants to bankrupt citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just debts. And when their creditors knew that they could have no relation of

attendance to any man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, they produced some protection granted to them by some lord; whereupon they were not only discharged, but their creditors, and all who bore any part in the prosecution, were punished with great rigour, and to their great loss and damage, and to the great prejudice of the city, and interruption of the whole course of the justice of the kingdom.

When the house of commons sent up a bill for the suppression or reformation of many irregularities and misdemeanours, which had grown up in the late times of disorder and confusion, as conventicles and other riotous assemblies, wherein there was a necessity of some clauses of power to inferior officers, whereby they were qualified to discover those transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the lords would be sure always to insert some proviso to save their privileges, even in acts which provided for the punishment of such crimes as no person of quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of wood, and such vile trespasses: which took up much time in debate, and incensed the house of commons, and produced many froward debates, in which the king thought the peers in the wrong.

This kind of temper or distemper upon very trivial and light occasions, in seasons which required gravity and despatch, provoked the house of commons to take more upon them, to enter upon contests sometimes unreasonably with the lords, and to assume to themselves an authority in matters in which they ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near relation to the king and were trusted in his service, to affect novelties both in the form and substance of their proceedings, which those persons concurred in, much out of ignorance what was to be done, and more out of affectation to compass some crooked end of their own, to the prejudice of another person who was in their disfavour. And when these sallies out of the old trodden path were taken notice of, and his majesty had [been] advised to prevent them in time, he was persuaded, either "that the exceptions were in matters of little moment, and "made only by formal men who liked nothing "that was out of the old common road; or that "the liberty would be applied to his service, and "in many useful occasions would mollify or subdue the inconvenient morosity of the lords; or, "when it should exceed, it would be still in his "majesty's power to restrain it, when he found it "necessary." And these discourses prevailed too much with his majesty, till he now found the humour was grown too sturdy for him to contend with; and the same men, who had persuaded him to condemn it, were now more importunate with him that he would comply with it.

The chancellor had always as earnestly opposed the over-captious insisting upon privilege in the lords' house, either when in truth there was not a just ground for it, or when they would extend it further than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in mind "of many exorbitant acts "which stood still mentioned in their journals, "books, of their proceedings in the late rebellious "times, which might be looked upon as precedents by posterity, and in which the house of commons had really invaded their greatest "privileges, and trampled upon their highest

“jurisdiction; which was worthy of their most strict [proceedings] to vindicate by protestation, and by expunging the memorial thereof out of all their books and records, that there might be no footsteps left to mislead the succeeding ages;” and often desired them “to preserve a power in themselves to put the house of commons in mind of their exceeding their limits, for which they often gave them occasion, and particularly as often as they sent to quicken them in any debate, which was a very modern presumption, and derogatory from that respect which a house of commons had always paid to the house of lords. And this they could not reasonably or effectually do, till they declined all unjust or unnecessary pretences to privileges which were not their due, and especially to a power of calling private cases of right and justice, which ought to be determined by the law and in courts of justice, to be heard and adjudged before themselves in parliament; of which there were too frequent occasions to oppose and contradict their jurisdiction.”

This free way of discourse offended many of the lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the privilege of the peerage: and they were now very glad that he used so much more freedom against the proceedings of the house of commons, which they were sure would be resented below, more than it had been above. And many of his friends informed him “how ill it was taken; and how carefully all that he said, and much that he did not say, was transmitted by some of the lords to them, who would not fail in some season to remember and apply it to his highest disadvantage;” and therefore desired him “to use less fervour in those argumentations.” But he was in that, as in many things of that kind that related to the offending other men, for his own sake uncounsellable: not that he did not know that it exposed him to the censure of some men who lay in wait to do him hurt, but because he neglected those censures, nor valued the persons who promoted them; being confident that he would be liable to no charge that he should be ashamed of, and well knowing that he had, and being well known to have, a higher esteem of parliament, and a greater desire to preserve the just privileges of both houses, than they had who seemed to be angry with him on that behalf; and that the extending [them] beyond their due length would in the end endanger the destruction of parliaments.

But he shortly after found, that this guard was not secure enough to defend him. What he said in parliament was the sense of more who would not speak it, than there were of those who disliked it; and how much soever it offended them, they could not out of it find a crime to accuse him of. But they who were more concerned to remove him from a post, where he too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the liberties they took, resolved to sacrifice all their oaths and obligations, which obliged them to the contrary, to the satisfaction of their envy and their malice: and so whatsoever he said or advised in the most secret council to the king himself with reference to things or persons, they communicated all to those who had most reason to be angry, yet could not own the information. Of all which he had advertisement, and that a storm would be shortly

raised to shake him, of which he had little apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that quarter, from whence he soon after discerned it to proceed.

There was another particular and private accident that fell out at this time, that administered more occasion of faction and dissension in the houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all public business. The marquis of Dorchester had some years before married one of his daughters to the lord Roos, eldest son to the earl of Rutland; both families very noble in themselves, and of great fortunes, and allied to all the great families of the kingdom. The lady being of a humour not very agreeable, and not finding the satisfaction she expected where she ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where she ought not to find it. And her husband, as men conscious to themselves of any notable defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how she behaved herself, and she as little dissembling or concealing the contempt she had of her husband; until his friends, especially the mother, (who was a lady of a very great spirit and most exalted passion,) took notice of her frequent absence from her husband, and of her little kindness towards him when she was present with him. And the young lady, who with her other defects had want of wit to bear a reprehension she deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no esteem of her husband; charged him with debauchery, and being always in drink, which was too true; and reproached him with folly, as a man not worthy to be beloved. And the passion swelling to a great height on both sides, the marquis came to be engaged on the behalf of his daughter, and challenged her husband to fight with him, who in many respects was not capable, nor did understand those encounters.

In the end, after many acts of passion, which administered too much cause of mirth and scandal to the world, yet by the advice and mediation of friends, as good a reconciliation as in such cases is usual was made, and the young couple brought to live again together. And the lady having the ascendant over the lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any conditions, that he might enjoy himself though he could not enjoy her, he was contented that she made a journey to London upon pretence to see some friends: and the time being expired which she had prescribed for her absence, he sent to her to return, which she deferred from time to time. But at last, after many months, she returned to him in so gross a manner, that it appeared that she had kept company too much, which she never endeavoured to conceal; and when her husband told her “that she was with child,” and asked “who got it;” she answered him confidently, “that whoever got it, if it proved a boy, as she believed it would, he should be earl of Rutland.”

This was more than the young man could bear without informing his mother, (the good earl not loving to engage himself in so much noise,) who presently took care that the great-bellied lady was made a prisoner in her chamber, strictly guarded, that she could not go out of those lodgings which were assigned her; all her own servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other things supplied that she could stand in need of or require, liberty only

excepted. Yet in this close restraint she found means to advertise her father of the condition she was in, and made it much worse than it was, seeming to apprehend the safety of her life threatened by the malice of the countess, mother to her husband, "who," she said, "did all she could to "alienate his affection from her; and now that she "found she was with child, would persuade him that "it was not his; and took all this extreme course, "either to make her miscarry and so endanger "her life, or to put an end to mother and child "when she should miscarry:" and therefore besought her father, "that he would find some way "to procure her liberty, and to remove her from "that place, as the only means to save her life."

The marquis, with the passion of a father, and confidence of his daughter's virtue, and having no reverence for the countess, thought it an act of great barbarity, and consulted whether he could have any remedy at law to recover his daughter's liberty; and finding little hope from thence, (the restraint of a wife by the jealousy of her husband in his own house being not a crime the law had provided a remedy against,) he resorted then to the king, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean time he sent women to see and attend his daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the countess declaring, "that she should want nothing; but "that since it was impossible that the child could "be of kin to her son, who had not seen her in "so many months before the child must have "been got, she would provide that there should "be no more foul play, when she should be delivered; and after that time she should have no "more restraint or residence in that house, but "be at liberty to go whither she would."

The conclusion was, the lady was delivered, and a son born, who was quickly christened by the name of Ignoto, and committed to a poor woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the lady recovered strength enough, she was dismissed and sent to a house of her father, who received her with the affection he thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the strictness he could, he remained satisfied in her innocence, and consequently of the barbarous treatment she had received, and the injury and indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the son; for which he was resolved to leave no way untried in which he might receive a vindication. In order to which he first desired the king to hear all parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a day for the doing it, being attended by some bishops and other lords of his council; when the marquis and his daughter, and the lord Roos and his mother, [appeared,] with more ladies than could have the patience to stay till the end of the examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly particulars mentioned, that made all the auditors very weary. Nor was there any room for his majesty to interpose towards a reconciliation, which was in view impossible; nor could the lady be excused for a great delight she took in making her husband jealous of her, and in expressing a contempt of him, whatever else she was guilty of: and so the king left it as he found it. And the marquis, who had heard many things he did not expect to have heard, took his daughter to his own house, that by her own strict behaviour she might best vindicate

herself from the scandal she lay under: but she quickly freed him from that hope and expectation; for within a short time after, she, not being able to submit to the strict order and discipline of her father's house, which would not permit those wanderings she desired to make, nor the visits she desired to receive, made an escape from thence, and lodged herself at more liberty, and lived in that manner as gave too much evidence against her with reference to the time that was past.

The marquis, who was a man of great honour, and most punctual in all things relating to justice, gave a noble instance of both, and how much he detested the base and unworthy behaviour of his own child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble family, asked their pardon "for his incredulity, and for any offence he "had committed against them, or reproach he "laid upon [them], for the vindication of an unworthy woman, who he believed now had deserved all and more aspersions than had been laid on her: and therefore he was ready to join "with them to free the family, as much as was "possible, from the infamy she had brought to "them and him, and that her base issue might not "be an eternal reproach in their family." Upon this she was first, upon the complaint of her husband, cited into the court of the arches before the ecclesiastical judges: where, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing what she could allege in her own defence, her crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a judgment was pronounced "of a full and "entire separation *a toro et a mensa pro causa "adulterii*," in such a form, and with such circumstances, as are of course in those cases.

But all this was not remedy enough against the bastard's title to the honour of that illustrious family: and therefore there was a bill prepared, wherein all the foul carriage of the lady was set out, the birth and christening of Ignoto, the declaration and judgment of the court of the arches, and separation of the parties for the adultery proved; and thereupon a desire that it might be declared by act of parliament, "that the son, Ignoto "by name, is a bastard and incapable to inherit any "part of the title, honour, or estate of or belonging to the house of Rutland; and the same incapacity to attend all other children, which from "that time, the birth of Ignoto, had or might be "born from the body of that lady." And this bill being presented to the house of peers by a lord nearly allied to that family, the earl of Rutland being present with the marquis, as soon as it was read the marquis stood up, and "with expressions of trouble, and of the justice that was "due to the greatness of a noble house, that had "received a foul blemish by a woman of too near "a relation to him, of whom he was ashamed," gave his free consent to the bill, and desired that it might pass: and the earl likewise besought the house, "that so infamous a branch might not be "ingrafted into his family, of which his son, the "lord Roos, was the sole heir male, with whom "the honour must expire."

It was a case of general concernment as well as compassion, that an impudent woman should have the power to give an heir to inherit a noble title and fortune by descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate,

and a mere stranger to the blood of the house. Yet there were some very good lords, and who detested the woman and the wickedness, made such scruple of making a new precedent in a particular case, that undermined a foundation of law, and opened a door to let in an unjust declaration, upon pretences not so well proved, to the disinherison of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two declarations of bastardy in parliament in the reign of king Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

However, it was as just that she should be heard, to defend both herself and her son; and therefore the bill being read the second time, it was committed, with direction "that the lady should have personal [notice] to attend, before the committee entered upon it:" and after long inquiry at the places where she used to be, it was found that she had transported herself into Ireland, in the company of the person whom she had preferred before her husband; and there was reason to believe, that it was after she had notice of the bill. However, all proceedings were respited till there was full proof given to the house, by the person himself who had spoken with her in Ireland, and given her the warrant that required her attendance upon the committee: and then, after many days longer delay, it was read and debated, and by the committee reported to the house to be engrossed.

And then, and not till then, the duke of Buckingham opposed the passing of it, upon pretence, "that in the bill [the lord Roos] had assumed a title that belonged to him by his mother, who had been heir female to Francis earl of Rutland;" when that title, now challenged, had descended to George the brother of Francis, and had been enjoyed by two earls of Rutland since. It was generally thought a strange exception: nor was it known, whether the duke was disposed to it as a revenge upon the marquis, or to shew his own power, (for he had many who concurred with him in both houses upon many occasions,) or whether he did in truth desire to support the lady in her infamy, he not being over-tender in cases of that nature. However, it was necessary to recommit the bill, that some expedient might be there found to remove the obstruction, which though he was obstinate in till the house was tired with many days debate upon it, in which most of his adherents upon the unreasonableness left him, he persisted still and maintained the debate almost alone, till the time of the session approached; when the lord Roos was compelled to humour him in leaving out a title that all the world gave him. And then, after intolerable vexation to the house and loss of time, he desisted to appear against it; and the act passed the royal assent.

The ill humour of the house of commons was not abated; and though they knew well that their Irish bill could never have passed the upper house but by the king's powerful interposition, they remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that he would not give his assent; which till he should do, they would admit no debate of money: so that as soon as the bill was presented to him, his majesty came to the house of peers, and sent for the commons to attend him upon the 18th day of January; when, after he had given his

consent to that and another private bill which they had presented, he told them, "that he had now passed their bills, and that he had been in hope to have had other bills ready to have passed too." He said, "that he could not forget, that within few days after their coming together in September, both houses had presented to him their vote and declaration, that they would give him a supply proportionable to his occasions; and the confidence of that had made him anticipate that small part of his revenue which was unanticipated, for the payment of the seamen; and his credit had gone further than he had reason to think it would, but it was now at an end.

"This was the first day," he said, "he had heard of a supply, being the 18th of January, and what it would amount unto, God only knew; and what time he had to make such preparations as were necessary to meet three such enemies as he had, they could well enough judge. And he must tell them, what discourses soever were abroad, he was not in any treaty; but by the grace of God he would not give over himself and them, but would do what was in his power for defence of both. It was high time for them to make good their promise; and it was high time for them to be in the country, as well for the raising of money, as that the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants might watch those seditious spirits which were at work to disturb the public peace. And therefore he was resolved to put an end to that session on Monday next come sennight, before which time he desired that all things might be made ready that he was to despatch." His majesty said, "he was not willing to complain that they had dealt unkindly with him in a bill he had then passed, in which they had manifested a greater distrust of him than he had deserved. He did not pretend to be without infirmities, but he had never broken his word to them; and if he did not flatter himself, the nation had never less cause to complain of grievances, or the least injustice or oppression, than it had had in those seven years since it had pleased God to restore him to them: he would," he said, "be glad to be used accordingly."

This little quickness in his majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former application had done: and now they saw that they should not be suffered to continue longer together, they resolved to leave some relish of their former duty and compliance. Not that the humour was at all reformed or abated in those who had shewed so much frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever; but they were overruled by the major part of the house, as they would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were they, who had advised that change, willing that his majesty should decline the same method, and were much troubled that he had not caressed the house more in his late discourse. And as they had before advised his majesty freely and without any condition to offer the repeal, and release the act that had granted the chimney-money to him, which was a very good and a growing revenue, but they observed to be unpopular; upon a presumption (which they assured him could not fail) that so generous an action in his majesty towards

his people would be immediately requited by a grant of much greater value, (and they had prevailed in this counsel, if the chancellor and the treasurer had not with great resolution opposed it, and made evident to his majesty, "that he ought never to propose it himself though with conditions, because it would make the grace undervalued, and the conditions to be esteemed unreasonable; nor to hearken to any general proposition, or consent to the repeal of that act, without having a full and equivalent recompense (which ought to be very well weighed) granted in the same act of parliament; for he had now sufficient evidence, that the constant good-humour of the house was not to be depended upon:" which confirmed his majesty to resolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and so that mischief was prevented :) yet were now as desirous that the house of commons would still press the despatch of the bill of accounts, which rested in the lords' house; and assured them, "that if they would embrace the same positiveness they had done, the chancellor would be no more able to hinder the passing of that act, than he had been to keep his majesty from consenting to the Irish bill so much against his resolution." But they and their friends could not keep up the same spirit of stubbornness in the house, nor prevail with the king to recede from his purpose: so that the bill for accounts remained still in the house of lords not fully discussed. And such a progress was made in the house of commons, notwithstanding all opposition, that a bill for supply was prepared within the time prescribed, though in respect of the proportion not equal to the occasions, and entangled still with the same inconvenient clauses and provisos which had so unwarily been admitted at Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready money; of which his majesty was now fully convinced. But the time was too short to labour in the alteration. And so the bill, as it was, was sent up to the lords, who, after the short formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a passage through that house: so that it was now ready for the king.

The eighth of February the king came to the parliament, and the speaker of the house presented the bill to the king, who gave his royal assent to it, and thanked them for it, with his assurance, "that the money should be laid out for the ends it was given: however," he said, "he hoped he should live to have bills of this nature in the old style, with fewer provisos." He took notice, "that the bill of accounts for the money that had been already raised since the war was not offered to him: but," his majesty said, "that he would take care (after so much noise) that the same should not be stifled; but that he would issue out his commission in the manner he had formerly promised the house of peers; and the commissioners should have very much to answer, if they should not discover all matters of fraud and cozenage." He told them, "the season of the year was very far spent, in which the enemy had got great advantage; but by the help of God, he would make all the preparations he could, and as fast as he could: and yet he would tell them, that if any good overtures were made for an honourable peace, he would not reject

them; and he believed all sober men would be glad to see it brought to pass.

"He would now prorogue them till towards winter, that they might in their several places intend the peace and security of their several countries, where there were unquiet spirits still working. He did pray them," and said, "he did expect it from them, that they would use their utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations out of the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men had industriously infused into them, of he knew not what jealousies and grievances: for he must tell them again, and he was sure he was in the right, that the people had never so little cause to complain of oppression and grievances, as they had since his return to them. If the taxes and impositions were grievous and heavy upon them, they would put them in mind, that a war with such powerful enemies could not be maintained without taxes; and he was sure the money raised thereby came not into his purse." He concluded "with promising himself good effects from their affections and wisdoms, wherever they were: and he did hope they should all meet again of one mind, for his honour, and the good of the kingdom." And so they were prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

And now the king had very much to do, more than he had time or tools to despatch. Yet he began first where the parliament left [off], that when they came again together, they might have no cause to say, that he had not performed what he had promised, and so with the same passion renew their clamour upon the accounts, which was made now a very popular complaint; and whoever was accused of obstructing that examination, was presently concluded to have had a share in the prey. Yet he was not willing that such a strict account or examination should be made, especially into the receipt of the lord Ashley for the prizes, that all the world should know what money had been issued out by his own immediate orders, and to whom. Hereupon he commanded his attorney and solicitor general to prepare a commission, with all necessary clauses, to call all persons to account who had received any such monies, and to examine and take any exception to the same.

And that there might be no just exception to the commission, which he knew would be strictly looked into, they were required "to advise with all or any of the judges, that it might have their approbation; and that there should be a clause in the commission, whereby the commissioners should be authorized to call any of the judges to their assistance, when upon any matters of difficulty they should think it necessary." And that there might be no exception to any of the commissioners, as like to be partial in respect of friendship or alliance to any of those who were to be called before them, his majesty appointed all those persons, who were nominated for commissioners in the bill sent to the house of lords by the commons, to be inserted into this commission; and likewise made choice of such a number of the peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all debates in the house appeared most solicitous, that a very exact account should be required, and of such others

who had no relation to the court, and were looked upon with the most esteem by the house of commons: all which was prepared with the expedition that was possible, and the commission sealed; and notice given to all the commissioners, that they should meet at a place appointed; upon a day named, presently after Easter, by which time the judges would be returned out of their circuits; and they were then at liberty to adjourn to what place they pleased.

We are now to enter upon the occurrences of the year 1667, a year little more prosperous to the public than the year preceding, and fatal in respect of many calamitous accidents to the chancellor, and which put a period to his greatness; the circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the public transactions of state, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear relation of the one without the other.

The temper the parliament had been in, and the delay they had used in giving the king any supply towards the carrying on the war, made the king discern that he had been too confident of their generosity, and that they had already departed from that spirit with which they first had persuaded him to enter into that war: and it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the Dutch could endure being beaten longer than he could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the money of France, and the governing party had subdued all contradictions; and whatever their affections were, all compliance and submission appeared to the commands of the state; and there wanted nothing but the season of the year to carry their fleet again to sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All murmuring was transplanted from thence into England, where it grew up plentifully: and the king was, upon the credit of an act of parliament that was passed on the eighth of February, to provide a fleet ready to encounter with the potent enemies in the spring. There was no trade by sea, and therefore could not be much by land, that could bring any benefit to the king; and the seamen ran all to the privateers, who adventured for booty, which they preferred before serving in the royal navy.

The king in these straits called that council together with whom he used to consult his most secret affairs; and the chief officers at sea, and the commissioners of the navy, attended to give such information as was necessary before any resolution could be taken. There the whole state of the navy [was inquired into]; what was in the stores, and what the defects or deficiencies were, and what hopes there were of supplying them; what ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three months. The victualler was sent for, to give an account what provision of victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on board in the same time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every officer protested, "that there could not be the least [attempt] towards any preparations without a good sum of ready money:" and the yards were in that necessity by reason of the great arrear of wages that was due to them, that they were near a mutiny, and could not be kept to their work, being necessitated to do any work abroad to get victual for their families. The inferior officers, which

belonged to the stores, lived by stealing and selling what they were intrusted to keep. In short, all things were presented to be in that confusion, that there appeared no probability of being able to set out any fleet before the enemy would be so strong upon the coast, that it would be very difficult to make a conjunction between those ships which were in the river, and the other which were at Portsmouth and in other ports.

This desperate representation did not make the king take a sudden resolution: but the same council met many days morning and evening. All ways were thought upon which might administer hope to get any money; and considerations were entered upon what was to be done in case a fleet could not be provided fit to engage the enemy, and which way a defensive war was to be made at sea, and how the trade should be secured, and the coast and harbours be so preserved, that the enemy might do no affront at land; for every day brought loose and ungrounded intelligence of bodies of horse and foot, drawn in France to the sea-side in many places upon that large coast, and likewise in Holland, and great provision of flatbottoms, as if they intended to make some descent; which kind of rumours exceedingly discomposed the common people, though they who understood the expeditions of that nature, and with what difficulty land armies were transported, were not moved by those reports. After all expedients were considered and well weighed, his majesty found cause to despair of being able to set out in any time a fleet equal to the occasion, and so contracted his thoughts to the other part, for the defensive.

There is a point of land on the Kentish coast that extends itself into the sea, and at the very entrance of the river, where the king had often thought and discoursed of erecting a royal fort, that would both preserve the coast, and likewise be a great security to the river: and the prosecuting this design was in this consultation thought of great importance, and the erecting another fort in another place, and repairing and strengthening Landguard Point upon the coast of Essex and Suffolk.

For preparations for the sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that a good squadron of light frigates should ride on the coast of Scotland, and another of the same strength lie off Plymouth, both which should intercept the trade of Holland both outward and inward, if they did not maintain it with strong convoys, which would break their fleet; and in those cases the frigates would easily retire to their harbours. That some frigates should be always in the Downs, to chase picaroons from infesting the coast, and to observe and get intelligence of the enemies' motion, and upon occasion should retire up the river. That there should be some of the greatest ships at Chatham, Portsmouth, and other places, prepared and put in readiness against the end of summer, before which time money might be provided: and then the enemies' fleet being weary and foul, it might be presumed the French would return early into their own ports, which were so far off; and then the frigates from the west and the north might find the way to join with the great ships, which should be ready against that time, and

"either fight the Dutch if they should choose it, or infest their coast more than they had done this, and take all their ships homeward bound from all places, which, upon the fame of their being masters of the sea all the summer, would repair home without apprehension of an enemy." And there were some officers of great experience at sea, who, being called by the king to advise upon this project, declared with confidence, "that the Dutch would be greater losers by the war thus conducted the next summer, than they had been in any year since the war begun."

For the security of trade, it was declared, "that there was no possible way to secure it but by restraining it, and not suffering any merchants' ships to go to sea, and by giving them advice to send to all their factors and correspondents, that they should send no goods home till they received new orders:" which restraint some were against, "both because it would have an ill reception with the people, when they should find that a war, which had been entered into for the enlargement and advancement of trade, had produced a cessation of all trade; and it would appear very hard that men, who had laid out their own stocks and were willing to venture them, should be forbid and hindered from sending them to those markets for which they had provided them, and which would turn to little less loss to them than they should incur by their being taken by the enemy. Then it would be, not a discouragement but a dissipation of the seamen, who, if they could have no employment in the king's ships or in the merchant ships, would be scattered abroad to seek their fortune, that they would not be brought together when the king had occasion for their service. In the last [place]; that the giving this order for restraint, and advice to the merchants to inform their factors and correspondents, would be, and could not choose but be, an absolute publication of this resolution of the king to send out no fleet in the spring; which was yet agreed to be the highest secret."

All these reasons were temperately weighed and answered, "that it could not be unreasonable or unjust to hinder men from doing themselves harm: the king could not take their goods from them to his own use; but he might lawfully hinder them from spoiling or destroying the goods that were their own. That their being taken by the enemy (which would be unavoidable) concerned the king and the kingdom little less than it did the private owners: it would increase the insolence and the wealth of the enemy, and reflect upon his majesty's honour as well as impoverish his subjects; and the difference would be very great between losing their goods, and keeping them upon their hands for a better market. For the dissipation of the seamen, there would no great danger be of that: the squadrons on the western and the northern coasts, which must be very well manned, would entertain good numbers; and the rest would put themselves on board the privateers, who should be all bound to come home against the time the king would have occasion for their service, and then the privateers should be restrained as now the merchants. For the keeping the present resolution

"secret, which would by this means be published, it were to be desired that it might remain a secret as long as should be possible: but as discerning men would easily discover it, and could not but already know that it was impossible for the king in time to set out a ship, so it would quickly be evident to all the world; and the secret was not to be affected longer than it could be concealed."

There was another inconvenience or mischief that was in view, that would come like an armed man upon the city, which was want of fuel, especially the want of coals from Newcastle, of which there had been a vast quantity consumed in the late fire, which had likewise consumed those houses and chimneys which should be supplied; yet the people remained still, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded closer together. But to that there could be no other remedy applied, but the sending both orders to Newcastle to employ all their ships, and all they could procure, in sending as much coal as was possible to London and the towns adjacent, before the enemy's fleet could put to sea: and convoys were assigned too strong for their privateers or small parties of their men [of war]: and the king gave two or three vessels of his own, and likewise money, to fetch coals, that the poor might have them at the rates they cost; and directed the city to do the same. All which produced some good effect.

Upon the whole matter, and thorough examination of the whole, the king concluded upon all the particulars mentioned before, assigning proper persons to supervise every particular, that all should be executed in time that was agreed upon. The duke issued out all his orders to the ships, with which sir William Coventry was charged, whose office it was: and the king would charge himself with that which was most important, the fortification at Sheerness; whither his majesty made a journey in the cold and depth of winter, and took an engineer and some officers of the ordnance with him, that all things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that office. He caused master-workmen to be sent from London, and drew common labourers enough out of the country, having provided money to pay them. And after all things were in this order, and he had seen the work begun, he left the master-engineer, whom he designed to be the governor of the fort, for which he was very equal, upon the place; and committed the overlooking of the whole, that all possible expedition might be used, to one of the commissioners of the ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: and his majesty returned to London, when in the opinion of all his servants he had stayed too long in such a season, and such an air, to the danger of his health. How all those resolutions and orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its place.

It cannot be imagined by any man who in any degree knew him, that the chancellor, though he was present, could have any part in these resolutions but the submitting to them; every particular being so much [out] of his sphere, that he never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: nor throughout the whole conduct of the war was he ever known to presume to give an advice; but presuming that all whose

profession it was advised what was fit, he readily concurred. And he did always declare, "that in this last consultation all points were so fully debated; and that there was so concurrent an opinion in the commanders of the ships, and the officers of the navy, with the approbation of the duke of York, prince Rupert, and the general, that it was not possible to set out a fleet in time equal to that of the enemy, to engage with it; and that the next best would be to stand upon the defensive in the manner proposed: [that] it did not appear to him, that there was any election left but to pursue that course," which he did believe very reasonably proposed and resolved upon; nor did any thing occur to him, why very much good might not be hoped from it, he being so totally unskilful in the knowledge of the coast and the river, that he knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the name of such a place till this last discourse, nor had ever been upon any part of the river with any other thought about him, than to get on shore as soon as could be possible.

The king had not himself thought of this defensive way, but approved it very much when he heard it so fully discussed, and in which himself had proposed all his doubts, which no man raised more pertinently in arguments of that nature than his majesty; and it may be he liked it the better, because at that time, as he was heartily weary of the war, so he was not without a reasonable hope of peace, which he resolved to cherish, as he told the parliament at parting he would do. The grounds of which hope, and the progress thereupon, the entering upon a treaty, and the conclusion thereof, will be the discourse and relation we shall next enter upon.

How ill success soever had attended the negotiation of Denmark by the irresolution and unsteadiness of that court, Mr. Coventry had conducted what had been committed to him with very good effect in Sweden. And after he had disposed that court (where he had rendered himself extremely acceptable) to a just esteem of the king's friendship, and an equal aversion to the Hollander, and concluded such articles as were for the present and joint convenience and benefit of both nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a stricter and nearer alliance, and to that purpose to send ambassadors into England, where they had an agent; he returned to give his majesty an account and information of the constitution and temper of that court, and of the nature and disposition of the two ambassadors who were to attend his majesty, who were chosen before he left Stockholm, and resolved to embark within ten days: which they did, and arrived about the time, or soon after, that the city was so miserably destroyed by fire; which was the less favourable conjuncture, not so much by the influence that dreadful distraction and damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the war, as by the ill humour which the parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest obstinacy against the king's desires; which was a temper very different from what they expected to have found, and what they had been informed had possessed them from the time of his majesty's return. Nor was this manifest indisposition without some unhappy impression upon the spirits of the ambassadors, and that alacrity they brought

with them presently to enter into a treaty, and conjunction of forces against the common enemy.

It was manifest enough, that the crown of Sweden was weary of the obligations they had been long bound in to France, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make alliances with Denmark, and the lesser neighbour princes, as those of the house of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to their disadvantage, than to consider that crown which had been so useful to them, as if their friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real disesteem of them; but that they might bind them to a faster dependance upon them, and that they might not be severed from their interest, whatsoever they should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that they might be inclined to England, and that Holland apprehended that they might be induced to make a conjunction with the bishop of Munster, France (as hath been touched before) sent their ambassador Pomponne into Sweden, with a full year's salary of what was in arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that crown to a neutrality between the English and the Dutch; in which he found Mr. Coventry had prevented him, and though he had not then the character of ambassador, he was much better respected there than he was. And as they would have joined with the bishop of Munster, if he had advanced according to his pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by France; so, when he was diverted from his purpose, they were the more inclined to make a firm alliance with England, and thereby such a further conjunction with other princes, protestant or catholic, that might give some check to the impetuous humour of France, which they now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the banks which belonged to their neighbours, as they had been formerly of the house of Austria; and for the same reason were as desirous to retire from any dependance upon or relation to that crown, as they had been formerly of its protection; and were very well prepared to change their alliance, and, if they might not be losers by it, to make a conjunction with Germany and the house of Austria, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the United Provinces would be glad to be received upon moderate conditions when a peace should be made with England.

And this was the prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. Coventry, and upon view of which they now sent their ambassadors, without being terrified by the declaration of France on the behalf of the Dutch; and with a resolution, if they could not persuade Holland to separate from that conjunction, and make a peace apart with the king, (which they laboured by their ambassador the count of Dhona to the States,) to join their interest frankly to that of his majesty, and to run the hazard and expect the issue and event of the war.

The two ambassadors were Flemming and Coyet, both senators in the great council of Sweden, and men of prime authority there: the former of the greater place and esteem, being a nobleman of an ancient and noble extraction of a family in Scotland, that had lived through many descents in Sweden in great employment and lustre; and this man never dissembled a particular devotion

to the king, and for that reason principally was designed to this negociation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so cheerful a complexion, but a more thinking and melancholic man, more conversant in books, and more versed in the course and forms of business; and by his own virtue and humble industry had from a mean and low birth, which in those northern kingdoms is the highest disadvantage, by degrees ascended to the degree of a senator, which is the chiefest qualification; and had gotten his first credit and reputation by a negociation he was intrusted with in Holland, and a treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that court to be much inclined to the Dutch, and to have some particular friendship with De Wit, they having studied together in Leyden when they were young; and their familiarity after was improved to a good correspondence in that negociation in Holland.

This being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. Coventry endeavoured to prevent his designation to that employment, by speaking to the chancellor of that kingdom, who always received him with open arms, and gave good testimony of his hearty and passionate desire of a firm conjunction between the two crowns; and, though he was of a French extraction, had a full jealousy of the want of sincerity and justice of that nation. When he discovered the apprehension Mr. Coventry had, he persuaded him to acquiesce in his judgment rather than to credit common rumour: "that he well knew both, and had contributed to the election of both, who were very fit to be joined together in an employment of this nature, the gaiety and warmth of the one standing in need sometimes of the phlegm of the other, who would yet pay that reverence to him that was due to his superior quality; and that he was too good a Swede to have inclinations to the Dutch, how much conversation soever he had with them. In a word, he would pass his word;" which put an end to all further doubts: and it was well enough known, that he had been raised by and was a creature of the chancellor.

And in truth, from the time of their arrival in England he carried himself very fairly, and without any visible inclination to the Dutch, and much less to the French; and they both very frankly declared to those of the king's ministers with whom they conferred with intimacy, "that that crown would gladly be separated from them, if a good expedient might be found to make them no losers by it." Yet it is as true, that after they had been some months in England, and saw in how ill a posture the king was for the carrying on the war, and how far the parliament was from giving money, or from any reasonable compliance with his majesty's desires, Coyet did not concur with the same warmth in his despatches, with Flemming, into Sweden; but writ apart to the ministers there, "that they must take new measures, and not depend upon a conjunction with England, to which, how well soever the king was inclined, he would not be able to bear the part they expected, by reason that he had no power with the parliament;" which letters his majesty's agent then in Sweden had a sight of: which produced no other effect there, but, that if they saw that either the king was inclined to a peace, or would be reduced to a necessity to treat,

the ambassadors should offer in the name of their master his interposition, which their ministers in France and Holland should then likewise make proffer of, upon advertisement first from them, but with a secret assurance to the king, "that if a treaty should not take effect," (which it could hardly be believed it would do,) "the crown of Sweden would firmly unite itself to his majesty's interest, and engage in the war with him;" which it was evident they were more inclined to, than to a peace in which France might be comprehended. But that which they most desired was, that a peace might be made with the Dutch without comprehending France, in which they would willingly enter, which would draw Spain and all the princes of Germany to desire to be admitted for their own security.

The Conde of Molina was ambassador from Spain, near the king, a man rather sincere than subtile, and so had the more need of the advice and assistance of the baron of Isola, who was, under the title of envoy from the emperor, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the emperor's ministers were) by the king of Spain; who being a Burgundian, born in those parts which remain subject to Spain, had an implacable hatred to the French; and by the employments he had undergone in Italy and other places, where he had been ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that he was become notoriously odious to the French, and was a man of great experience and very subtile parts. Both those ministers did heartily wish a peace between England and Holland, with the exclusion of France: but if that could not be, they had much rather the war should continue as it was, than that France should be comprehended in the peace; for which they had some reason. For at this time the king of Spain died, which they had too many reasons to believe would put an end to the quiet of Flanders; and therefore would be glad that they might have the assistance of England for their defence, and in which Holland could not think itself unconcerned. The probability of this, and the constant intelligence they received from the Hague, "that there were already jealousies grown up between the French and the Dutch," persuaded them, and they endeavoured to persuade the king, "that Holland might be now induced to treat by themselves; or if they could not do that, but must proceed jointly with France, they would upon assurance of the king's affection sever themselves from them, if they insisted upon any thing that was not for the joint benefit of all." The king left them to do what they thought fit towards it, without undertaking any thing on his part until their fair intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his majesty's inclinations to peace upon just and honourable conditions.

There is no doubt, there was a real jealousy and dissatisfaction between France and Holland at this time. The Dutch complained, "that the French had broken their promise with them no less this year than they had done the last: they had indeed declared and proclaimed a war, but they had done no acts of hostility; and whereas they were engaged that their fleet should have joined with theirs in the month of May, they had never been in view but at a great distance, and suffered the Dutch to fight so

"many days together without any help from them. And upon their renewed promise, they had again carried out their fleet to meet with them in August; when they failed again, and left them exposed to the whole English fleet: so that they were compelled with some loss to get again into their harbours." And now they had a real apprehension, that they might treat with England apart, and leave them to support the war at sea by themselves, whilst they pursued their expedition against Flanders upon the death of the king of Spain.

On the other side, France as much complained of the proceedings of the Dutch: "that after they had received a great sum of money from them, without which they could not have set out their fleet, they no more cared for a conjunction with their ships, nor went to that length at sea which they were bound to, to join with them; which they might have done, if they had continued their course when they put to sea in the beginning of June. Instead of which they went over to the coast of England to find the English, confessing thereby, that they had no need of the assistance of the French ships; but leaving [them] to shift for themselves. And afterwards, in the end of August, they came not to the place they had promised to have done; by reason of which neglect and breach of faith, if a singular act of Providence had not prevented it, their whole fleet had fallen into the hands of the English, as some part of it did." But that which made them likewise willing that this war should be at an end was, that now, the king of Spain being dead, they might enter upon a war with Spain; towards which they prepared manifestos to publish upon the matter of their right, and already prepared levies of men, of which they could pretend no other use: yet they professed to the Spanish ambassador to have no such design in their purposes. However, they would not enter upon any treaty apart without the Dutch: nor would De Wit, who entirely governed the councils of Holland, be induced to consent to any overtures made to separate, before or in the treaty, from France; but informed me of whatsoever was proposed by the baron of Isola, or the Spaniard, or any other person, to that purpose, and enlarged upon that information more than was true, to endear his own punctuality.

The mother of the king was then at Paris, having chosen rather to reside there than in England, since she saw the resolution of a war between them, and desired nothing more than to be an instrument in the composing those differences, which she thought were not good for either of the crowns; and found now another style in that court than it had used to discourse in, and from the time of the news of the death of the king of Spain, that the French king had spoken as if he wished a peace with England: whereupon, about the time when the parliament was prorogued, the earl of St. Alban's came to London, as to look to the queen's affairs, of which he was the great intendant. He informed the king "of the good temper the French court was in, and that he was confident, if his majesty would make any advance towards it, the queen would be able to dispose that king to hearken to it, and to be a mediator between England and Holland; and

"either to draw them to consent to what was just, or to separate from them: and he thought it very reasonable, that the conditions should be referred to the king of France, who he was sure, upon such a trust, would be very careful of the king's honour and interest." He professed "to have no authority for any thing he proposed, from the French king or any of his ministers, but from the queen's conjectures and his own observation: and if the king would give him a commission, he would presently return, and would not be known to have any powers, till he should find such a conjuncture to own it, as [that] the peace should be concluded before there should be any discourse of a treaty, (which he knew the French most desired,) lest Spain might interpose to perplex or delay it." And therefore he proposed, "that he might carry instructions with him, upon what conditions the king would be willing that a peace should be established." His majesty was resolved never to make the French king arbitrator of the conditions of the peace, nor that it should be treated at Paris; and most of all, that the earl of St. Alban's should not have any power to treat, "who," the king always used to say, "was more a French than an English man:" and he likewise resolved, "that no overture should be made towards peace in his name."

Whilst this was in suspense, the earl received letters from Paris, in which he was advised "to return thither with power to treat, and with information what conditions the king expected; for that his most Christian majesty had so prepared the Dutch, that he should have present power to treat and conclude; and so all things might be settled before the formality of a treaty should be entered into or heard of." This did not alter the king's resolution against authorizing the earl to treat, or making Paris the place of the treaty. But because the letters were written by monsieur Ruvigny, who was a person well known to the king, and of whom he had a good opinion, and whom he well knew to be too wary a man to write in that manner without having good authority to do so; his majesty was contented "that the earl should make haste to Paris; and if he found by Ruvigny that what they proposed was really desired, he should undertake to know that the king was very well inclined to peace, and that himself would willingly confer with any body he would carry him to; and whatsoever should be proposed, he would with all possible expedition transmit it to the king:" with this further direction, "that if he were satisfied that their intentions were real, which the alterations in their own affairs made probable, he should endeavour, by the queen or Ruvigny, to discover whether it would not be possible to persuade that king to treat apart and exclude Holland; and if it appeared to him that was not to be hoped, that at least his majesty would think it reasonable, that the Dutch should restore whatsoever fort or other place they had taken upon the coast of Guinea, and likewise pay a good sum of money to the king towards the charge of the war."

The earl of St. Alban's had no mind to return with no larger a commission, and pretended to know "that this was not the way to advance a treaty, and that he could as well write what the

“king directed, and know again by letter what they thought of it; and therefore he would stay and despatch the business which the queen sent him about, before he would return.” But when he saw the king was contented he should stay, rather than have nothing to do in the treaty, he chose to be at the beginning of it, and thought he should not be afterwards left out; and so offered the king to depart without further delay.

The king had from the beginning informed the chancellor of all that the earl had said to him from his arrival: and when he had received those letters from Ruvigny, he sent him to shew them to him; and himself came presently whilst the earl was there, and directed him to prepare the instructions for him, which the earl likewise desired he might do. The chancellor very well knew, that his credit with the king was much lessened, and that of the lord Arlington much increased, who did not like that he should meddle in the affairs proper to his office: besides he had no mind to be intrusted in the transactions with France, of whose want of faith he had too much experience; which would neither be grateful to the queen mother nor to the earl. And therefore he very earnestly besought the king, “that, it being the lord Arlington’s province, all those despatches might pass through his hands.” The king said, “that he knew the lord Arlington desired his help, and that he should prepare all those despatches,” which he required him to do: and the earl of St. Alban’s seemed very much to desire, “that not only his instructions might be prepared by him, but that he might always receive his majesty’s pleasure signified by him, upon any material point that should arise;” which the king promised him he should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those commands he was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his majesty, “that the whole matter might be first communicated to that committee of the council, with which he consulted his most secret affairs; and that the earl of St. Alban’s might be present at the debate; and that whatever he should be appointed to put into writing might be perused at that board, and if it required his majesty’s signature, it should be presented to him by the secretary:” all which his majesty consented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the earl departed for France.

It is very true, there was yet no visible alteration in the king’s confidence towards the chancellor with reference to his business, in which his majesty had no reserve, and spent as much time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his house, as he had ever used to do. But when he offered to speak to him of other matters, as he could not forbear to do, which he thought concerned him more than his most public transactions; he found his countenance presently shut, no attention, and no answer, or such a one as shewed he was not pleased: and he took all occasions to make others see, that he was advised only by him in what immediately related to his business, and not more in that than by other men.

When the earl came to Paris, he found the French less upon their guard than he expected: and the king himself frankly expressed himself “to wish an end of this war, and that he might be possessed of the king’s friendship, which he

“valued exceedingly;” and referred to monsieur Lionne, “who,” his majesty said, “was prepared to speak to him.” Monsieur de Lionne kept himself within generals, “of the benefit that England would receive by a peace, which made his Christian majesty desire to promote it, and never more to depart from his friendship. That he was obliged in honour now not to quit the Dutch, having entered into a treaty with them when he had no imagination that there would be a war between them and England; that he had been often sorry for it, and had given them just occasion to complain, that he forbore longer than he ought to have done to give them help: and therefore he could not now leave them to themselves, except they were obstinate, and refused to make peace upon just conditions; and then he would renounce them.” But when he found that the earl had no power, and that he talked of money to be given for the charge of the war, and expected to have particular overtures to send to the king; he brake off the discourse till he could confer with his master.

Within two or three days monsieur de Lionne visited the earl, and told him, “that if any thing were to be done towards a peace, there must be no time lost: it was yet in the power of the most Christian king to bring it to pass upon just and honourable terms; but he knew not how long it would continue in his power; for he confessed the Dutch took themselves to be so much behindhand, that they had no mind to peace, believing they had now advantage. That it was never heard of, that after a war between two nations, upon the making peace, either side consented to pay the charge of the war: therefore any expectation of that, or but mention of it, would shut the door against any treaty.” He gave two papers to him to send to the king, both under his own hand, which his majesty had the choice of, and which the Dutch would consent to; “but if [that] should be required, the treaty was at an end before it was begun, and the sword must determine it.”

One of the papers contained an equivalent, of which his majesty might make his choice; whether “all things should continue in the state and posture in which they were at present, either side enjoying what they had got, and sustaining what they had lost, and so all things to remain as they were before the war;” or, “that a true and just computation should be made of the losses on both sides, and they who were found to have received most damage should be repaired at the charge of the other.” The other paper was, “that if his majesty approved of either of these expedients, he should himself make choice of the place where the treaty should be, whither all parties should send their ambassadors:” but then the French king desired, “that his majesty would not make choice of any place in the king of Spain’s dominions;” and the Dutch ambassador there had nominated Cologne or Francfort or Hamburgh. And the earl of St. Alban’s immediately sent away an express with those two papers to the king, upon receipt whereof the council were summoned.

There was no hope of money, which some, not reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a peace should be made; and it had been mentioned in Holland as a thing they expected should

be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the despatch of whatsoever should be agreed concerned the king very much, that the Dutch might not put to sea, nor discover that the king had no fleet to set out; for the spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little difficulty in the choice of the equivalent, for the English had taken much more from the Dutch than they had taken from England; and the other computation would be endless, and liable to very difficult examinations: so that by an unanimous advice the king resolved to choose the first equivalent.

But then the place for the treaty was not so easy to be chosen. The most natural had been Brussels, Antwerp, or some other large city in Flanders, which were all neutral places, and to which all parties might repair with the same ease and security. Whereas all the places mentioned in Germany were at so great a distance, that the summer would be far entered into, and so, many acts of hostility pass, before the ambassadors could meet; and the English must pass through the enemy's country thither: therefore there could be no thought of any of those places. Then the king of France had taken upon him to exclude Flanders, which he had no power to do, and it was as desirable to the Dutch as to the king: and therefore it was thought reasonable, that the king should insist upon some good town there, of which there was choice enough; and if Holland should approve it, France could not reject it. But on the other hand it was clearly discerned, that France would never send ambassadors into a country which he meant at the same time to invade; and that his majesty knew very well to be the intention, and the ground of that king's desiring the peace, which it was plain enough the Dutch did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a treaty by the positive demand of France, which they durst not contradict: and therefore it concerned the king to preserve that good disposition, and that the French ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the English in what should be just, and prevent any insolent carriage of the Dutch, or the Dane, who was likewise to have his ambassadors upon the place.

Upon those reasons the express returned with his majesty's consent and election of the first equivalent, and "that as soon as he should know that the Dutch had consented to it, his majesty would propose some equal place for the treaty." And as soon as the express was despatched, his majesty entered upon the debate of a fit place for the treaty; and said, "that he had a proposition then made to him by sir William Coventry, that was of such a nature as much surprised him, as he believed it would the lords; yet he had not thought enough to dislike or condemn it:" and so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short apology which he did not use to make, said, "that he perceived there would be little less difficulty in agreeing upon a place for the treaty than upon any doubts which might arise in it; for if the king of France was to be gratified in the exclusion of Flanders, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the king to send into Germany, which by the great delay would deprive the king of the greatest benefit he expected from the treaty; the speedy de-

"spatch whereof would be attended with the greatest conveniences: therefore he had proposed to the king, that he would immediately write to the States General without acquainting France with it, and offer to send his ambassadors to treat the peace at the Hague, that it might be speedily concluded, which would otherwise take up much time in sending for any resolution to the States upon what should arise. If they consented to it, it would probably be attended with success, the general affection of the people being well known to desire peace: and if they refused it, the world would conclude that they would have no peace, when they would not treat about it; and that his majesty would never have done them the honour to have sent his ambassadors home to them, if he had intended to deny any thing that was reasonable to them."

It was very new, and thought of by nobody but the lord Arlington [and sir William Coventry], who had communicated it together; and the objection of the condescension that it would seem to most men, as if the king sent to beg a peace at their own doors, was obvious to all men: but that would have been an objection against admitting it to have been at Paris. But the States not [being] upon any level that pretended to an equality, the probable convenience or benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the affection and desire of the people generally to peace was so notorious, that there was reason to believe that they would not be willing that a treaty begun amongst them should end but with effect: and therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the advice should be pursued. But then it was a new doubt, how the message or overture or letter, for the form was not yet thought of, should be conveyed; for the sending a trumpet or express had much more of application than the thing itself: and it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the king's hands before the answer could come from Paris, lest new instance should be made for a particular place.

It was at last resolved, that the Swedes ambassadors (both France and Holland having accepted the mediation of that crown) should be consulted with, to engage their minister at the Hague to deliver [it] to the States General; for there was some apprehension, that if De Wit knew of it, it might be considered only by that committee which was deputed for that affair, and never be brought to the States: and the adjusting all that was commended to the chancellor, who presently sent for the ambassadors, and found them very ready to perform any office which might bring them upon the stage in the treaty. And upon communication together, they were willing to send a servant of their own to the Hague, who should deliver to their ambassador the king's message to the States General, as an effect of their mediation and credit with the king. And so it was delivered, not in the form of a letter, but of a message in the third person to the States General, signed by the king and under the signet; and the ambassadors sent a gentleman in post with it.

But within two days a new alarm comes from France; and all that was done proved to be to no purpose. When they received the king's answer, they could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as they could expect; and monsieur de Lionne

shewed it as such to the Dutch ambassador, who finding that he was satisfied with it, and by him, that the king was so too, fell into much passion, and declared, "that it was not according to the consent he had given to the king and to monsieur de Lionne; and that he must protest against any treaty to be entered into upon this declaration." He put him then in mind, "that he had informed the king, in his presence, that there was an article in the late treaty between England and Holland, by which they were obliged to deliver up the island of Poleroone in the East Indies to the East India company of London, which they had formerly consented to with Cromwell, but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were resolved rather to continue the war than to part with it; which he had declared, when with reference to all other things he consented to the alternative: and if the king would [not] release that article of the former treaty, his masters would not enter upon any new."

Whether this was true or no cannot be known. But monsieur de Lionne came in great disorder to the lord of St. Alban's, and told him all that the ambassador had said, and confessed it "to be very true, and that the king remembered it well, and promised that article should be released: but that he, not clearly understanding the delivery of it to be contained in a former treaty, and knowing it had been many years in the possession of the Dutch, and that it still remained so, thought it had been comprehended in the alternative, and forgot to insert it in the paper that was sent to the king, for which he asked a thousand pardons; and made it his suit to the king that he would yield to it, and that a treaty that was so necessary to the good of Christendom might not be extinguished upon his negligence and want of memory:" which was a strange excuse for a minister of his known sagacity.

The earl of St. Alban's refused to transmit any such tergiversation to the king, and said, "he knew the king would never consent to it; and that this manner of proceeding, after that his majesty had consented to what themselves proposed, would shut out all future confidence of their sincerity." Monsieur de Lionne was exceedingly troubled and out of countenance, as a man conscious to himself of a great oversight, and desired him, "that he would meet the Dutch ambassador at his lodging, that they might together endeavour to remove him from the obstinacy he professed;" which the earl was contented to do, and the ambassador, how unwillingly soever, was prevailed with to meet at the time appointed: but they were no sooner met, and monsieur de Lionne entered upon the argument of Poleroone, but the ambassador fell into a rude passion, and said, "the war should determine it." And when the earl of St. Alban's began to speak of the unreasonableness of the demand, and entered upon the foul manner in which they had first taken that island from the English, who were in possession of it; he told him, "that he had nothing to say to him," and used much other language unfit for the other to hear, and [which] he had returned with interest, if monsieur de Lionne had not interposed, and being very desirous the conference should end, the ambassador's insolence being not to be endured. And so

they parted, Lionne seeming very much offended; and he complained to the king, and the earl gave the account of all to his majesty.

The French king was no less surprised and offended when he heard what message the king had sent to the States, (which he was advertised of by an express from Holland,) than De Wit had been at the delivery of it, who presently knew the drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the States, "that the design was only to stir up the people against the magistrates, and indeed to make them the judges of the conditions of the peace:" and he knew well that the people generally were no friends to the East India company, (where himself had a great stock, and therefore would never consent that a treaty entered into should break only upon their interest; which likewise was the reason, why they had provided that that particular should be first consented to, before any treaty should be agreed upon. And hereupon he prevailed upon the States General forthwith to declare in the negative, "that the treaty should not be at the Hague." But at the same time, after the naming again of Cologne and Francfort, they added, "that if the king desired to do them the honour to appoint it in any place of their dominions, which they did not presume to propose, they should consent that it might be at Breda, or Maestricht," or a place or two that they named: and this was resolved before the people heard that the king had named the Hague, and wondered and murmured at their refusal.

The king of France took it ill, that at a time when he proceeded with so much openness, and had given the first rise to a treaty, and opened the door which the Hollander peevishly shut against it, by his own offering the alternative, which the king had so far approved as to make his election; he should at the same time, without communicating it to him, send this overture to the Hague: which troubled him the more, that it gave him matter of jealousy to apprehend, that there was some other underhand treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the baron of Isola, who he knew had been privately at the Hague, and had conference with De Wit. And the same imagination did more perplex the queen mother and the earl of St. Alban's, who looked upon this as a device to exclude them from having any share in the peace; the earl having digested the conclusion in his own breast, that in what place soever the treaty should be held, he should without doubt be intrusted in the managery of it. However the king could not own his part of the dislike, since his majesty might without any violation of friendship make the overture by message to the Hague, as well as to or by him: therefore he seemed to take no exception to it, and only sent the king word, "that he believed the Dutch would quickly discern, that this condescension in his majesty proceeded from some expectation of a party amongst the people to second it; and therefore he was confident they would never consent to treat at the Hague." But he proposed, "as the best way for expedition, that it might be at Dover," which he advised his majesty not to reject: "for if it were once begun there, it might possibly, and he would further it all he could, quickly be removed to Canterbury, and probably might be concluded in London."

But before this message arrived, the other new demand of Poleroone, with monsieur de Lionne's acknowledgment of the defect of his memory, and that he ought to have inserted it in the paper that contained the alternative, with all the excuses he made for it, was received; which seemed to put an end to all hopes of peace. The king was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an affront contrived by both parties to amuse him. Every body concluded, that there could be no safety in depending upon any thing that could be offered from France, when they could never be without as reasonable a pretence as they had at present, to disclaim or avoid any concession they had made in writing:—that the particular demanded could never be consented to by his majesty, without swerving from the common rules of justice, and the violation of his own honour:—that though it did not immediately concern his majesty in his own interest and the interest of the crown, which was an argument used in France for his majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable interest of his subjects, which he was in justice bound to maintain, and which in justice he had no power to release. It was an interest so valuable, that Cromwell had insisted upon it so resolutely, that they had consented to it as a principal article of the peace he made with them; by which he gained great reputation with the people. And his majesty had thought himself so much concerned in honour not to suffer his subjects to be deprived of that right which Cromwell had vindicated, (though by his death it came not to be executed,) that he would never consent to the treaty that had been concluded since his happy return, until they consented to and renewed the same article, and promised the redelivery of the said island to the English by such a day: and their having broken their faith in not delivering it according to the last treaty, and with very offensive circumstances, his majesty had declared to be a principal cause of the war, and made them unquestionably to appear the first aggressor. And in that respect, his honour could not receive a more mortal wound than in releasing that article, which concerned the estates of other men, and would in the opinion of the world draw the guilt of the war upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the reproach of having purchased a peace upon very dishonourable conditions to himself, at the charge and with the estates of his subjects.

Upon the whole, the king resolved rather to undergo the hazard of the war, upon what disadvantage soever, than to consent to a proposition so dishonourable: and a despatch was presently sent to the earl of St. Alban's, with a very lively resentment “of the indignity offered to the king “in receding from what was offered by themselves, and in asking what he was resolved “never to grant.” And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the war, and to give the utmost advancement to it that could be possible: and without doubt, if Spain had yet put itself into any posture to defend itself against the power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any part towards the support of a common interest, the king would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any propositions from France.

Notwithstanding all this, new overtures and

new importunities were sent from France. “It “was true, that the Dutch had always protested “against making a peace or consenting to a treaty “without the release of Poleroone; which his “Christian majesty had consented to, and could “not recede from it without their consent, though “the mention of it had been unfortunately “omitted by monsieur de Lionne: but his majesty promised and engaged his royal word, “that when the treaty should be entered into, he “would use all his credit and authority to persuade the States General to recede from their “obstinacy, and to make no alteration in the last “treaty; but that all things [should] remain as “had been settled by it. And if he could not “prevail with them to satisfy him therein, as he “did fear that there was upon their particular interest some peremptory resolution fixed, from “whence they would not be removed as to the “main; yet in that case he did in no degree despair of obliging them to give a considerable “sum of money for recompense thereof, which he “desired might satisfy the king, who would find “himself at much ease by it. And if the commissioners once met and the treaty was begun, “it would not be dissolved before a peace should be “concluded; and that the French ambassadors, as “soon as they met, should propose a cessation “from all acts of hostility, which he expected “should be as soon yielded to as proposed; and “that already they had promised that their fleet “should remain in their harbours till the middle “of May, before which time the treaty might well “begin.” And from the present time the French king promised, “that no hostile act should be “done by him, and that his own fleet should not “stir out of their port; and that his ambassadors “should in all things behave themselves as his “majesty could wish, that particular only of “Poleroone [excepted], in which they should do “as he had promised.”

The king had by this time had recourse to all the inventions and devices, which might yet enable him to set out a fleet that might be able to fight the enemy; but in vain. He found all men of the same opinion they had been, that he must be upon the defensive in the manner expressed before, and expect the end of the summer before he could draw his ships together; and that there was an universal impatience for peace: so that when the warmth of his indignation was a little remitted, he was very willing to hear any thing that might revive the hope of a treaty, when this last overture from Paris arrived; upon which he presently convened the council, that he might take a speedy resolution what he was to do, for he saw many conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The protestation and promise of France to assist in all things, that particular only excepted, for his majesty's service, and his promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: the hope of recompense for it seemed little inferior to the redelivery of the island, and was an equal satisfaction to his majesty's honour. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that De Wit in his private conference with the baron of Isola, in all his passion, in which he would not endure the mention of the delivery of Poleroone, and said, “that the States would perish before they would

"part with it," concluded, "that he would not say, that they might not be persuaded to give some recompense for it."

And many believed that the East India company, which was only concerned in the interest of it, would choose rather to receive a good recompense than the island itself, which was a barren, sandy soil, which yielded no fruit, but only nutmegs, which was the sole commodity it bore, and is a commodity of great value. But when they were bound to give it up to Cromwell, there had been immediate order sent to cut down all the trees upon the island; which order would be now again repeated: and so no less than seven years must expire before any fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any English factory, and so near to the Dutch, that they would easily possess themselves of it again when they had a mind to it. And therefore if the company might have money, or such a quantity of nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the expense of England, bear a part in the foreign trade, (which had been mentioned by some merchants of that company,) it might be reasonably preferable to the island.

Whatsoever resolution should in the end be taken, this expedient of recompense gave a hint to a counsel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the business of Poleroone to the sole managery of the East India company, who should be advised to choose some members of their own, who should go over with the ambassadors, and receive all advice and assistance from them in the conduct of their pretences: and they would be the witnesses of what the king insisted upon on their behalf; and would likewise judge, if nothing prevented the peace but that interest, how far it should be insisted on.

The East India company was sent for, and were told "that the king had hope of a treaty for peace, which he presumed would be welcome to them: he heard that the greatest difficulty and obstruction that was like to arise would be concerning their interest in the island of Poleroone, which he was resolved never to abandon. But because he heard likewise that the Dutch did intend to offer a recompense rather than to restore the place, and that the recompense might be such as might be as agreeable to them, (of which he would not take upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to themselves,) he had given them this timely notice of it, that they might bethink themselves what was fit for them to do, upon a prospect of all that might probably occur; and that they might make choice of such persons amongst themselves, who best understood their affairs, to the end that when the treaty should be agreed upon and the place appointed, and his majesty had resolved what ambassadors he would send, (of all which they should have seasonable notice,) those persons elected by them as their commissioners [might] go over with the ambassadors; that when that point came into debate, and the Dutch should call some of their East India company to inform them, they likewise might be ready to advertise his ambassadors of whatsoever might advance their pretences: and if a recompense was to be considered, they might enter into that consultation with the other deputies; and that they should be sure to receive all the

advice and assistance from his ambassadors, that they could require or stand in need of." The company received this information from his majesty with all demonstration of duty and submission, giving humble thanks for his majesty's bounty and care of their interest; and said, "they would not fail to make choice of a committee to attend the ambassadors, when they should know it would be seasonable."

The king thought it now time to receive the advice of his whole council-board upon this affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the committee for foreign affairs: and so being assembled, an account was given of all that had passed, with all its circumstances, in France and in Holland, by the baron of Isola and by the Swedes ambassadors. And his majesty said thereupon, "that he had yet taken no resolution, and had been so provoked by the miscarriage of France, that he would have been glad to have put himself into a better posture, and not thought further of a treaty, till there should appear a more favourable conjuncture: but they now understood as much as he did, with reference to the state he was in both at home and abroad, and that he was resolved to follow their advice."

All the objections which had been foreseen before, and the considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: and in the end there was a general concurrence, "that his majesty should embrace the opportunity of a treaty; and if a reasonable peace could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the whole kingdom, that was weary of the war; and that his majesty should lose no time in returning such a despatch to Paris, as might bring on the treaty." And some of the lords proceeded so far as to declare, "that the consideration of Poleroone was not of that importance, nor could be thought so by the East India company themselves, as that the insisting upon it should deprive the kingdom of a peace that was so necessary for it." But the king thought the entering upon that argument was not yet seasonable: but he gave order for the despatch to be prepared for France.

There were two material points not yet determined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present despatch; which was the nomination of the place where the treaty should be. Some were of opinion, "that his majesty should [lay] hold of the overture that had been made from France, which was since likewise confirmed by Holland, that the treaty should be at Dover:" but they changed their minds, when they well considered that the same objections would be naturally made against Dover on the king's behalf, that had been made by the Dutch against the Hague; and that the people there, and less at Canterbury, were not incapable of any impressions, which the numerous trains of the French and the Dutch would be ready to imprint in them. In a word, there was much more fit to be considered upon that point, than is fit to be remembered. The conclusion was, "that Breda, which had been offered by the Dutch, should be the place the king would accept;" which was added to the despatch for Paris, and presently sent away.

The other matter undetermined of was the choice

of ambassadors, which had been never entered upon. The king had spoken with the chancellor, what persons would be fit to be employed in that negotiation, when the time should be ripe for it; and took notice, as he did frequently, of the small choice he had of men well acquainted with business of that nature: upon which he had named to the king the lord Hollis, who had been lately ambassador in France, and was in all respects equal to any business, and Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber, who had shewed so great abilities in his late negociation in Sweden. Upon the naming of whom his majesty said, "they were both very fit, and that he would think of no other:" so that when all other particulars were adjusted with reference to the treaty, the king, without further consulting it, declared, "that he intended to send those two his ambassadors for the treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the employment. And when his majesty told them of it, he bade them repair to the chancellor for their instructions. And this gave new thoughts of heart to the lord Arlington, who had designed himself and sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly made a privy counsellor and controller of the household upon the death of sir Hugh Pollard, for the performance of that service; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late alliance in Holland, by his marriage with the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a natural son of prince Maurice. And this disappointment went very near him; though the other had not the least thought that he had any such thing in his heart, but advised it purely as the fittest persons who could be thought of; and their abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this negociation.

The Swedish ambassadors, who were the only mediators, prepared likewise to go to the treaty, having agreed with the king, "that if the treaty should not produce a peace," of which they who hoped most were not confident, "that crown would immediately declare for the king, and unite itself to his interest both against the Dutch and the French;" their army at that time, being held the best in Europe, under the command of their general Wrangel, being near the States' dominions. And for the better confirming them in that disposition, the chancellor had brought the baron of Isola to a conference with the Swedes ambassadors, and begun that treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the style of the Triple Alliance, that was the first act that detached the Swede from France: and for the present the king himself found means to supply the crown of Sweden with a sum of money for the support of their army.

All things being thus adjusted, and the place of the treaty being on all hands agreed to be Breda, and notice being sent from Paris, "that their ambassadors were departed from thence;" the king thought himself as much concerned in the expedition in respect of the cessation, which the French promised to obtain in the very entrance into the treaty; and it was now the month of May. And so his ambassadors were despatched, and arrived there before the middle of that month, with an equipage worthy their master who sent them.

There happened at this time an accident that made a fatal breach into the chancellor's fortune,

with a gap wide enough to let in all that ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The earl of Southampton, the treasurer, with whom he had an entire fast friendship, and who, when they were together, had credit enough with the king and at the board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unreasonable resolution, was now ready to expire with the stone; a disease that had kept him in great pain many months, and for which he had sent to Paris for a surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the physicians not agreeing what the disease was: so that at last he grew too weak to apply that remedy. They who had with so much industry, and as they thought certainty, prevailed with the king at Oxford to have removed him from that office, had never since intermitted the pursuing the design, and persuaded his majesty, "that his service had suffered exceedingly by his receding from his purpose;" and did not think their triumph notorious enough, if they suffered him to die in the office: insomuch as when he grew so weak, that it is true he could not sign any orders with his hand, which was four or five days before his death, they had again persuaded the king to send for the staff. But the chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an act to a servant who had served him and his father so long and so eminently, to so little purpose as the ravishing an office unseasonably, which must within five or six days fall into his hands, as it did within less time, by his death.

He was a person of extraordinary parts, of faculties very discerning and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery, without the least affectation of words, for he always spake best on the sudden. In the beginning of the troubles, he was looked upon amongst those lords who were least inclined to the court, and so most acceptable to the people: he was in truth not obliged by the court, and thought himself oppressed by it, which his great spirit could not bear; and so he had for some years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a habit of melancholy, to which he was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his countenance than in his conversation, which to those with whom he was acquainted was very cheerful.

The great friendship that had been between their fathers made many believe, that there was a confidence between the earl of Essex and him; which was true to that degree as could be between men of so different natures and understandings. And when they came to the parliament in the year 1640, they appeared both unsatisfied with the prudence and politics of the court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great officers were called in question for great transgressions in their several administrations: but in the prosecution there was great difference in their passions and their ends. The earl of Essex was a great lover of justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the oppression of an innocent man: but in the discerning the several species of guilt, and in the proportioning the degrees of punishment to the degree of guilt, he had no faculties or measure of judging; nor was above the temptation of general prejudice, and it may be of particular disobligations and resentments, which proceeded from the weakness of his judgment, not the malice of his nature. The earl of

Southampton was not only an exact observer of justice, but so clear-sighted a discernor of all the circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent colour could impose upon him; and of so sincere and impartial a judgment, that no prejudice to the person of any man made him less awake to his cause; but believed that there is "*aliquid et in hostem nefas*," and that a very ill man might be very unjustly dealt with.

This difference of faculties divided them quickly in the progress of those businesses, in the beginning whereof they were both of one mind. They both thought the crown had committed great excesses in the exercise of its power, which the one thought could not be otherwise prevented, than by being deprived of it: the consequence whereof the other too well understood, and that the absolute taking away that power that might do hurt, would likewise take away some of that which was necessary for the doing good; and that a monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental right, without such a lasting wound to monarchy itself, that they who have most shelter from it and stand nearest to it, the nobility, could [not] continue long in their native strength, if the crown received a maim. Which if the earl of Essex had comprehended, who set as great a price upon nobility as any man living did, he could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the king were undone. So they were both satisfied that the earl of Strafford had countenanced some high proceedings, which could not be supported by any rules of justice, though the policy of Ireland, and the constant course observed in the government of Ireland, might have excused and justified many of the high proceedings with which he was reproached: and they who had now the advantage-ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the liberty of the subject, and most vigilant that the same outrages might not be transplanted out of the other kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest influence upon the counsels of England as well as governor of Ireland. Then he had declared himself so averse and irreconcilable to the sedition and rebellion of the Scots, that the whole nation had contracted so great an animosity against him, that less than his life could not secure them from the fears they had conceived of him: and this fury of theirs met with a full concurrence from those of the English, who could not compass their own ends without their help. And this combination too soon drew the earl of Essex, who had none of their ends, into their party, to satisfy his pride and his passion, in removing a man who seemed to have no regard for him; for the stories, which were then made of disobligations from the earl of Strafford towards the earl of Clanrickard, were without any foundation of truth.

The earl of Southampton, who had nothing of obligation, and somewhat of prejudice to some high acts of power which had been exercised by the earl of Strafford, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more caution and apprehension in men of great authority of the consequence of such excesses. But when he discerned irregular ways entered into to punish those irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill consequences, and that they intended to compound one great crime

out of several smaller trespasses, and, to use their own style, to complicate a treason out of misdemeanours, and so to take away his life for what he might be fined and imprisoned; he first dissuaded and then abhorred that exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when he found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct combination.

From this time he and the earl of Essex were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same opinion: but as he worthily and bravely stood in the gap in the defence of that great man's life, so he did afterwards oppose all those invasions, which were every day made by the house of commons upon the rights of the crown, or the privileges of the peers, which the lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful humour of the other. And by this means, whilst most of the king's servants listed themselves with the conspirators in promoting all things which were ingrateful to him, this lord, who had no relation to his service, was looked upon as a courtier; and by the strength of his reason gave such a check to their proceedings, that he became little less odious to them than the court itself; and so much the more odious, because as he was superior to their temptations, so his unquestionable integrity was out of their reach, and made him condemn their power as much as their malice.

He had all the detestation imaginable of the civil war, and discerned the dismal effects it would produce, more than most other men, which made him do all he could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, he made no scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the king, who had a just sense of the service he had done him, and made him then both of his privy-council and gentleman of his bedchamber, without the least application or desire of his, and when most of those who were under both those relations had chosen, as the much stronger, the rebels' side: and his receiving those obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his duty than his ambition. He had all the fidelity that God requires, and all the affection to the person of the king that his duty suggested to him was due, without any reverence for or compliance with his infirmities or weakness; which made him many times uneasy to the king, especially in all consultations towards peace, in which he was always desirous that his majesty should yield more than he was inclined to do.

He was in his nature melancholic, and reserved in his conversation, except towards those with whom he was very well acquainted; with whom he was not only cheerful, but upon occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch ease to himself: yet as no man had a quicker apprehension or solid judgment in business of all kinds, so, when it had a hopeful prospect, no man could keep his mind longer bent, and take more pains in it. In the treaty at Uxbridge, which was a continued fatigue of twenty days, he never slept four hours in a night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the end of the treaty was much more vigorous than in the beginning; which made the chancellor to tell the king when they returned to Oxford, "that if he would have the earl of Southampton in good health and good humour, he must give him good store of business to do."

His person was of a small stature; his courage,

as all his other faculties, very great; having no sign of fear or sense of danger, when he was in a place where he ought to be found. When the king had withdrawn himself from Oxford in order to his escape to the Scotch army, and Fairfax had brought his army before the town; in some debate at the council-board, there being some mention of prince Rupert with reference to his dignity in a large degree above all of the nobility, the earl of Southampton, who never used to speak indecently, used some expressions, which, being unfaithfully reported to the prince, his highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: whereupon he sent the lord Gerard to expostulate with him. To whom the earl without any apology related the words he had used; which being reported by him again to the prince, though they were not the same which he had been informed, yet he was not so well satisfied with them, but that he sent the same lord to him again, to tell him, "that his highness expected other satisfaction from him, and expected to meet him with his sword in his hand, and desired it might be as soon as he could, lest it might be prevented."

The earl appointed the next morning, at a place well known; and being asked "what weapon he chose," he said, "that he had no horse fit for such a service, nor knew where suddenly to get one; and that he knew himself too weak to close with the prince: and therefore he hoped his highness would excuse him, if he made choice of such weapons as he could best use; and therefore he resolved to fight on foot with a case of pistols only;" which the prince willingly consented to. And without doubt they had met the next morning, the earl having chosen sir George Villiers for his second; but that the lord Gerard's coming to the earl so often, with whom he had no acquaintance, had been so much observed, that some of the lords who had been present at the debate at the board, and heard some replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill offices had been done, watched them both so narrowly, and caused the town-gates to be shut, [that they] discovered enough, notwithstanding the denial of both parties, to prevent their meeting; and afterwards interposed till a reconciliation was made: and the prince ever afterwards had a good respect for the earl.

After the murder of the king, the earl of Southampton remained in his own house, without the least application to those powers which had made themselves so terrible, and which seemed to resolve to root out the whole party as well as the royal family; and would not receive a civility from any of them: and when Cromwell was near his house in the country, upon the marriage of his son in those parts, and had a purpose to have made a visit to him; upon a private notice thereof, he immediately removed to another house at a greater distance. He sent frequently some trusty person to the king with such presents of money, as he could receive out of the fortune they had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that retirement: and after the battle of Worcester, when the rebels had set a price upon the king's head, and denounced the most terrible judgment upon whomsoever, and his posterity, that should presume to give any shelter or assistance to Charles Stuart towards his escape; he sent a faithful servant to all those persons, who

in respect of their fidelity and activity were most like to be trusted upon such an occasion, that they should advertise the king, "that he would most willingly receive him into his house, and provide a ship for his escape." And his majesty received this advertisement from him the day before he was ready to embark in a small vessel prepared for him in Sussex; which his majesty always remembered as a worthy testimony of his affection and courage in so general a consternation. And the earl was used to say, "that after that miraculous escape, how dismal soever the prospect was, he had still a confidence of his majesty's restoration."

His own natural disposition inclined to melancholic; and his retirement from all conversation, in which he might have given some vent to his own thoughts, with the discontinuance of all those bodily exercises and recreations to which he had been accustomed, brought many diseases upon him, which made his life less pleasant to him; so that from the time of the king's return, between the gout and the stone, he underwent great affliction. Yet upon the happy return of his majesty he seemed to recover great vigour of mind, and undertook the charge of high treasurer with much alacrity and industry, as long as he had any hope to get a revenue settled proportionable to the expense of the crown, (towards which his interest and authority and counsel contributed very much,) or to reduce the expense of the court within the limits of the revenue. But when he discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible, (upon which he made as frequent and lively representations as he thought himself obliged to do,) and when he saw irregularities and excesses to abound, and to overflow all the banks which should restrain them; he grew more dispirited, and weary of that province, which exposed him to the reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with authority to prevent them. And he had then withdrawn from the burden, which he infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of conscience of his duty to the king, who he knew would suffer in it; and that the people who knew his affections very well, and already opened their mouths wide against the license of the court, would believe it worse and incurable if he quitted the station he was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that burden, even when he knew that they who enjoyed the benefit of it were as weary that he should be disquieted with it.

He was a man of great and exemplary virtue and piety, and very regular in his devotions; yet was not generally believed by the bishops to have an affection keen enough for the government of the church, because he was willing and desirous, that somewhat more might have been done to gratify the presbyterians than they thought just. But the truth is; he had a perfect detestation of all the presbyterian principles, nor had ever had any conversation with their persons, having during all those wicked times strictly observed the devotions prescribed by the church of England; in the performance whereof he had always an orthodox chaplain, [one of those] deprived of their estates by that government, which disposed of the church as well as of the state. But it is very true, that upon the observation of the great power and authority which the presbyterians usurped and

were possessed of, even when Cromwell did all he could to divest them of it, and applied all his interest to oppress or suppress them, insomuch as they did often give a check to and divert many of his designs; he did believe that their numbers and their credit had been much greater than in truth it was. And then some persons, who had credit with him by being thought to have an equal aversion from them, persuaded him to believe, that they would be satisfied with very easy concessions, which would bring no prejudice or inconvenience to the church. And this imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the venom of any other sect, was the extreme jealousy he had of the power and malignity of the Roman catholics; whose behaviour from the time of the suppression of the regal power, and more scandalously at and from the time of the murder of the king, had very much irreconciled him towards them: and he did believe, that the king and the duke of York had a better opinion of their fidelity, and less jealousy of their affections, than they deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an union of all other interests to control the exorbitance of that. And upon this argument, with his private friends, he was more passionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous zeal and affection for the royal family; insomuch as the two sons of the duke of York falling both into distempers, (of which they both shortly after died,) very few days before his death, he was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the trouble of it, or a presage what might befall the kingdom by it, hastened his death some hours: and in the agony of death, the very morning he died, he sent to know how they did; and seemed to receive some relief, when the messenger returned with the news, that they were both alive and in some degree mended.

The next day after his death, which was about the end of May, the king called the chancellor into his closet; and, the duke of York being only present, told him, "that he could think of no man fit to be treasurer, and therefore resolved, as he had long done, to put that office into commission;" and then asked, "who should be commissioners?" to which he answered, "the business would be much better done by a single officer, if he could think of a fit one; for commissioners never had, never would do, that business well." The duke of York said, "that he believed it would be best done by commission; it had been so managed during all the ill times," (for from the beginning of the troubles there had been no treasurer:) "and he had observed, (and the king found the benefit of it,) that though sir William Compton was an extraordinary person, and better qualified than most men for that charge, yet since his decease, that his majesty had put the office of the ordnance under the government of commissioners, it was in much better order, and the king was better served there than he had ever been; and he believed he would be so likewise in the office of the treasury, if fit persons were chosen for it, who might have nothing else to do." And the king seemed to be of the same mind.

The chancellor replied, "that he was very sorry, that they were both so much delighted with the function of commissioners, which were more suitable to the modelling a commonwealth, than for the support of monarchy: that during the late troubles, whilst the parliament exercised the government, they reduced it as fast as they could to the form of a commonwealth; and then no question the putting the treasury into the hands of commissioners was much more suitable to the rest of the model, than it could be under a single person. Besides, having no revenue of their own, but being to raise one according to their inventions and proportionable to their own occasions, it could never be well collected or ordered by old officers, who were obliged to forms which would not be agreeable to their necessary transactions: so that new ministers were to be made for new employments, who might be obliged punctually to observe their new orders, without any superiority over each other, but a joint obedience to the supreme authority. But when Cromwell assumed the entire government into his own hands, he cancelled all those republican rules and forms, and appointed inferior persons to several functions, and reserved the whole disposition to himself, and was his own high treasurer: and it was well known that he resolved, as soon as he should be able to reduce things to the forms he intended, to cancel all those commissions, and invest single persons in the government of those provinces."

He said, "he would not take upon him to say any thing of the office of the ordnance, where the commissioners were his friends; only he might say, that that kind of administration had not been yet long enough known to have a good judgment made of it: however, that it was of so different a nature from the office of the treasury, that no observation of the one could be applied to the other. The ordnance was conversant only with smiths and carpenters, and other artificers and handicraftsmen, with whom all their transactions were: whereas the treasury had much to do with the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom; must have often recourse to the king himself for his particular directions, to the privy-council for their assistance and advice, to the judges for their resolutions in matters of difficulty; and if the ministers of it were not of that quality and degree, that they might have free recourse to all those, and find respect from them, his majesty's service would notoriously suffer. And that the white staff itself, in the hands of a person esteemed, did more to the bringing in several branches of the revenue, by the obedience and reverence all officers paid to it, than any orders from commissioners could do: and that how mean an opinion soever some men had of the faculties of the late excellent officer for that administration, his majesty would find by experience, that the vast sums of money, which he had borrowed in these late years, had been in a great measure procured upon the general confidence all men had in the honour and justice of the treasurer; and that the credit of commissioners would never be able to supply such necessities."

The king said, "he was not at all of his opinion, and doubted not his business would be much

“better done by commissioners; and therefore
 “he should speak to the nomination of those,
 “since he was sure he could propose no single
 “person fit for it.” To which the chancellor
 answered, “that he thought it much harder to
 “find a worthy man, who would be persuaded to
 “accept it in the disorder in which his affairs
 “were, than a man who might be very fit for it:
 “and that if that subject who had the greatest
 “fortune in England and the most general reputa-
 “tion would receive it, his majesty would be no
 “loser in conferring it on such a one; and till
 “such a one might be found, he might put it
 “into commission. But,” he said, “he perceived
 “well, that he would not approve the old course
 “in the choice of commissioners; who had always
 “been the keeper of the great seal, and the two
 “secretaries of state, and two other of the princi-
 “pal persons of the council, besides the chan-
 “cellor of the exchequer, who used to be the sole
 “person of the quorum.”

[Neither] the king nor duke seemed to like any
 of those; and the chancellor plainly discerned
 from the beginning that they were resolved upon
 the persons, though his opinion was asked: and
 the king said, “he would choose such persons,
 “whether privy counsellors or not, who might
 “have nothing else to do, and were rough and
 “ill-natured men, not to be moved with civilities
 “or importunities in the payment of money; but
 “[would] apply it all to his present necessities, till
 “some new supplies might be gotten for the pay-
 “ment of those debts, which were first necessary
 “to be paid. That he, the chancellor, had so much
 “business already upon his hands, that he could
 “not attend this other; and the secretaries had
 “enough to do: so he would have none of those.”
 And then he named sir Thomas Clifford, who was
 newly of the council and controller of the house,
 and sir William Coventry; and said, “he did not
 “think there should be many:” and the duke
 then named sir John Duncombe, as a man of
 whom he had heard well, and every body knew
 he was intimate with sir William Coventry. The
 king said, “he thought they three would be
 “enough, and that a greater number would but
 “make the despatch of all business the more
 “slow.”

The chancellor said, “he doubted those per-
 “sons would not have credit and authority enough
 “to go through the necessary affairs of that pro-
 “vince; that for his own part, he was not de-
 “sirous to meddle in it; he had indeed too much
 “business to do: that he had no exception to
 “the three persons named, but that he thought
 “them not known and esteemed enough for that
 “employment; and that it would be very incon-
 “gruous to bring sir John Duncombe, who was
 “a private country gentleman, and utterly unac-
 “quainted with business of that nature, to sit in
 “equal authority with privy counsellors, and in
 “affairs which would be often debated at the
 “council-table, where he could not be present.”
 And he put his majesty [in mind], that “he must
 “put the lord Ashley out of his office of chan-
 “cellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him
 “commissioner of the treasury, and of the quo-
 “rum:” and concluded, “that if he did not
 “name the general, and some other person that
 “might give some lustre to the others, the work
 “would not be done as it ought to be; for many

“persons would be sometimes obliged to attend
 “upon the treasury, who would not think those
 “gentlemen enough superior to them, how quali-
 “fied soever.”

The king said, “he could easily provide against
 “the exception to sir John Duncombe, by making
 “him a privy counsellor; and he did not care if
 “he added the general to them.” The lord Ash-
 ley gave him some trouble, and he said enough
 to make it manifest that he thought him not fit
 to be amongst them: yet he knew not how to put
 him out of his place; but gave direction for pre-
 paring the commission for the treasury to the
 persons named before, and made the lord Ashley
 only one of the commissioners, and a major part
 to make a quorum; which would quickly bring
 the government of the whole business into the
 hands of those three who were designed for it.
 And Ashley rather chose to be degraded, than to
 dispute it.

The king expected, that as soon as the ambas-
 sadors should meet at the Hague, a cessation
 would be the first thing that would be agreed
 upon: and the French ambassadors did in the
 first place propose it, and in such a manner, as
 made it evident that they depended upon it as a
 thing resolved upon; and their master had with
 their consent dismissed his own fleet, and theirs
 was yet in their ports. Nor did the Dutch seem
 to refuse it; but answered, “that the adjusting
 “all things in order to a cessation would require
 “as much time as would serve to finish the treaty,
 “considering all material points were upon the
 “matter already stated and agreed upon, the king
 “having already chosen the alternative:” and
 notwithstanding all the earnestness used by the
 French ambassadors, no other answer could be
 obtained as to a cessation; which, together with
 the supercilious behaviour of the commissioners
 from Holland, made it apparent, that they had no
 other mind at that time to peace, than as they
 were compelled to it by France, that was impatient
 to have it concluded. They would not hear any
 mention for the redelivery of Poleroone, “which,”
 they said, “the king of France had promised
 “should not be demanded;” and as little for any
 recompense in money; nor would suffer the mer-
 chant-deputies from the English company to go
 to Amsterdam, to confer with the East India
 company there for any composition. It quickly
 appeared, that they had revenge in their hearts
 for their last year’s affront and damage at the
 Flie; and De Wit had often said, “that before
 “any peace they would leave some such mark of
 “their having been upon the English coast, as
 “the English had left of their having been upon
 “that of Holland.”

After the treaty was entered into, about the be-
 ginning of June, De Ruyter came with the fleet
 out of the Wierings, and joining with the rest
 from the Texel sailed for the coast of England:
 and having a fair wind, stood for the river of
 Thames; which put the county of Kent into such
 an alarm, that all near the sea left their houses
 and fled into the country. The earl of Winchel-
 sea, who was lord lieutenant of that county, was
 at that time ambassador at Constantinople, and
 the deputy lieutenants had all equal authority:
 so that no man had power to command in that
 large county in so general a distraction. Here-
 upon the king sent down lieutenant general Mid-

dleton with commission to draw all the train bands together, and to command all the forces that could be raised: and he immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the train bands of horse and foot to Rochester; and other troops resorted to him from the neighbour counties, all the people expressing a great alacrity in being commanded by him.

There had been enough discourse all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerness for the defence of the river: and the king had made two journeys thither in the winter, and had given such orders to the commissioners of the ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the fortifications, that every body believed that work done; it having been the principal defence and provision directed and depended upon, (as hath been said before,) when the resolution had been taken for the standing only upon the defence for this summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a company or two of very good soldiers there under excellent officers; but the fortifications [were] so weak and unfinished, and all other provisions so entirely wanting, that the Dutch fleet no sooner approached within a distance, but with their cannon they beat all the works flat, and drove all the men from the ground: which as soon as they had done, with their boats they landed men, and seemed resolved to fortify and keep it.

This put the country into a flame, and the news of it exceedingly disturbed the king. He knew the consequence of the place, and how easily it might have been secured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected: and with what loss soever, it must be presently recovered out of those hands. The general was immediately ordered to march to Chatham, for the security of the navy, with such troops of horse and foot as could be presently drawn together out of the guards and from the neighbour counties; and the city appeared very forward to send such regiments of their train bands as should be required. When the general came to Chatham, he found Middleton in so good a posture, and so good a body of men, that he had no apprehension of any attempt the Dutch could make at land; and he writ very cheerful and confident letters to the king and the duke, "that if the enemy should make any attempt, which he believed they durst not do, they would repent it. That he had put a chain over the river, which would hinder them from coming up: and if they should adventure to land any where, he would quickly beat them to their ships;" as no doubt he had been very well able to have done.

There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wise to think of it: their business was in an element they had more confidence in and more power upon. They had good intelligence how loosely all things were left in the river: and therefore, as soon as the tide came to help them, they stood full [up] the river, without any consideration of the chain, which their ships immediately brake in pieces, and passed without the least pause; their being either no such device to be made that can obstruct such an enterprise, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no signification, but to raise an unseasonable confidence in unskilful men, that being disappointed must increase the confusion, as it did.

For all men were so confounded to see the Dutch fleet advance over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of brass, that they knew not what they were to do.

The general was of a constitution and temper so void of fear, that there could appear no signs of distraction in him: yet it was plain enough that he knew not what orders to give. There were two or three ships of the royal navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river, which might have been very easily drawn into safety, and could be of no imaginable use in the place where they then were: into one of those the general put himself, and invited the young gentlemen who were volunteers to accompany him; which they readily did in great numbers, only with pikes in their hands. But some of his friends whispered to him, "how unadvised that resolution was, and how desperate, without possibility of success, the whole fleet of the enemy approaching as fast as the tide would enable them." And so he was prevailed with to put himself again on shore: which except he had done, both himself and two or three hundred gentlemen of the nobility and prime gentry of the kingdom had inevitably perished; for all those ships, and some merchantmen laden and ready to put to sea, were presently in a flame; the Dutch, knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them, the general standing upon the shore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this mischief. The people of Chatham, which is naturally an army of seamen and officers of the navy, who might and ought to have secured all those ships, which they had time enough to have done, were in distraction; their chief officers having applied all those boats and lighter vessels which should have towed up the ships, to carry away their own goods and household stuff, and gave what they left behind for lost. And without doubt, if the Dutch had prosecuted the present advantage they had, with that circumspection and courage that was necessary, they might have fired the royal navy at Chatham, and taken or destroyed all the ships which lay higher in the river, and so fully revenged themselves for what they had suffered at the Flie: but they thought they had done enough, and so made use of the ebb to carry them back again.

But the noise of this, and the flame of the ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the city of London, that the enemy had done all that they conceived they might have done: they thought that they were landed in many places, and that their fleet was come up as far as Greenwich. Nor was the confusion there greater than it was in the court itself: where they who had most advanced the war, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, "as men who had no public spirits, and were not solicitous for the honour and glory of the nation;" and who had never spoken of the Dutch but with scorn and contempt, as a nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the most dejected men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the king to enter into that war, "which had already consumed so many gallant men, and would probably ruin the kingdom," and wished "that a peace, as the only hope, were made upon any terms." In a word, the distraction and con-

sternation was so great in court and city, as if the Dutch had not been only masters of the river, but had really landed an army of one hundred thousand men.

They who remember that conjuncture, and were then present in the galleries and privy lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can easily call to mind many instances of such wild despair and even ridiculous apprehensions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the least mention of them should remain: and if the king's and duke's personal composure had not restrained men from expressing their fears, there wanted not some who would have advised them to have left the city. And there was a lord, who would be thought one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, to whom the custody of the Tower was committed, who lodging there only one night, declared, "that it was not tenable," and desired not to be charged with it: and thereupon many, who had carried their money and goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be further from the river. Nor did this unreasonable distemper pass away, when it was known that the Dutch fleet had not only left the river, but had taken away all their men from Sheerness, which was a manifestation very sufficient that they had no design upon the land: but there remained still such a chagrin in the minds of many, as if they would return again; in which they were confirmed, when they heard that they were still upon the coasts, and gave the same alarm now to Essex and Suffolk, as they had done to Kent, not without making a show as if they meant to attempt Harwich and Landguard Point; which drew all the train bands of those counties to the sea-side, and the duke of York went thither to conduct them, if there should be occasion.

In this perplexity the king was not at ease, and the less that every man took upon him to discourse to him of the distemper of the people generally over the kingdom, and to give him counsel what was to be done: and some men had advised him to call the parliament, which at the last session had been prorogued to the 20th of October; and it was now the middle of June. And surely most discerning men thought such a conjuncture so unseasonable for the council of a parliament, that if it had been then sitting, the most wholesome advice that could be given would be to separate them, till that occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more contracted council: however, not knowing else what to do disposed the king to incline to that remedy. And it being a current opinion, or rather an unquestioned certainty, that upon a prorogation a parliament cannot be convened before the day, though upon an adjournment it may; they had brought Mr. Prynne privately to the king to satisfy him, "that upon an extraordinary occasion he might do it;" and his judgment, which in all other cases he did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what he had a mind to.

In the beginning of the summer, when he had resolved to have no fleet at sea, there were many reasons which induced him to increase his forces at land. And that he might do it without jealousy of the people, he gave commission to three or four persons of the nobility, of great fortunes and good names, to raise regiments of foot, and

to others for troops of horse; which was done at their own charge, and with wonderful expedition: and upon their first musters they all received one month's pay. Of these levies some were sent to repossess Sheerness, and extraordinary care was taken for the better advancement of those fortifications; and others were disposed to other posts upon the coast: but it was in view, that upon the expiration of that month, there must be new pay provided for those regiments and troops. Then the train bands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one month, which was as long as the law required: and now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that they might receive pay. There were discontents and emulations upon command; and they who had usually professed, "that they would willingly serve the king in the offices of corporals or sergeants, whatever command they formerly had," now disputed all the punctilios, and would not receive orders from any who had been formerly in inferior offices. And all these waywardnesses were brought to the king, as matters of the highest consequence, who found difficulty enough in determining points of more importance.

They who for their own private designs desired that the parliament might meet, and cared not in what humour they met, urged the king very importunately, "that he would issue out a proclamation to summon them, as the only expedient to give himself ease, and to provide for all that was to be done:" and his majesty was most inclined to it, and in truth resolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the sense of many, he resolved to debate it at the council. And there he told them, "that they all saw the straits that he was in, the insolence of the enemy, and the general distemper of the nation, which made it manifest that it was necessary for him to have an army, that might be ready against any thing that might fall out. That he had no money, nor knew where to get any; nor could imagine any other way to provide against the mischiefs which were in view, than by calling the parliament to come together, of which or any other expedient he was willing to receive their advice;" expressing so much of his own sense, that it was plain enough that he thought that remedy the best that could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at the lower end of the board, and who were well enough known to have given the counsel, and to be industrious that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in the debate, "that the soldiers could not be kept together without money; and they could not advise any other way to get money but by the convening the parliament, which they were confident might justly and regularly be done:" and they desired, "that they who were of another opinion would propose some other way how the king might get money."

The chancellor discerned that the matter was already concluded, what advice soever should be given; and that the three new commissioners of the treasury, since they could find no way to procure money, had been very importunate with the king to try that expedient, and the more, because they well knew that he was against it, he having not been at all reserved upon several occasions in private discourses, when they were present, to

give many reasons against it: and he knew as well, that they would gladly make any use of any expressions which might fall from [him], when the remembrance might be applied to his prejudice. Yet his natural unwariness in such cases with reference to himself, when he thought his majesty's service concerned, to which he did really believe the present advice would produce much prejudice, prevailed with him to dissuade it.

He said, "he knew well upon what disadvantage he spake, and how unpopular a thing it was to speak against the convening the parliament in those straits, which seemed to be capable of no other remedy: yet since he thought the remedy neither proper to the disease, nor that it could be applied in time, he could not concur with those who advised it. That most men who had any knowledge in the law did confess, that when the parliament stood prorogued to a certain day, the convening them upon a sooner day was very doubtful; and to him, upon all the disquisition he could make, it was very clear that it could not be done: and therefore he desired the judges might be consulted in that point, before any resolution should be taken. That the temper of both houses was well known; and that it could not but be presumed, that when they came together, the first debate they would fall upon would be of the manner of their coming together, and whether they were in a capacity to act: and he doubted there would be very few who would be forward to pass an act in a season, when the validity of it might be questioned by those who had no mind to pay any obedience to it. And then if their meeting were only to confer together upon all occurrences, and they might presume of liberty to say what they had a mind to say, without power to conclude any thing; it was well worth the considering, whether, in so general a distemper such an assembly might not interrupt all other consultations and expedients, and yet propose none, and so increase the confusion. If the necessities were so urgent, that it was absolutely necessary that a parliament should be convened, and that which stood prorogued could not lawfully reassemble till the 20th of October, as he was confident it could not; there was no question to be made, but that the king might lawfully by his proclamation presently dissolve the prorogued parliament, and send out his writs to have a new parliament, which might regularly meet a month before the prorogued parliament could come together." And many of the council were of opinion, that it would most conduce to his majesty's service to dissolve the one, and to call another parliament.

This was an advice they believed no man had the courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the opinion, which they had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this expedient, magnified the affections and inclinations of both houses: "and though there appeared some ill humour in them at their last being together, and aversion to give any money for the present; yet in the main their affections were very right for church and state. And that the king was never to hope to see a parliament better constituted for his service, or so many of the members at his disposal: but that

"he must expect that the presbyterians would be chosen in all places, and that they who were most eminent now for opposing all that he desired would be chosen, and all they who were most zealous for his service would be carefully excluded;" which was a fancy that sunk very deep in the minds of the bishops, though their best friends thought them like to find more friends and a stronger support in any, than they would have in that parliament. But the king quickly declared his confidence in the parliament that was prorogued, and his resolution not to dissolve it; which put an end to that debate. And the other was again resumed, "what the king was to do towards the raising money; or how he should be able to maintain his army, if he should defer calling the parliament till the day upon which they were to assemble by the prorogation:" and all men were to restrain their discourse to that point.

The old argument, "that there could be no other way found out," was renewed, and urged with more earnestness and confidence; and that they who were against it might be obliged to offer their advice what other course should be taken: and this was often demanded, in a manner not usual in that place, as a reproach to the persons. His majesty himself with some quickness was pleased to ask the chancellor, "what he did advise." To which he replied, "that if in truth what was proposed was in the nature of it not practicable, or being practised could not attain the effect proposed, it ought to be laid aside, that men might unbiassed apply their thoughts to find out some other expedient. That he thought it very clear that the parliament could not assemble, though the proclamation should issue out that very hour, within less than twenty days; and that if they were met, and believed themselves lawfully qualified to grant a supply of money, all men knew the formality of that transaction would require so much time, that money could not be raised time enough to raise an army, or to maintain that part of it that was raised, to prevent the landing of an enemy that was already upon the coast, and (as many thought or seemed to think) ready every day to make their descent: and yet the sending out a proclamation for reassembling the parliament would inevitably put an end to all other counsels. That for his part he did believe, that the Dutch had already satisfied themselves in the affront they had already given, and could not be in any condition to pursue it, or have men enough on board to make a descent, without the king's having notice of it; and that the Dutch, without a conjunction with the French, had not strength for such an undertaking: and that the French had no such purpose his majesty had all the assurance possible, and that their fleet was gone far from the coast of England. And his majesty had reason to believe, that the present treaty would put an end to this war in a short time, though the power and artifice of De Wit had prevented a cessation.

"However, for the present support of those troops which were necessary to guard the coasts, since money could not be found for their present constant pay, without which free quarter could not be avoided; the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid

“ the last evil, would be, to write letters to the
 “ lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of those
 “ counties where the troops were obliged to re-
 “ main, that they would cause provisions of all
 “ kinds to be brought into those quarters, that so
 “ the soldiers might not be compelled to straggle
 “ abroad to provide their own victual, which
 “ would end in the worst kind of free quarter :
 “ and that the like letters might be written to the
 “ neighbour counties, wherein no soldiers were
 “ quartered, to raise money by way of contribu-
 “ tion or loan, which should be abated out of the
 “ next impositions, that so the troops might be
 “ enabled to stay and continue in [their] posts
 “ where they were, for defence of the kingdom ;
 “ in which those other counties had their share in
 “ the benefit, and without which they must them-
 “ selves be exposed to the disorder of the soldiers,
 “ and possibly to the invasion of the enemy.”

It is very probable, that in the earnestness of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, he might use that expression, (which was afterwards objected against him,) “ of raising contribution as had been in the late civil war.” Whatever it was he said, it was evident at the time that some men were well pleased with it, as somewhat they meant to make use of hereafter, in which his innocence made him little concerned.

The conclusion was, though many of the lords spake against it, and much the major part thought it not counsellable; that a proclamation should forthwith issue out, to require all the members of parliament to meet upon a day appointed in the beginning of August, to consult upon the great affairs of the kingdom : and this proclamation was presently issued accordingly.

All this time the treaty proceeded at Breda, as fast as the insolent humour of the Dutch would suffer it. The French king declared himself much offended with their proceedings at sea : and his ambassadors spake so loud, that the States gave order to their deputies to bring the treaty to a conclusion ; and sent such orders to De Ruyter, that there was no more hostility of any moment ; only the fleet remained at sea, that it might appear they were masters of it. It cannot be denied that the French ambassadors, except in what referred to Poleroone, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished : and it is probable, that the same reason which moved the French to use all possible diligence to bring the treaty to an end, prevailed likewise with the Dutch to use all the delays they could, that it might be prolonged.

Though there was no war declared, it had been long notorious that Flanders would be invaded : and it was as notorious, that there was no provision made there towards a resistance or defence ; the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, who came governor thither with a great reputation, not making good the expectation in the sagacity he was famed for, nor offering at any levies of men, or mending fortifications, until the French army was upon the borders. Then he sent into England to press the king to assist him with an army of horse and foot ; and it easily appeared the nation would gladly have engaged in that war, not being willing that Flanders should be in the possession of France : but the king was engaged not to give any assistance to the enemies of France until the treaty should be ended, which yet it was not.

However, he suffered the earl of Castlehaven, under pretence of recruiting a regiment in Flanders which he had formerly, to raise a body of one thousand foot, which he quickly transported to Ostend.

The king [of France] was impatient to march, and yet desired the treaty might be first concluded, that both himself and the king of England might be at liberty to enter into such an alliance as they should think proper for their interest : and the Dutch, who had no mind that the expedition should be prosecuted, and as much feared the consequence of such an alliance, though they were not wise enough to consider the right means to prevent it, desired that the treaty might not be concluded till the winter drew nearer. But the French quickly put an end to that their hope by marching into the heart of Flanders, and so giving them new matter for their present consultations ; not without intimation, “ that if they would not finish the treaty, that king would conclude for what concerned himself :” and this put an end to it. Yet there were some alterations of small importance in some articles of the former treaty, besides that of Poleroone, which the ambassadors would not consent to without further knowledge of the king’s pleasure : and so one of them (Mr. Henry Coventry) came to attend his majesty, to give him an account of all particulars, and receive his own final determination.

The king in the first place sent for the East India company, and let them know, “ that the Dutch would not consent to the former article for the redelivery of Poleroone, nor give any recompense for it ; and that he was resolved not to depart from [them], and so release their right without their consent : and therefore that they should consider what would be for their good.” They answered, “ that they thought a peace to be so necessary for the kingdom, that they would not that any particular interest of theirs should give any interruption to it :” and they acknowledged, “ that if the war continued, they should in many respects be greater losers, than the redelivery of Poleroone would repair ; and that they would gladly sacrifice that pretence to the public peace.”

Upon which answer the ambassador made his report of all the particulars which were consented to on both sides in the treaty, and what remained yet in suspense ; and made answer to all questions which any of the council thought fit to ask. And the king requiring him to deliver his own opinion upon his observation, and “ whether he believed, that if his majesty should positively insist upon what they had hitherto refused to consent to, the Dutch would choose to continue the war ; and whether the French would join with them in it :” he answered, “ that it was very evident that the Dutch did not at present desire the peace, otherwise than to comply with France and for fear of it ; and that France was obliged not to abandon them in the point of Poleroone, which the other would never part with, nor give any recompense for, though the French ambassadors had used all the arguments to persuade them to it. But if that were agreed, he was confident they would be compelled to consent to whatsoever was else of moment. And that the French had used some threatening expressions, upon some insolent propositions made by

"the Dane, which they thought proceeded from the instigation of Holland. And that at his coming away, the French ambassadors had used great freedom with him, and advised in what particulars which were yet unagreed they wished his majesty would not consent, and in which they could not serve him, but believed a time would come, in which he would be repaired for those condescensions: in other particulars he should positively insist, at least with some little variation of expression; in which he expressed both his own and the opinion of the other ambassador."

And the whole being in this manner clearly stated, the king required all the lords severally to deliver their judgment what he was to do; and every man did deliver his opinion in more or fewer words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their passion with some expressions of indignation against the Dutch for their presumption, and as if he did believe that the parliament would concur with the king in all things which might vindicate his honour from their insolent demands, the advice was upon the matter unanimous, "that the ambassador should immediately return, and conclude the peace upon those conditions which were stated at the board." And he did presently return: and all matters were, within few days after his arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial hands for engrossment, and all forms and circumstances agreed upon for the proclamation of the peace, and the day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and such forms of passes as should be given on all sides to merchants' ships, (which would be impatient for trade before the days could be expired,) in which all ships of war should be obliged to take notice that the peace was proclaimed.

All this was done before the day of the parliament's convening upon the king's proclamation: so that there being now no use of an army, and reason enough to disband those regiments which had been raised towards it, his majesty thought it not reasonable that they should enter upon the debate of any business, but he continued under the former prorogation to the day appointed; and in this there appeared not one person of a different opinion. And so, upon the day, the king went to the house, and told them, "that since the condition of his affairs was not so full of difficulty as it had been when he sent out his proclamation, and since many were of opinion, that there might be doubts arise upon the regularity of their meeting; he was content to dismiss them till the 20th of October:" and so they separated without any debate.

The public no sooner entered into this repose, than the storm began to arise that destroyed all the prosperity, ruined the fortune, and shipwrecked all the hopes, of the chancellor, who had been the principal instrument in the providing that repose. The parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their business and recreations, in a season of the year that they most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: and very great pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least harm, because they were known to be his enemies, to persuade the members of parliament, "that it was the chancellor only who had hindered their continuing together, and that he

"had advised the king to dissolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

And sir William Coventry was so far from being reserved in his malice, that the very day that the parliament was dismissed, after he had incensed them against the chancellor, in the presence of six or seven of the members, who were not all of the same mind, he declared, "that if at their next meeting, which would be within little more than two months, they had a mind to remove the chancellor from the court, they should easily bring it to pass:" of all which he had quickly information, and had several other advertisements from persons of honour, "that there was a strong combination entered into against him;" and [they] mentioned some particulars to have been told the king concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his majesty. All which particulars, being without any colour or ground of truth, he believed were inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

Yet he took an opportunity to acquaint the king with it, who, with the same openness he had always used, conferred with him about his present business, but only of the business. He besought his majesty to let him know, "whether he had received any information that he had done or said such and such things," which he made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his majesty's power to believe [them]; to which the king answered, "that nobody had told him any such thing." To which the other replied, "that he did really think they had not, though he knew that they had bragged they had done so, and thereby incensed his majesty against him; which they desired should be generally believed."

The truth is; the chancellor was guilty of that himself which he had used to accuse the archbishop Laud of, that he was too proud of a good conscience. He knew his own innocence, and had no kind of apprehension of being publicly charged with any crime. He knew well he had many enemies who had credit with the king, and that they did him all the ill offices they could: and he knew that the lady's power and credit increased, and that she desired nothing more than to remove him from his majesty's confidence; in which he never thought her to blame, since she well knew that he employed all the credit he had to remove her from the court. But he thought himself very secure in the king's justice: and though his kindness was much lessened, he was confident his majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since he knew his integrity; and never suspected that he would consent to his ruin. He was in truth weary of the condition he was in, and had in the last year undergone much mortification; and desired nothing more, than to be divested of all other trusts and employments than what concerned the chancery only, in which he could have no rival, and in the administration whereof he had not heard of any complaint: and this he thought might have satisfied all parties; and had sometimes desired the king, "that he might retire from all other business, than that of the judicatory," for he plainly discerned he was not able to contend with other struggles.

I cannot avoid in this place mentioning an ac-

cident that fell out in this time, and enlarge upon all the circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate influence on the fate of the person who is so near his fall. The king had been very much offended with the duke of Buckingham, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his obligations and discretion, and had been in truth the original cause of all the ill humour which had been in both houses of parliament in the last session; after the end of which he went into the country without taking his leave of the king, and in several places spake with greater license of the court and government, and of the person of the king, than any other person presumed to do; of all which his majesty had intelligence and information, and was at that time without doubt more offended with him than with any man in England, and had really great provocation to jealousy of his fidelity, as well as of his respect and affection. The lord Arlington, as secretary of state, had received several informations of dangerous words spoken by him against the king, and of his correspondencies with persons the most suspected for seditious inclinations, the duke having made himself very popular amongst the levellers, and amongst them who clamoured for liberty of conscience, which pretence he seemed very much to cherish.

The king was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his behaviour in the parliament, by some informations he received from his own servants. There was one Braythwaite, a citizen, who had been a great confidant of Cromwell and of the council of state, a man of parts, and looked upon as having a greater interest with the discontented party than any man of the city. Upon the king's return this man fled beyond the seas, and after near a year's stay there came again to London, but remained there as incognito, came not upon the exchange, nor was seen in public, and returned again into Holland; and so made frequent journeys backward and forward for several months, and then came and resided publicly in the city. This being taken notice of by sir Richard Browne, who was major general of the city, upon whose vigilance the king very much and very justly depended, and the man being well known to him, he had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till he understood that he was a servant to the duke of Buckingham, and in great trust with him, as he was; for the duke had committed the whole managery of his estate to him, and upon his recommendation had received many other inferior servants to be employed under him, all of the same leaven with him, and all notorious for their disaffection to the church and state. The major general, being one day to give the king an account of some business, told him likewise of this man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all disloyal purposes, and as like to bring them to pass, as any man of that condition in England;" and seemed to wonder, "that the duke would entertain such a person in his service."

At that time the duke had by his diligence, and those faculties towards mirth in which he excelled, made himself very acceptable to the king; though many wondered that he could be so, considering what the king himself knew of him: insomuch that his majesty told him what he had been in-

formed of his steward, and how much he suffered in his reputation for entertaining such servants. The duke received the animadversion with all possible submission and acknowledgment of the obligation, and then enlarged upon the commendation of the man, "of his great abilities, and the benefit he received by his service;" and besought his majesty, "that he would vouchsafe to hear him, for he believed he would give an account of the state of the city, and of many particulars which related to his majesty's service, better than most men could do." And the king shortly after supping at the duke's house, he found an opportunity to present Mr. Braythwaite to him, who was a man of a very good aspect, which that people used not to have, and of notable insinuation. He made the king a narration of the whole course of his life, in which he did not endeavour to make himself appear a better man than he had been reported to be; which kind of ingenuity, as men call it, is a wonderful approach towards being believed. He related "by what degrees, and in what method of conviction, he had explicated himself from all those ill principles in which he had been entangled: and that it had been a principal motive to him to embrace the opportunity of serving the duke, that he might totally retire from that company and conversation to which he had been most accustomed. And yet he thought he had so much credit with the chief of them, that they could never enter into any active combination, but he should have notice of it: and assured his majesty that nothing should pass of moment amongst that people, but his majesty should have very seasonable information of it, and that he would always serve him with great fidelity." In fine, the king was well satisfied with his discourse, and often afterwards upon the like opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well disposed to do him any service.

During the last session of parliament, in which the duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the king, this man found an opportunity to get access to his majesty, which he was willing to give him; when he said, "that he thought it his duty, and according to his obligation, to give his majesty an account of what he had lately observed, and of his own resolutions." He told him, "that his lord was of late very much altered, and was fallen into the acquaintance and conversation of some men of very mean condition, but of very desperate intentions; with whom he used to meet at unseasonable hours, and in obscure places, where persons of quality did not use to resort; and that he frequently received letters from them: all which made him apprehend that there was a design on foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the duke might be engaged in. And for these and other reasons, and the irregular course of his life, he was resolved to withdraw himself from his service: and that he hoped, into what extravagancies soever the duke should cast himself, his majesty would retain a good opinion of him, who would never swerve from his affection and duty."

The information and testimony, which the lord Arlington brought to the king shortly after this advertisement, made the greater impression; and there were many particulars in the informations

that could not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging about Tower-hill, and professed skill in horoscopes, to whom the duke often repaired in disguise in the night: and the lord Arlington had caused that fellow to be apprehended, and his pockets and his chamber to be searched; where were found several letters to the duke of Buckingham, one or two whereof were in his pocket sealed and not sent, and the rest copies, and one original letter from the duke to him, in all which there were many unusual expressions, which were capable of a very ill interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This man and some others were sent close prisoners to the Tower, where the lord Arlington and two other privy counsellors, by the king's order, took their several examinations, and confronted them with those witnesses, who accused them and justified their accusations; all which were brought to the king.

And then his majesty was pleased to acquaint the chancellor with all that had passed, who to that minute had not the least imagination of any particular relating to it: nor had he any other prejudice to the person of the duke, (for he behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary civility,) than what was necessary for any man to have upon account of the extravagancy of his life; and which he could not be without, upon what he had often received from the duke himself upon his own knowledge. The king now shewed him all those examinations and depositions which had been taken; and that letter to the fellow, "which," his majesty said, "he knew to be every word the duke's own hand;" and the letters to the duke from the fellow, which still gave him the style of prince, and mentioned what great things his stars promised to him, and that he was the darling of the people, who had set their hearts and affections and all their hopes upon his highness, with many other foolish and some fustian expressions. His majesty told him in what places the duke had been since he left London; "that he stayed few days in any place; and that he intended on such a day, that was to come, to be in Staffordshire at the house of sir Charles Wolsely," a gentleman who had been of great eminency in Cromwell's council, and one of those who had been sent by the house of commons to persuade him to accept the crown with the title of king. Upon the whole matter his majesty asked him, "what way he was to proceed against him:" to which he answered, "that he was first to be apprehended; and when he should be in custody and examined, his majesty would better judge which way he was to proceed against him."

Upon further consideration with the chancellor and lord Arlington and others of the council, the king sent a sergeant at arms, with a warrant under his sign manual, "to apprehend the duke of Buckingham, and to bring him before one of the secretaries of state, to answer to such crimes as should be objected against him;" or to that purpose. The sergeant made a journey into Northamptonshire, where he was informed the duke [was]: but still, when he came to the house where he was said to be, it was pretended that he was gone from thence some hours before; by which he found that he had notice of his business.

And therefore he concealed himself, and appointed some men to watch and inform themselves of his motions, it being generally reported that he would be at the house of the earl of Exeter at such a time. And notice was given him, that he was then in a coach with ladies going to that house: upon which he made so good haste, that he was in view of the coach, and saw the duke alight out of the coach, and lead a lady into the house; upon which the door of the court was shut before he could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other doors that were all shut; so that he could not get into the house, though it were some hours before sunset in the month of May. After some hours' attendance, one Mr. Fairfax, who waited upon the duke of Buckingham, came to the door, and without opening it asked him, "what he would have:" and he answered, "that he had a message to the duke from the king, and that he must speak with him;" to which he replied, "that he was not there, and that he should seek for him in some other place." The sergeant told him, "that he saw him go into the house;" and that if he might not be admitted to speak with him, he would require the sheriff of the county to give him his assistance:" upon which the gentleman went away, and about half an hour after returned again, and threatened the sergeant so much, after he had opened the door, that the poor man had not the courage to stay longer; but returned to the court, and gave a full relation in writing to the secretary of the endeavours he had used, and the affronts he had received.

Why all the particular circumstances of this affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The king was so exceedingly offended at this carriage and behaviour of the duke, that he made relation of it to the council-board, and publicly declared, "that he was no longer of that number," and caused his name to be left out in the list of the counsellors, "and that he was no longer a gentleman of his bedchamber," and put the earl of Rochester to wait in his place. His majesty likewise revoked that commission by which he was constituted lord lieutenant of the east riding in Yorkshire, and granted that commission to the earl of Burlington: so that it was not possible for his majesty to give more lively instances of his displeasure against any man, than he had done against the duke. And at the same time, with the advice of the board, a proclamation issued out for his apprehension, and inhibiting all persons to entertain, receive, or conceal him. Upon which he thought it fit to leave the country, and that he should be less discovered in London, whither he resorted, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city. And though his majesty had frequent intelligence where he was, and continued advertisements of the liberty he took in his discourses of his own person, and of some others, of which he was no less sensible; yet when the sergeant at arms, and others employed for his apprehension, came where he was known to have been but an hour before, he was gone from thence, or so concealed there that he could not be found: and in this manner he continued sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months.

At last, being advertised of renewed instances of the king's displeasure, and that it every day

increased upon new intelligence that he received of his behaviour, he grew weary of the posture he was in, and employed several persons to move the king on his behalf; for he was informed that the king resolved to proceed against him for his life, and that his estate was begged and given. Upon this one night he sent his secretary, Mr. Clifford, to the chancellor, with whom he had never entered into any dispute, with some compliments and expressions of confidence in his friendship. He professed "great innocence and integrity in all his actions with reference to the king, though he might have been passionate and indiscreet in his words; that there was a conspiracy against his life, and that his estate was granted or promised to persons who had begged it:" and in conclusion he desired "that he would send him his advice what he should do, but rather, that he would permit him to come to him in the evening to his house, that he might confer with him."

The chancellor answered his secretary, who was well known to him, "that he might not confer with him till he rendered himself to the king; that he was confident, having seen testimony enough to convince him, that the duke was not innocent; and that he had much to answer for disrespectful mention of the king, which would require much acknowledgment and submission: but that he did not know that his crimes were of that magnitude as would put his life into danger; and that he was most confident that there was no conspiracy to take that from him, except his faults were of another nature than they yet appeared to be; and which no conspiracy, which he need not fear, could deprive him of. And he did not believe that there had been any attempt to beg his estate: but he was sure there had not been, nor could be, any grant of it to any man, which must have passed by the great seal." He did advise him, and desired him to follow his advice, "that if he did know himself innocent as to unlawful actions and designs, and that his fault consisted only in indiscreet words, as he seemed to confess; he would no longer aggravate his offence by contemning his warrants, which he would not be long able to avoid, but deliver himself into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower, which he was at liberty by the proclamation to do, and send then a petition to the king, that he might be heard: and that when he had done this, he would be ready and willing to do him all the offices which would consist with his duty."

And the next day he gave his majesty a particular account of the message which he had received, and of the answer which he had returned; which his majesty approved, and shewed him a letter that he had received from the duke that morning, which seemed to have been written after his secretary had returned from the chancellor. The letter contained a large profession of his innocence, and complaint of the power of his enemies, and a very earnest desire "that his majesty would give him leave to speak with him, and then dispose of him as he pleased;" to which his majesty had answered to the person who brought the letter, who, as I remember, was sir Robert Howard, "that the duke need not fear the power of any enemies, but would be sure to have justice, if he would submit to it."

But his majesty in his discourse seemed to be as weary of the prosecution, as the duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much apprehension of his interest and power in the parliament; and to be troubled that the principal witness, upon whose testimony he relied, was at [that] time sick of the smallpox, and in danger of death, and that another retracted part of that evidence that he had given. In a word, his majesty appeared less angry than he had been, and willing that an end should be put to the business without any public prosecution. To which the chancellor made no other answer, than "that no advice could be given with preservation of his majesty's dignity, till the duke rendered himself into the hand of justice:" which he was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the chancellor by sir Robert Howard, to press him, "that he might be admitted first to the king's presence, and then sent to the Tower." The other told him, "that if the king were inclined to admit him in that manner, he would dissuade him from it, as a thing dishonourable to him after so long a contest;" and repeated the same to him that he said formerly to Mr. Clifford: nor could he be persuaded by any others (for others did speak to him to the same purpose) to recede a tittle from what he had insisted upon, "that he should put himself in the Tower." Of all which he still gave the king a faithful account of every word that passed: for he knew well that the lord Arlington endeavoured to persuade the king, "that the chancellor favoured the duke, and desired that he should be at liberty;" when at the same time he used all the ways he could to have it insinuated to the duke's friends, "that he knew nothing of the business, but that the whole prosecution was made by the information and advice of the chancellor."

In the end, the duke was persuaded to render himself to the Tower: and from thence he sent a petition to the king, who presently appeared very inclined to give over any further prosecution; which alteration all men wondered at, nor could any man imagine the ground or reason of it. For though the principal witness was dead, as the lord Arlington declared he was, and that so much could not be proved as at the first discovery was reasonably suspected; yet the meanness and villainess of the persons with whom he kept so familiar correspondence, the letters between them which were ready to be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous discourses which he often held concerning the king's person, and many other particulars which had most inflamed the king, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifested so much vanity and presumption in the duke, as must have lessened his credit and reputation with all serious men, and made him worthy of severe censure. But whether the king thought not fit to proceed upon the words and scandalous discourses, which he thought would more disperse and publish the scandals; or whether he did really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his business in parliament; or what other reason soever prevailed with his majesty, as without doubt some other there were: his majesty was very impatient to be rid of the business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present order for setting the duke at liberty, and so to silence all further discourse.

But he was persuaded, "that that would most reflect upon his own honour, by making it believed, that there had been in truth a foul conspiracy against the person of the duke, which would give him more credit in the parliament and every where else;" for the king had not yet, with all his indulgence, a better opinion of his affection and fidelity than he had before.

In conclusion; it was resolved, "that the lieutenant of the Tower should bring the duke of Buckingham to the council chamber, his majesty being present; and there the attorney and solicitor general should open the charge that was against him, and read all the examinations which had been taken, and the letters which had passed between them:" all which was done. And the duke denying "that he had ever written to that fellow, though he knew him well, and used to make himself merry with him," the letter was produced (which the king and the lord Arlington, who both knew his hand well, made no doubt to be his hand) and delivered to the duke; who, as soon as he cast his eye upon it, said, "it was not his hand, but he well knew whose it was." And being asked whose hand it was, he said, "it was his sister's, the duchess of Richmond, with whom," he said, "it was known that he had no correspondence." Whereupon the king called for the letter, and, having looked upon it, he said, "he had been mistaken," and confessed "that it was the duchess's hand;" and seemed much out of countenance upon the mistake: though the letter gave still as much cause of suspicion, for it was as strange that she should write to such a fellow in a style very obliging, and being in answer to a letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that she might have written it upon his desire and dictating.

The duke denied most of the particulars contained in the examinations: and for the other letters which had been written to him by the fellow who was in the Tower, (whereof one was found in his pocket sealed to be sent to the duke, and the others were copies of others which had been sent; and the witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the duke's own hand, and related at large the kindness he expressed towards the man, and the message he sent to him by him,) he denied that he had ever received those letters; but acknowledged, "that the man came often to him, and pretended skill in horoscopes, but more in distillations, in which the duke delighted and exercised himself, but looked upon the fellow as cracked in his brain, and fit only to be laughed at." When the duke was withdrawn, the king declared, "that he had been deceived in being confident that the letter had been written by the duke, which he now discerned not to be his hand, and he knew as well to have been written by the duchess;" and thereupon seemed to think that there was nothing else worth the examining: and so order was given to set the duke at liberty, who immediately went to his own house, and went not in some days afterwards to the court.

About this time, or in a few days afterwards, a great affliction befell the chancellor in his domestics, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected accidents that suddenly succeeded that

more insupportable misfortune. His wife, the mother of all his children, and his companion in all his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities less grievous by her company and courage, having made a journey to Tunbridge for her health, returned from thence without the benefit she expected, yet without being thought by the physicians to be in any danger; and within less than three days died: which was so sudden, unexpected, and irreparable a loss, that he had not courage to support; which nobody wondered at who knew the mutual satisfaction and comfort they had in each other. And he might possibly have sunk under it, if his enemies had not found out a new kind of consolation to him, which his friends could never have thought of.

Within few days after his wife's death, the king vouchsafed to come to his house to condole with him, and used many gracious expressions to him: yet within less than a fortnight the duke (who was seldom a day without doing him the honour to see him) came to him, and with very much trouble told him, "that such a day, that was past, walking with the king in the park, his majesty asked him how the chancellor did: to which his highness had made answer, that he was the [most] disconsolate person he ever [saw]; and that he had lamented himself to him not only upon the loss of his wife, but out of apprehension that his majesty had of late withdrawn his countenance from him: to which his majesty replied, that he wondered he should think so, but that he would speak more to him of that subject the next day. And that that morning his majesty had held a long discourse with him, in which he told him, that he had received very particular and certain intelligence, that when the parliament should meet again, they were resolved to impeach the chancellor, who was grown very odious to them, not only for his having opposed them in all those things upon which they had set their hearts, but that they had been informed that he had proposed and advised their dissolution; which had enraged them to that degree, that they had taken a resolution as soon as they came together again to send up an impeachment against him; which would be a great dishonour to his majesty, and obstruct all his affairs, nor should he be able to protect him or divert them: and therefore that it would be necessary for his service, and likewise for the preservation of the chancellor, that he should deliver up the seal to him. All which he desired the duke" (who confessed that he had likewise received the same advertisement) "to inform him of: and that the chancellor himself should choose the way and the manner of delivering up the seal, whether he would wait upon the king and give it into his own hand, or whether the king should send a secretary or a privy counsellor for it." When the duke had said all that the king had given him in charge, he declared himself "to be much unsatisfied with the king's resolution; and though he had received the same advertisement, and believed that there was a real combination and conspiracy against him, yet he knew the chancellor's innocence would not be frightened with it."

The chancellor was indeed as much surprised with this relation, as he could have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution. He told the

duke, "that he did not wonder that the king and his highness had been informed of such a resolution; for that they who had contrived the conspiracy, and done all they could to make it prevalent, could best inform his majesty and his highness of what would probably fall out." And thereupon he informed the duke "of what had passed at the day of the last prorogation, and the discourse and promise sir William Coventry had made to them, if they had a mind to be rid of the chancellor: but," he said, "that which only afflicted him was, that the king should have no better opinion of his innocence and integrity, than to conclude that such a combination must ruin him. And he was more troubled to find, that the king himself had so terrible an apprehension of their power and their purposes, as if they might do any thing they had a mind to do. He did not believe that he was so odious to the parliament as he was reported to be; if he were, it was only for his zeal to his majesty's service, and his insisting upon what his majesty had resolved: but he was confident that when his enemies had done all that their malice could suggest against him, it would appear that the parliament was not of their mind. He wished that he might have the honour to speak with the king, before he returned any answer to his commands." The duke was pleased graciously to reply, "that it was the advice he intended to give him, that he should desire it; and that he doubted not but that he should easily prevail with the king to come to his house, whither he had used so frequently to come, and where he had been so few days before:" and at this time the chancellor was not only not well able to walk; besides that it was against the common rules of decency to go so soon out of his house. When the duke desired the king, that he would vouchsafe to go to Clarendon-house, his majesty very readily consented to it; and said, "he would go thither the next day." But that and more days passed; and then he told the duke, "that since he resolved to take the seal, it would not be so fit for him to go thither; but he would send for the chancellor to come to his own chamber in Whitehall, and he would go thither to him."

In the mean time it began to be the discourse of the court: and the duchess, from whom the duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who presently went to the king with some passion; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the general accompanied her, who all besought the king not to take such a resolution. And many other of the privy-council, with none of whom the chancellor had spoken, taking notice of the rumour, attended the king with the same suit and advice. To all whom his majesty answered, "that what he intended was for his good, and the only way to preserve him." He held longer discourse to the general, "that he did believe by what his brother had told him, of the extreme agony the chancellor was in upon the death of his wife, that he had himself desired to be dismissed from his office;" and bade the general go to him, and bid him come the next morning to his own chamber at Whitehall, and the king would come thither to him." And the general came to him with great professions of kindness, which he had well deserved from him, gave him

a relation of all that had passed with the king, and concluded, "that what had been done had been upon mistake; and he doubted not, but that upon conference with his majesty all things would be well settled again to his content;" which no doubt he did at that time believe as well as wish.

Upon Monday, the 26th of August, about ten of the clock in the morning, the chancellor went to his chamber in Whitehall, where he had not been many minutes, before the king and duke by themselves came into the room. His majesty looked very graciously upon him, and made him sit down; when the other acknowledged "the honour his majesty had done him, in admitting him into his presence before he executed a resolution he had taken." He said, "that he had no suit to make to him, nor the least thought to dispute with him, or to divert him from the resolution he had taken; but only to receive his determination from himself, and most humbly to beseech him to let him know what fault he had committed, that had drawn this severity upon him from his majesty." The king told him, "he had not any thing to object against him; but must always acknowledge, that he had always served him honestly and faithfully, and that he did believe that never king had a better servant, and that he had taken this resolution for his good and preservation, as well as for his own convenience and security; and that he had verily believed that it had been upon his consent and desire." And thereupon his majesty entered upon a relation of all that had passed between him and the duke, and "that he really thought his brother had concurred with him in his opinion, as the only way to preserve him." In that discourse the duke sometimes positively denied to have said somewhat, and explained other things as not said to the purpose his majesty understood, or that he ever implied that himself though it fit.

The sum of what his majesty said was, "that he was most assured by information that could not deceive him, that the parliament was resolved, as soon as they should come together again, to impeach the chancellor; and then that his innocence would no more defend and secure him against their power, than the earl of Strafford had defended himself against them: and," he said, "he was as sure, that his taking the seal from him at this time would so well please the parliament, that his majesty should thereby be able to preserve him, and to provide for the passage of his own business, and the obtaining all that he desired." He said, "he was sorry that the business had taken so much air, and was so publicly spoken of, that he knew not how to change his purpose;" which he seemed to impute to the passion of the duchess, that had divulged it.

The chancellor told him, "that he had not contributed to the noise, nor had imparted it to his own children, till they with great trouble informed him, that they heard it from such and such persons," whom they named, "with some complaint that it was concealed from them: nor did he then come in hope to divert him from the resolution he had taken in the matter itself." He said, "he had but two things to trouble him with. The first, that he would by

“no means suffer it to be believed that he himself was willing to deliver up the seal; and that he should not think himself a gentleman, if he were willing to depart and withdraw himself from the office, in a time when he thought his majesty would have need of all honest men, and in which he thought he might be able to do him some service. The second, that he could not acknowledge this deprivation to be done in his favour, or in order to do him good; but on the contrary, that he looked upon it as the greatest ruin he could undergo, by his majesty’s own declaring his judgment upon him, which would amount to little less than a confirmation of those many libellous discourses which had been raised, and would upon the matter expose him to the rage and fury of the people, who had been with great artifice and industry persuaded to believe, that he had been the cause and the counsellor of all that they liked not. That he was so far from fearing the justice of the parliament, that he renounced his majesty’s protection or interposition towards his preservation: and that though the earl of Strafford had undergone a sentence he did not deserve, yet he could not acknowledge their cases to be parallel. That though that great person had never committed any offence that could amount to treason, yet he had done many things which he could not justify, and which were transgressions against the law: whereas he was not guilty of any action, whereof he did not desire the law might be the judge. And if his majesty himself should discover all that he had said to him in secret, he feared not any censure that should attend it: if any body could charge him with any crime or offence, he would most willingly undergo the punishment that belonged to it.

“But,” he said, “he doubted very much, that the throwing off an old servant, who had served the crown in some trust near thirty years, (who had the honour by the command of his blessed father, who had left good evidence of the esteem he had of his fidelity, to wait upon his majesty when he went out of the kingdom, and by the great blessing of God had the honour to return with him again; which no other counsellor alive could say,) on the sudden, without any suggestion of a crime, nay, with a declaration of innocence, would call his majesty’s justice and good-nature into question; and men would not know how securely to serve him, when they should see it was in the power of three or four persons who had never done him any notable service, nor were in the opinion of those who knew them best like to do, to dispose him to so ungracious an act.”

The king seemed very much troubled and irresolute; then repeated “the great power of the parliament, and the clear information he had of their purposes, which they were resolved to go through with, right or wrong; and that his own condition was such, that he could not dispute with them, but was upon the matter at their mercy.”

The chancellor told him, “it was not possible for his majesty to have any probable assurance what the parliament would do. And though he knew he had offended some of the house of commons, in opposing their desires in such

“particulars as his majesty thought were prejudicial to his service; yet he did not doubt but his reputation was much greater in both houses, than either of theirs who were known to be his enemies, and to have this influence upon his majesty, who were all known to be guilty of some transgressions, which they would have been called in question for in parliament, if he had not very industriously, out of the tenderness he had for his majesty’s honour and service, prevented it; somewhat whereof was not unknown to his majesty.” He concluded “with beseeching him, whatever resolution he took in his particular, not to suffer his spirits to fall, nor himself to be dejected with the apprehension of the formidable power of the parliament, which was more or less or nothing, as he pleased to make it: that it was yet in his own power to govern them; but if they found it was in theirs to govern him, nobody knew what the end would be.” And thereupon he made him a short relation of the method that was used in the time of Richard the Second, “when they terrified the king with the power and the purposes of the parliament, till they brought him to consent to that from which he could not redeem himself, and without which they could have done him no harm.” And in the warmth of this relation he found a seasonable opportunity to mention the lady with some reflections and cautions, which he might more advisedly have declined.

After two hours’ discourse, the king rose without saying any thing, but appeared not well pleased with all that had been said; and the duke of York found he was offended with the last part of it. The garden, that used to be private, had now many in it to observe the countenance of the king when he came out of the room: and when the chancellor returned, the lady, the lord Arlington, and Mr. May, looked together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph, which all people observed.

Four or five days passed without any further proceedings, or the king’s declaring his resolution: and in that time the chancellor’s concern was the only argument of the court. Many of the council, and other persons of honour and interest, presumed to speak with the king, and to give a very good testimony of him, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his parts, and credit with the sober part of the nation: and to those his majesty always commended him, with professions of much kindness; but said, “he had made himself odious to the parliament, and so was no more capable to do him service.” On the other side, the lady and lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry, exceedingly triumphed, the last of which openly and without reserve declared, “that he had given the king advice to remove him as a man odious to the parliament, and that the king would be ruined if he did it not; that he was so imperious, that he would endure no contradiction;” with many other reproaches to that purpose. But except those three, and Mr. May and Mr. Brouncker, there seemed none of name in the court who wished that the resolution should be pursued.

The duke of York concerned himself wonderfully on the chancellor’s behalf, and with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express

on the behalf of his friend. He had great indignation at the behaviour of sir William Coventry and Mr. Brounker, that being his servants they should presume to shew so much malice towards a person they knew he had kindness for. And the former had so much sense of it, that he resolved to quit the relation by which he had got vast wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that since he was commissioner for the treasury, he found he should not be able to attend his service so diligently as he ought to do; and therefore desired his highness's favour in his dismissal, and that he would give him leave to commend an honest man to succeed him in his service:" to which his highness shortly answered, "that he might dispose himself as he would, with which he was well content; and that he would choose another secretary for himself without his recommendation." And his highness presently went to the chancellor, and informed him of it, with displeasure enough towards the man, and much satisfaction that he was rid of him; and asked him "whom he would recommend to him for a secretary." He told his highness, "that if he would trust his judgment, he would recommend a person to him, who he believed was not unknown to him, and for whose parts and fidelity he would pass his word, having had good experience of both in his having served him as a secretary for the space of above seven years;" and named Mr. Wren. The duke said, "he knew him well, being a member of the Royal Company, where he often heard him speak very intelligently, and discerned him to be a man of very good parts, and therefore he would very willingly receive him; and the rather, that he knew it would be looked upon as an evidence of his kindness to him, which he would always own and testify to all the world:" and within two days after, he received him into his service with the king's approbation, the gentleman's abilities being very well known, and his person much loved.

In this suspension, the common argument was, "that it was not now the question whether the chancellor was innocent; but whether, when the king had so long resolved to remove him, and had now proceeded so far towards it, he should retract his resolution, and be governed by his brother: it was enough that he was not beloved, and that the court wished him removed." And Mr. Brounker openly declared, "that the resolution had been taken above two months before; and that it would not consist with his majesty's honour to be hector'd out of it by his brother, who was wrought upon by his wife's crying." And this kind of argumentation was every moment inculcated by the lady and her party: insomuch as when the duke made his instances with all the importunity he could use, and put his majesty in mind "of many discourses his majesty had formerly held with him, of the chancellor's honesty and discretion, conjuring him to love and esteem him accordingly, when his highness had not so good an opinion of him;" and, "that now he had found by good experience that he deserved that character, his majesty would withdraw his kindness from him, and rather believe others, who he knew were in his enemies, than his own judg-

ment:" the king gave no other answer, than "that he had proceeded too far to retire; and that he should be looked upon as a child, if he receded from his purpose."

And so being reconfirmed, upon the 30th of August in the year 1667 he sent secretary Morrice, who had no mind to the employment, with a warrant under the sign manual, to require and receive the great seal; which the chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the expressions of duty to the king. And as soon as the secretary had delivered it to the king in his closet, Mr. May went into the closet, and fell upon his knees, and kissed his majesty's hand, telling him "that he was now king, which he had never been before."

The chancellor believed that the storm had been now over; for he had not the least apprehension of the displeasure of the parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him: yet he resolved to stay at his house till it should meet, (without going thither, which he was informed would be ill taken,) that he might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the country, and to live there very privately. And there was a report raised without any ground, that he intended to go to the house of peers, and take his precedence as chancellor, with which the king was much offended: but as soon as he heard of it, he desired the lord chamberlain to assure his majesty, "that he never intended any such thing, nor would ever do any thing that he believed would displease him;" with which he seemed well satisfied.

However, a new tempest was quickly raised against him. Many persons of honour and quality came every day to visit him with many expressions of affection and esteem; and most of the king's servants, except only those few who had declared themselves his enemies, still frequented his house with the same kindness they had always professed: but they were looked upon quickly with a very ill countenance by the other party, and were plainly told, "that the king would take it ill from all his servants who visited the chancellor;" though when some of them asked his majesty; "whether their visiting him, to whom they had been formerly much beholden, would offend his majesty;" he answered, "No, he had not forbid any man to visit him." Yet it appeared more every day, that they were best looked on who forbore going to him, and the other found themselves upon much disadvantage; by which however many were not discouraged.

The chief prosecutors behaved themselves with more insolence than was agreeable to their discretion: and the lord Arlington, who had long before behaved himself with very little courtesy towards all persons whom he believed to be well affected to the chancellor, even towards ambassadors and other foreign ministers, now when any of his friends came to him for the despatch of business in his office, asked them "when they saw the chancellor," and bade them "go to him to put their business into a method." The duke of Buckingham, who had after his enlargement visited the chancellor, and acknowledged the civilities he had received from him, came now again to the court, and was received with extraordinary grace by the king, and restored to all the honours and offices of which he was deprived;

and was informed and assured, "that all the proceedings which had been against him were upon the information and advice of the chancellor:" and whatever he had spoken in council was told him in that manner (and without the true circumstances) that might make most impression on him.

One day whilst that matter was depending, (which is not mentioned before,) the lord Arlington, after he found the king had acquainted the chancellor with the business, and shewed him the information and examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same witnesses to be further examined, "that the chancellor might be present with the rest who had been formerly employed at their examining:" which the king seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, "for that the office he held never used to be subject to those employments;" and in the debate added, "that if the testimony of witnesses made good all that was suggested, and the duke should be brought to a trial, it might probably fall out, that the king might command him to execute the office of high steward, as he had lately done in the trial of the lord Morley; and in that respect it would be very incongruous for him to be present at the examinations." The duke was now informed, without any of the circumstances, that the chancellor had said that he was to be high steward at the trial of the duke.

The duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the matter know, that the lord Arlington (with whom he had enmity) had been very solicitous in his prosecution, had, after his having visited the chancellor, sent a friend, whom he thought he would trust, to him, "to desire him to deal freely with him concerning the lord Arlington, whom he knew to be an enemy to both of them; and that he must have him examined upon that conspiracy, which he hoped he would not take ill:" to which he answered, "that he neither would nor could be examined concerning any thing that had been said or done in council; but that he would, as his friend, and to prevent his exposing himself to any new inconvenience, very freely and faithfully assure him, that he did not believe that there had been any conspiracy against him, nor did know that the lord Arlington had done any thing in the prosecution, but what was according to the obligation and duty of his office; which testimony," he said, "could proceed only from justice, since he well knew that lord did not wish him well." This answer, it seems, or the despair of drawing any other from him to his purpose, disposed him to give entire credit to the other information; and the king took great pains to reconcile him to the lord Arlington, who made many vows to him of his future service, and desired his protection: and hereupon the duke openly professed his resolution of revenge, and frankly entered into the combination with the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor.

But the knowledge of all this did not give him much trouble, (so much confidence he had in his own innocence, and so little esteem of the credit and interest of his enemies,) until he heard that the king himself expressed great displeasure towards him, and declared, "that he had misbehaved

himself towards his majesty, and that he was so imperious that he would endure no contradiction; that he had a faction in the house of commons, that opposed every thing that concerned his majesty's service, if it were not recommended to them by him; and that he had given him very ill advice concerning the parliament, which offended him most:" all which they to whom his majesty said it divulged to others, that they might thereby lessen the chancellor's credit and interest. It is very true, they who had taken all advantages to alienate the king's affections from him, had at first only proposed his removal, "as a person odious to the parliament, and whom they were resolved to impeach, which would put his majesty into a strait, either to renounce or desert an old servant, which would not be for his honour, or, by protecting him, to deprive himself of all those benefits which he expected from the parliament; whereas the removing him would so gratify the houses, that they would deny nothing that his majesty should demand of them;" and his majesty did believe it the only way to preserve him. But when they had prevailed so far, and rendered themselves more necessary to him, they prosecuted what they had begun with more visible animosity, and told him, "that if the parliament suspected that his majesty retained still any kindness towards him, they would not be satisfied with his removal, but apprehend that he would be again received into his favour; and he would in the mean time have so much credit in both houses, especially if he sat in the house of peers," which they undertook to know he intended to do, "that he would be able to obstruct whatsoever his majesty desired: and therefore it was necessary that his majesty should upon all occasions declare, and that it should be believed, that he had so full a prejudice against him, that nobody should have cause to fear, that he would ever again be received into any trust." And this disposed his majesty to discourse to many in that manner that is before set down.

And when the duke of York lamented to his majesty the reports which were generally spread abroad, of the discourses which he made to many persons of the chancellor's misbehaviour towards himself, and his own displeasure against him; the king denied many of the particulars, as that concerning his ill counsel against the parliament, which he denied to have spoken: but said withal, "that if the chancellor had done as he advised him, and delivered up the seal to him as of his own inclination, all would have been quiet. But since he insisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send for it in that manner, he was obliged in the vindication of his honour to give some reasons for what he had done, when other men took upon them so loudly to commend the chancellor, and to justify his innocence, not without some reflection upon his own honour and justice, which he could not but take very ill: but he should not suffer," he said, "for what other men did, and that he would use his two sons as kindly as ever he had done." And it must be always acknowledged, that though great importunity was used to his majesty, to discharge his two sons from his service, as a thing necessary by all the rules of policy, not to suffer

the sons to remain so near his person, when their father lay under so notorious a brand of his displeasure, (in which they believed they had so far prevailed, that they took upon them to promise their places to other men :) but the king positively refused to yield to them, and continued his favour still to them both in the same manner he had done. And though he was long after persuaded to suspend his eldest son from waiting, under which cloud he continued for many months, yet at last he was restored to his place with circumstances of extraordinary favour and grace: nor did his majesty afterwards recede from his goodness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the attempts which were made.

The parliament met upon the 10th of October, when the king in a short speech told them, "that there had been some former miscarriages, which had occasioned some differences between him and them: but that he had now altered his counsels, and made no question but that they should henceforward agree, for he was resolved to give them all satisfaction; and did not doubt but that they would supply his necessities, and provide for the payment of his debts;" with an insinuation, "that what had been formerly done amiss had been by the advice of the person whom he had removed from his counsels, and with whom he should not hereafter advise."

When the house of commons came together, one Tomkins, a man of very contemptible parts and of worse manners, (who used to be encouraged by men of design to set some motion on foot, which they thought not fit to appear in themselves till they discerned how it would take,) moved the house, "that they might send a message of thanks to the king for his gracious expressions, and for the many good things which he had done, and particularly for his removing the chancellor;" which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the house as a thing unreasonable for them who knew not the motives which had disposed his majesty: and so a committee was appointed to prepare such a message as might be fit for them to send. And the house of lords the same day sent to the king, without consulting with the house of commons, to give his majesty thanks for the speech he had made to them in the morning, which commonly used to be done. The king declared himself very much offended that the proposition in the house of commons for returning thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own servants; and commanded them "to press and renew the motion: that his honour was concerned in it; and therefore he would expect thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own servants who refused to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: but notwithstanding all the labour that had been used contrary to all custom and privilege of parliament, the question held six hours' debate, very many speaking against the injustice and irregularity of it; they on the other side urging the king's expectation of it. In the end, the question being put, it was believed the noes to be the greater number: but the division of the house was not urged for many reasons; and so the vote was sent to the house of lords, who were desired to concur with them.

But it had there a greater contradiction. They

had already returned their thanks to the king; and now to send again, and to add any particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any precedent: and therefore they would not concur in it. This obstinacy very much displeased the king: and he was persuaded by those who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this contradiction, if he did not master it, would run through all his business that should be brought into that house. Whereupon his majesty reproached many of the lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his service: and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, "that he should in his majesty's name command all the bishops' bench to concur in it; and if they should refuse it, he would make them repent it;" with many other very severe reprehensions and animadversions. This being done in so extraordinary a manner, the duke of York told his majesty, "how much it was spoken of and wondered at:" to which his majesty replied, "that his honour was engaged, and that he would not be satisfied, if thanks were not returned to him by both houses; and that it should go the worse for the chancellor if his friends opposed it." And he commanded his royal highness that he should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his attendance, and gave him leave to be absent from the debate; which liberty many others likewise took: and so when it was again moved, though it was still confidently opposed, it was carried by a major part, many being absent.

And so both houses attended the king and gave him thanks, which his majesty graciously received as a boon he looked for, and said somewhat that implied that he was much displeased with the chancellor; of which some men thought they were to make the best use they could. And therefore, after the king's answer was reported to the house of peers, as of course whatsoever the king says upon any message is always reported, it was proposed, "that the king's answer might be entered in the Journal Book;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the king himself spoke to both houses: nor was what he now said entered in the house of commons. However, when they had consulted together, they found that they had not yet so particular a record of the displeasure against the chancellor, as what he had said upon this message did amount unto; they moved the house again, "that it might be entered in the book:" and it was again rejected. All which would not serve the turn; but the duke of Buckingham a third time moved it, as a thing the king expected: and thereupon it was entered.

And his majesty now declared to his brother and to many of the lords, "that he had now all he desired, and that there should be no more done to the chancellor." And without doubt the king had not at this time a purpose to give any further countenance to the animosity of his enemies, who thought that what was already done was too easy a composition, and told his majesty, "that, if he were not prosecuted further, he would gain reputation by it: for that the manner in which all votes had been yet carried was rather a vindication than censure of him; and he would shortly come to the house with more credit to do mischief, and to obstruct whatsoever related to his service. But that such things

"would be found against him, as soon as men were satisfied that his majesty had totally deserted him, (which yet they were not,) that he would have no more credit to do good or harm." Hereupon there were several cabals entered into, who invited and sent for persons of all conditions, who had had any business depending before the chancellor, or charters passed the seal; and examined them whether he had not received money from them, or they were otherwise grieved by him, promising that they should receive ample reparation.

The duke of Buckingham, and some others with him, sent for sir Robert Harlow, who had the year before gone to the Barbadoes with the lord Willoughby, who had much friendship for him; yet after they came thither, they grew unsatisfied with each other to that degree, that the lord Willoughby, who was governor of those islands, removed him from the office he had conferred on him, and sent him by the next shipping into England; where he arrived full of vexation for the treatment he had received, and willing to embrace any opportunity to be revenged on the governor. Him the duke of Buckingham sent for, who he knew was privy to all the lord Willoughby's counsels, and asked him, "what money the lord Willoughby had given the chancellor for that government," (for it was well known that the chancellor had been his chief friend in procuring that government for him, and in discountenancing and suppressing those who in England or in the islands had complained of him,) "and what money he had received from those islands; and that it was probable that he had some influence upon the lord Willoughby towards the disgrace himself had undergone:" and added, "that he would do the king a very acceptable service, in discovering any thing of the chancellor's miscarriages, of which his majesty himself knew so much." To which the gentleman answered, "that he had no obligation to the chancellor that would restrain him from declaring any thing that might be to his prejudice; but that he was not able to do it: nor did he believe that he had ever received any money from the lord Willoughby or from the islands." And this kind of artifice and inquisition was used to examine all his actions; and they who were known to be any way offended with him, or disobliged by him, were most welcome to them.

After many days spent in such close contrivances and combinations, Mr. Seymour, a young man of great confidence and boldness, stood up in the house of commons, and spake long and with great bitterness against the chancellor, and of his great corruption in many particulars, by which," he said, "he had gotten a vast estate. That he had received great sums of money from Ireland, for making a settlement that every body complained of, and that left that kingdom in as great distraction as ever it had been. That he had gotten great sums of money indirectly and corruptly from the plantations, the governments whereof he had disposed; by preferments in the law and in the church; and for the passing of charters: and that he had received four thousand pounds from the Canary company for the establishing that company, which was so great and general a grievance to the kingdom.

And, which was above all this, that he had traitorously persuaded, or endeavoured to persuade, the king to dissolve the parliament, and to govern by a standing army; and that he had said, that four hundred country gentlemen were only fit to give money, and did not understand how an invasion was to be resisted." He mentioned many other odious particulars, "which," he said, "he would prove," and therefore proposed, "that they would presently send up to the lords to accuse him of high treason, and require that his person might be secured." Some others seconded him with very bitter invectives: and as many gave another kind of testimony, and many reasons which made it improbable that he could be guilty of so many heinous crimes; and "that it would be unreasonable that he should be accused of high treason by the house, before such proofs should be presented to them of crimes, that they had reason to believe him guilty." And so after many hours' debate, what they proposed for the present accusing him was rejected, and a committee appointed to consider of all particulars which should be presented against him; upon reporting whereof to the house, it would give such further order as should be just."

The confident averment of so many particulars, and the so positively naming the particular sums of money which he had received, with circumstances not likely to be feigned; and especially the mentioning of many things spoken in council, "which," they said, "would be proved by privy counsellors;" and other particular advices given in private to the king himself, "which," they implied, and confidently affirmed in private, "the king himself would acknowledge;" made that impression upon many who had no ill opinion of the chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in truth kindness for him, that of both sorts several messages of advice were secretly sent to him, "that he would preserve his life by making an escape, and transporting himself into foreign parts; for that it was not probable there could be so extreme and violent a prosecution, if they had not such evidence against him as would compass their ends." To all which he answered, "that he would not give his enemies that advantage as to fly from them: and in the mean time desired his friends to retain the good opinion they had always had of him, until they heard some what proved that would make him unworthy of it; and then he would be well contented they should withdraw it." And it appeared afterwards, that though some of his good friends had advised that he should secure himself by flight, it proceeded from the advertisements that they had received through other hands, which came originally from his chiefest enemies, who desired that he might appear to be guilty by avoiding a trial; and who confidently informed many men, "that the impeachment was ready, and had been perused by the king, and that his majesty had with his hand struck out an article which related to the queen's marriage, and another that concerned the marriage of the duke; but that there was enough left to do the business; and that the duke of Buckingham should be made high steward for the trial."

These reports, being spread abroad, wrought upon the duke to desire the king, "that he would

"let him know what he did intend; and whether
 "he desired to have the chancellor's life, or that
 "he should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment:" to which his majesty protested, "that
 "he would have neither, but was well satisfied;
 "and that he was resolved to stop all further
 "prosecution against him," which his majesty
 likewise said to many others. The duke then
 asked the king, "whether the chancellor had ever
 "given him council to govern by an army, or any
 "thing like it; which," he said, "was so contrary
 "to his humour, and to the professions which he
 "had always made, and the advices he had given
 "him, that if he were guilty of it, he should doubt
 "his sincerity in all other things:" to which his
 majesty answered, "that he had never given him
 "such counsel in his life; but, on the contrary,
 "his fault was, that he always insisted too much
 "upon the law." Whereupon his royal highness
 asked him, "whether he would give him leave to
 "say so to others;" and his majesty replied,
 "with all his heart."

The duke then told it to his secretary Mr. Wren, and to many other persons, and wished them to publish it upon any occasion: upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. Wren informed many of the members of the house of commons of all that had passed between the king and the duke in that discourse; which so much disheartened the violent prosecutors, that when the committee met that was to present the heads of a charge against him to the house, nobody appeared to give any evidence, so that they adjourned without doing any thing. Hereupon sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the duke of Buckingham, and who had told many persons in the country before the parliament met, "that the
 "chancellor would be accused of high treason;
 "and if he were not hanged, he would be hanged
 "himself:" this gentleman went to the king, and informed him what Mr. Wren confidently reported in all places, "which very much dissatisfied that party that desired to do him service;
 "so that they knew not how to behave themselves:" to which his majesty answered, "that
 "Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never
 "held any such discourse with his brother." This gave them new courage, and they resolved to call Mr. Wren to an account for traducing the king. And his majesty expostulated with the duke for what Mr. Wren had so publicly discoursed: and his highness declared, "that Mr. Wren had pursued his order, his majesty having not only said
 "all that was reported, but had given him leave
 "to divulge it;" to which the king made no other answer, "but that he should be hereafter
 "more careful [of] what he said to him."

All this begat new pauses, and no advance [was] made in many days; so that it was generally believed that there would be no further prosecution: but the old argument, that they were gone too far to retire, had now more force, because many members of both houses were now joined to the party in declaring against the chancellor, who would think themselves to be betrayed and deserted, if no more should be done against him. And hereupon the committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare heads for a charge, which sat many days, there being little debate upon the matter; for such of the committee, who knew him well, were so well pleased to find him

accused of nothing but what all the world did believe him not guilty of, [that they] thought they could not do him more right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass, since there appeared no person that offered to make proof of any particular that was suggested. But three or four members of the house brought several papers, containing particulars, "which," they said, "would be
 "proved:" all which they reported to the house.

The heads were;

I. "That the chancellor had traitorously,
 "about the month of June last, advised the king
 "to dissolve the parliament, and said there could
 "be no further use of parliaments; that it was
 "a foolish constitution, and not fit to govern by;
 "and that it could not be imagined, that three or
 "four hundred country gentlemen could be either
 "prudent men or statesmen: and that it would
 "be best for the king to raise a standing
 "army, and to govern by that; whereupon
 "being demanded how that army should be
 "maintained, he answered, by contribution and
 "free quarter, as the last king maintained his
 "army in the war.

II. "That he had, in the hearing of several persons, reported, that the king was a papist in his
 "heart, or popishly affected, or had used words
 "to that effect.

III. "That he had advised the king to grant a
 "charter to the Canary company, for which he
 "had received great sums of money.

IV. "That he had raised great sums of
 "money by the sale of offices which ought not to
 "be sold, and granted injunctions to stop proceedings at law, and dissolved them afterwards
 "for money.

V. "That he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majesty's several plantations,
 "and had caused such as had complained to his
 "majesty and privy-council of it to be imprisoned
 "long for their presumption; and that he had
 "frustrated and rejected a proposition that had
 "been made for the preservation of Nevis and
 "St. Christopher's, and for the reducing the
 "French plantations to his majesty's obedience.

VI. "That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be
 "issued out against most corporations in England, although the charters were newly confirmed
 "by act of parliament, till they paid him good
 "sums of money, and then the *quo warrantos*
 "were discharged.

VII. "That he had received great sums of
 "money for the settlement of Ireland.

VIII. "That he had deluded the king and
 "betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties and
 "negotiations, especially concerning the late war.

IX. "That he had procured his majesty's
 "customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing
 "them to be so; and caused many pretended
 "debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment
 "whereof his majesty was not in strictness
 "bound; for all which he had received great
 "sums of money.

X. "That he had received bribes from the
 "company of vintners, that they might continue
 "the prices of their wines, and might be freed
 "from the penalties which they were liable to.

XI. "That he had raised in a short time a
 "greater estate than could be lawfully got; and
 "that he had gotten the grant of several of the
 "crown lands contrary to his duty.

XII. "That he had advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French king, for less money than the ammunition, artillery, and stores were worth.

XIII. "That he had caused the king's letters under the great seal to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the enrolment thereof to be rased.

XIV. "That he had in an arbitrary way examined and drawn into question divers of his majesty's subjects concerning their lands and properties, and determined thereof at the council-table, and stopped the proceedings at law, and threatened some that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.

XV. "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet in June 1666."

The committee reported another article for his charge, which was, "that he had kept correspondence with Cromwell during the time of the king's being beyond the seas, and had sent over his secretary to him, who was shut up with him for many hours:" but there were many members of the house, who wished it had been true, knew well enough that foolish calumny had been examined at Paris during the time that his majesty resided there, when persons of the highest degree were very desirous to have kindled a jealousy in the king of the chancellor's fidelity; and that the scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his majesty had then published a full vindication of his innocence; with a further declaration, "that when it should please God to restore him to his own dominions, he should receive such further justice and reparation, as the laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the members present, that the persons who were suborned in that conspiracy had acknowledged it since the king's return; and the persons themselves who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged the chancellor's pardon: of all which his majesty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, they seemed to reject it as being included under the act of indemnity, which they would have left him to have pleaded for the infamy of it, if they had not very well known the grossness of the scandal.

Though the fierceness of the malice that was contracted against him was enough known and taken notice of, yet the heads for the charge, which upon so much deliberation were prepared and offered to the house against him, were of such a nature, that all men present did in their own conscience acquit him: and therefore it was generally believed the prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with what they had done to blast his reputation, than have proceeded further, to bring him to answer for himself. But they had gone too far to retire. And they who had first wrought upon the king, only by persuading him, "that there was so universal a hatred against the chancellor, that the parliament would the first day accuse him of high treason; and that the removing him from his office was the only way to preserve him, except he would in such a conjuncture, and when he had so much need of the parliament, sacrifice all his interest for the protection of the chancellor," (and this was the sole motive that had prevailed with him, as his

majesty not only assured him the last time he spake with him, with many gracious expressions, but at large expressed it to very many persons of honour, who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that counsel, "that it was the only expedient for the chancellor's preservation," with as great a testimony of his integrity and the services he had done him as could be given:) the same men now importuned him, "to prosecute with all his power, and to let those of his servants and others who regarded his commands know, that they could not serve him and the chancellor together; and that he should look upon their adhering to him as the abandoning his majesty's service. That the chancellor had so great a faction in both houses, that no position on his majesty's behalf would have effect; and that he would shortly come to the house of peers, and obstruct all proceedings there."

This prevailed so far, that they resumed their former courage, and pressed "that he might be accused by the house of commons of high treason: upon which the lords would presently commit him to the Tower: and then nobody would have any longer apprehension of his power to do hurt." Hereupon they resolved again to consider the several heads of the charge they had provided, to see if they could find any one upon which they could ground an accusation of high treason. They spent a whole day upon the first head, which they thought contained enough to do their work, it containing the most unpopular and ungracious reproach that any man could lie under; "that he had designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby; he advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future, to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution."

The chancellor had been bred of the gown; and in the first war, in which the last king had been involved by a powerful rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all overtures towards peace. Since the king's return he laboured nothing more, than that his majesty might enter into a firm peace with all his neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own dominions into that temper of subjection and obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all men, that he had most passionately dissuaded the war with Holland, with much disadvantage to himself; and that no man had taken so much pains as he to bring the present peace to pass, which at that time was grateful to all degrees of men: and, in a word, that he had no manner of interest or credit with the soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an enemy to the privileges which they required, of being exempted from the ordinary rules of justice, in which he always opposed them.

But let the improbability of this charge be what it would, there were persons of the house who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the question was only, "whether upon it they should charge him with an accusation of treason:" and after a debate of eight hours, it was declared by all the lawyers of the house, "that how foul soever the charge seemed to be, yet it contained no high treason;" and in that con-

clusion they at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the accusation. But when the speaker directed the order to be drawn, "that the earl of Clarendon should not be accused of high treason," it was alleged, that the order was only to relate to that first head; some men declaring, "that though that article had missed him, yet there were others which would hit him:" and so the night being come, the farther debate was adjourned to another day.

When the day appointed came, (in which interval all imaginable pains and arts were used, by threats and promises, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be against the chancellor, or to be absent at the next debate that concerned him,) upon reading the several other heads as they had been presented from the committee, it appeared to all men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the whole would not amount to make him guilty of high treason. And they got no ground by throwing aspersions upon him upon the several arguments, which they did with extraordinary license who were known to be his enemies; for thereby other men of much better reputations, and who had no relation to the chancellor, took occasion to answer and contradict their calumnies, and to give him such a testimony, as made him another man than they would have him understood to be; and their testimony had more credit: so that they declined the pursuit of that license, and intended wholly the discovery of the treason, since no other accusation would serve their turn.

When they had examined all their store, they pitched at last upon that head, "that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war:" which when read and considered, it was said, "that in those general expressions there was not enough contained upon which they could accuse him of high treason, except it were added, that being a privy counsellor, he had discovered the king's secret counsels to the enemy." Which was no sooner said, than a young confident man, the lord Vaughan, son to the earl of Carbery, a person of as ill a face as fame, his looks and his manners both extreme bad, asked for the paper that had been presented from the committee, and with his own hand entered into that place those words, "that being a privy counsellor he had discovered the king's secrets to the enemy," which he said he would prove; whilst many others whispered into the ears of those who sat next to them, "that he had discovered all the secret resolutions to the king of France, which," they said, "was the ground of the king's displeasure towards him." [Upon] this confident insinuation from persons who were near the person of his majesty, and known to have much credit with him; and the positive averment by a member, "that the disclosing the king's secrets to the enemy," which nobody could deny to be treason, "would be positively and fully proved against him," and the rather because no man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that they should impeach him of high treason in the usual manner to the house of peers." Whereupon Mr. Seymour, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the lords; and at the bar he accused Edward earl of Clarendon of high treason and other crimes

and misdemeanours, and desired "that he might be sequestered from that house, and his person secured."

And as soon as he was withdrawn, some of the lords moved, "that he might be sent for:" and now the warmth that had been so long within the walls of the house of commons appeared in the house of peers. Many of the lords, who were not thought much inclined to the person of the chancellor, represented, "the consequence of such a proceeding would reflect to the prejudice of every one of the peers. If upon a general accusation from the house of commons of high treason, without mentioning any particular, they should be obliged to commit any peer; any member that house should be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be removed from the body: which would be a greater disadvantage than the members of the house of commons were liable to." And therefore they advised, "that they should for answer let the house of commons know, that they would not commit the earl of Clarendon until some particular charge was exhibited against him."

On the other side, it was urged with much passion, "that they ought to comply with the house of commons in satisfying their requests, according to former precedents:" and the case of the earl of Strafford, and some other cases in that parliament, were cited; which gave those who were of another mind opportunity to inveigh against that time, and the accursed precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great mischiefs to the kingdom. They put them in mind, "that they had committed eleven bishops at one time for high treason, only that they might be removed from the house, whilst a bill passed against their having votes any more in that house, which was no sooner passed than they were set at liberty; which had brought great scandal and great reproach upon the honour and justice of the parliament: and that both those bills, for the attainder of the earl of Strafford and for the excluding the bishops out of the house of peers, stand at present repealed by the wisdom and authority of this parliament." In a word, after many hours' debate with much passion, either side adhering obstinately to their opinion, no resolution was taken; but the house adjourned, without so much as putting the question, to the next day.

From the time of the parliament's coming together, and after the king's displeasure was generally taken notice of, many of the chancellor's friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign parts; and some very near the king, and who were witnesses of the very great displeasure his majesty every day expressed towards him, were of the same opinion: but he positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his innocence, which he was sure must appear.

The debate continued still between the two houses, which would entertain no other business: the house of commons in frequent conferences demanding the commitment of the chancellor; and the major part of the house of peers, notwithstanding all the indirect prosecution and interposition from the court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy conjuncture, the duke of York, who expressed great affection and concernment for the chancellor, fell sick of the smallpox; which proved of great disadvan-

tage to him. For not only many of the peers who were before restrained by their respect to him, and supported by his countenance in the debates, either changed their minds, or absented themselves from the house; but the general, who had always professed great friendship to the chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the king from withdrawing his favour from him with all possible importunity, was now changed by the unruly humour of his wife, and the frequent instances of the king; and made it his business to solicit and dispose the members of both houses, with many of whom he had great credit, "no longer to adhere to the chancellor, since the king resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his friends as enemies to his majesty." Notwithstanding all which, the major part by much of the house of peers continued still firm against his commitment: with which the king was so offended, that there were secret consultations of sending a guard of soldiers, by the general's authority, to take the chancellor out of his house, and to send him to the Tower; whither directions were already sent what lodging he should have, and caution given to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was thought to have too much respect for the chancellor, "that he should not treat him with more civility than he did other prisoners."

He had many friends of the council and near the king, who advertised him of those and all other intrigues, and thereupon renewed their importunity that he would make his escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the king," who every day grew more incensed against him, for the obstinacy his friends in both houses expressed on his behalf. They urged "the ill condition he must in a short time be reduced to, wherein his innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his enemies had no purpose or thought of bringing him to a trial, but to keep him always in prison, which they would in the end one way or other bring to pass: whereas he might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other inconveniences." And they undertook to know, "that if he were gone, there would be no further proceeding against him."

There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a prison; the thought and apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of death itself, which he was confident would quickly be the effect of the other. However, he very resolutely refused to follow their advice; and urged to them, "the advantage he should give his enemies, and the dishonour he should bring upon himself, by flying, in having his integrity condemned, if he had not the confidence to defend it." He said, "he could now appear, wherever he should be required, with an honest countenance, and the courage of an innocent man: but if he should be apprehended in a disguise running away, which he could not but expect by the vigilance of his enemies, (since he could not make any journey by land, being at that time very weak and infirm,) he should be very much out of countenance, and should be exposed to public scorn and contempt. And if he should make his escape into foreign parts, it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine that his ene-

mies, who had so far aliened the king's affection from him, and in spite of his innocence prevailed thus far, would want power to prosecute the advantage they should get by his flight, which would be interpreted as a confession of his guilt; and thereupon they would procure such proceedings in the parliament, as might ruin both his fortune and his fame."

His friends, how unsatisfied soever with his resolution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the king; which he did, though without any hope that it would make any impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what fountain, except the power of the great lady with the conjunction of his known enemies, which had been long without that effect, that fierceness of his majesty's displeasure could proceed. He had, before this storm fell upon him, been informed by a person of honour who knew the truth of it, "that some persons had persuaded the king, that the chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the duke of Richmond, with which his majesty was offended in the highest degree: and the lord Berkley had reported it with all confidence." Whereupon the chancellor had expostulated with the lord Berkley, whom he knew to be his secret enemy, though no man made more outward professions to him: but he denied he had reported any such thing. And then he took notice to the king himself of the discourse, and desired to know, "whether any such story had been represented to his majesty, since there was not the least shadow of truth in it:" to which the king answered with some dryness, "that no such thing had been told to him." Yet now he was assured, "that that business stuck most with his majesty, and that from that suggestion his enemies had gotten credit to do him the worst offices; and his majesty complained much of the insolence with which he used to treat him in the agitation and debate of business, if he differed from him in opinion." Upon these reasons he writ this letter in his own hand to the king, which was delivered to him by the lord keeper, who was willing to perform that office. The letter was in these words.

"May it please your majesty,

"I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The crimes which are objected against me, how passionately soever pursued, and with circumstances very unusual, do not in the least degree fright me. God knows I am innocent in every particular as I ought to be; and I hope your majesty knows enough of me to believe that I had never a violent appetite for money, that could corrupt me. But, alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should die

“ in peace, (and truly I do heartily wish that God
 “ Almighty would free you from further trouble,
 “ by taking me to himself,) if I could know or
 “ guess at the ground of your displeasure, which
 “ I am sure must proceed from your believing,
 “ that I have said or done somewhat I have
 “ neither said nor done. If it be for any thing my
 “ lord Berkley hath reported, which I know he
 “ hath said to many, though being charged with
 “ it by me he did as positively disclaim it; I am
 “ as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no
 “ more advice or counsel or countenance in it,
 “ than the child that is now born: which your
 “ majesty seemed once to believe, when I took
 “ notice to you of the report, and when you con-
 “ sidered how totally I was a stranger to the per-
 “ sons mentioned, to either of whom I never spake
 “ word, or received message from either in my
 “ life. And this I protest to your majesty is true,
 “ as I have hope in heaven: and that I have never
 “ wilfully offended your majesty in my life, and
 “ do upon my knees beg your pardon for any
 “ over-bold or saucy expressions I have ever used
 “ to you; which, being a natural disease in old
 “ servants who have received too much counte-
 “ nance, I am sure hath always proceeded from
 “ the zeal and warmth of the most sincere affec-
 “ tion and duty.

“ I hope your majesty believes, that the sharp
 “ chastisement I have received from the best-na-
 “ tured and most bountiful master in the world,
 “ and whose kindness alone made my condition
 “ these many years supportable, hath enough
 “ mortified me as to this world; and that I have
 “ not the presumption or the madness to imagine
 “ or desire ever to be admitted to any employ-
 “ ment or trust again. But I do most humbly
 “ beseech your majesty, by the memory of your
 “ father, who recommended me to you with some
 “ testimony, and by your own gracious reflection
 “ upon some one service I may have performed
 “ in my life, that hath been acceptable to you;
 “ that you will by your royal power and interpo-
 “ sition put a stop to this severe prosecution
 “ against me, and that my concernment may give
 “ no longer interruption to the great affairs of the
 “ kingdom; but that I may spend the small re-
 “ mainder of my life, which cannot hold long, in
 “ some parts beyond the seas, never to return;
 “ where I will pray for your majesty, and never
 “ suffer the least diminution in the duty and obe-
 “ dience of,

“ May it please your majesty,

“ Your majesty's

“ Most humble and most

“ Obedient subject and servant,

“ From my house

“ CLARENDON.”

“ this 16th of November.”

The king was in his cabinet when the letter was delivered to him; which as soon as he had read, he burned in a candle that was on the table, and only said, “ that there was somewhat in it that he did not understand, but that he wondered that the chancellor did not withdraw himself:” of which the keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest advice that he would be gone.

The king's discourse was according to the persons with whom he conferred. To those who were engaged in the violent prosecution he spake with great bitterness of him, repeating many particular passages, in which he had shewed much

passion because his majesty did not concur with him in what he advised. To those who he knew were his friends he mentioned him without any bitterness, and with some testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if he had pity and compassion for him: yet “ that he won-
 “ dered that he did not absent himself, since it
 “ could not but be very manifest to him and to
 “ all his friends, that it was not in his majesty's
 “ power to protect him against the prejudice that
 “ was against him in both houses; which,” he
 “ said, “ could not but be increased by the obstruc-
 “ tion his particular concernment gave to all
 “ public affairs in this conjuncture; in which,”
 “ he said, “ he was sure he would prevail at last.”
 All these advertisements could not prevail over the chancellor, for the reasons mentioned before; though he was very much afflicted at the division between the two houses, the evil consequence whereof he well understood, and could have been well content that the lords would have consented to his imprisonment.

The bishop of Hereford, who had been very much obliged to the chancellor, and throughout this whole affair had behaved himself with very signal ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the court, went to the bishop of Winchester, who was known to be a fast and unshaken friend to the chancellor; and made him a long discourse of what the king had said to him, and desired him “ that he would go with him to
 “ his house;” which he presently did, and, leav-
 “ ing him in a room, went himself to the chancel-
 “ lor, and told him what had passed from the bishop
 “ of Hereford, “ who was in the next room to speak
 “ with him, but would not in direct words to him
 “ acknowledge that he spake by the king's order
 “ or approbation; but that he had confessed so
 “ much to him with many circumstances, and that
 “ the lord Arlington and Mr. Coventry had been
 “ present.” The chancellor had no mind to see or
 “ speak with the bishop, who had carried himself so
 “ unworthily towards him, and might probably
 “ misreport any thing he should say: but he was
 “ overruled by the other bishop, and so they went
 “ both into the next room to him.

The bishop of Hereford in some disorder, as a man conscious to himself of some want of sincerity towards him, desired “ that he would be-
 “ lieve that he would not at that time have come
 “ to him, with whom he knew he was in some
 “ umbrage, if it were not with a desire to do
 “ him service, and if he had not a full authority
 “ for whatsoever he said to him.” Then he en-
 “ larged himself in discourse more involved and
 “ perplexed, without any mention of the king, or
 “ the authority he had for what he should say; the
 “ care to avoid which was evidently the cause of the
 “ want of clearness in all he said. But the bishop
 “ of Winchester supplied it by relating all that he
 “ had said to him: with which though he was not
 “ pleased, because the king and others were named,
 “ yet he did not contradict it; but said, “ he did
 “ not say that he was sent by the king or spake
 “ by his direction, only that he could not be so
 “ mad as to interpose in such an affair without
 “ full authority to make good all that he should
 “ promise.” The sum of all was, “ that if the
 “ chancellor would withdraw himself into any
 “ parts beyond the seas, to prevent the mischief
 “ that must befall the kingdom by the division
 “ and difference between the two houses; he

"would undertake upon his salvation," which was the expression he used more than once, "that he should not be interrupted in his journey; and that after he should be gone, he should not be in any degree prosecuted, or suffer in his honour or fortune by his absence."

The chancellor told him, "that he well understood what he must suffer by withdrawing himself, and so declining the trial, in which his innocence would secure him, and in the meantime preserve him from being terrified with the threats and malice of his enemies: however, he would expose himself to that disadvantage, if he received his majesty's commands to that purpose, or if he had but a clear evidence that his majesty did wish it, as a thing that he thought might advance his service. But without that assurance, which he might receive many ways which could not be taken notice of, he could not with his honour or discretion give his implacable enemies that advantage against him, when his friends should be able to allege nothing in his defence."

The bishop replied, "that he was not allowed to say that his majesty required or wished it, but that he could not be so mad as to undertake what he had promised, without sufficient warrant;" and repeated again what he had formerly said. To which the other answered, "that the vigilance and power of his enemies was well known: and that though the king might in truth wish that he were safe on the other side of the sea, and give no direction to interrupt or trouble him in his journey; yet that it was liable to many accidents in respect of his weakness and infirmity," which was so great at that time, that he could not walk without being supported by one or two; so that he could not be disguised to any body that had ever known him. Besides that the pain he was already in, and the season of the year, made him apprehend, that the gout might so seize upon him within two or three days, that he might not be able to move: and so the malice of those who wished his destruction might very probably find an opportunity, without or against the king's consent, to apprehend and cast him into prison, as a fugitive from the hand of justice. For the prevention of all which, which no man could blame him for apprehending, he proposed, "that he might have a pass from the king, which he would not produce but in such an exigent: and would use all the providence he could, to proceed with that secrecy that his departure should not be taken notice of; but if it were, he must not be without such a protection, to preserve him from the present indignities to which he must be liable, though possibly it would not protect him from the displeasure of the parliament." The bishop thought this proposition to be reasonable, and seemed confident that he should procure the pass: and so that conference ended.

The next day the bishop sent word, "that the king could not grant the pass, because if it should be known, by what accident soever, it would much incense the parliament: but that he might as securely go as if he had a pass;" which moved no further with him, than his former undertaking had done. Nor could the importunity of his children, or the advice of his friends, persuade him to depart from his resolution.

About the time of the chancellor's disgrace, monsieur Ruvigny arrived at London as envoy extraordinary from the French king, and came the next day after the seal was taken from him. He was a person well known in the court, and particularly to the chancellor, with whom he had been formerly assigned to treat upon affairs of moment, being of the religion and very nearly allied to the late earl of Southampton. And as these considerations were the chief motives that he was made choice of for the present employment, so the chief part of his instructions was to apply himself to the chancellor, through whose hands it was known that the whole treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the preliminaries with France, had entirely passed. When he found that the conduct of affairs was quite changed, and that the chancellor came not to the court, he knew not what to do, but immediately despatched an express to France for further instructions. He desired to speak with the chancellor; which he refused, and likewise to receive the letters which he had brought for him and offered to send to him, all which he desired might be delivered to the king. When the proceedings in parliament went so high, Ruvigny, who had at all hours admission to the king, and intimate conversation with the lord Arlington, and so easily discovered the extreme prejudice and malice that was contracted against the chancellor, sent him frequent advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all possible earnestness advised him, when the divisions grew so high in the houses, "that he would withdraw and retire into France, where," he assured him, "he would find himself very welcome." All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another week passed after the bishop's proposition, with the same passion in the houses: and endeavours were used to incense the people, as if the lords obstructed the proceeding of justice against the chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. Seymour told the lord Ashley, "that the people would pull down the chancellor's house first, and then those of all the lords who adhered to him."

By this time the duke of York recovered so fast, that the king, being assured by the physicians that there would be no danger of infection, went on Saturday morning, the 29th of November, to visit him: and being alone together, his majesty bade him "advise the chancellor to be gone," and blamed him that he had not given credit to what the bishop of Hereford had said to him. The king had no sooner left the duke, but his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, "that it was absolutely necessary for him speedily to be gone, and that he had the king's word for all that had been undertaken by the bishop of Hereford."

As soon as the chancellor received this advice and command, he resolved with great reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very night: and having, by the friendship of sir John Wolstenholme, caused the farmers' boat to wait for him at Erith, as soon as it was dark he took coach at his house Saturday night, the 29th of November 1667, with two servants only. And being accompanied with his two sons and two or three other friends on horseback as far as Erith, he found the boat

ready; and so embarked about eleven of the clock that night, the wind indifferently good: but before midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as he had advanced. And in this perplexity he remained three days and nights before he arrived at Calais, which was not a port chosen by him, all places out of England being indifferent, and France not being in his inclination, because of the reproach and calumny that was cast upon him: but since it was the first that offered itself, and it was not seasonable to affect another, he was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on shore.

All these particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal part of his vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his innocence; which at that time made a greater impression upon many worthy persons to his disadvantage, than any particular that was contained in the charge that had been offered to the house. And therefore though he forbore, when all the promises were broken which had been made to him, and his enemies' malice and insolence increased by his absence, to publish or in the least degree to communicate the true ground and reasons of absenting himself, to avoid any inconvenience that in so captious a season might thereby have befallen the king's service; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this memorial of all the circumstances, as well as the substantial reasons, which disposed him to make that flight, for the clear information of those, who in a fit season may understand his innocence without any inconvenience to his majesty, of whose goodness and honour and justice it may be hoped, that his majesty himself will give his own testimony, both of this particular of his withdrawing, and a vindication of his innocence from all the other reproaches with which it was aspersed.

I will not omit one other particular, for the manifestation of the inequality that was between the nature of the chancellor and of his enemies, and upon what disadvantage he was to contend with them. Before the meeting of the parliament, when it was well known that the combination was entered into by the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor, several members of the house informed him of what they did and what they said, and told him, "that there was but one way to prevent the prejudice intended towards him, which was by falling first upon them; which they would cause to be done, if he would assist them with such information as it could not but be in his power to do. That they were both very odious generally: the one for his insolent carriage towards all men, and for the manner of his getting in to that office by dispossessing an old faithful servant, who was forced to part with it for a very good recompense of ten thousand pounds in money and other leases and grants, which was paid and made by the king to introduce a secretary of very mean parts, and without industry to improve them, and one who was generally suspected to be a papist, or without any religion at all; it being generally taken notice of, that he was rarely seen in a church, and never known to receive the communion. The other was known by his corrupt behaviour, and selling all the offices in

"the fleet and navy for incredible sums of money, and thereby introducing men, who had been most employed and trusted by Cromwell, into the several offices; whilst loyal and faithful seamen who had always adhered to the king, and many of them continued in his service abroad and till his return into England, could not be admitted into any employment: the ill consequence of which to the king's service was very notorious, by the daily manifest stealing and embezzling the stores of ammunition, cordage, sails, and other tackling, which were commonly sold again to the king at great prices. And when the persons guilty of this were taken notice of and apprehended, they talked loudly of the sums they had paid for their offices, which obliged them to those frauds: and that it might not be more notorious, they were, by sir William Coventry's great power and interest, never proceeded against, or removed from their offices and employments."

They told him, "that he never said or did any thing in the most secret council, where they two were always present, and where there were frequent occasions of mentioning the proceedings of both houses, and the behaviour of several members in both, but those gentlemen declared the same, and all that he said or did, to those who would be most offended and incensed by it, and who were like in some conjuncture to be able to do him most mischief: and by those ill arts they had irreconciled many persons to him. And that if he would now, without its being possible to be taken notice of, give them such information and light into the proceedings of those gentlemen, they would undertake to divert the storm that threatened him, and cause it to fall upon the others." And this was with much earnestness pressed to him, not only before the meeting of the parliament, and when he was fully informed of the ill arts and ungentlemanly practice those two persons were engaged in to do him hurt, but after the house of commons was incensed against him; with a full assurance, "that they were much inclined to have accused the other two, if the least occasion was given for it."

But the chancellor would not be prevailed with, saying, "that [no] provocation or example should dispose him to do any thing that would not become him: that they were both privy counsellors, and trusted by the king in his most weighty affairs; and if he discerned any thing amiss in them, he could inform the king of it. But the aspersing or accusing them any where else was not his part to do, nor could it be done by any without some reflection upon the king and duke, who would be much offended at it: and therefore he advised them in no degree to make any such attempt on his behalf; but to leave him to the protection of his own innocence and of God's good pleasure, and those gentlemen to their own fate, which at some time would humble them." And it is known to many persons, and possibly to the king himself, for whose service only that office was performed, that one or both those persons had before that time been impeached, if the chancellor's sole industry and interest had not diverted and prevented it.

When the chancellor found it necessary, for

the reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself, he thought it as necessary to leave some address to the house of peers, and to make as good an excuse as he could for his absence without asking their leave; which should be delivered to them by some member of their body, (there being many of them ready to perform that civil office for him,) when his absence should be known, or some evidence that he was safely arrived on the other side of the sea. And that time being come, (for the packet boat was ready to depart when the chancellor landed at Calais,) the earl of Denbigh said, "he had an address to the house from the earl of Clarendon, which he desired might be read;" which contained these words.

"To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled; the humble petition and address of Edward earl of Clarendon.

"May it please your lordships,

"I cannot express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented to your lordships; and when I hear how much of your lordships' time hath been spent upon my poor concern, (though it be of no less than of my life and fortune,) and of the differences in opinion which have already or may probably arise between your lordships and the honourable house of commons; whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed in a time of so general a dissatisfaction.

"I am very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so much under two very disadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me: the first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole manager and chief minister in all the transactions of state since the king's return into England to August last; and therefore that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels.

"Concerning my estate, your lordships will not believe, that after malice and envy hath been so inquisitive, and is so sharp-sighted, I will offer any thing to your lordships but what is exactly true: and I do assure your lordships in the first place, that, excepting from the king's bounty, I have never received or taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisites of my office by the constant practice of the best times, which I did in my own judgment conceive to be that of my lord Coventry and my lord Ellesmere, the practice of which I constantly observed; although the office in both their times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is.

"That all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to obtain from the king for other persons in church or state or in Westminster-hall, have never been worth me five pound: so that your lordships may be confident I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought; which, after near thirty years' service of the crown in some difficulties and distresses,

"I did never suspect would have been objected to me in my age.

"That I am at present indebted about three or four and twenty thousand pounds, for which I pay interest; the particulars whereof I shall be ready to offer to your lordships, and for which I have assigned lands and leases to be sold, though at present nobody will buy or sell with me. That I am so far from having money, that from the time the seal was taken from me I have lived upon the coining some small parcels of plate, which have sustained me and my family, all my rents being withheld from me.

"That my estate, my debts being paid, will not yield me two thousand pounds per annum, for the support of myself, and providing for two young children, who have nothing: and that all I have is not worth what the king in his bounty hath bestowed upon me, his majesty having out of his royal bounty, within few months after his coming into England, at one time bestowed upon me twenty thousand pounds in ready money, without the least motion or imagination of mine; and, shortly after, another sum of money, amounting to six thousand pounds or thereabouts, out of Ireland, which ought to have amounted to a much greater proportion, and of which I never heard word, till notice was given me by the earl of Orrery that there was such a sum of money for me. His majesty likewise assigned me, after the first year of his return, an annual supply towards my support, which did but defray my expenses, the certain profits of my office not amounting to above two thousand pounds a year or thereabouts, and the perquisites not very considerable and very uncertain: so that the said several sums of money, and some parcels of land his majesty bestowed upon me, are worth more than all I have amounts to. So far I am from advancing my estate by any indirect means. And though this bounty of his majesty hath very far exceeded my merit or my expectation; yet some others have been as fortunate at least in the same bounty, who had as small pretences to it, and have no great reason to envy my good fortune.

"Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and so causing all to be done that I had a mind to; I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of a very great judgment and understanding, and to be always joined with persons of great ability and experience, without whose advice and concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majesty's coming into England, he was constantly attended by the then marquis of Ormond, the late lord Colepepper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas; who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint advice and concurrence, when they were all present, (as some of them always were,) I never gave any counsel.

"As soon as it pleased God to bring his majesty into England, he established his privy-council, and shortly out of them a number of honourable persons of great reputation, who for the most part are still alive, as a committee for foreign affairs, and consideration of such things as in the nature of them required much secrecy; and with these persons he vouchsafed

“ to join me. And I am confident this committee
 “ never transacted any thing of moment, his ma-
 “ jesty being always present, without presenting
 “ the same first to the council-board: and I must
 “ appeal to them concerning my carriage, and
 “ whether we were not all of one mind in all mat-
 “ ters of importance. For more than two years
 “ I never knew any difference in the councils, or
 “ that there were any complaints in the kingdom;
 “ which I wholly impute to his majesty’s great
 “ wisdom, and the entire concurrence of his coun-
 “ cil, without the vanity of assuming any thing
 “ to myself: and therefore I hope I shall not be
 “ singly charged with any thing that hath since
 “ fallen out amiss. But from the time that Mr.
 “ Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place,
 “ there were great alterations; and whosoever
 “ knows any thing of the court or councils,
 “ knows well how much my credit since that
 “ time hath been diminished, though his majesty
 “ graciously vouchsafed still to hear my advice
 “ in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been,
 “ from that time to this, above one or two persons
 “ brought to the council, or preferred to any
 “ considerable office in the court, who have been
 “ of my intimate acquaintance, or suspected to
 “ have any kindness for me; and many of them
 “ notoriously known to have been very long my
 “ enemies, and of different judgment and princi-
 “ ples from me both in church and state, and
 “ who have taken all opportunities to lessen my
 “ credit to the king, and with all other persons,
 “ by misrepresenting and misreporting all that I
 “ said or did, and persuading men that I had
 “ done them some prejudice with his majesty, or
 “ crossed them in some of their pretences; though
 “ his majesty’s goodness and justice was such,
 “ that it made little impression upon him.

“ In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes
 “ of the kingdom have proceeded from the war,
 “ to which it is notoriously known that I was
 “ always averse; and may without vanity say, I
 “ did not only foresee, but did declare the mis-
 “ chiefs we should run into, by entering into a
 “ war before any alliance made with the neigh-
 “ bour princes. And that it may not be imputed
 “ to his majesty’s want of care, or the negligence
 “ of his counsellors, that no such alliances were
 “ entered into; I must take the boldness to say,
 “ that his majesty left nothing unattempted in
 “ order thereunto: and knowing very well, that
 “ France resolved to begin a war upon Spain, as
 “ soon as his catholic majesty should depart
 “ this world, (which being much sooner expected
 “ by them, they had two winters before been at
 “ great charge in providing plentiful magazines
 “ of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they
 “ might be ready for the war,) his majesty used
 “ all possible means to prepare and dispose the
 “ Spaniard to that apprehension, offering his
 “ friendship to that degree, as might be for the
 “ security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain
 “ flattering itself with an opinion that France
 “ would not break with them, at least, that they
 “ would not give them any cause by administer-
 “ ing matter of jealousy to them, never made any
 “ real approach towards a friendship with his ma-
 “ jesty; but both by their ambassador here, and
 “ to his majesty’s ambassador at Madrid, always
 “ insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up
 “ of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

“ Though France had an ambassador here, to
 “ whom a project for a treaty was offered, and
 “ the lord Hollis, his majesty’s ambassador at
 “ Paris, used all endeavours to promote and pro-
 “ secute the said treaty: yet it was quickly dis-
 “ cerned, that the principal design of France was
 “ to draw his majesty into such a nearer alliance
 “ as might advance their designs; without which
 “ they had no mind to enter into the treaty pro-
 “ posed. And this was the state of affairs when
 “ the war was entered into with the Dutch, from
 “ which time neither crown much considered
 “ their making an alliance with England.

“ As I did from my soul abhor the entering
 “ into this war, so I never presumed to give any
 “ advice or counsel for the way of managing it,
 “ but by opposing many propositions which
 “ seemed to the late lord treasurer and myself to
 “ be unreasonable; as the payment of the seamen
 “ by tickets, and many other particulars which
 “ added to the expense. My enemies took all
 “ occasions to inveigh against me: and making
 “ friendship with others out of the council of
 “ more licentious principles, and who knew well
 “ enough how much I disliked and complained
 “ of the liberty they took to themselves of reviling
 “ all councils and counsellors, and turning all
 “ things serious and sacred into ridicule; they
 “ took all ways imaginable to render me ingrate-
 “ ful to all sorts of men, (whom I shall be com-
 “ pelled to name in my own defence,) persuading
 “ those who miscarried in any of their designs,
 “ that it was the chancellor’s doing; whereof I
 “ never knew any thing. However, they could
 “ not withdraw the king’s favour from me, who
 “ was still pleased to use my service with others;
 “ nor was there ever any thing done but upon the
 “ joint advice of at least the major part of those
 “ who were consulted with. And as his majesty
 “ commanded my service in the late treaties, so I
 “ never gave the least advice in private, nor writ
 “ one letter to any person in either of those nego-
 “ tiations, but upon the advice of the council,
 “ and after it was read in council, or at least
 “ by the king himself and some others: and
 “ if I prepared any instructions or memorials,
 “ it was by the king’s command, and the request
 “ of the secretaries, who desired my assistance.
 “ Nor was it any wish of my own, that any am-
 “ bassadors should give me an account of the
 “ transactions, but to the secretaries, with whom
 “ I was always ready to advise; nor am I con-
 “ scious to myself of having ever given advice
 “ that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient
 “ to his majesty. And I have been so far from
 “ being the sole manager of affairs, that I have
 “ not in the whole last year been above twice with
 “ his majesty in any room alone, and very seldom
 “ in the two or three years preceding. And since
 “ the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very
 “ visible that my credit hath been very little, and
 “ that very few things have been hearkened to
 “ which have been proposed by me, but contra-
 “ dicted *eo nomine*, because proposed by me.

“ I most humbly beseech your lordships to re-
 “ member the office and trust I had for seven
 “ years; in which, in discharge of my duty, I
 “ was obliged to stop and obstruct many men’s
 “ pretences, and to refuse to set the seal to many
 “ pardons and other grants, which would have
 “ been profitable to those who procured them.

“and many whereof, upon my representation to his majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally have raised many enemies to me. And my frequent concurring with the late lord treasurer, with whom I had the honour to have a long and a fast friendship to his death, in representing several excesses and exorbitances, (the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue,) provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with any part of the revenue or the administration of it, but when I was desired by the late lord treasurer to give him my assistance and advice, (having had the honour formerly to serve the crown as chancellor of the exchequer,) which was for the most part in his majesty's presence: nor have I ever been in the least degree concerned in point of profit in the letting any part of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his majesty's presence: in which, my opinion concurred always with the major part of the counsellors who were present. All which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted by the malice of those, who I am confident do not believe themselves. Nor have I in my life, upon all the treaties or otherwise, received the value of one shilling from all the king's and princes in the world, (except the books of the Louvre print sent me by the chancellor of France by that king's direction,) but from my own master; to whose entire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted.

“This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by any man worthy to be believed. And since the distemper of the time, and the difference between the two houses in the present debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out, that I shall prevail with his majesty to prorogue or dissolve this parliament in displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the people, may make me looked upon as the cause which obstructs the king's service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom; I must humbly beseech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your lordships' favour and protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a persecution; in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my defence; when his majesty's justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controlled by the power and malice of those who have sworn my destruction.”

The chancellor knew very well, that there were members enough in both houses who would be very glad to take any advantage of his words and expressions: and therefore as he weighed them the best he could himself in the short time from which he took his resolution to be gone; so he consulted with as many friends as that time would allow, to the end that their jealousy and wariness might better watch, that no expression might be

liable to a sinister interpretation, than his own passion and indisposition could provide. And as they all thought it necessary that he should leave somewhat behind him, that might offer an excuse for his absence; so they did not conceive, that the words before mentioned could give any offence to equal judges. But the least variety or change of wind moved those waters to wonderful distempers and tempests.

This address was no sooner read, by which they perceived he was gone, but they who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that he had escaped their justice; and moved, “that orders might be forthwith sent to stop the ports, that so he might be apprehended;” when they well knew that he was landed at Calais. Others took exceptions at some expressions, “which,” they said, “reflected upon the king's honour and justice:” others moved, “that it might be entered in their Journal Book, to the end that they might further consider of it when they should think fit;” and this was ordered.

The houses till this time had continued obstinate in their several resolutions; the commons every day pressing, “that he might be committed upon their general accusation of treason,” (for though they had amongst themselves and from their committee offered those particulars which are mentioned before, yet they presented none to the house of peers;) and the lords as positively refusing to commit him, till some charge should be presented against him that amounted to treason. But now all that debate was at an end by his being out of their reach, so that they pursued that point no further; which, being matter of privilege, should have been determined as necessarily as before, for the prevention of the like disputes hereafter. But the commons wisely declined that contention, well knowing that their party in the house, that was very passionate for the commitment of the chancellor, would be as much against the general order as any of the rest had been: and the lords satisfied themselves with sending a message to the house of commons, “that they found by the address which they had received that morning, and which they likewise imparted to them, that the earl of Clarendon had withdrawn himself; and so there was no further occasion of debate upon that point.”

The address was no sooner read in that house, but they who had industriously promoted the former [resolution] were inflamed, as if this very instrument would contribute enough to any thing that was wanting; and they severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the person who had sent it with all imaginable bitterness and insolence: whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that malignity that it was accused of, sat still and silent, as if they suspected that somewhat had escaped their observations and discovery, that so much transported other men; or because they were well pleased that a person, against whom there was so much malice and fury professed, was got out of their reach. In conclusion, after long debate it was concluded, “that the paper contained much untruth and scandal and sedition in it, and that it should be publicly burned by the hand of the hangman;” which vote they presently sent to the lords for their con-

currence, who, though they had not observed any such guilt in it before, would maintain no further contests with them, and so concurred in the sentence: and the poor paper was accordingly with solemnity executed by the appointed officer, which made the more people inquisitive into the contents of it; and having gotten copies of it, they took upon them to censure the thing and the person with much more clemency and compassion, and thought he had done well to decline such angry judges.

When the chancellor found himself at Calais, he was unresolved how to dispose of himself, only that he would not go to Paris, against which he was able to make many objections: and in this irresolution he knew not how to send any directions to his children in England, to what place they should send his servants and such other accommodations as he should want; and therefore stayed there till he might be better informed, and know somewhat of the temper of the parliament. In the mean time he writ letters to the earl of St. Alban's at Paris, from whose very late professions he had reason to expect civility, and that was all he did expect; never imagining that he should receive any grace from the queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her feet, whilst he was in his majesty's displeasure. Only he desired to know, "whether there would be any objection against his coming to Roan," and desiring, "if there were no objection against it, that a coach might be hired to meet him on such a day at Abbeville." The lieutenant governor of Calais had, upon his first arrival there, given advertisement to the court of it: and by the same post that he received a very dry letter from the earl of St. Alban's, in which he said, "he thought that court would approve of his coming to Roan;" he received likewise a letter of great civility from the count de Louvois, secretary of state, in which he congratulated his safe arrival in France, and told him, "that his majesty was well pleased with it, and with his purpose of coming to Roan, where he should find himself very welcome." At the same time letters were sent to the lieutenant governor of Calais, Boulogne, and Montrevil, "to treat him as a person of whom the king had esteem, and to give him such an escort as might make his journey secure;" of all which he received advertisement, and, "that a coach would be ready at Abbeville to wait for him at the day he had appointed."

And now he thought he might well take his resolution; and thereupon gave direction, "that such of his family, whose attendance he could not be well without, might with all expedition be with him at Roan; and such monies might be likewise returned thither for him, as were necessary," for he had not brought with him supply enough for long time. And so he provided to leave Calais, that he might be warm in his winter-quarters as soon as might be, which both the season of the year, it being now within few days of Christmas, and his expectation of a speedy defluxion of the gout, made very requisite. When he came to Boulogne, he found orders from the marshal D'Aumont to his lieutenant for a guard to Montrevil, the Spanish garrisons making frequent incursions into those quarters: and at Montrevil the duke D'Elbœuf visited him, and invited him to supper, which the chan-

cellor was so much tired with his journey that he accepted not; but was not suffered to refuse his coach the next day to Abbeville, where he found a coach from Paris ready to carry him to Roan.

It was Christmas-eve when he came to Dieppe, and it was a long journey the next day to Roan; which made him send to the governor, to desire that the ports might be open much sooner than their hour, which was granted: so that he came to a very ill inn, well known at Tostes, near the middle way to Roan, about noon. And when he was within view of that place, a gentleman, passing by in a good gallop with a couple of servants, asked, "whether the chancellor of England was in that coach;" and being answered, "that he was," he alighted at the coach-side, and gave him a letter from the king, which contained only credit to what that gentleman, monsieur le Fonde, his servant in ordinary, should say to him from his majesty. The gentleman, after some expressions of his majesty's grace and good opinion, told him, "that the king had lately received advertisement from his envoy in England, that the parliament there was so much incensed against him, the chancellor, that if he should be suffered to stay in France, it would be so prejudicial to the affairs of his Christian majesty, (to whom he was confident the chancellor wished well,) that it might make a breach between the two crowns; and therefore he desired him to make what speed he could out of his dominions; and that he might want no accommodation for his journey, that gentleman was to accompany him, till he saw him out of France."

He was marvellously struck with this encounter, which he looked not for, nor could resolve what to do, being at liberty to make his journey which way he would so he rested not, which was the only thing he desired: so he desired the gentleman (for all this conversation was in the highway) "to come into the coach, and to accompany him to Roan, where they would confer further." The gentleman, though he was a very civil person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to Dieppe, and so to Calais, as the shortest way out of France: but he had no commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that night to Roan; with a declaration, "that it was necessary for him to be the next day very early in the coach, which way soever he intended to make his journey."

It was late in the night before they reached Roan: and the coach was overthrown three times in the gentleman's sight, who chose to ride his horse; so that the chancellor was really hurt and bruised, and scarce able to set his foot to the ground. And therefore he told the gentleman plainly, "that he could not make any journey the next day: but that he would presently write to Paris to a friend, who should inform the king of the ill condition he was in, and desire some time of rest; and that as soon as he had finished his letter, he would send an express with it, who should make all possible haste in going and coming." Monsieur le Fonde assured him, "the matter was so fully resolved, that no writing would procure any time to stay in France; and therefore desired him to hasten his journey, which way soever he intended it." But when he saw there was no remedy, he likewise writ to the court, and the chancellor to the earl of St.

Alban's, from whom he thought he should receive offices of humanity, and to another friend, upon whose affection he more depended: and with those letters the express was despatched.

They who had prevailed so far against him in England were not yet satisfied, but contrived those ways to disquiet him as much in France, by telling monsieur Ruvigny, (who was too easily disposed to believe them,) "that the parliament was so much offended with the chancellor, that it would never consent that the king should enter into a close and firm alliance with France," which it was his business to solicit, "whilst he should be permitted to stay within that kingdom:" when in truth all the malice against him was contained within the breasts of few men, who by incensing the king, and infusing many false and groundless relations into him, drew such a numerous party to contribute to their ends.

When he was now gone, they observed to the king, "what a great faction there was in both houses that adhered to the chancellor," who were called Clarendonians; and when any opposition was made to any thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by the Clarendonians:" whose condition they thought was not desperate enough, except they proceeded further than was yet done. They laboured with all their power, that he might be attainted of high treason by act of parliament, and that both his sons might be removed from the court: both which, notwithstanding all their importunity, his majesty positively refused to consent to. Then they told him, "that the chancellor only waited the season that the parliament should be confirmed in ill humour, to which they were inclined; and then he would return and sit in the house to disturb all their counsels, and obstruct all his service: and therefore they proposed, since he had fled from the hand of justice, that there could be no more prosecution for his guilt," (which was untrue, for they might as well have proceeded and proved the crimes objected against him if they could,) "a bill of banishment," which they had prepared, "might be brought in against him;" which his majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that the duke of York urged to the contrary upon the king's promise to him, and which had only betrayed the chancellor to making his escape. But the king alleged, "that the consension was necessary for his good, and to compound with those who would else press that which would be more mischievous to him."

Whereupon a bill for his banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the proceeding of justice by his flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the crimes they had charged upon him: and this bill was passed by the two houses, and confirmed by the king; of whom they had yet so much jealousy, that they left it not in his power to pardon him without the consent of the two houses of parliament. And this act was to be absolute, "except by a day appointed," (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply with it, except he could have rode post,) "he should appear before one of the secretaries of state, or deliver himself to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was to

"detain him in custody till he had acquainted the parliament with it: in the mean time no person was to presume to hold any correspondence with him, or to write to him, except his own children or his menial servants, who were obliged to shew the letters which they sent or received to one of the secretaries of state."

The express that had been sent to Paris returned with reiterated orders to monsieur le Fonde to hasten the chancellor's journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the commands he had received with great punctuality and importunity. The earl of St. Alban's did not vouchsafe to return any answer to his letter, or to interpose on his behalf, that he might rest till he might securely enter upon his journey: only abbot Mountague writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the offices could be in his power to perform, and excused the rigour of the court's proceedings, as the effect of such reason of state, as would not permit any alteration whilst they had that apprehension of the parliament; and therefore advised him "to comply with their wishes, and make no longer stay in Roan, which would not be permitted." But the general indisposition of his body, the fatigue of his journey, and the bruises he had received by the falls and overturnings of the coach, made him not able to rise out of his bed; and the physicians, who had taken much blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his French conductor to lessen his importunity that he would go, though it was evident he could not easily stand; of which no doubt he gave true and faithful advertisement to the court, though the jealousy of being not thought active enough in his trust made his behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the custom of that nation.

However, the chancellor, hardened by the inhumanity of his treatment, writ such a letter in Latin to monsieur de Lionne, by whose hand all the ungentle orders to monsieur le Fonde had been transmitted, as expressed the condition he was in, and his disability to comply with his majesty's commands, until he could recover more strength; not without complaint of the little civility he had received in France. And he writ likewise to the abbot Mountague, "to use his credit with monsieur de Tellier," upon whose humanity he more depended, "to interpose with his Christian majesty, that he might not be pressed beyond what his health would bear." And since at that time he resolved to make his journey to Avignon, that he might be out of the dominions of France, he desired, "that he might have liberty to rest some days at Orleans, until his servants who were upon the sea, and brought with them many things which he wanted, might come to him; and that he might afterwards, in so long a journey in the worst season of the year, have liberty to take such repose as his health would require; in which he could not affect unnecessary delay, for the great charge and expense it must be accompanied with."

The answer he received from monsieur de Lionne was the renewing the king's commands for his speedy departure, "as a thing absolutely necessary to his affairs, and which must not be disputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the sight of a billet which

abbot Mountague sent to him, that he had received from monsieur de Tellier, in which he said, "that he had, according to his desire, moved his Christian majesty concerning the chancellor of England; and that his majesty was much displeased that he made not more haste to comply with what was most necessary for his affairs, and that it must be no longer delayed; and that if he chose to pass to Avignon, he might rest one day in ten, which was all his majesty would allow."

This unexpected determination, without the least ceremony or circumstance of remorse, signified by a person who he was well assured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful answer, in the instant suppressed all hopes of finding any humanity in France, and raised a resolution in him to get out of those dominions with all the expedition that was possible: which his French conductor urged with new and importunate instance; insomuch as though there was sure information, that the ship, in which the chancellor's servants and goods were embarked, was arrived at the mouth of the river, and only kept by the cross wind from coming up to the town; he would by no means consent to the stay of one day in expectation of it, or that his servants might come to him by land, as he had sent to them to do.

At this very time arrived an express, a servant of his, sent by his children, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament, and of the bill of banishment; of nothing of which he had before heard, and upon which the duke of York, who looked upon himself as ill used by that prosecution, was of opinion, "that the chancellor should make all possible haste, and appear by the day appointed, and undergo the trial, in which he knew his innocence would justify him." This advice, with a little indignation at the discourtesy of the court of France, diverted him from any further thought of Avignon. And though he did not imagine that his strength would be sufficient to perform the journey by the day assigned, (for the gout had already seized upon both his feet,) nor did the arguments for his return satisfy him; and the breach of all the promises which had been made was no sign that they meant speedily to bring him to trial, towards which they had not yet made any preparation: yet he resolved to make all possible haste to Calais, that it might be in his power to proceed according to such directions as he might reasonably expect to receive there from his friends from England, and from whence he might quickly remove into the Spanish dominions; though the climate of Flanders, well known to him, terrified him in respect of the season and his approaching gout. And with this resolution he despatched the express again for England; and left order with a merchant at Roan, "to receive his goods when the ship should arrive, and detain both them and his servants till he should send further orders from Calais:" and at the same time he writ to a friend in Flanders, to speak to the marquis of Carracena, with whom he had formerly held a fair correspondence, "to send him a pass to go through that country to what place he should think fit." And having thus provided for his journey, he departed from Roan, after he had remained there about twenty days.

In how ill a condition of health soever he was to travel, when the days were at shortest, he resolved to make no stay till he should reach Calais, to the end, that if he met with no advice there to the contrary, he might be at London by the day limited by the proclamation, which was the first of February that style: and it was the last of January the French style when he arrived at Calais, so broken with the fatigue of the journey and the defluxion of the gout, that he could not move but as he was carried, and was so put into a bed; and the next morning the physicians found him in a fever, and thought it necessary to open a vein, which they presently did. But the pains in all his limbs so increased, that he was not able to turn in his bed; nor for many nights closed his eyes. Many letters he found there from England, but was not in a condition to read them, nor in truth could speak and discourse with any body. Monsieur le Fonde, out of pure compassion, suffered him to remain some days without his vexation, until he received fresh orders from Paris, "that the chancellor might not, in what case soever, be suffered to remain in Calais:" and then he renewed his importunity, "that he would the next day leave the town, and either by sea or land, if he thought it not fit to pass for England, put himself into the Spanish dominions, which he might do in few hours."

He was so confounded with the barbarity, that he had no mind to give him any answer; nor could he suddenly find words, their conversation being in Latin, to express the passion he was in. At last he told him, "that he must bring orders from God Almighty as well as from the king, before he could obey: that he saw the condition he was in, and conferred every day with his physicians, by which he could not but know, that he could neither help himself, nor endure the being carried out of that chamber, if the house were in a flame; and therefore that he did not use him like a gentleman, in adding his unreasonable importunities to the vexation he suffered by pain and sickness. That he might be very confident, his treatment had not been so obliging to make him stay one hour in France, after he should be able to go out of it: but he would not willingly endanger himself by sea to fall into the hands of his enemies. That he knew" (for he had shewed him his letter) "that he had written into Flanders for a pass, which was not yet come: as soon as it did, if he could procure a litter and endure the motion of it, he would remove to St. Omer's or Newport, which were the nearest places under the Spanish government."

To all which he replied with no excess of courtesy, "that he must and would obey his orders as he had done; and that he had no power to judge of his disability to remove, or of the pain he underwent." And there is no doubt the gentleman, who was well bred, and in his nature very civil, was not pleased with his province, and much troubled that he could not avoid the delivery of the orders he received: and the conjuncture of their affairs was such, with reference to the designs then on foot, that every post brought reiterated commands for the chancellor's remove: which grew every day more impossible, by the access of new pain to the weakness he was in for want of sleep without any kind of sustenance.

Notwithstanding which, within few days after this last encounter, upon fresh letters from monsieur de Lionne, the gentleman came again to him, told him what orders he had received, and again proposed, "that he would either make use of a boat to Newport or Ostend, or a brancard to St. Omer's; either of which he would cause to be provided against the next morning, for the king's service was exceedingly concerned in the expedition." And when he saw the other was not moved with what he said, nor gave him any answer, he told him plainly, "that the king would be obeyed in his own dominions; and if he would not choose to do that which the king had required, he must go to the governor, who had authority and power to compel him, which he durst not but do." Upon which, with the supply of spirit that choler administered to him, he told him, "that though the king was a very great and powerful prince, he was not yet so omnipotent, as to make a dying man strong enough to undertake a journey. That he was at the king's mercy, and would endure what he should exact from him as well as he was able: it was in his majesty's power to send him a prisoner into England, or to cause him to be carried dead or alive into the Spanish territories; but he would not be *felo de se*, by willingly attempting to do what he and all who saw him knew was not possible for him to perform." And in this passion he added some words of reproach to le Fonde, which were more due to monsieur de Lionne, who in truth had not behaved himself with any civility: whereupon he withdrew in the like disorder, and for some days forbore so much as to see him, in which he had never before failed a day.

And the chancellor, who really did believe that some force and violence would be used towards him, presently sent to desire the chief magistrates of the town and the lieutenant governor to come to him; and then told them all the treatment he had received from monsieur le Fonde, and appealed to them, "whether they thought him in a condition to perform any journey." And the physicians being likewise present, he required them to sign such a certificate and testimony of his sickness as they thought their duty, which they readily performed; very fully declaring under their hands, "that he could not be removed out of the chamber in which he lay, without manifest danger of his life." And the lieutenant governor and the president of justice seemed much scandalized at what had been so much pressed, of which they had taken notice many days: and the one of them wrote to the count of Charrou, governor of the town and then at court, and the other to monsieur de Lionne, what they thought fit; and the certificate of the physicians was enclosed to the abbot Mountague, with a full relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that monsieur le Fonde himself made a very faithful relation of the impossibility that the chancellor could comply with what was required, in the state of sickness and pain that he was in at present.

By this time the French court discovered, that they were prevented of entering into that strait alliance they hoped with England, (and for obtaining whereof they had gratified the proud and malicious humours of the duke of Buckingham and

lord Arlington in the treatment of the chancellor,) by the triple league, which they had used all those compliances to prevent: so that by the next post after the receipt of the certificate from the physicians, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, in which he protested, "that he had the same respect for him which he had always professed to have in his greatest fortune, and that it was never in the purpose of his Christian majesty to endanger his health by making any journey that he could not well endure; and therefore that it was left entirely to himself to remove from Calais when he thought fit, and to go to what place he would." And monsieur le Fonde came now again to visit him with another countenance, by which a man could not but discern, that he was much better pleased with the commission he had received last, than with the former; and told him, "that he was now to receive no orders but from himself, which he would gladly obey."

This gave him some little ease in the agony he was in, for his pains increased to an intolerable degree, insomuch that he could not rise out of his bed in six weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same time he received an account from his friend in Flanders, "that the marquis of Castille Roderigo, with as much regret as a civil man could express, protested, that the fear he had of offending the parliament at that time would not permit him to grant a pass: but if he would come to Newport, he should find the governor there well prepared and disposed to shew him all possible respect, and to accommodate him in his passage throughout the country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any stay: and that he looked upon it as a great misfortune to himself, that he might not wait upon him in his passage." This made it easy for him to discern, that his enemies would not give him any rest in any place where their malice could reach him: and since they were so terrible that the marquis of Castille Roderigo durst not grant him a pass, he thought it would be no hard matter for them to cause some affront to be put on him when he should be without any pass; though he had not the least suspicion of the marquis's failing in point of honour or courtesy.

At the same time he received advice from his friends in England, "that the storm from France was over, and that he might be permitted to stay in any part thereof; and for the present they wished that he would repair to the waters of Bourbon for his health, and then choose such a place to reside in, as upon inquiry he should judge most proper." But he was not yet so far reconciled to that court, though he liked the climate well, as to depend upon its protection: and therefore he resumed his former purpose of going to Avignon, and, if he could recover strength for the journey before the season should be expired for drinking the waters of Bourbon to pass that way. And to that purpose he sent to the court "for a pass to Avignon, with liberty to stay some days at Roan," where his goods and his monies were, (for his servants had come from thence to him to Calais,) "and to use the waters of Bourbon in his way:" all which was readily granted.

It was the third of April, before he recovered

strength enough to endure a coach: and then, having bought a large and easy coach of the president of Calais, he hired horses there. And so he begun his journey for Roan, being still so lame and weak that he could not go without being supported: and the first day had a very ill omen by the negligence of the coachman, who passing upon the sands between Calais and Boulogne, when the sea was flowing, drove so unadvisedly, (which he might have avoided, as the horsemen and another coach did,) that the sea came over the boot of the coach, to the middle of all those who sat in it; and a minute's pause more had inevitably overthrown the coach, (the weight whereof only then prevented it,) and they had been all covered with the sea. And two days after, by the change of the coachman for a worse, he was overthrown in a place almost as bad, into a deep and dirty water, from whence he was with difficulty and some hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful deliverances were comfortable instances that God would protect him, of which he had within few days a fresh and extraordinary evidence.

When he came to Roan, he received all those orders he had desired from the court. And a letter from abbot Mountague assured him, "that he need no more apprehend any discommodity from orders of the court, but might be confident of the contrary, and of all respect that could be shewed him from thence: that he might stay at Roan as long as his indisposition required; and when he had made use of the waters of Bourbon, he might retire to any place he would choose to reside in." Monsieur le Fonde had orders, "after he had accompanied the chancellor two or three days' journey towards Bourbon, except he desired his company longer, to return to the court." Only monsieur de Lionne desired, "that he would not in his journey come nearer Paris than the direct way required him to do, because the emperor's agent at London, the baron of Isola, had confidently averred, that the king had one day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the chancellor, and had a long private conference with him."

When he had stayed as long at Roan as was necessary for the taking a little physic and recovering a little strength, the season required his making haste to Bourbon: and so on the 23d of April he began his journey from thence; and that he might comply with the directions of monsieur de Lionne, he chose to go by the way of Eureux, and to lodge there that night. And because he was unable to go up a pair of stairs, he sent a servant before, as he had always done, to choose an inn where there was some ground-lodging, which often was attended with discommodity enough, and now (besides being forced to go through the city into the suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

There happened to be at that time quartered there a foot company of English seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the French in attending upon their artillery, some of them being gunners; and none of them had the language, but were attended by a Dutch conductor, who spake ill English, for their interpreter. Their behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the townsmen who would not give them

any thing they demanded, that the city had sent to the court their complaints, and expected orders that night for their remove. They quickly heard of the chancellor's being come to the town; and calling their company together declared, "that there were many months' pay due to them in England, and that they would make him pay it before he got out of the town."

He was scarce gotten into his ill ground-lodging, when many of them flocked about the house: upon which the gates of the inn were shut, they making a great noise, and swearing they would speak with the chancellor; and, being about the number of fifty, they threatened to break open the gate or pull down the house. The mutiny was notorious to all the street; but they had no courage to appear against them: the magistrates were sent to; but there was a difference between them upon the point of jurisdiction, this uproar being in the suburbs. In short, they broke open the door of the inn: and when they were entered into the court, they quickly found which was the chancellor's chamber. And the door being barricadoed with such things as were in the room, they first discharged their pistols into the window, with which they hurt some of the servants, and monsieur le Fonde, who with his sword kept them from entering in at the window with great courage, until he was shot with a brace of bullets in the head, with which he fell: and then another of the servants being hurt, they entered in at the window, and opened the door for the rest of their company, which quickly filled the chamber.

The chancellor was in his gown, sitting upon the bed, being not able to stand; upon whom they all came with their swords drawn: and one of them gave him a blow with a great broadsword upon the head, which if it had fallen upon the edge must have cleft his head; but it turned in his hand, and so struck him with the flat, with which he fell backward on the bed. They gave him many ill words, called him "traitor," and swore, "before he should get out of their hands he should lay down all their arrears of pay." They differed amongst themselves what they should do with him, some crying, "that they would kill him," others, "that they would carry him into England:" some had their hands in his pockets, and pillaged him of his money and some other things of value; others broke up his trunks and plundered his goods. When himself recovered out of the trance in which he was stunned by the blow, they took him by the hand who spake of carrying him into England, and told him, "it was the wisest thing they could do to carry him thither, where they would be well rewarded:" another swore, "that they should be better rewarded for killing him there." And in this confusion, the room being full, and all speaking together, the fellow who had given him the blow, whose name was Howard, a very lusty strong man, took him by the hand, and swore, "they should hurt one another if they killed him there; and therefore they would take him into the court, and dispatch him where there was more room." And thereupon others laid their hands upon him and pulled him to the ground, and then dragged him into the court, being in the same instant ready to run their swords into him together: when in the moment their ensign, and some of the magistrates

with a guard, came into the court, the gate being broken; and so he was rescued out of their bloody hands, and carried back into his chamber.

Howard and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with swords as they entered at the window, were taken and carried to prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing revenge when they should get the rest of their company together: and it cannot be expressed with how much fear the magistrates, and the poor guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

The chancellor himself had the hurt before mentioned in his head, which was a contusion, and already swollen to a great bigness; monsieur le Fonde was shot into the head with a brace of bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in danger; two of the chancellor's servants were hurt with swords, and lost much blood: so that they all desired to be in some secure place, that physicians and surgeons might visit them. And by this time many persons of quality of the town, both men and women, filled the little chamber; bitterly inveighing against the villany of the attempt, but renewing the dispute of their jurisdiction. And the provost, who out of the city was the greater officer, would provide an accommodation for them in his own house in the city, and appoint a guard for them; which the magistrates of the city would not consent to, nor he to the expedient proposed by them. And this dispute with animosity and very ill words continued in the chamber till twelve of the clock at night, the hurt persons being in the mean time without any remedy or ease: so that the magistrates, though they were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the seamen, against whom they were not yet secure upon a second attempt.

In the end, monsieur le Fonde was forced to raise his voice louder than was agreeable to the state he was in, to threaten to complain of them to the king, for their neglect before and after the mischief was done: by which they were much moved, and presently sent to the governor of the duke of Bouillon's castle, (which is a good and noble house in the town,) "that he would receive the chancellor and monsieur le Fonde, with such servants as were necessary for their attendance;" which he did with great courtesy, and gave them such accommodation as in an unfurnished house could on the sudden be expected. And so physicians and surgeons visited their wounds, and applied such present remedies as were necessary, till upon some repose they might make a better judgment.

The same night there were expresses despatched to the court to give advertisement of the outrage, and to Roan to inform the intendant in whose province it was committed: and he the next day with a good guard of horse arrived at Eureux. After he had visited the chancellor, with the just sense of the insolence he had undergone, and of the indignity that the king and his government had sustained; he proceeded in the court of justice to examine the whole proceedings, and much blamed the magistrates on all sides for their negligence and remissness. Upon the whole examination there appeared no cause to believe, that there was any formed design in which any others had concurred than they who appeared in the execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which

did not appear in any other thing than in the barbarity of the action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first arrival at Dieppe, and whilst they were quartered there, the chancellor then passing by between Roan and Calais, they had a resolution to have robbed or killed him, if they had not been prevented by his getting the gates opened, and so going away before the usual hour.

The surgeons found monsieur le Fonde's wound to be more dangerous than they had apprehended, and that at least one of the bullets remained still in the wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the skull, in which case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though he was feverish, presently to have a brancard made, and to be put into it in his bed, and so with expedition to be carried to Paris, where he was sure to find better operators, besides the benefit and convenience of his own house and family. And so the third day after his misadventure, and after he had given his testimony to the intendant, he was in that manner, and attended by a surgeon, conveyed to Paris; and, by the blessing of God, recovered without the remedy that had been proposed.

The chancellor, after he had [been] bled once or twice, found himself only in pain with the blow, without any other symptoms which frequently attend great contusions; and therefore he positively rejected the proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the surgeons: and upon application of such plasters and ointments as were prescribed, he found both the pain and swelling lessen by degrees, though the memory of the blow lasted long; so that he thought himself fit enough for his journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky town; and his servants, having only flesh-hurts, could endure the coach as well as he. The intendant, who knew his desire, and was willing to defer his judgment till he was gone from thence, was very well content that he should proceed in his journey, and sent his sons with his own troop to convoy him two or three leagues out of the town; and appointed the provost with his troop of horse to attend him to his lodging that night, and farther if he desired it. And the next day he condemned Howard and two others, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman, (for the company consisted of the three nations,) to be broken upon the wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his arrival at Bourbon, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, "of the trouble the king sustained for the affront and danger he had undergone; and that his majesty was very ill satisfied, that so few as three had been sacrificed to justice for so barbarous a crime."

When he had stayed as long at Bourbon in the use of the waters, as the physicians prescribed, (in which time he found a good recovery of his strength, save that the weakness of his feet still continued in an uneasy degree;) and [had] received great civilities during his abode there from all the French of quality, men and women, who came thither for the same remedies, and with whom the town then abounded; he prosecuted his journey to Avignon: and having stayed a week at Lyons, without any new ill accident he arrived about the middle of June there, by the pleasant passage of the Rhone.

Though he desired to make his journey as privately as he could, and had no more servants in his train than was necessary to the state of health he was in; yet he was known in most places by the presence of English, or by some other accident. And some friends at Paris had given such advertisement to Avignon, that when he arrived there, he had no sooner entered into a private lodging, which he procured the next day, but the vice-legate came to visit him in great state and with much civility, offering all the commodities of that place, if he would reside there. The archbishop, a very reverend and learned prelate, a Genoese, as the vice-legate likewise was, performed the same ceremony to him; and afterwards the consuls and magistrates of the city in a body, (who made a speech to him in Latin, as all the rest treated him in that language,) and all the principal officers of the court: so that he could not receive more civility and respect in any place; which, together with the cheapness and convenience of living, and the pleasantness of the country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill savour of the streets by the multitude of dyers and of the silk manufactures, and the worse smell of the Jews, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant place to make an abode in during the heat of summer: and therefore receiving new confirmation by letters from Paris, "that he was entirely at liberty to reside where he would in France," he resolved to take a view of some places before he would conclude where to fix; and the fame of Montpellier, that was within two little days' journey, invited him thither. And so after a week's stay at Avignon, and after having returned all the visits he had received, he went from thence, and came to Montpellier in the beginning of July.

It was his very good fortune, that an English lady of eminent virtue and merit, the lady viscountess Mordaunt, who had in the beginning of the winter before, in as great weakness of body as nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at Montpellier; where she had miraculously, by the benefit of that air, recovered a comfortable degree of health: and the news of her being still there was a great motive to his journey from Avignon thither. The chancellor had no mind to be taken notice of; but some relations which that lady made to his advantage, and the great esteem that city had of her, made his reception there more formal and ceremonious than he desired.

The marquis de Castro, governor of the city and castle, visited him, and welcomed him to the town, though he had not so much as a pass to come thither. The premier president, and all the other courts, and the consul and other magistrates of the city, visited him in their several bodies, and entertained him in Latin. It is true, that some days after, the intendant of the province (who was not then in the town) came thither; and he had received orders from the court, as soon as it was known that the chancellor was in Montpellier, "that he should be looked upon and treated as a person of whom the most Christian king had a good esteem:" and so, as soon as he came to the town, he visited him with much ceremony, and told him, "that he had received a particular command from the king to do him all the services he could in that city, and in the province

"of Languedoc." And it must be confessed, that during his residence in Montpellier, which was not above one or two months less than three years, he did receive as much civility and formal courtesy from all persons of all conditions in that place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if he had been sent thither as a public person. And when the duke of Vernueil (who was governor of the province, and used to convene the States thither every year) came to Montpellier, as he did three times in those three years, he always visited the chancellor, and shewed a very great respect to him: which was as great a countenance as he could receive.

Yet he did always acknowledge, that he owed all the civilities which he received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the matter the first civilities he had received in France, purely to the friendship of the lady Mordaunt, and to the great credit she had there: and for which, and the consolation he received from her during the time of her stay there, he had ever a great respect for her and her husband; who, coming likewise thither, when he received information from England of a design to assassinate him by some Irish, manifested a noble affection for him, and stayed some months longer than he intended to have done, that he might see the issue of that design. Of which he had a just sense, and transmitted the information of it to his children, to the end that they and his friends might, upon all opportunities, acknowledge it to them both.

And in truth the great respect the place had for him was notorious, in that when any English came thither, and forbore to pay any respect to the chancellor; as only one gentleman did, sir Richard Temple, who publicly declared, "that he would not visit him," and dissuaded others from doing it, as a matter the parliament would punish them for, and shewed much vanity and insolence in his discourses concerning him: he found so little countenance from any person of condition, though he called himself "the premier president of the parliament of England," and such a general aversion towards him; that as they who came with him, and his other friends, deserted him and paid their civilities to the chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that he left the town sooner than he intended, and left the reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous, and sordid person.

And having thus accompanied the chancellor through all his ill treatments and misadventures to Montpellier, where he resolved to stay, it will be to no purpose further to continue this relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private thoughts and reflections to his friends.

When he found himself at this ease, and with those convenient accommodations, that he might reasonably believe he should be no more exposed to the troubles and distresses which he had passed through; he began to think of composing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards such a tranquillity, as the sickness of mind and body, and the continued sharp fatigue in the six or seven precedent months, had not suffered to enter into any formed deliberation. And it pleased

God in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in him, to restore him to that serenity of mind, and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations. He resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books; and to learn the Italian: towards both which he made a competent progress, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he desired to peruse.

But in the first place he thought he was indebted to his own reputation, and [obliged] for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himself from those aspersions and reproaches which the malice of his enemies had cast upon him in the parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal charge, nor offered to be proved by any one witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his credit. And the performance of this work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted fidelity and zeal for the king's service, and his resolution to say nothing on his own behalf and for his own vindication, that might in the least degree reflect upon his majesty; which consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty proceedings as might have put an end to their power. Nor did he think fit in that conjuncture, when his majesty had not yet met with that compliance and submission from the parliament since the chancellor's remove, as had been promised to him as the effect of that counsel, to publish, that his coming away (which was the greatest blot upon his reputation) was with the king's privity, and at least with his approbation. However, he was resolved to commit into the custody of his children, who he knew could never commit a fault against his majesty, such a plain, particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his uprightness and integrity in all his ministry, which they observed and knew too much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other men, who were willing to be undeceived: but the manner of doing it, in respect of the former consideration, he left to their discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the lord and lady Mordaunt returned for England; he committed it to their care, who delivered it safely to the hands of his sons.

They were themselves upon that disadvantage under the reproach of their relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his attendance upon the queen for many months, without the allegation of any crime; and the other was retained only by the goodness of the king, against the greatest importunity that could be applied: and therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any offence, of which their adversaries might take any advantage. Besides, they observed that they, whose credit and interest had done all the mischief to their father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with reference to

the public, and so loosely and licentiously in order to a good name, that their being enemies brought little prejudice to any man's reputation; and many of those, who had been made instruments to deprave the chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how they had been cozened, and how unjustly he had been traduced and accused: so that they made no other use of the answer and vindication they had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect relation of some particular matters of fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the transactions.

It will be therefore necessary in this place, since there hath been before so methodical an account of all that the committee brought into the house of commons against him, and never after mentioned when they had once accused him, to insert such a short answer and defence to all that was alleged, out of that vindication which he sent from Montpellier, that nothing may remain in the possible thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted man that may reflect upon his sincerity, or leave any taint upon his memory; the preservation of which from being sullied by the misfortunes which befell him, is the only end of this discourse, never to be communicated or perused by any but his nearest relations; who, by the blessing of God, can never but retain that affection and duty to the crown and for the royal family, that by the laws of God and man is due to it and them, and without which they can never expect God's blessing in this or the world to come. And in this I shall observe the order I used before in the mention of the several allegations, omitting upon any particular the repetition of what hath been at large already said in this discourse, which shall be referred to for answer.

To the first then, "That he had designed a
"standing army, and to govern the kingdom
"thereby; advised the king to dissolve the
"present parliament, and to lay aside all
"thoughts of future parliaments; to govern
"by military power, and to maintain the same
"by free quarter and contribution," (which, if true, whether it was treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest men.)

The answer which he then made, and which was dated at Montpellier upon the 24th of July 1668, within few days after his arrival there and resolution to stay there, was in these words. He said, as nothing could be more surprising to him, nor he thought to any man else, than to find himself, after near thirty years' service of the crown in the highest trust; after having passed all the time of his majesty's exile with him beyond the seas and in his service, and in which the indefatigable pains he took was notorious to many nations; and after he had the honour and happiness to return again with his majesty into England, and to receive from him so many eminent marks of his favour, and to serve him near eight years after his return in the place of the greatest trust, without ever having discovered that his majesty was offended with him, or in truth that he had ever the least ill success from any counsel he had ever given him; or that any persons of honour and reputation, or interest in the nation, had ever made the least complaint against him, or had any thought that the miscarriages (for mis-

carriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any advice of his: he said, that as after all this he could not but be exceedingly surprised to find himself on a sudden, when he had not the least imagination of it, bereft of the king's favour, and fallen so far from his kindness, even within three or four days after his majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his house for the death of his wife, that he resolved to take the great seal from him; so it was no small comfort to him to see and know, that very few men of honour and reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by men and women of no credit in the nation; by men, who had never served his majesty or his blessed father eminently or usefully, but most of them of trust and credit under Cromwell, or never of credit to do the king the least service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable counsels, which they were every day audaciously administering in matters of the highest moment, with great license and presumption.

But above all, he said, it was of the highest consolation to him, when it was publicly and industriously declared, "that the king was firmly resolved to destroy him, and would take it very well from all men who would contribute thereunto, by bringing in any charge or accusation against him;" when the most notorious enemies he had were the only persons trusted in employment, men who had most eminently disserved and maliciously traduced the king, and had been to that time looked upon as such by his majesty; and when all, who were believed to have any kindness for the chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when men of all conditions and degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by promises and threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if they would not be wrought over to do any thing against their conscience, that they would absent themselves from those debates: that all this malice and conspiracy, with so long deliberation and consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other charge and accusation against him, but such a one as most men who knew him, or who had any trust or employment in the public affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the guilt of, and even his enemies themselves did not believe. The particulars whereof, he said, as far as he could take notice of them, they having not been to that day reduced into any form, so much as in the house of commons itself, he would then examine: and if he should appear too tedious in the examination and disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own defence, and to mention many particular persons in another manner than is usual upon occasions of this kind; he desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal answer to an impeachment, nor like to be published in his lifetime, a judgment of banishment being passed against him (without the least proof made or offered for the making good any one article of treason or misdemeanour) by act of parliament; but that it was a debt due to his children and posterity, that they might know (how much soever they were involved or might be in the effects of

the sharp malice against him) how far he was from any guilt of those odious crimes which had been so odiously laid to his charge.

And that being his end, he might be excused if he did so far enlarge upon all particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far he had been from treading in those paths, or having been accessory to those counsels, which had been the source from whence all those bitter waters had flowed, that had corrupted the taste even almost of the whole nation. And in order to that so necessary discourse and vindication of his integrity and honour, he could only take notice of the printed paper of those heads for a charge, that had been reported from the committee to the house; all correspondence and communication being so strictly inhibited to all kind of men to hold any kind of commerce with him, except his children and menial servants, who only had liberty to write unto him of his own domestic affairs; and the letters which they should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the secretaries of state.

To the charge of the first article itself he said; it was no great vanity to believe, that there was not one person in England of any quality to whom he was in any degree known, who believed him guilty of that charge: and that he wanted not a cloud of witnesses (besides the testimony that he hoped his majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that particular) who, from all that they had heard him say in council and in conversation, could vindicate him from having that odious opinion. Having had the honour, by the special command of his late majesty of blessed memory, to attend the prince, his now majesty, into the parts beyond the seas, and to be always with him and in his service those many years of his exile, and till his happy return; he had always endeavoured to imprint in his majesty's mind an affection, esteem, and reverence for the laws of the land; "without the trampling of which under foot," he told him, "that himself could not have been oppressed; and that by the vindication and support of them, he could only hope and expect honour and security to the crown." Upon that foundation and declared judgment, he said, he came into the service of the king his father, by opposing all irregular and illegal proceedings in parliament; and that he had never swerved from that rule in any advice and counsel he had given to him or to his son.

From the time of his majesty's happy return from beyond the seas, he had taken nothing so much to heart, as the establishment of the due administration of justice throughout the kingdom according to the known laws of the land, as the best expedient he could think of for the composing the general distempers of the nation, and uniting the hearts of the people in a true obedience unto, and reverence for, his majesty's person and government. And with what success he had served his majesty in that province, (which he had been pleased principally to commit to his care and trust,) he did appeal to the whole nation; and whether the oldest man could remember, that in the best times justice was ever more equally administered, and with less complaint and murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the parts of the kingdom, and had been often taken notice of by the king himself with great ap-

probation, and confessed by most of the nobility upon several occasions. He said, he had often declared in parliament the king's affection and reverence for the laws, and his resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any body else to do so: and upon the public occasions of swearing the judges in any courts, he had always enjoined them "to be very strict and precise in the administration of justice according to law, with all equality, and without respect of persons, which the king expected from them; and that as his majesty resolved never to interpose by message or letter for the advancement or favour of any man's right or title, so he would take it very ill, if any subject (how great soever) should be able to pervert them." And he did believe there had never passed so many years together in any age, in which the crown had not in the least degree interposed in any cause or title depending in Westminster-hall, to incline the court to this or that side; or in which the crown itself hath had so many causes judged against it in several courts: at least in which former practice and usage on the behalf of the crown hath been less followed. And nothing is more known, than that from the time of the king's blessed return into England, even to the preparation of that charge against him, he had been reproached with nothing so much as his too much adhering to the law, and subjecting all persons to it: and this reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in places where they thought it might produce most prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that charge, and who had been always great enemies to the law.

All this, and much more of the same kind, he said, was manifest to all the world: and therefore he needed not more to labour in that vindication. Yet he could not but observe, that there was not in all the king's forces, nor was when his forces were much greater than they were at that present, one officer recommended by him: and most of them were such who professed publicly a great animosity against him, having been, by the malice of some men, very unreasonably persuaded that the chancellor was their enemy; that he desired that they might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the rules of the law, that they should be every day cast into prison. And they had indeed found, that in some insolencies which the soldiers had committed contrary to the law, and some pretences which they made to privileges against arrests, and the like, he had always opposed their desires with more warmth than other men had done; as believing it might be the cause of notable disorders, and more alienate the affection of the people from the soldiers: so that it could not be thought probable, that he should contribute his advice for the raising a standing army, and that the kingdom should be governed thereby; when there were very few men so like to be destroyed by that army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

To the other part of that first article, "that he did advise the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future," &c. which it was said two privy counsellors were ready to prove; he made a relation of all that had passed in that con-

sternation when the Dutch fleet came into the river as far as Chatham, and when the debate was in council upon the reconvening the parliament in August, when it stood prorogued till October, which the chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this discourse^b of the time when those transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this place.

The second article was, "That he had, in the hearing of many of his majesty's subjects, falsely and maliciously said, that the king was in his heart a papist, popishly affected, or words to that effect."

He said, that he had occasion too often, throughout the whole charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great goodness of God Almighty, that, since he thought not fit (for his greater humiliation, and it may be to correct the pride of a good conscience) to preserve him entirely from those aspersions of infamy, and those *flagella lingue*, those strokes of the tongue, which always leave some mark or scar in the reputation they desire to wound; he had yet infused into the hearts of his enemies, who had suggested and contrived this persecution against him, to lay such crimes to his charge as his nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but must be contradicted, and a vindication of him from that guilt must be made, by all men who know him to any degree, or who have been much in his company. And as justice would have required it, so the usual form in cases of this nature doth exact, that in so general a charge they should have named one single person of those many, in whose hearing he had laid that odious imputation upon the king: and every man will presume, that one such person would have been named, if he could have been found.

There was no man then alive, he said, who had had the honour to be so many years about or near the person of the king as he had been: no man, who knew more of the temptation his majesty had undergone, and the assaults he had sustained, in the matter of religion, during the whole time of his exile; when almost a total despair possessed the spirits of most men of his own religion, that he would recover his regality; and the hopes and promises and assurances were so pregnant of very many of all conditions, that he would suddenly recover it if he would change it. No man knew so well, with what Christian courage his majesty had repelled those assaults, or with what pious contempt and indignation he resisted and rejected those temptations. Nor had any man, he thought, held so many discourses with his majesty concerning religion as he had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the reproaches he would undergo from that innate candour in his princely nature, which disposed him to receive any addresses, or to hear any discourses, which those of several factions in religion with great presumption have used to present to him: whilst his majesty hath, with equal temper and singular benignity, heard all; and, pitying their errors, dismissed them with evidence, that their arguments were too weak to make impression upon his judgment. Which though they knew well, yet either party, out of the vanity of their hearts, used all the en-

^b See above, page 1225, &c.

deavours they could to get it believed, that the king was propitious to them and their party. And the papists, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark walks in several counties making it a special argument to their proselytes, and those they endeavoured to make so, that the king favoured them, and was of their religion in his heart, (of which, and the great prejudice it brought upon his majesty, he frequently received advertisements from many persons of honour, and of warm affections to the government;) of which he had always informed the king, who was exceedingly offended at their folly and presumption, and wished "that some of them might be apprehended, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour; and that some such prosecution might be made against all the Roman catholics, and that they might be convicted;" which he always gave in charge to the judges accordingly. And upon that and the like occasions he had a just and necessary opportunity to enlarge, in the presence of many persons of honour and interest in the kingdom, upon the sincerity of the king's religion, and his constant exercise of it when he suffered by it; giving such instances of many particulars as were pertinent to the discourse: of which endeavours of his, and of some fruit thereof, he doubted not but that many of as considerable persons as are in England would be ready to give him their testimony. And, he said, he might without vanity say, that he had more than an ordinary part in the framing and promoting that act of parliament, that hath made those seditious discourses, "of the king's being a papist in his heart, or popishly affected," so very penal as it is: and therefore there would be need of an undoubted and uncontrollable evidence, that he had so soon run into that crime himself. Which was all he would for the present say upon that second article.

The third article was, "That he had received great sums of money for passing the Canary patent, and other illegal patents; and granted several injunctions to stop proceedings at law against them, and other illegal patents formerly granted."

To which he said, that he had presumed in his humble address to the house of peers to assure their lordships, "that he had never received one penny over and above the just perquisites of his office, according to the precedents and practice of the best times, which he conceived to be those of the lord Coventry and the lord Ellesmere; and which he had made his rule in all that he had received, excepting only what he had from the immediate bounty of the king." And as he had always done all that was in his power to prevent and stop all illegal patents, so he did believe that there would be more patents then found in the office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his predecessors in so short a time. He never granted any injunctions in the cases mentioned in the charge, nor in any case, where, by the course of the court and the rules of justice, it was not warranted. And for the Canary patent, and the original, and all the proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the body of this discourse, according to the time it was transacted in, that there needs no repetition of it in this place.

The fourth article was, "That he had advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law in remote islands, garrisons, and other places; thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to introduce precedents for imprisoning of other of his majesty's subjects in like manner."

To which he said, he knew not what answer to make to that article, it being so general, and no particular person being named: but, he said, it was generally known, that he had never taken it upon him to commit any man to prison, but such who, by the course of the chancery, for matters of contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that he had been present at the council-board, when many persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose commitment hath by the wisdom of that board been thought just and necessary; and therefore he was not to answer apart for any thing done by them. Only he might say, that he was frequently of opinion that the commitments were very necessary: and it was notoriously known, that by such commitments some rebellions or insurrections had been prevented; and that other persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for high treason, had upon their examinations and at their death confessed, that their purpose had been to rise in arms at such and such times, if their friends upon whom they had principally relied had not been then committed to prison. And, he said, he did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the persons who stand attainted for the murder of the late king, his majesty's royal father, should be removed out of the Tower, and dispersed into several islands and garrisons: and if any other persons had been likewise sent thither, he presumed it was upon such reasons, as upon a due examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

The fifth article was, "That he had corruptly sold several offices contrary to law."

This he positively denied.

The sixth was, "That he had procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound; and that he had received great sums of money for procuring the same."

To this he said, he had never had any thing to do in the disposing his majesty's customs or any other part of his revenue, except for some short time after his majesty's first arrival in England: when he, amongst others of the lords of the council, was a commissioner for the treasury: during which time there was no farm let of any of the revenue, and the customs were put into the hand of commissioners, to the end that a computation might be made as near as was possible of the full value of them, before that it should be put into a farm, which every man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The white staff was shortly after given to the earl of Southampton, (to whom his majesty had designed it before he returned,) and the chancellorship of the exchequer to the lord Ashley, the lord chancellor having

resigned it into his majesty's hands, which he had been possessed of for many years in the time of the late king, and retained it till after his majesty's return: and from the time that those two officers of the revenue were made, which determined the former commission, he never intermeddled in the customs, or in any other branch of the revenue; except when the king commanded him to be present in some consultations which he had with the lord treasurer, and when there were other lords of the council present. That excellent person, the lord treasurer, always resorted to the king for his direction, in all matters of the least difficulty which occurred to him in the administration of his office; and frequently did desire to confer with the chancellor (with whom he was known to have held a long and a fast friendship) upon many particulars of his office, believing that he was not altogether ignorant in that administration, with which he had been formerly so well acquainted. And that he conceived might be the reason, why he did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in references from the king, upon matters wholly relating to his own office. But the chancellor did never then suffer any particular application to be made to him in those cases, nor had ever secret conferences with any persons who were concerned in those pretensions.

What was meant "by his having procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound;" he said, he could not imagine, except it did relate to the payment of a debt due from his late majesty to some of the farmers. In which though he had no more to do, than in giving information and his particular advice to his majesty, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other of the lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his majesty did thereupon; yet he thought himself obliged upon this particular, which so much concerned the honour and justice of the late king and of his present majesty, to enlarge, and relate all he knew of what their majesties did, and what induced his present majesty to do his part in it.

He said, it was notoriously known, that before the late troubles, and in the very first entrance into them, his majesty was necessitated to borrow very great sums of money from his then farmers of his customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great sums of money, which other men lent to his majesty upon their security. That thereupon, and for the repayment of those sums which the farmers had advanced, and for securing them from any damage for those monies which others had lent upon their obligations, his late majesty, with the advice of the then lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer, had granted a further lease of his customs to those farmers for three or four years to come, after the expiration of their former lease; with a covenant on his majesty's part, to pay the just interest for all such monies as were advanced by them, or for which they stood bound; and likewise that they should, out of their growing rent, deduct such sums of money by the year, as they had lent or been bound for, according to such proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the begin-

ning of the parliament in 1640, and before the commencement of the second lease, the house of commons did not only force the said farmers to pay a very great sum of money for their presumption in receiving customs and impositions upon merchandise in the former years, when they pretended such payments were not due; but took also from them their new lease granted to them by the king, and so left them without any capacity of reimbursing themselves of the money they had lent, and likewise at the mercy of their creditors to whom they stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that severity towards them, that many of the poor gentlemen had their estates extended upon judgments and recognisances, and their persons taken in execution and committed to prison; where some of them who had been known to have great estates, as sir Paul Pindar and others, were forced to end their lives.

There were very few circumstances in the late king's misfortunes, which gave him more trouble, or so much afflicted him as the sense he had of the horrid and unjust sufferings those poor gentlemen underwent for him, and their affection for his service; which he often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that he held himself obliged to make them full reparation as soon as God should enable him." And he frequently spake to the chancellor, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, of that affair; of the good opinion he had of the men, and of the great services they had done for his majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his power, he should do them all the right he could. And of this he had often informed his majesty during the time he was abroad, and after his return, without any other motive than his father's command and his own honour, having himself never had any degree of friendship with any of the persons concerned, and a very ordinary acquaintance with some of them. Upon his majesty's happy return, those gentlemen who were alive of the old farmers, who were sir John Jacob, sir Job Harby, sir Nicholas Crispe, and sir John Harrison, applied themselves to the king, having lain several years and at that time remaining in execution in several prisons, and having had their estates sold, upon the prosecution of those creditors to whom they were bound for money lent to his majesty.

As soon as measures were taken for collecting the revenue, those four gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his majesty very well, were appointed his commissioners for the collecting the customs and duties upon trade; in which collection they continued a year or thereabouts; during which time many of their creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst they were in prison and undone, begun now to commence their actions against them, presuming they were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the king commanded the lord treasurer and the chancellor, with some other lords, to send for those creditors, and to declare to them, "that his majesty would in a short time enable his farmers to pay their just debts, which he well knew were contracted for his service; and that he would take it very well from them, if they would for the present give no obstruction to his service, by the prosecution of those persons at law, whose time was solely

"taken up in the necessary service of his majesty." Whereupon they willingly desisted from that prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his majesty's favour they were like to recover their debts they before thought to be desperate, they frankly remitted the whole or part of the interest, that in strictness of law was still due to them.

His majesty shortly after, finding it best for his profit to determine the collection by commission, and to let the whole to farm, gave direction to the lord treasurer to confer and treat with any fit persons who desired to contract for the same. Many overtures were made by several persons, and some applied themselves directly to his majesty. Upon which, and after a competent time in considering all that had been proposed, the king appointed a day, when he would be attended by the lord treasurer and other of the lords, and when all the pretenders should likewise be present, and he would then and there declare his own judgment; having first declared to the commissioners, whereof four were the old farmers to whom so much money was due, "that whosoever should take the farm, they should be obliged to pay them their just debt at such times, and by such proportions, as their service could bear. But as to the letting the farm itself, he would neither consider the debt he owed them, nor the sufferings they had undergone, but only the rent they should offer; which if as much as any body else would give, he would prefer their persons before others; but if any other fit men would offer more than they thought fit to give, they should be his farmers: and therefore wished them well to consider what they would propose to him."

After two days spent by his majesty with the several pretenders apart, and finding that the propositions made to him by the old farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; he did declare, that the farm should be let to those who had been his commissioners: which at that time was understood to be so far from being a good bargain, that the two commissioners, who were not concerned in the great debt, utterly refused to meddle with the farm at so great a rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same time, "that they would not give the rent but in contemplation of their debt, which they thought they should sooner and better receive, when it should be assigned upon their own collections, than when it should be charged upon new farmers." But they were suitors to his majesty, "that he would oblige the other two (sir John Wolstenholme and sir John Shaw) to be joint farmers with them;" which his majesty did, by making a gracious promise to them, "that if they should be losers, he would repair them:" and thereupon directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a grant accordingly. And, he said, he did not know that there was one dissenting voice from what his majesty inclined to do upon the whole matter, the same appearing to every man to be most just and reasonable.

The farm being thus settled, the old farmers were directed "to bring their accounts to the lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer, by

"which it should manifestly appear how much the king was justly and truly indebted to them, and how the debts were incurred; that so upon a just computation such satisfaction might be made to them, as was consistent with the present state of his majesty's affairs and occasions." Many months, if not a whole year, were spent in the examination of those accounts before the auditors: who, besides the exceptions they took for want of some formalities in the proof of some money paid, which after twenty years of license (in which all their books and papers had been taken, their houses plundered, and their persons imprisoned; and in which so many persons employed by the king to receive and by them to pay money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual exactness; made likewise several certificates of particular cases, which required further directions. And the lord treasurer would never take upon himself to give those directions, only declaring to them, as he had frequently done, "that in regard his majesty was not strictly bound in justice to pay that debt due from his father, but that his present majesty's generous and royal disposition had prevailed with him to pay that just debt, whereby they might be preserved from ruin, in which," he said, "he had fully concurred with his majesty; but that he would never advise him, on the contrary he would always dissuade his majesty from paying or allowing any interest, though paid by them, which would swell the debt to such a proportion, that his majesty could never undertake the payment of it." Which determination, how great soever their loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the king, that they wholly referred it to his majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their creditors not to exact it from them, though the sale of their whole estates had made satisfaction to others for the whole interest, as well as for the principal.

When the auditors' certificate was ready, and all the doubts and questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other lords, who had from the beginning assisted in the examination of that business: and then the lord treasurer declared to his majesty, what he had before said to the persons concerned, "[that] though he willingly approved his majesty's goodness in taking upon himself that great debt, yet that he would by no means give his advice or consent that he should pay or allow any interest for it."

Upon the whole matter, and upon all the doubts stated to his majesty, and after the rejection of several of the sums of money which were demanded by them, and for the payment whereof such direct proof is not made as is required by the course of the exchequer, (though, he said, he thought most persons who were present were in their private consciences well satisfied, that those sums had been in truth paid to his majesty's use, as had been alleged;) there appeared to his majesty to be justly due to them the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, principal-money, for almost twenty years, and for which they had paid the interest for many years out of their own estates. And his majesty thought it very just; and, with many gracious expressions of his purpose and resolution further to repair them as he should be able, gave order to the lord treasurer, "that the said

"debt of two hundred thousand pounds should be paid to them in five years, that is, by forty thousand pounds for every year, out of the rent of the farm; and that all instruments necessary for their satisfaction and security should be presently given to them, whereby they might be able to comply with their creditors, and avoid their importunity," wherewith his majesty begun to be troubled as much as themselves.

He did confess himself to have been present at those agitations, and to have contributed his humble advice and opinion to his majesty that he should pay this debt; which he thought himself obliged to do, as well as a faithful counsellor to his present majesty, as in discharge of his duty and obligation to his father. And, he said, he had very good reason to believe, that if that two hundred thousand pounds be paid according to his majesty's direction, and of which the heirs and executors of those farmers who are dead, as well as the four present farmers, have their equal proportions; the said persons have not at this day half the estates they had in the year 1640, when they entered into those engagements for his majesty. Nor was there any one person present at the agitation of this affair, who seemed in the least degree to differ in the opinion, or to dissuade his majesty from giving that satisfaction for that debt.

He said, he did likewise very willingly confess, that he had in the manner aforesaid, and being called to advise, given his opinion for the payment of many other considerable debts incurred by his late majesty, and for which many persons of honour, who adhered to him during that war, were personally bound for him, and whose estates had been extended and their persons imprisoned for the same; many of whom were in execution and in prison for the same when his majesty returned, and others were then sued in Westminster-hall, in his majesty's own courts. His late majesty having granted under his great seal of England, to several persons intrusted for the rest, many of his forests, parks, and other lands, for their security and indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary support of himself and his army, and to no other purpose; and in that grant he had been particularly trusted, as well by the desire of the persons particularly concerned, as by his majesty's command to be solicitous for their satisfaction. And he did not deny, that he was very glad, when he was able to procure satisfaction for those persons who were so bound and so secured; nor more troubled, than that he could do no more, than that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those debts so contracted; of which number he believed there were still too many.

But having made those clear confessions of what was truth, and what he did do in those transactions, he said, he must as positively deny, that ever he procured or advised the letting his majesty's customs, or any other part of his revenue, at underrates: on the contrary, that he used all the ways he could to advance the rents, without respect of persons; and that he was never present at the letting any farm that any men would have given more for, than they did to whom it was let, what offers soever were made afterwards, when his majesty himself had made a

contract, and when a grant was issued accordingly under the great seal of England. And he did as positively deny, that ever he received or expected the least sum of money, or money-worth, for any lease made by his majesty of his customs, or any other part of his revenue; or for the payment of any one debt made by his majesty, to which he was or was not bound: he having, he said, never had any other motive for the performance of those offices, but the pure and entire consideration of his majesty's honour, justice, and profit, and his own inclination to gratify worthy persons, who in justice ought to be or might with justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such persons to whom he had had no kind of obligation.

The seventh article was, "That he had received great sums of money from the company of vintners, or some of them or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties which they had incurred."

He said, if he had been in the least degree guilty of that charge, it would very easily have been proved; and the vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his corruptions. They well knew, that he could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the prices of their wines, and that he never had received from them the least sum of money, or other gratuity from them, in his life. He said, he did remember, that at a time when his majesty had refused to grant all their other petitions, the company of vintners did complain, "that there were so many informations against them prosecuted by informers in the exchequer, that they must give over their trades, and be likewise undone, if they should be severely pursued for what was past:" and therefore they besought his majesty in council, "that he would pardon what was past; and that for the future they would trespass no more." Whereupon his majesty thought it worthy of his mercy to shelter them for the present from that prosecution; and thereupon commanded his attorney general "to call the informers before him, and to appoint the vintners to pay them such reasonable rewards for their pains as he thought fit; and thereupon he should enter a *noli prosequi*:" but his majesty charged them "for the future not to run into the same danger." And as this grace from his majesty was not upon his promotion, but purely from his own bounty and goodness, from which nobody dissuaded him; so he never received the least profit from the same.

The eighth is, "That he had in a short time gained to himself a far greater estate than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a time; and contrary to his oath he had procured several grants under the great seal from his majesty, to himself and to his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty."

To this he said, that he wished with all his heart that the truth of that article (which he presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the world: and that they, who in truth do believe that he hath so great an estate,

were well informed what it is; and they would then clearly discern that he needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an estate, nor that he needed to have any recourse to any ill arts or means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that he had been so far from "procuring several grants under the great seal of England from his majesty, to himself and his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty;" that he never moved his majesty in his life for any one grant to himself or any of his relations. If his majesty's royal bounty had disposed him to confer somewhat of benefit and advantage upon an old servant, who had waited upon his father and himself near thirty years in some trust and employment; he said, he hoped it should not be imputed as a crime in him to receive his favours. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor services he had ever done, or could do, were in any degree proportionable to his majesty's bounty: yet since his majesty's goodness had thought him fit for it, he hoped many others would think so too; at least as fit as some men, who had received greater marks and proportions of it than he had done, and who, though they might serve much better, had not served so long.

He said, he forbore to enlarge upon that charge, because he conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his estate to be very great, that the information they received was without ground: and whoever considers, that the first year after the king's return yielded justly more profit to the great seal than he ever received in all the years following, and some particular acts of bounty conferred on him by his majesty, without the least suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his fault was greater in having no better an estate, than that what he hath gotten by corruption. He said, he hath none of his majesty's lands, but what he had bought, for as much as any body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his majesty's bounty, and that grant confirmed to them by act of parliament. And he presumed that it could not have fallen from his majesty's memory, and was sure was well known to some persons of honour yet alive, that when his majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some land that had never yielded any thing to the crown, he absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great value; and therefore he would not expose himself to the envy which naturally attends those donations, having in truth never had an immoderate appetite to make haste to be rich; and had as much apprehended the being accused of witchcraft or burglary, as of bribery and corruption.

In a word; he did declare, that, his debts being discharged, for which he paid interest, all his estate was not worth, being sold, the money that he had received from his majesty's own royal bounty, and far from being suitable to the quality he yet held, and which was never obtained by his own ambition, as many persons of honour could testify.

The ninth article was, "That he had introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's foreign plantations; and had caused such as complained thereof before his majesty

"and his council, to be long imprisoned for so doing."

To this he said, that though he could not possibly comprehend the full meaning of that article, yet because he had heard of many discourses made of the authority that he assumed to himself over the plantations, and the great advantage and benefit that he had drawn to himself from thence, he was very willing to take that occasion to relate all that he knew, and all that he had done, with reference to any of his majesty's plantations; declaring in the first place, that at his majesty's return, and before, he had used all the endeavours he could to prepare and dispose the king to a great esteem of his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them by all the ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And he had been confirmed in that opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries in the custom house; by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations, inasmuch as the receipts from thence had upon the matter repaired the decrease and diminution of the customs, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

The first consideration that offered itself before the king that related to the plantations, was concerning the Barbadoes; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as he had heard, with some reflections upon him of partiality and injustice, he said, he would in the first place set down all he knew in that affair, and how he came to meddle in it.

Before the beginning of the late troubles, the king had granted the island of the Barbadoes to the earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, upon a supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed, and planted at his charge: and the said earl sent a governor and people thither, and enjoyed it to his death; and by his will settled it for the payment of his debts, which were very great. The troubles falling out in a short time after, little or no profit had been drawn from thence towards the satisfaction of those debts; and the executors and trustees totally neglected the taking care of it, or prosecuting the plantation. But in and after the war many citizens, merchants, and gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from England, transported themselves thither, and planted without asking any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body.

About the year 1647, or thereabouts, the late earl of Carlisle, son and heir of the former earl, to whom the inheritance of that island belonged, treated with the late lord Willoughby of Parham, how that island might be so husbanded, that the plantation might be advanced, and profit made by it; which would at last redound to himself, when the debt should be paid. The late king was then in the hands of the army: and with his majesty's approbation and consent, it was agreed between the said earl and the said lord, "that a lease should be made by the earl of Carlisle to the lord Willoughby, of all the profits which should arise out of that plantation, for the term of twenty-one years or thereabouts; a moiety of the whole profits to be received by the lord Willoughby himself for his own use, in recompense for his pains and charge. And he was

"likewise to receive a commission from the said earl, to be governor of that and the rest of the "Caribbee islands," (all which were comprehended in the charter granted by the king to the earl of Carlisle;) "and that a commission should "be likewise procured from the king or the prince "of Wales, by which the lord Willoughby was "to be constituted governor of the said islands."

About that time the fleet in the Downs returned to their obedience to the king, withdrawing themselves to the coast of Holland to offer their service to the prince of Wales, his majesty that now is; the lord Willoughby then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any condition his highness would employ him in. That summer being passed without any good success, the lord Willoughby then informed the prince of what had passed between the earl of Carlisle and him with the king his father's consent; which his highness had likewise received from his majesty himself, with much recommendation of the lord Willoughby. He said, he was then attending upon the prince in Holland, as one of the king's council assigned by his majesty for that service. Upon the understanding this whole case, the prince, upon the unanimous advice of the council, thought fit to grant such a commission of governor of the Barbadoes and the other islands, as he desired: and he had the more reason to desire it, (notwithstanding the earl of Carlisle's grant and commission,) because the principal planters upon the Barbadoes had been officers in the king's army, or of manifest affections to him, and always looked upon as of his party.

With this commission the lord Willoughby had, at his great charge and expense, transported himself to the Barbadoes, and was there received as governor; and made a contract with the planters, "that so much should be paid upon the "hundred to the earl of Carlisle," to whom the propriety of the whole belonged. But before this agreement could be well executed, or any profit drawn from thence, the island was reduced to the obedience of the parliament and of Cromwell, and a governor appointed by them; the lord Willoughby being sent into England, where he remained till the king's return, and had given unquestionable evidence of his affection to the king's service, for which he had often been committed to prison before and after Cromwell's death.

As soon as the king returned, the lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his lease formerly granted to him by the earl of Carlisle, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other act to the lord Willoughby's advantage) resolved to return himself to the Barbadoes, and desired the king to renew his commission to him for the government; which his majesty was very willing to do, as to a person he esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriously known, in that service. But the Barbadoes and all those other islands were now become of another consideration and value, than they had been of before the troubles: the Barbadoes itself was (by that confluence and resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant; many citizens of London had raised very great estates there, and every year received a very great

revenue from thence; [and] the king's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly.

All these men, [who] had entered upon that plantation as a waste place, and had with great charge brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, begun now to apprehend, that they must depend upon the good-will of the earl of Carlisle and lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these men joined together in an appeal to the king, and humbly prayed "his protection, and that they might not "be oppressed by those two lords." They pleaded, "that they were the king's subjects; that "they had repaired thither as to a desolate place, "and had by their industry obtained a livelihood "there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England. That if they should be "now left to those lords to ransom themselves "and compound for their estates, they must leave "the country; and the plantation would be destroyed, which yielded his majesty so good a "revenue. That they could defend themselves "by law against the earl of Carlisle's title, if his "majesty did not countenance it by a new grant "of the government to the lord Willoughby: and "therefore they were suitors to his majesty, that "he would [not] destroy them by that countenance."

At the same time, the creditors of the late earl of Carlisle (whose debts were to be satisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and settlement of the said earl) petitioned the king, "that they might be in the first place provided "for: their principal-money due to them at the "death of the earl amounted to no less than fifty "thousand pounds, of which they had never yet "received one penny; and therefore that the profits which should arise ought in the first place "to be applied to them, there having been many "families utterly ruined for want of their monies "so due to them." The king appointed to hear all their several pretences at the council-board, where they all attended with their council: and after his majesty had spent three or four days himself in hearing the several allegations, and finding new pretences and difficulties every day to arise, (which shall be mentioned anon,) the king appointed several of the lords of the council "to consider of the whole matter, and to confer "with the several parties, and, if it were possible, "to make an end between them by their own "consent; otherwise to report the several titles "to his majesty, with such expedients as in their "judgments they thought most like to produce a "general satisfaction, without endangering the "plantation," the preservation whereof his majesty took to heart. The chancellor was one of that committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, and leases, and many other papers and despatches which concerned that affair; and conferred with several of the persons interested; to the end that he might the better discern what could be done, having never understood or heard any thing of the matter, or that concerned that plantation, otherwise than what he hath before set down upon the despatch of the lord Willoughby in Holland; nor had he the [least] inclination or bias to any party. Upon the hearing all the allegations before the lords,

the several pretences and titles appeared to them to be these; which they afterwards reported to the king.

The lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the king, but his commission to be governor for the remainder of the years which had been granted to him by the earl of Carlisle; to the end that he might receive one moiety of those profits which should arise to the earl, and which had been assigned to him with the consent and approbation of the late king, and of his majesty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and spent so much of his estate.

The earl of Carlisle, whilst this contention was depending, died, and by his will devised his interest in the Barbadoes to the earl of Kinnoul, who likewise petitioned the king for the preservation of his right: but neither he, nor the person under whom he claimed, had any pretence till all the debts should be satisfied; nor did the earl of Kinnoul demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would arise yearly to so much, that the debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

There was another title that preceded the earl of Carlisle's, which was that of the earl of Marlborough, who alleged, and proved it to be true, "that the Barbadoes and those adjacent islands were first granted by the king to his grandfather the earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high treasurer of England, before the earl of Carlisle had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord treasurer had afterwards consented that the same should be granted to the earl of Carlisle, upon a full contract, that he should first receive for ever the sum of three hundred pounds by the year out of the first profits of the plantations; which sum of three hundred pounds had never been yet paid: and therefore the earl of Marlborough desired, as heir to his grandfather, to have satisfaction for the arrears, and that the growing rent might be secured to him."

The creditors were of two kinds: the first, and who had first petitioned the king, as was said before, had an assignment made to them by the executors and trustees of the earl of Carlisle upon his will, and who at his death owed them the full sum of fifty thousand pounds or thereabouts. The other creditors consisted of several tradesmen and artificers, to whom the said earl was indebted for wares and goods which they had delivered for his use; and of several servants for their arrears of wages: and all those had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in chancery against the executors and overseers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their satisfaction out of the profits of those plantations, (which decree stood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings;) and, as he remembered, their debts amounted to thirty thousand pounds or thereabout. None of the creditors in general, of one or the other sort, had ever received one shilling from the time that the earl had first assigned it.

The planters insisted positively, "that the charter granted to the earl of Carlisle by the king was void in point of law:" for which their council alleged many reasons. And having spent much time upon that argumentation, they concluded with two humble propositions to the king. 1. "That his majesty would give them leave to

"prosecute in his name in the exchequer, and at their own charge, to repeal that grant to the earl of Carlisle; by which they should be freed from the arbitrary power and oppression which would be exercised upon them under the colour of that charter, and his majesty might receive a great benefit to himself, by taking the sovereignty into his own hands, to which it belonged. And in that case they offered in their own names, and for the rest of the planters who were in the island, to consent to an imposition of so much in the hundred, which they confidently averred would amount in the year to ten thousand pounds at the least; out of which his majesty's governor might be well supported, and his majesty dispose of the overplus as he should think fit." 2. "If his majesty would not suffer the charter to be repealed, that he would leave those who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's patent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; which they hoped in justice could not be denied to them, since they alone had been at the charge to settle the plantation, which brought every year so great a revenue to the crown, when the earl had not been at the least expense thereupon: and if his majesty should [not] assist their pretences with his royal authority, they must all quit the plantation."

These being the several pretences of the several persons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themselves, their interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his majesty thought fit, in the first place, to refer the consideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law; who, upon full deliberation and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, "that their patent was void, and that his majesty might take the same into his own power." This report was no sooner made to his majesty, but that he very graciously declared, "that he would not receive from hence any benefit or advantage to himself, until all their pretences had received satisfaction; and that he would make no further use of avoiding the said charter, than to dispose the profits of the plantation to those, who in justice had any pretence in law or equity to receive the same: and therefore that the lord Willoughby should proceed in his voyage to the Barbadoes, and should receive according to his bargain a moiety of the profits; and that the other part should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances." In order to which, his majesty appointed the same committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjust the several proportions.

When they met again, they had all the persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any occasion; and they all appeared very glad that the king had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himself, which was all the security the planters had or could desire. And the lords' first care was, to make some computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island. But the planters would not be drawn to any particular agreement in that point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every hundred; but on the contrary declared, "that too much had been under-

“ taken in that kind by one of their own number, “ Mr. Kendall, in his discourse before the king “ in the council,” and declared, “ that the plant- “ ation could not bear the imposition he had “ mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done “ of that nature was to be transacted by an as- “ sembly in the island: and that all that they “ could promise for themselves was, that they “ would use their utmost endeavours with their “ friends in the island, that when the lord Wil- “ loughby should arrive there and call an assem- “ bly, they should consent to as great an im- “ position as the plantation would bear: by “ which,” they said, “ a good revenue would arise “ to the king for the purposes aforesaid.”

The creditors had great reason to be glad of the resolution his majesty had taken: for though it would be a long time before they could be fully satisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it should arise to the highest computation, yet in time they should receive all, and should every year receive some; which would lessen their debt, and relieve those who were in the highest necessities, of which there was a great number. Whereas they had hitherto in so many years received not one penny: and it was evident, that without his majesty's authority they never should, since the planters were resolved never to consent to any imposition, nor submit to any authority that should be exercised under the earl of Carlisle's patent, without a due course of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And they understood well enough, that, without his majesty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the earl of Carlisle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

The greatest difficulty that did arise was from the earl of Kinnoul, to whom the last earl of Carlisle had devised these islands by his will: and he had a great mind to go thither himself, and take possession of his right; and his council had persuaded him, “ that the king's charter granted “ to the first earl of Carlisle was good and valid “ in law, and that they believed they could defend “ and maintain it in any court of justice.” Then his own estate in Scotland was so totally lost by the iniquity of the time, and his father's having so frankly declared himself for the king, when very few of that nation lost anything for their loyalty, that he had very little left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare subsistence. But when he considered again, that he could have no pretence to anything till after the creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before they could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the creditors of both kinds no less than fourscore thousand pounds, principal-money; he did not believe that his insisting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he must inevitably be put to: and therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himself and all his interest to the king's gracious determination, as all the rest of the pretenders and interested persons had done.

The case being thus fully stated to the lords, and every man's interest and pretence clearly appearing before them, they considered seriously amongst themselves what they might reasonably propose to the several persons, in order to their

agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reasonably give his majesty. They were unanimously of opinion, “ not to advise his majesty to cause the “ patent to be called in question: for though “ they doubted not, upon the opinion of his “ learned council, that the same would be judged “ void and illegal; yet they did not think it a “ seasonable time, when the nation was so active “ and industrious in foreign plantations, that they “ should see a charter or patent questioned and “ avoided, after it hath been so many years al- “ lowed and countenanced, and under which it “ had so long flourished, and was almost grown “ to perfection. And that since his majesty had “ declared, that, notwithstanding any right of his “ own, all possible care should be taken for the “ satisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the “ preservation and support of the plantation; it “ would be equally equitable and honourable in “ his majesty, not to leave the earl of Kinnoul the “ only person unconsidered, and bereaved of all “ his pretence. But that they would humbly “ move his majesty, that he would graciously “ vouchsafe to assign some present maintenance “ to the said earl, which his unhappy condition “ required, out of the revenue that should be “ there settled, and until the debts should be “ paid; and that after that time such an aug- “ mentation might be made to him, as his majesty “ in his royal bounty should think fit: in con- “ sideration whereof, the earl should procure the “ patent to be brought in and surrendered;” which he promised should be done accordingly, as soon as the settlement should be made of that proportion which should be assigned to him.

“ That the lord Willoughby should enjoy the “ benefit of his former contract with the earl of “ Carlisle, and approved by his majesty, during “ the remainder of those years which are not yet “ expired; that he should make what haste he “ could thither, and call an assembly, to the end “ that such an imposition might be agreed upon “ to be paid to his majesty as should be reason- “ able, in consideration of the great benefit they “ had already and should still enjoy, in being “ continued and secured in their several plant- “ ations, in which as yet they were as it were but “ tenants at will, having no other pretence of “ right but the possession: and therefore, that “ those merchants and planters who had peti- “ tioned the king should, according to their ob- “ ligation and promise made by them to his ma- “ jesty, use all their credit with those in the “ island, that the imposition might arise to such “ a proportion, that the revenue might answer “ the ends proposed; and that one moiety of “ that revenue should be enjoyed by the lord “ Willoughby for his term.

“ That the annuity of three hundred pounds by “ the year should be paid to the earl of Marl- “ borough, according to the original contract “ mentioned before; and that the assignment, “ that his majesty would likewise be pleased to “ make to the earl of Kinnoul, should be first “ paid: and then that the remainder of that “ moiety should be received to the use of the “ creditors. And that when the lord Willoughby's “ term should be expired, his majesty should be “ desired, after the reservation of so much as he “ should think fit for the support of his governor,

“that all the remainder might be continued towards the creditors, until their just debts should be paid.”

These particulars appearing reasonable to the lords, all persons concerned were called, and the same communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: and thereupon the lords resolved to present the same to his majesty, which they did accordingly at the board; and his majesty with a full approbation and advice of the whole council ratified the same. Whereupon that order was made by the king in council, which comprehends all the particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the lord Willoughby, with his majesty's express command, “that he should see it punctually and precisely executed;” and the like order was delivered by the clerk of the council to every other person mentioned, who desired the same: to which order he did for the more certainty refer himself, being in no degree confident (having then no other help than his memory) that all was set down with that exactness as it ought to be. And, he said, as he had throughout the whole affair taken very great pains to reduce it to that agreement, which at that time seemed to be satisfactory to all the persons concerned, so he had not the least temptation of particular benefit to himself; and he did still believe it to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his majesty's justice and goodness, all circumstances being considered. And though it may be, in strictness of law, and by the avoiding the grant made to the earl of Carlisle, his majesty might have possessed himself of the whole island, without any tender consideration of the planters or the creditors; he said, he was not ashamed that he had never given his majesty that or the like counsel, in that or any other matter of the like nature; and if he had, he was confident his majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

The other part of that article, “That he had caused such as complained of the arbitrary government in the plantations before the king and council, to be long imprisoned for so doing,” did refer, he supposed, to the commitment of one Farmer; who, being sent over a prisoner by the lord Willoughby in a ship that came from thence, made his appearance at Oxford, his majesty being then there in the sickness time, which, he said, was the first moment that he had ever heard of the man or the matter. And at the same time one of the secretaries of state received a letter from the lord Willoughby, which was sent by the same ship, in which his lordship had sent a direct, full charge of mutiny, sedition, and treason against the said Farmer; and by his letter informed the secretary of all his behaviour and carriage, with all the circumstances thereof; and “that he had, by his seditious practices, prevailed so far upon a disaffected party in that island, that the lord Willoughby found himself obliged in the instant to send him on board the ship, without which he did apprehend a general revolt in the island from his majesty's obedience:” and he did therefore desire, “that Farmer might not be suffered to return thither before the island should be reduced to a better temper.” The man was called in before the king and council, and the charge that the lord Willoughby had sent read to him, the greatest part whereof he could not deny;

and in his discourse upon it he behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the king, that his majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one counsellor then present appear to think otherwise.

And he did confess, that the discharging him from his imprisonment was some time afterwards moved, and that he was always against his discharge; being of opinion that it would be impossible for the lord Willoughby, or any other governor in any of the plantations, to preserve his majesty's right and to support the government, if he should be so far discountenanced, that a man, being sent over by him as a prisoner under so particular and heinous a charge, should be upon his appearance here set at liberty. But his opinion was, “that he should be sent back a prisoner thither, that he might be tried by the law and justice of the island, and receive condign punishment for his offence:” and, he said, he could not deny but that he was still of the same opinion; and, if it were an error, it proceeded from the weakness of his understanding, which was not in his power to reform.

He said, what he had here set down was all that occurred to his memory with reference to the island of the Barbadoes, which being not particularly mentioned in the article, but comprehended under the general expression of his majesty's foreign plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private discourses, he took himself to be obliged to give some answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime to him, if he had taken more pains than other men in that important service of his majesty concerning his foreign plantations, which he did not think had been enough taken to heart: and if his desire and readiness to take any pains, or give any assistance to the advancement of that service, had induced many persons to apply themselves to him on those occasions, he hoped it should not be charged upon him as over-activity, or ambition to engross more business into his hands than he was entitled to; for which he had this excuse to make for himself, that he found the pains he took to be acceptable to his majesty. And he was so far from having any particular design of advantage to himself, that he did profess and declare, that from all or any of his majesty's plantations he never had the least reward, or least present made to him; except that the now lord Willoughby once told him, “that his brother had sent over some pieces of the speckled wood which grows in Surinam, with direction, that if he liked it, he might have what he would of it;” whereupon he had some pieces of it, which he thought might have been applied to the making of cabinets or the adorning of wainscot, (but as they were very small, so the middle of every piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable use;) and except some blocks of walnut-tree which the governor of Virginia sent to him, and of which he made some table boards and frames for chairs; the workmanship whereof cost much more than the wood was worth. And these two particulars contained all the rewards and presents or profit, that ever he received from all his majesty's plantations, or any body to his use.

The tenth article was, “That he did reject and frustrate a proposal and undertaking ap-

“proved by his majesty, for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher’s, and
 “reducing the French plantations to his
 “majesty’s obedience, after the commissions
 “were drawn for that purpose; which was
 “the occasion of such great losses and damages in those parts.”

To which he answered, that he never did reject or frustrate any such proposal or undertaking, never taking upon him in the least degree to make a judgment of enterprises of that nature; nor was ever any such proposition made to him. But he did very well remember, that his majesty himself did once deliver to the council a paper, which he said one of his servants (Mr. Marsh) had presented to him, containing some propositions for ships and men to be sent by his majesty for the recovery of St. Christopher’s, which had been newly taken by the French. Upon the reading which paper and propositions, the same were referred to the consideration of the general, one of the secretaries of state, and to the vice-chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. Marsh, and such others as joined with him. And they were at the same time appointed to consider of another proposition delivered in writing by the now lord Willoughby, and some merchants of London who were planters in the Barbadoes, for the supplying and better securing that island, and the rest of those Caribbee islands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the enemy. Upon the latter of which somewhat was afterwards done: and if the other concerning Nevis and St. Christopher’s was rejected, of which, he said, he knew nothing, he presumed it was, because it either appeared unpracticable, or not consistent with his majesty’s other affairs.

The eleventh article was, “That he advised and
 “effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French
 “king, being part of his majesty’s dominions,
 “together with the ammunition, artillery,
 “and all sorts of stores there; and for no
 “greater value than the said ammunition,
 “artillery, and stores were worth.”

This whole transaction of the sale of Dunkirk, with all the circumstances, is so fully related in this discourse, in the place and at the time when this affair was transacted^a, that any repetition here is to no purpose: and whosoever turns back and reads it will clearly see, that he had no hand in the counsel; though he is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not necessary, as his majesty’s affairs at that time stood. To which may be added, that the treatment he received after his coming into France was an unquestionable evidence, that that king did never take himself to be beholden to him for that or any other service; as in truth he never was.

The twelfth article was, “That he did unduly
 “cause his majesty’s letters patents under
 “the great seal of England to one Dr. Crow-
 “ther to be altered, and the enrolment
 “thereof to be unduly razed.”

To which he said, that when he heard of this charge, he could not comprehend what the meaning thereof was, being most assured that he had never “caused any alteration to be made in any
 “of his majesty’s letters patents under the great

“seal, or the enrolment thereof to be razed.” But upon inquiry he was informed, that Dr. Crowther, who was chaplain to his royal highness the duke of York, and had attended upon his person during the whole time that his highness was beyond the seas, upon his majesty’s return into England, had obtained from the king his royal presentation to the parsonage of Treddington in the county of Worcester; which presentation, according to course, passed under the great seal of England. That when he brought his action against the intruder, who refused to give him possession, and the record was carried down to the assizes in the country; when the doctor’s council [were] to open his title, and thereupon to produce the king’s presentation, they found, upon perusal thereof, that either by misinformation or negligence of the clerk, instead of the county of Worcester, where the rectory was, the county of Warwick was inserted: upon which mistake the doctor was necessitated to be nonsuited. And thereupon he forthwith made a journey to London to advise with his council, and the most experienced clerks, how to recover the misfortune that had befallen him, and that his majesty’s right might not be destroyed by such an oversight in the clerk. And it seems he was by them advised, as the usual way in cases of that nature, to petition the king, “that in his majesty’s presence the presentation might be mended, and Worcester inserted instead of Warwick, and that thereupon
 “the great seal might be again affixed to it;” all which was done accordingly, as in such cases is usual.

The thirteenth article was, “That he had in an
 “arbitrary way examined and drawn into
 “question divers of his majesty’s subjects
 “concerning their lands, tenements, goods
 “and chattels, and properties; determined
 “thereof at the council-table, and stopped
 “proceedings at law, and threatened some
 “that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.”

To this he said, he must here again lament his own misfortunes, that he was exposed to public reproach under a general odious charge, without inserting any one particular to which he might make his defence. He had therefore no more to say, but that he was very innocent as to any crime laid to his charge in that article: and that he had been so far from “examining and drawing into
 “question any of his majesty’s subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods and chattels,
 “and properties, and determining the same at
 “the council-table, and stopping proceedings at
 “law;” that he did not know or believe, that any one case of that nature had been ever determined there, at least when he had been present. That he had always discountenanced such addresses, and procured all petitions of that kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: and, he said, he took himself obliged to say, for the vindication of his majesty’s honour and justice, that there had not been so many years passed, since the erection of the council-table, with so little disturbance or disquiet to the subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and properties, as hath been since his majesty’s happy return; nor hath the ordinary course of proceedings at law been less obstructed.

^a See above, p. 1105, &c.

The fourteenth article was, "That he had caused
quo warrantos to be issued out against
 "most of the corporations in England, to
 "the intent that he might receive great sums
 "of money from them for renewing their
 "charters; which when they complied withal,
 "he caused the said *quo warrantos* to be
 "discharged, and prosecution thereon to
 "cease."

To this he answered, that he never caused any *quo warranto* to issue out against any one corporation in England, but by his majesty's express command, or by order of the board; which was always upon some miscarriage or misbehaviour in the corporation: and that he did not remember that he had ever moved the king against any particular corporation, but that of Woodstock; and which his duty to his majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his majesty with the command of his house and park there, and being his majesty's steward of his majesty's honour and manor of Woodstock, upon which that borough had always depended.

He said, his majesty having conferred that charge upon him, he was no sooner possessed of it by the death of the late earl of Lindsey, who enjoyed that place before, than he received a petition from several inhabitants and burgesses of the borough of Woodstock, who complained, "that the mayor and justices had lately procured their charter to be renewed, without the privity or consent of the borough; and that under pretence of renewing it, they had procured many new clauses to be inserted, and thereby reduced much of the government, which before depended on the whole corporation, into their own hands; and had thereby likewise procured a piece of ground, the benefit whereof did formerly belong to all the burgesses, and was usually applied to the relief of such of them who were decayed in their estates, to be now granted to the mayor and a select number of the justices, and the profits thereof to be at their disposal, to the great prejudice of the borough and the inhabitants thereof." He referred this petition to Mr. Justice Morton, who lived within four or five miles thereof, and desired him to examine the truth of those allegations, and to certify him whether the complaints were just and reasonable. Whereupon he took the pains to go to the town, and to confer with the mayor and justices, and heard the allegations of the petitioners; and upon the whole matter certified, "that he found several important alterations in the new charter from what had been in the old, and some new concessions."

And at the same time sir William Fleetwood, who was ranger of the parks, certified him, "that since the renewing their charter, the mayor and justices were not so good neighbours to his majesty's game as they had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of those services which they had used to perform: and that when any trespasses were committed by those of the borough upon his majesty's woods or game, which happened very frequently, and complaint was thereof made to the mayor and justices, who had the sole jurisdiction within the borough; there was so slight and perfunctory

examination thereof, that the prosecutors were wearied out, and no justice could be obtained."

That it was his duty to inform the king of those proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his direction to his attorney general to bring a *quo warranto*, and to repeal the charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: and he did believe that there was the less vigour used in the prosecution of that *quo warranto* because the mayor and justices for some time had pretended that they would surrender the said charter, and receive a new one in such a manner as his majesty thought fit, though they afterwards changed their mind. And this was the only charter, he said, which he gave direction for the prosecution of.

Nor did he ever give order, upon the receipt of any money, to discharge any *quo warranto*, or cause the prosecution thereupon to cease: nor did he ever receive the least sum of money for the granting or renewing any charter, other than the usual fees received for the same by the clerk of the hanaper, and accounted to the seal; which fee, as he did remember, did amount to thirteen shillings and fourpence, or thereabouts.

The fifteenth article was, "That he procured the bills of settlement for Ireland, and received great sums of money for the same, in a most corrupt and unlawful manner."

To this article there needs no other answer than what is contained in two^a several places of this discourse, in which so full a relation is made of the whole settlement of Ireland, with all the circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no purpose to repeat it in this place. And therein it appears what money the chancellor received from Ireland, and how he came [to receive] any, and by what injustice he came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the king himself, but to very many of those, who promoted the accusation directly contrary to what they knew to be true.

The sixteenth article was, "That he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war."

To which he said, that he did heartily wish that those particular treaties, and the particulars in those treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty, that he might at large have set down whatsoever he had known or done in those treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far he had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any ambition of his own that brought him to have a part in any treaty: he said, God knew, that he heartily wished to have meddled in nothing, but the administration of that great office the king had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his majesty had then so good an opinion of him, that he required and commanded his service in many of those treaties: and therefore it would be necessary for him, according to the method he had hitherto used, to mention every particular treaty that had been entered into since the time of his majesty's return into England, and the part that he had in it; being as

^a See above, p. 1025. &c. and p. 1050. &c.

willing to be called to the strictest account for any other treaty he had been engaged in when he had been abroad, or for any counsel he had ever given in his life, public or private; wherein, he doubted not, he should be found to have behaved himself (according to the weak abilities God had given him) with fidelity to his master, and with all imaginable affection to his country, how unhappily soever he had been represented.

The first treaty, he said, was with the crown of Portugal; in which he was none of the commissioners who treated, and was only present when any report was made by the commissioners to the king, or to the council-board, where all the articles were debated; and he did not remember that there had been any difference of opinion upon any of them: and that treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any crown, the merchants having thereby greater advantages in trade than they have in any other place, besides many other great benefits, with a great enlargement of his majesty's empire.

The second treaty was with the States of the United Provinces; in which likewise he was none of the commissioners who treated: but all that was by them transacted was still brought to the council-board, and debated there in his majesty's presence; in which the rule by which his majesty guided himself was, that he would not remit any of those concessions which had been formerly made by them in their last treaty with Cromwell; and their unwillingness to consent to that was the reason that their ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his majesty had the less reason to be solicitous for expedition, because the king of France had given his royal word, and proposed it himself, "that the two crowns might proceed in the several treaties with the Dutch together, that so they might be brought to those good conditions, that they might live like good neighbours with both the crowns, which," he observed, "they were not naturally inclined to do;" and promised positively, "that for his part he would not conclude any thing with the Dutch, before he had entirely communicated the same to his majesty." Notwithstanding which engagement, France entered into and finished their treaty; and in it made that secret article, which they declared afterwards to be the ground [of] their obligation to assist the Dutch in the ensuing war. However, his majesty proceeded not, till the Holland ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to Cromwell: which being done, the peace was made and ratified on both sides; and without doubt was with more advantage and honour to the English, than ever had been provided by any former treaty between the crown of England and those States.

From the two crowns of Sweden and Denmark ambassadors extraordinary arrived at London shortly after the king's return, and the several treaties were made with both those crowns before the departure of the ambassadors: in neither of which treaties the chancellor was a commissioner, nor knew any thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the council-board, and debated in his majesty's presence; nor did he ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous treaty, both of them containing as much benefit to the English as any treaties which had been made before with those crowns. He

said, it was very true, that there were some unusual expressions of kindness and friendship in the treaty with Denmark; which, in respect of that king's being at that time in a very low condition, under the disadvantageous conditions of the treaty at Copenhagen newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a treaty extorted from that crown by the Dutch, and yet being in terrible apprehension of some new oppression from the one and from the other, the ambassador did very earnestly solicit to have inserted; and which were upon great deliberation allowed and inserted by his majesty's own particular direction, in consideration of the near alliance in blood between his majesty and that king, and the civilities and obligations his majesty had received from Denmark, during his being in Holland after the murder of his father, and during his being in Scotland, when the king of Denmark sent him horses, arms, and ammunition. Of which his majesty had so great a sense, that he was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought him home before that disadvantageous peace at Copenhagen had been made," (which had been done by the countenance of the English ships, and the threats of those who were then ambassadors from the governing power in England,) "he would have done the best he could to have defended and protected him:" and therefore he did very readily yield to that article drawn by the ambassador; his majesty declaring at the same time, "that he was very willing that those princes, who were neighbours to Denmark, and from whom that kingdom apprehended new oppressions, should know his majesty's resolutions to support that king, and to defend him from new injuries;" to which the policy of his government, as well as his friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the king of Denmark did shortly after make very ill returns to his majesty for that his so signal affection.

These were all the treaties made by the king before the war with the Dutch, (for there was very little progress made either with France or Spain, for the reasons mentioned before,) except only a short treaty with the elector of Brandenburg; which treaty was, for the most part, particular with reference only to the prince of Orange, his majesty's nephew, and for the better ordering his affairs. In which treaty his majesty likewise employed five or six of his council: and the few articles between his majesty and that elector in point of state were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the council-board, and in which all things were inserted for his majesty's benefit and service; and if they had not been afterwards violated by the elector, the king would have reaped much fruit and advantage even from that treaty.

After the war was entered into with Holland, his majesty sent Mr. Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to dispose those two crowns to a confidence in each other, and then to dispose them both to adhere to his majesty, or at least not to assist or favour the Dutch. The treaty with Sweden succeeded to his majesty's wish, and was concluded in a league defensive, very much to the king's satisfaction, and with the full approbation of the whole board; that crown having manifested so much affection, and such an inclination to an entire conjunction with him,

that upon very reasonable conditions they would have been induced to have entered into a league offensive, and even into the present war against the Dutch: in order to which, they sent their ambassadors to the king at the same time when Mr. Coventry returned, and they became the mediators for the peace; having first declared to his majesty, "that if the treaty should prove ineffectual, the crown of Sweden would immediately join with his majesty against the Dutch." What became of the other treaty with Denmark is publicly known, his majesty having declared to all the world how perfidiously he was treated by the Dane.

There remains only one other treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the Dutch, upon which the peace was made: and therefore it will be necessary to set down the inducements to that treaty, the whole progress and conclusion of it; by all which it will easily appear that his majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if he were, that it was not done by him.

After so many encounters and various successes in the war, which had been carried on with a much greater expense than his majesty at his first entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him; when he saw the strength and power of the Dutch so much increased by the conjunction of France and Denmark, who supplied them with money, ships, and, what they more wanted, with men as many as they desired; and that all the propositions he could make to Spain could not induce them to enter into such an alliance with him, as might embark them against France, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the French resolved to break the peace with them, having at that time published those declarations which they afterwards made the ground of the war: his majesty clearly discerned, that the Dutch grew less weary of the war than they had before seemed to have been; and that they would be able, with that assistance and conjunction, to continue the war with less inconvenience than his majesty was like to do.

He had found it necessary for straitening the trade of the enemy, (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a peace, and which he could not do by the strength of his own ships, which were still kept together to encounter their fleet,) to grant commissions upon letters of marque to as many private men of war as desired the same, and with such strict orders and limitations as are necessary in those cases; and he found indeed the advantage very great, in the damage those men of war did to the enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great trouble. On the other side, the common seamen chose much rather to go on board those men of war, where their profit out of their shares of the booty was greater, and their hazards much less, than in the king's ships, where they got only blows without booty, though their pay and provisions were much greater than they had been in any former time: so that when the royal fleet was to be set out, there was greater difficulty in procuring seamen and mariners to man it.

And then, whereas the advancement of trade was made the great end of the war, it was now found necessary to suppress all trade, that there might be mariners enough to furnish the ships for the carrying on the war. And this inconveni-

ence produced another mischief: for by the great diminution and even suppression of trade, there was likewise so great a fall in the customs, excise, and all other branches of the king's revenue, that it was evident enough that his majesty would have little to carry on the war, but what should arise by imposition in parliament upon the people; who already complained loudly of the decay of their rents, of the small and low prices which their commodities yielded by the cessation of trade, and especially by the carrying all the money in specie from the several counties to London for the carrying on the war. And the parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that, instead of granting a new supply proportionable to the charge, they fell upon expedients to raise money by the sale of part of the king's revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary expense of the crown.

But above all, his majesty was most discouraged by the extreme license of the seamen in general; but especially of those who were called privateers, set out in the particularships of war upon adventure, who made no distinction between friends and foes; but, as if the sea had been their own quarters, they seized upon all ships which passed within their view, and either pillaged them entirely, and so dismissed them, (which they usually did to those which they foresaw would be delivered by the course of justice,) or else brought them into the harbours, after they had taken from them what they best liked. And then the formal proceedings in the court of admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many appeals, that the prosecution of justice for injuries received grew as grievous as the injury itself; which drew an universal clamour from all nations, "that without being parties to the war they were all treated as enemies."

France had made the damage they had this way received, and the interruption of their trade, a great part of their quarrel, and one ground of their conjunction with the Dutch. From Spain, which really wished better to us than to our enemies, the complaints were as great; "that their whole trade was destroyed; their ships of Flanders, which supplied Spain with what they wanted for themselves, and with what was necessary for their trade and intercourse with the Indies, were all taken as Dutch, because it was very hard to distinguish them by their language:" which was likewise the case of all the Hanse-towns, which made grievous complaints, and had without doubt received great damage. Those princes of Italy whose dominions reached to the sea, as the two republics of Venice and Genoa, and the duke of Florence, expostulated very grievously for their ships taken by those freebooters of Scotland and of Ireland, both which nations enriched themselves very much upon such depredations. And how much soever the royal navy was weakened every day, the number of those men of war wonderfully increased; so that those kind of ships, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, covered the whole ocean: and of those ships which were taken and carried into Scotland or Ireland, (in England there were many redeliveries,) it was observed, that there were *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Even Sweden itself, with whom a new stricter alliance was entered into at that time, with as severe restrictions to that license of

the men of war as could be contrived for the liberty and security of the trade of that crown, complained exceedingly of the violation of all those concessions and provisions, and that their ships were every day taken and plundered. And this universal complaint began to awaken all princes to a jealousy, that the English endeavoured to restrain all trade, till they could make themselves the entire masters of it, and by their naval power put some imposition upon the whole traffick of Europe.

It is very true, at the first entrance into the war there had been many unskilful expressions even in the parliament itself, as well as in the frequent discourses of parliament-men, "that by this war, and by suppressing the power of the Dutch at sea," (of which they made not the least doubt,) "the king would be able to give the law to all the trade of the world, and that no ships should pass the sea without paying some tribute to England:" which liberty and rashness of discourse made great impression upon those who wished mischief enough to the Dutch, till they saw what danger might ensue to themselves by the success of the English; and thereupon wished that they might break themselves upon each other, without advantage to either party. And this general distemper and complaint made the deeper impression upon the king, by his discerning an extreme difficulty, if not an impossibility, to give any just remedy to it; and consequently, that he should be shortly looked upon as a common enemy.

He had taken very great pains, upon deliberate consultations, to suppress that odious irregularity and destructive license that was practised amongst the seamen, and had in many particular cases himself examined the excess, and caused exemplary justice to be done upon the offenders, and restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no justice could preserve the injured persons from being losers. He had granted such rules and privileges and protection to the ports in Flanders, and to others of his allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full security; but then he quickly found, that from those very ports and in those very ships which enjoyed those privileges, the trade of the Dutch was driven on: so that it was evident that by that liberty, which other nations thought themselves in justice entitled to, if not restrained, the Hollanders themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole trade in the ships of Flanders, Hamburgh, and the other free towns, or in their own ships owned by the other; and that the restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total suppression of those men of war, and a revocation of all commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the freedom and security of trade to all his majesty's enemies.

In the last encounter at sea, the Prince Royal, and three other of his majesty's navy, had been lost; and another, the London, had been burned in the river by the negligence of the seamen; for there was never any discovery made, that there was any purpose or malice in it. The French had obliged themselves, that the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, should, with the whole fleet under his command, amounting to eighteen good ships, join with the Dutch; and the king

of Denmark was likewise engaged to send all his great ships, which were ten or a dozen, in order to the like conjunction: so that it was evident to his majesty, that the enemy would be much superior to him in strength and power, though he had been able to have manned and set out all his royal navy; which he well foresaw he should not be able to do, both for want of money and want of seamen, who were already in great disorder and mutiny for want of their pay, of which there was indeed a great arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an animosity amongst the principal officers of the fleet between themselves, that the whole discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what hands to put the government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

Upon which, and the whole state of affairs, and upon deliberation and frequent consultation with the principal officers of the sea, and such others whose experience in such matters rendered them most capable to give advice, the king found it most counsellable to resolve to make a defensive war the next year, and to lay up all his great ships, and to have some squadrons of the lighter vessels to continue in several quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the river another good squadron of ships against the end of the summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the enemy was weary and their ships foul, would be able to take many notable advantages upon them; of which they who advised it were so confident, that they did believe this defensive way thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater damage to the enemy in their trade, and all other respects, than they had ever undergone. And in all this counsel and resolution the chancellor had no other part than being present; and, not understanding the subject-matter of debate, could not be able to answer any of the reasons that had been alleged.

These considerations, upon a full survey of his ill condition at home and abroad, induced the king to wish that there were a good end of the war; of which inclination his majesty vouchsafed to inform the chancellor, well knowing that he would be very glad to contribute all he could to it, as a thing he desired most in this world, and which he thought would prove the greatest benefit to the king and kingdom; and his majesty likewise told him, "that he found all those, who had been most forward and impatient to enter into this war, were now weary of it, and would be glad of a peace:" so that there remained now nothing to do, but for his majesty to advise with those whom he thought fit, (for there seemed many reasons to conceal both the inclination to peace, and the resolution not to set out a summer fleet, from being publicly known,) what method to observe, and what expedients to make use of, for the better procuring this wished-for peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or importunate for it, or so weary of the war as in truth he was. And to this consultation the king was pleased to call together with his royal brother, prince Rupert, the chancellor, the general, the lord treasurer, and those other honourable persons with whom he used to advise in his most secret and most important affairs.

That which occurred first to consider was,

whether there were any hope to divide the French from the Dutch; upon which supposition the prospect was not unpleasant, the war with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the conjunction was only formidable. And to this purpose several attempts had been made both in France and in Holland; both sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint peace should be made with England, though they both owned a jealousy of each other: those of Holland having a terrible apprehension and foresight of the king of France's designs upon Flanders, which would make his greatness too near a neighbour to their territories; besides that the logic of his demands upon the devolution and nullity of the treaty upon the marriage was equally applicable to their whole interest, as it was to their demands from the king of Spain. And France, upon all the attacks they had made both in France with the Dutch ambassador there, and in Holland by their own ambassador, found clearly, that they were to expect no assistance from the Dutch in their designs, and that at least they wished them ill success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first occasion: and this made them willing to put an end to their so strict alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable advantage, except in weakening an ally from whom they might probably receive much more advantage.

However, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any treaty apart, though they both seemed willing and desirous of a peace; in order to which, the Dutch, through the Swedes ambassadors' hands, had writ to the king, "to offer a treaty in any such neutral place as his majesty should make choice of;" professing, "that they should make no scruple of sending their ambassadors directly to his majesty, but that their conjunction with the other two crowns, who required a neutral place, would not admit that condescension." And at the same time they intimated to the Swedes ambassadors, "that the king of France would not send his ambassadors into Flanders, or any place of the king of Spain's dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his majesty would make choice of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Francfort, or Hamburgh, or any other place that his majesty should think more convenient than the other, under that exception:" all which places, and in truth any other out of the king of Spain's dominions, were at such a distance, (the winter being now near over,) that there could be no reasonable expectation of the fruit of the treaty in time to prevent more acts of hostility.

How the treaty came afterwards to be introduced by overtures from France, and what preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the earl of St. Alban's, and how agreed to by his majesty; how the place of the treaty came to be adjusted, the ambassadors chosen, and the whole progress thereupon, and the publication of the articles of the peace; is so particularly set forth in this narrative before^a, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the ambassadors repairing, as is there said, to the king, and giving him an account of all that had passed before any thing was concluded, and every particular having

been debated at the council-board and consented to; he said, he could not understand how his majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that treaty, which passed with such a full examination and disquisition, and in all which debates his majesty himself had taken the pains to discourse more, and to enlarge in the answer to all objections which were foreseen, than he had been ever known to have done upon any other article.

It is very true, that the chancellor had been commanded by the king to write most of the letters which had been sent to the earl of St. Alban's, from the time of his going over concerning the treaty, his lordship having likewise directed most of his letters to him; and most of the despatches to the ambassadors were likewise prepared by him, they being by their instructions (without his desire or privity) to transmit all accounts to one of the secretaries or to himself. But, he said, it was as true, that he never received a letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his majesty's presence, to those lords of the council who were assigned for that service, where directions were given what answer should be returned, and he never did return any answer to either of them, without having first read it to the council, or having first sent it to one of the secretaries, to be read to his majesty. And he did with a very good conscience protest to all the world, that he never did the least thing, or gave the least advice, relating to the war, or relating to the peace, which he would not have done, if he had been to expire the next minute, and to have given an account thereof to God Almighty.

And as his majesty prudently, piously, and passionately desired to put an end to that war, so no man appeared more delighted with the peace when it was concluded, than his majesty himself did; though, he said, as far as he could make any judgment of public affairs, the publication of that peace was attended with the most universal joy and acclamations of the whole nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general consternation that the city and people of all conditions were in, when the Dutch came into the river as high as Chatham; and when the distemper in the court itself was so great, that many persons of quality and title, in the galleries and privy lodgings, very indecently every day vented their passions in bitter execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the war, and wishing that an end were put to it by any peace; some of which persons, within very few days after, as bitterly inveighed against the peace itself, and against the promoters of it. But, he said, he was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the part he had in it, that he looked upon it as a great honour, that the last service he performed for his majesty was the sealing the proclamations, and other instructions, for the conclusion and perfection of that peace, the great seal of England being that very day sent for and taken from him.

The seventeenth and last article was, "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet about June 1666."

For answer to this, he set down at large an account of all the agitation that was in council upon that affair, and that the dividing and separation

^a See above, pp. 1214, &c. and 1228, &c.

of the fleet at that time was by the election and advice of the two generals, and not by the order or direction of the council: all which hath been at large, in that part of this discourse which relates to the transactions of that time^b, set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted.

He took notice of the prejudice that might befall him, in the opinion of good men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full examination and trial which the public justice would have allowed him; which obliged him to set down all the particulars which passed from the taking the seal from him, the messages he had received by the bishop of Hereford, and finally the advice and command the bishop of Winchester brought him from the duke of York with the approbation of the king. Upon all which, and the great distemper that appeared in the two houses at that time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, he did hope, that all dispassioned men would believe that he had not deserted and betrayed his own innocence; but on the contrary, that he had complied with that obligation and duty which he had always paid to his majesty and to his service, in choosing at that time to sacrifice his own honour to the least intimation of his majesty's pleasure, and when the least inconvenience might have befallen it by his obstinacy, though in his own defence: and concluded, that though his enemies, who had by all the evil arts imaginable contrived his destruction, had yet the power and the credit to infuse into his majesty's ears stories of words spoken and things done by him, of all which he was as innocent as he was at the time of his birth, and other jealousies of a nature so odious, that themselves had not the confidence publicly to own; yet, he said, notwithstanding all those disadvantages for the present, he did not despair, but that his majesty, in his goodness and justice, might in due time discover the foul artifices which had been used to gain credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor services (how overrewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his country, and forcing him to seek his bread in foreign parts at this age, is a very severe judgment. However, he was confident that posterity will clearly discern his innocence and integrity in all those particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his charge by men who did nothing before, or have done any thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest men; and will believe his misfortunes to have been much greater than his faults.

As soon as he had digested and transmitted this his answer and vindication to his children, which he did in a short time after his arrival at Montpellier, he appeared to all men who conversed with him to be entirely possessed of so much tranquillity of mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that men believed the temper to be affected with much art, and could not be natural in a man, who was known to have so great an affection for his own country, the air and climate thereof; and to take so much delight and pleasure in his relations, from whom he was now banished, and at such a distance, that he could not wish that they should undergo the in-

conveniences in many respects which were like to attend their making him many visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a vivacity and cheerfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill news as came every week out of England, of the improvement of the power and insolence of his enemies; all men concluded, that he had somewhat about him above a good constitution, and prosecuted him with all the offices of civility and respect they could manifest towards a stranger.

There were two inconveniences which he foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the serenity of his mind. The first, and that which gave him least apprehension, though he could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the trouble of those thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how he should be able to draw as much money out of England as would support his expence; which, though husbanded with as much frugality as could be used with any decency, he foresaw would amount to a greater proportion than he had proposed to himself. His indisposition and infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and sharp visitation of the gout, or, when the vigour of that was abated, in much weakness of his limbs when the pain was gone, were so great, that he could not be without the attendance of four servants about his own person; having, in those seasons when he enjoyed most health and underwent least pain, his knees, legs, and feet so weak, that he could not walk, especially up or down stairs, without the help of two men; and when he was seized upon by the gout, they were not able to perform the office of watching: so that to the English servants which he had brought with him, which with a cook, and a maid to wash his linen, amounted to six or seven, he was compelled to take four or five French servants for the market and other offices of the house; and his lodging cost him above two hundred pistoles. But all the apprehensions of this kind were upon short reflections composed, in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, who he believed out of his and their own state would raise enough for his unavoidable disbursements.

The other apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very reflection. He could not forget the treatment he had between Calais and Roan, and the strange violent importunity that was used to him to get out of the kingdom, when he had not strength to get out of his bed. And though he was now at ease from such inhuman pressures; yet his enemies, who had even extorted that importunity from a people not inclined to such incivilities, had still the same power, and the same malice, and a froppish kind of insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if they should again prevail with the same ministers to remove him from his quiet, and oblige him to new journeys, the same spirit would chase him from place to place; there being none in view like to be superior to their influence, when France had been subdued by it. So that besides the impossibility of preserving the peace and repose of his mind in so grievous a fatigue, and continual torture of his body, he saw no hope of rest but in his grave. And against this kind of tyranny he could by no

^b See above, p. 1181, &c.

reasonable discourse with himself provide any security, or stock of courage to support it.

His friend the abbot Mountague, who was the only advocate he had to that court, used all his powerful rhetoric to allay those fears, and to comfort him against those melancholic apprehensions, by assuring him, "that the ministers were far from such inclinations, and that nothing but reason of state could dispose them to that severity:" yet he prepared him not to think of removing from Montpellier, without first acquainting that court with it. And when afterwards he proposed to him, "that he might have leave to reside in Orleans, or some other city, at such a nearer distance from England, that his children or friends might more easily repair to him;" the court did not like the proposition, but proposed Moulins, whither they would not yet give him a pass, till first their ambassador in England should know that it would not be unacceptable to his majesty: so that he found himself upon the matter not only banished from his country, but confined to Montpellier, without any assurance that he should not be again shortly banished from thence.

However after he had revolved all the expedients that occurred to him for the prevention of such a mischief, he concluded there was no other remedy to be applied to those contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good pleasure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no discretion or foresight of his own could prevent. And in this composure of mind he betook himself to his books, and to the entertainment and exercise of such thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

God blessed him very much in this composure and retreat. And the first consolation he administered to himself was from the reflection upon the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution that had been against him, in another kind of manner, and after another measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter enemies, and than was necessary to their ends and advantages who had contrived them: not to mention the malice and injustice of their first design of removing him from the trust and credit he had with the king, and to alienate his majesty's affection and kindness from him, to which the corrupt hopes and expectation of benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous means. When they were not only privy to but contrivers of his escape, which they looked upon as attended with more benefit to them than his imprisonment or the taking his life could have been; when they were secure of his absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the bill of banishment, by which they broke their faith and promises to the king, and made him depart from his own resolutions: to what purpose was all their other prosecution of him both at home and abroad, more derogatory to the king's honour, and that innate goodness of nature and clemency that all men know he abounds in, than mischievous to him? why must he be absurdly charged with counsels and actions, of which he could never be suspected? and why must his name be struck out of all books of council, and catalogues and lists of servants,

that it might not appear that he had ever been a counsellor of state, or a magistrate of justice; a method that was never practised towards the greatest malefactor? to what worthy or necessary end could that exorbitant demand be made and pursued in France, to expose him and the honour of that crown to the general reproach of all men, with such unparalleled circumstances?

These very extraordinary attempts and unheard of devices seemed to all wise men but the last effort of vulgar spirited persons, and the faint grasping of impotent malice; and instead of depressing the spirits of him they hated, raised his confidence, that God would not permit such gross inventions of very ill and shortsighted men to triumph in the ruin of an honest man, whose heart was always fixed upon his protection, and whom he had so often preserved from more powerful stratagems: and he did really believe, that the divine justice would at some time expose the pride and ambition of those men to the infamy they deserved.

To those persons with whom he did with the most freedom communicate, he did often profess, that upon the strictest inquisition he could make into all his actions from the time of the king's return, when his condition was generally thought to have been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many thorns which made it uneasy, he could not reflect upon any one thing he had done, (amongst many which he doubted not were justly liable to the reproach of weakness and vanity,) of which he was so much ashamed, as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house; which had more contributed to that gust of envy that had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanour that he was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole affairs, and broken his estate. For all which he had no other excuse to make, than that he was necessitated to quit the habitation he was in at Worcester-house, which the owner required, and for which he had always paid five hundred pounds yearly rent, and could not find any convenient house to live in, except he built one himself, (to which he was naturally too much inclined;) and that he had so much encouragement thereunto from the king himself, that his majesty vouchsafed to appoint the place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the inheritance of the land upon him after a short term of years, which he purchased from the present possessor: which approbation and bounty of his majesty was his greatest encouragement. And his own unskilfulness in architecture, and the positive undertaking of a gentleman, (who had skill enough, and a good reward for his skill,) that the expense should not amount to a third part of what in truth it afterwards amounted to, which he could without eminent inconvenience have disbursed, involved [him] in that rash enterprise, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him; not only in the accumulation of envy and prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the entanglement of a great debt, that broke all his measures; and, under the weight of his sudden, unexpected misfortune, made his condition very uneasy, and near insupportable.

And this he took all occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the folly of it. And yet, when his children and his nearest friends pro-

posed and advised the sale of it in his banishment, for the payment of his debts, and making some provision for two younger children; he remained still so much infatuated with the delight he had enjoyed, that, though he was deprived of it, he hearkened very unwillingly to the advice; and expressly refused to approve it, until such a sum should be offered for it, as held some proportion to the money he had laid out; and could not conceal some confidence he had, that he should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the brand he suffered under, except his particular complete ruin were involved in the general distraction and confusion of his country, of which he had a more sensible and serious apprehension.

He was wont to say, "that of the infinite blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his cradle," amongst which he delighted in the reckoning up many signal instances, "he esteemed himself so happy in none as in his three acquiescences," which he called "his three vacations and retreats he had in his life enjoyed from business of trouble and vexation;" and in every of which God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions, and his observations upon what he had done himself, and what he had seen others do and suffer; to repair the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself with new resolutions against future encounters, in an entire resignation of all his thoughts and purposes into the disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he should be obliged to contend with; and towards the obtaining whereof, he renewed those vows and promises of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of that protection and deliverance.

The first of these recesses or acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in Jersey, when the prince of Wales, his now majesty, first went into France upon the command of the queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of the council the king his father had directed him to govern himself by, and, as they conceived, contrary to his majesty's own judgment, the knowing whereof they only waited for; and his stay there, during that time that his highness first remained at Paris and St. Germain's, until his expedition afterwards to the fleet and in the Downs. His second was, when he was sent by his majesty as his ambassador, together with the lord Cottington, into Spain; in which two full years were spent before he waited upon the king again. And the third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment. In which three acquiescences, he had learned more, knew himself and other men much better, and served God and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life.

He used to say, that he spent too much of his younger years in company and conversation, and too little with books; which was in some degree repaired, by the greatest part of his conversation being with persons of very eminent parts of learning and virtue, and never with men of loose and debauched manners. And he took great pleasure frequently to remember and mention the

names of those with whom he kept most company, when he first entered into the world; many whereof lived to be very eminent in church and state: to whose information and example, and to the affection, awe, and reverence, he had to their persons, he did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable [in] him. He did very much affect to be loved and esteemed amongst men of good name and reputation, which made him warily avoid the company of loose and dissolute men, and to preserve himself from any notable scandal of any kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the conversation he lived in liable to any other exception, than that it was with men superior to him in their quality and their fortunes, which exposed him to greater expense than his fortune would warrant: and yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any reproach or inconvenience.

He accused himself of entering too soon out of a life of ease and pleasure and too much idleness, into a life of too much business, that required more labour and experience and knowledge than he was supplied for; for he put on his gown as soon as he was called to the bar; and, by the countenance of persons in place and authority, as soon engaged himself in the business of the profession as he put on his gown, and to that degree in practice, that gave little time for study, that he had too much neglected before; besides that he still indulged to his beloved conversation. Few years passed before the troubles in Scotland appeared, and the little parliament was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, he was a member in both, and wholly gave himself up to the public affairs agitated there, and where he was enough esteemed and employed, till the spirit reigned there, and drove men of his principles from thence.

He was entirely and without reserve trusted, with two other of his friends, in all the king's affairs which related to the parliament, before the rebellion appeared; which brought him into prejudice and jealousy with many of both houses, who before were very kind to him. And in the beginning of the rebellion he was sworn of the privy-council and made chancellor of the exchequer: and from this time the pains he took, and the great fatigue he underwent, were notorious to all men; insomuch as, the refreshment of dinner excepted, for he never supped, he had very little of the day, and not much of the night, vacant from the most important business.

When the prince was separated from his father, the king commanded him to attend his highness into the west, under more than a common trust: and by the inequality of humours amongst the counsellors, the wants and necessities of the prince's little court and family, the want of wisdom in his governor, that made him want that respect from the prince and all other people that was due to him, the faction amongst all the country gentlemen, and, above all, the ill success in the king's affairs, and the prevalence of the parliament in all places, made the province he had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable necessity of transporting the person of the prince out of the kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the council by the king, and by his command reserved from his governor and another) when there should be apparent danger of

his falling into the hands of the rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that danger was even in view, and the designs of some of the prince's servants with the county to obstruct and prevent it when it was in view; the executing it in a seasonable article of time before or in the moment that it was suspected, and disguising it by a retreat to Scilly, and staying there till they could be provided for a further voyage; and then the prince's remove from thence to Jersey, the contests which happened there between the counsellors upon the queen's commands for his highness's present repair into France, her majesty's declared displeasure, and the personal animosities which grew from thence between the persons in the greatest trust; were all particulars of that weight and distraction, that made great impression upon his mind and faculties, which needed much reflection and contemplation to compose them.

This first retreat gave him opportunity and leisure to call himself to a strict account for whatsoever he had done, upon revolving of all his particular actions, and the behaviour of other men; and to compose those affections and allay those passions, which, in the warmth of perpetual actions and chafed by continual contradictions, had need of rest, and cool and deliberate cogitations. He had now time to mend his understanding, and to correct the defects and infirmities of his nature, by the observation of and reflection upon the grounds and successes of those counsels he had been privy to, upon the several tempers and distempers of men employed both in the martial and civil affairs of the greatest importance, and upon the experience he had and the observation he had made in the three or four last years, where the part he had acted himself differed so much from all the former transactions and commerce of his life.

He had originally in his nature so great a tenderness and love towards mankind, that he did not only detest all calumniating and detraction towards the lessening the credit or parts or reputation of any man, but did really believe that all men were such as they seemed or appeared to be; that they had the same justice and candour and goodness in their nature, that they professed to have; and thought no men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but those who in their manners and lives gave unquestionable evidence of it; and even amongst those he did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of weakness and ignorance, for want of friends and good counsel, than out of the malice and wickedness of their natures.

But now, upon the observation and experience he had in the parliament, (and he believed he could have made the discovery no where else, without doubt not so soon,) he reformed all those mistakes, and mended that easiness of his understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose ingenuity and probity he would willingly have deposited all his concerns of this world, behave themselves with that signal uningenuity and improbity that must pull up all confidence by the roots; men of the most unsuspected integrity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous opinions, which they did not comprehend, and which conduced to dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most

bloody and inhuman rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs; and reputation of honesty, a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. The court [was] as full of murmuring, ingratitude, and treachery, [and] as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful master in the world, as the country and the city. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth.

These unavoidable reflections first made him discern how weak and foolish all his former imaginations had been, and how blind a surveyor he had been of the inclinations and affections of the heart of man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the dependence must be upon any thing in this world, where whatsoever is good and desirable suddenly perisheth, and nothing is lasting but the folly and wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. In this first vacation, he had leisure to read many learned and pious books; and here he began to compose his Meditations upon the Psalms, by applying those devotions to the present afflictions and calamities of his king and country. He began now by the especial encouragement of the king, who was then a prisoner in the army, to write *The History of the late Rebellion and Civil Wars*, and finished the four first books thereof; and made an entry upon some exercises of devotion, which he lived to enlarge afterwards.

When he had enjoyed, in that pleasant island of Jersey, full two years, in as great serenity of mind as the separation from country, wife, and children, can be imagined to admit, he received a command from the queen, then at St. Germain's, and an express order from the king, upon which the other had been sent, his majesty being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that he should forthwith attend the person of the prince of Wales, who, upon the revolt of the ships under the command of the parliament in the Downs, and their profession of obedience to the king, was advised to make all possible haste to them; and the chancellor was required to wait upon his highness at Roan upon a day assigned, which was past before the orders came to him.

And [then] without any delay he used all possible diligence to find the prince; who with greater expedition, without coming to Roan, passed to Calais, and from thence to Holland to possess the ships which he found there, and possessed with all that alacrity (which is always very loud) that seamen can express; and by the assistance of the prince of Orange got more victual quickly on board, that he might be in the Downs with the fleet to second some attempt which was already on foot in Kent, and others expected in several parts of the kingdom. And the chancellor having in his way called upon the lord Cottington at Roan, and together with him, and some other

persons of honour and quality, made what haste they could to Dieppe, that they might there embark for any place where they should hear the prince to be; and there they were informed, that his highness was at the Brill in Holland. And thereupon they put themselves on board a French man of war, and upon the sea were taken prisoners by Ostenders, who, upon the advantage of being in the ship of an enemy, concluded them to be lawful prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the circumstances of barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of money and jewels of great value, and stripped most of their servants to their shirts, they carried them in great triumph to Ostend; where though their persons were used with civility and respect, and presently set at liberty, yet they were compelled to stay there many days, in hope to obtain the jewels and money of which they had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done, (those privateers being subject to no discipline, nor regarding the orders of the admiralty, or any other governor,) to make such provision as was necessary for a further voyage. And at last they got from Ostend to Flushing, having found means to inform the prince of their misadventures, and of their readiness at Flushing to receive and obey his commands.

The fleet was then in the Downs in so good a posture, by the access of other ships and vessels to it, and by some notable commotions on land, that the prospect was fair and hopeful. And the prince received the advertisement no sooner, than he was pleased to send a frigate to Flushing for those who had been so long expected. But the winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest season of the year, that after several attempts at sea, they were so often driven back again into the harbour, sometimes by very dangerous storms, that in the end they received new directions to attend the prince at the Hague, the fleet being at the same time under sail for that coast.

The earl of Lautherdale was at that time come to the fleet as commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland, to inform the prince, that duke Hamilton with a powerful army was already marched into England; and thereupon to invite his highness to make what haste he could, to put himself in the head of that army, according to a promise the king had made in some private treaty with the Scots; and which the queen had sent very positive commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the reason, not without other more reasonable motives, so suddenly to quit the Downs, that he might get more victual for the fleet, and therewith sail to the north, and disembark in such a place as should be nearest to the Scots army, with which he doubted not to find a very considerable conjunction of the English; since he knew that sir Marmaduke Langdale had possessed himself with a body of English officers and gentlemen, of Berwick, and sir Philip Musgrave had done the same with the like assistance, at Carlisle, before the Scots began their march.

The lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague the next day after the prince's arrival, and were very graciously received by his highness, and with a wonderful kindness by all the court, and all the gentlemen who had attended upon him; not so much out of affection to them, as out of detestation of one another, who had kept company for the space of two months last past.

The prince had found the common seamen full of such a keen devotion for his service upon the true principles of the cause, and for the redemption of the king his father out of prison, and so full of indignation against those who had formerly misled them into rebellion, especially the presbyterians; that as they had before the declaration set all those officers on shore by force, who were appointed by the parliament to command them, so now they thought the new ones, which they had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute enough for their purposes. The truth is; there had been much unskilful tampering amongst them by emissaries from Paris, and other attempts. And the duke of York, having made his escape very little time before, and being then at the Hague when the fleet came to Helvoetsluys, upon the first notice lost no time in making haste to them. It was generally known, that the king his father had long designed to make him high admiral of England; and the commission which had been formerly granted to the earl of Northumberland they all knew to be repealed and cancelled: so that he no sooner came to the fleet, but he was received with the usual acclamations of joy as their admiral, and he as cheerfully assumed the command. And his small family presently began to propagate their several factions and animosities, with which they abounded, to make such parties amongst the seamen as might advance their several pretences. And in this posture the prince found the fleet when he came to it, and resolved to take the command immediately into his own hand, and that the duke should remain at the Hague with his sister, till that expedition were over; and so he made haste with the fleet into the Downs, hoping that some present occasion would be the best expedient to extinguish that fire, and compose those distempers, which he discerned already to be kindled amongst the seamen.

The advice and instruction which were brought from Paris were grounded upon the treaty with Scotland, the marching of that army, and the expectation of some notable attempt by the presbyterian party in London; in order to which, all address was to be made to that city, and a declaration to be published to gratify that party. This secret was intrusted only to one of the council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this temper was quickly discovered when they came into the Downs, by the great [care] that was taken to give no offence or interruption to the trade of the city, which all men believed would be the best means to reduce it. Ships of return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their voyage: all which was passionately opposed by prince Rupert and all the rest of the council. And this contradiction was quickly known to the lords of the bedchamber, and others, who had no reverence for that council, and were now the more inflamed upon this division of opinion. And the seamen likewise coming to take notice of it, cried out, "the prince was betrayed;" and grew into such rage and fury, that they declared, "that they would throw those overboard who gave the prince such evil counsel." Two or three unprosperous attempts at land, and then the lord

Lautherdale's coming thither, and the order there-upon for the fleet to sail presently for Holland for the reasons aforesaid, kindled all those sparkles into a bright flame of dissension, so universal, that there were very few who spake with any civility of one another, or without the highest animosity that can be imagined.

This was the distracted condition of affairs when the lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague; the council divided between themselves, and more offended with the court for presumption in making themselves of the council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private whispering to the prince in reproach of them, and their public murmurings against their persons for the counsel they gave, every man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill humour increased by such an universal poverty, that very few knew where to find a subsistence for three months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The clamour from the fleet was so high for new victual and for money, that there was apprehension just enough, that they would provide for themselves by returning to their old station; to which they had both opportunity and invitation, by the parliament's having set out another fleet superior in power to them, that were already at anchor in their view, under the command of the earl of Warwick, to block them up in that inconvenient harbour. The sudden news of the total defeat of the Scots army, and shortly after the loss of Colchester, and taking the persons of so many gallant gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold blood; the daily warm contests in council upon the insolent behaviour and the unreasonable demands of the lord Lautherdale, who as peremptorily insisted upon the prince's going immediately with the fleet into Scotland, as he had done before the total defeat of duke Hamilton, and without expecting to hear what alteration that fatal change had produced in that kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in truth had at that time really fallen out: these and many other ill presages made the chancellor quickly find, that in his two years' repose in Jersey he had not fortified himself enough against future assaults, nor laid in ballast to be prepared to ride out the storms and tempests that he was like to be engaged in.

The preservation of the fleet was a consideration that would bear no delay; and was in a short time, though with infinite difficulties and contests full of animosity, resolved to be by committing the charge of it to prince Rupert, who was to carry it into Ireland, where were many good ports in his majesty's obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid murder of the king, and the formed dissolution of the monarchy there, and erecting and establishing the government in that kingdom with a seeming general consent, at least without any visible appearance or possibility of contradiction or opposition; the faint proclamation of the present king in Scotland, under the same conditions which they would have imposed, and with all the circumstances with which they had prosecuted the rebellion against his father; the resolution what was fit for the young king to undertake in his own person, and the dismal prospect, how all the neighbour princes were solicitous not to pay him any such civilities, as might

encourage him to expect any thing from them; were all arguments of perplexity and consternation to all men, who had been moderately versed in the transaction of affairs; and were too many things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the chancellor used to say, "that all the business he had been conversant in, from the beginning to his coming to the Hague, had not administered half the difficulties and disconsolation, had not half so much disturbed and distracted his understanding, and broken his mind, as the next six months from that time had done." Nor could he see any light before him to present a way to the king, by entering into which he might hopefully avoid the greatest misery that ever prince had been exposed to. His own particular condition (under so general a mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself by a resolution, with God's blessing, to do his duty without hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the disposition of Providence.

When the fleet was committed to the government of prince Rupert to embark for Ireland, it was enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that Ireland was probably like to be the place whither it might be the most counsellable for the prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many respects to publish such an imagination; so it was not possible to keep the fleet where it then was, or in any port of the dominions of Holland, where the States were already perplexed what answer they should return if the new commonwealth should demand the ships, or whether they were not obliged to deliver them: and therefore no time was to be lost. Nor was the voyage itself like to be secure, but by the benefit of the winter season, and the unquiet seas they were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a voyage for the person of the prince, who must find a shorter passage thither, when it should be necessary.

When that inhuman impiety was acted at London, and the young king had in some degree recovered his spirits from the sudden astonishment, and had received the vile proclamation and propositions from Scotland, his majesty with those few who were of nearest trust concluded, "that it would be shortly of necessity to transport himself into Ireland;" which was to be the highest secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in England and in Scotland. "That he should incognito, or with a light train, pass through France to Nantz, or some other port of Bretagne, where two or three ships of war, which he could not doubt of obtaining by the favour of his brother the prince of Orange, might attend him; and from thence he might with least hazard embark for the nearest coast of Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond might meet him."

This being concluded in that manner, the lord Cottington went in a morning to the king before he was dressed; and desired, "that when he was ready, he would give him a private audience in his closet." He there told him, "that his majesty had taken the most prudent resolution that his condition would admit, for Ireland; where there remained yet some foundation for hope. That for himself he was so old and in-

"firm," (for to his seventy-five years, which was then his age, he had frequent and painful visitations of the gout and the stone,) "that his majesty could not expect his personal attendance in so many journeys by land as he must be exposed to: yet having served the crown throughout the reign of his grandfather and his father, he was very desirous to finish his life in his majesty's service."

"That he had reflected upon the woful condition his affairs were in, not more by the power of his rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neighbour princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themselves in his quarrel; so that the utmost he could hope from them was, that in some secret manner they might contribute such a supply and relief to him, as might give him a subsistence, till some new accidents and alterations at home or abroad might produce a more seasonable conjuncture. That even in that particular, he doubted the magnanimity or generosity of princes would not be very conspicuous: however it being all his present dependance, he must try all the ways he could to provoke them to that disposition."

"That he knew the crown of Spain was so low at that time, that whatever their inclinations might be, they could neither supply him with ships or men or money towards the raising or supporting of an army: yet that he knew too, that there is such a proportion of honour, and of a generous compassion and bounty, that is inseparable from that crown, and even runs through that people, which other nations are not inspired with. And he was confident, that if his majesty sent an ambassador thither, how necessitous soever that court might be, it would never refuse to make such an assignment of money to him as might, well husbanded, provide a decent support for him in Ireland; where likewise the king of Spain had power to do his majesty more offices than any other prince could do, or he any where else, by the universal influence he had upon the Irish nation. And general Owen O'Neile, who was the only man that then obstructed the union of that people in a submission to the king, had been bred up in the court of Spain, and had spent all his time in the service of that crown, and had still his sole dependance upon it; and therefore it was to be presumed, that he might be induced by direction from Madrid, to conform himself to a conjunction with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there." He said, "that his majesty knew well that he had spent a great part of his life in that court, in the service of his grandfather and father; and he would be willing to end his days there, if it were thought of use to his affairs."

The discourse was too reasonable not to make impression upon the king; which discovering in his countenance, the other desired him, "that he would think that day upon all that he had said, without communicating it to any body, till the next morning, when he would again wait on him, to know his opinion upon the whole; for if his majesty should approve of what he proposed, he had another particular to offer, before the matter should be publicly debated." When he came the next morning, and found the king

much pleased with what he had before discoursed, and asked what the other particular was that he intended to offer; the lord Cottington told him, "that he was very glad his majesty was so well pleased with what he had proposed, which he confessed the more he had revolved himself, the more hopeful the success appeared to him; which made him the more solicitous, that through any inadvertency such a design might not miscarry."

He put him then in mind again "of his great age, how unlike it was that he should be able to hold out such a journey, or, if he did, the fatigue thereof would probably cast him into a fit of the gout or the stone, or both, which if he should outlive, he should be long detained from the prosecution of his business, which the less vigorously pursued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore proposed, "that he might have a companion with him, of more youth and a stronger constitution, who would receive some benefit by the information and advice he should be able to give him, the advantage whereof would redound for the present, and might more in the future, to the king's service;" and in fine proposed, "that the chancellor of the exchequer might be joined in the commission with him, and accompany him into Spain, from whence if they made haste in their journey, they might make such a progress in that court, that he might be able to attend his majesty in Ireland in a very short time after his arrival there; whilst himself remained still at Madrid, to prosecute all further opportunities to advance his service."

The king was surprised with the overture; and asked "whether the chancellor would be willing to undertake the employment, and whether he had spoken with him of it." To which the other presently replied, "that he knew not, nor had ever spoke to him of it, nor would do, till his majesty, if he liked it, should first prepare him; for he knew well he would at first be startled at it, and it may be might take it unkindly. That he knew well how much of the weight or his business lay upon the chancellor's shoulders, and in that respect that many others would not be willing he should be absent: yet that there was a long vacation in view, and there could be little to be done till the king should come into Ireland; and by that time he might be with him again, with such a return from Spain as might be welcome and convenient to him. And therefore if his majesty would first break the matter to him, he would then take the work upon him; and he believed he should give him such reasons, since he could not suspect his friendship," (which was very notorious, and they lived then together,) "as would dispose him to the journey."

When the king spake to him of it, as a thing that had resulted from his own thoughts; "that he had more hope to obtain some supply from Spain, than from any other place; that no man could be so fit to solicit it as the lord Cottington, and nobody so fit to accompany him as he, who might be with him in Ireland in a short time;" he said, "he had spoken with lord Cottington to undertake the employment, to which he was not averse; but he had expressly refused to undertake it alone, and he knew that

“no companion would be so acceptable to him as he would be.”

The chancellor did not at first dissemble the apprehension, that this device had been contrived at Paris, where he knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wished to be about the king, or to have so much credit with him as they were both thought to have: but the king quickly expelled that jealousy. And he desired a short time to consider of it; and received such reasons (besides kindness in the invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he did not submit only to the king's pleasure, but very willingly undertook the employment: and, though it was afterwards delayed by the importunity of many, and the queen's own advice, who thought the chancellor's attendance about the person of the king her son to be more useful to his service, than it was like to be in the other climate, the king was firm to his purpose; and despatched them shortly after his coming into France, when he resolved and prepared for his own expedition into Ireland, in order to which there were then some Dutch ships of war that waited for him at St. Malo's.

This was the occasion and ground of his second retreat and recess from a very uneasy condition, of which he was not more weary in respect of the difficulty and melancholy of the business, from which he could not entirely disentangle himself by absence, than in respect of the company he was to keep in the conducting it, who had humours and inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most part to his judgment. And he did still acknowledge, that he did receive much refreshment and benefit by that negotiation. For though the employment proved ineffectual to the purposes for which it was intended, by the king's finding it necessary to divert his intended journey for Ireland, into that of Scotland; yet he had vacancy to recollect and compose his broken thoughts; and mended his understanding, in the observation and experience of another kind of negotiation than he had formerly been acquainted with, under the assistance, advice, and friendship of the most able person, and the best acquainted with foreign negotiations and the general interests of the several kings and states in Christendom, of any statesman then alive in Europe, and who delighted in giving him all the information he could. He was conversant in a court of another nature and humour, of another kind of grandeur and gravity, of another constitution and policy; and where ambassadors are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more conversation and a better intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other court in the world.

The less of business he had, he was the more vacant to study the language and the manners and the government of that nation. He made a collection of and read many of the best books which are extant in that language, especially in the histories of their civil and ecclesiastical state. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by Illescas in two volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other volumes, he begun there first his Animadversions upon the Superiority and Supremacy of the Pope, which he afterwards continued to a perfect work. Here he resumed the continuation of his Devotions on the Psalms, and other discourses of piety and devo-

tion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leisure. Though he underwent in this employment many mortifications of several kinds, yet he still acknowledged that he learned much during the time of his being in Spain, from whence he returned a little before the battle of Worcester; and after the king's miraculous escape into France, he quickly waited upon his majesty, and was never separated from his person, till sixteen or seventeen years after by his banishment.

This he called his third and most blessed recess, in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his mercies towards him. And though he entered into it with many very disconsolate circumstances; yet in a short time, upon the recovery of a better state of health, and being remitted into a posture of ease and quietness, and secure from the power of his enemies, he recovered likewise a marvellous tranquillity and serenity of mind, by making a strict review and recollection into all the actions, all the faults and follies, committed by himself and others in his last continued fatigue of seventeen or eighteen years; in which he had received very many signal instances of God's favour, and in which he had so behaved himself, that he had the good opinion and friendship of those of the best fame, reputation, and interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the king and kingdom.

In all this retirement he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exertations of his own, as appears by the papers and notes which he left. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, the History of the late Civil Wars and Transactions to the Time of the King's Return in the Year 1660; of which he gave the king advertisement. He finished his Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David, which he dedicated to his children; which was ended at Montpellier before the death of the duchess. He wrote and finished his Answer to Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, to which he prefixed an epistle dedicatory to the king, if his majesty would permit it. He wrote a good volume of Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political, to which he was always adding. He prepared a Discourse Historical of the Pretence and Practice of the successive Popes from the Beginning of that Jurisdiction they assume; in which he thought he had fully vindicated the power and authority of kings from that odious usurpation. He entered upon the forming a method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been. He left so many papers of several kinds, and cut out so many pieces of work, that a man may conclude, that he never intended to be idle.

In a word, he did not only by all possible administrations subdue his affections and passions, to make his mind conformable to his present fortune; but did all he could to lay in a stock of patience and provision, that might support him in any future exigent or calamity that might befall him: yet with a cheerful expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful combination which then oppressed him.

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ceived the duke of York and his counsellors, 758. her pecuniary difficulties, 772, 778. lord Jermyn appointed by the king one of his new council, to please her, 776. earnestly presses for sir John Berkley to be made one also, *ib.* not granted, *ib.* why countenanced the king's attending the Hugonot church, 779. how her prejudice against the chancellor of the exchequer was increased, *ib.* 780. his intended behaviour towards her, 781. supposed to have countenanced the scheme of marrying the duke of York to mademoiselle de Longueville, 783. consults the chancellor about it, *ib.* instances of her displeasure against him, 805, 806. though hitherto averse from sir Edward Herbert, she now recommends him to the king as lord keeper, who appoints him, 807. solicits that Mr. Long, one of her creatures, might be restored to the secretaryship of state, *ib.* 808. is refused, *ib.* prevails with the king to send her son, the duke of Gloucester to her at Paris, 812. and to leave him with her, 813. at the king's desire the chancellor had an audience with her, *ib.* countenances the endeavours to pervert the duke of Gloucester in his religion, 820. is obliged to let him go to the king, who had sent for him in consequence, *ib.* at cardinal Mazarine's request sent lord Jermyn to invite the king into France, when his restoration was probable, 907. had lately persuaded the king to make lord Jermyn earl of St. Alban's, *ib.*

Henrietta, princess, daughter of Charles I, 778, 847. born at Exeter, 490, 620. privately conveyed by her governess, the countess of Morton, into France, *ib.* 811. married the duke of Orleans, 490.

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the house of commons, of high treason, by the king's command, 143. a committee appointed by the house of commons to prepare a charge against him for having accused their five members, 153. the commons examine him, 154. his answer, *ib.* they vote a charge against him, *ib.* impeached by them, 174. the king's letter in his favour prejudicial to him, 194. differences between the lords and commons respecting council being allowed him, *ib.* his defence, *ib.* decision of the lords in his favour, *ib.* altered to please the commons, *ib.* had more influence than any person over prince Rupert, 655, 807. farther notice of him, *ib.* concerned in the divisions among the prince of Wales's court, 659. causes the prince to undervalue lord Hopton, 660. cultivates prince Rupert's prejudice against lord Colepepper, 671. an instance of it, *ib.* he and sir George Ratcliff have great interest with the duke of York, 756. concerned in the factions in the duke's family, 758, 776. what led lord Jermyn to court him, both being hitherto enemies to each other, 807. his declaration respecting lord Jermyn, *ib.* made lord keeper at the queen's solicitation, *ib.* how qualified for the post, *ib.* why he and Jermyn advised Mr. Long to petition to be restored to the secretaryship, *ib.* his opinion as to the chancellor of the exchequer's having conversed with Cromwell, 808. accuses the chancellor of having spoken ill of the king, 809. produces lord Gerrard to prove it, *ib.* ill satisfied with the result, *ib.* partly instrumental in making prince Rupert leave Charles II. and go into Germany, 812. resigns the great seal to the king, 813. and never afterwards saw him, *ib.*

Herbert of Ragland, Edward Somerset, lord, afterwards earl of Glamorgan, and subsequently second marquis of Worcester, 351, 352, 401. made general of South Wales, 351. observations on this appointment, *ib.* a subject of complaint by parliament, 337. who request he may be removed from court, 338. raises a little army, 351. is surprised by sir William Waller, and routed, 352. persuaded to decline the command of Wales, 417.

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Hereford and Tewkesbury taken by sir William Waller: both which he presently left, 352. Hereford taken again by sir William Waller, 382.

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viscount, one of the committee sent by the parliament to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, 908.

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Hertford, William Seymour, earl of, afterwards marquis of, and duke of Somerset, 97, 121, 340, 350, 395, 399, 400, 401, 404, 412, 413, 424, 437, 527, 626, 666, 810. sworn one of the new privy-counsellors, 78. made a marquis, 97. made governor to the prince of Wales, 170. ordered by parliament not to suffer him to go out of the country, 154. his character, 170, 369, 414, 415. and previous conduct, 170. concurred not in the proceedings against the earl of Strafford, although he had no affection for him, *ib.* his reason for accepting the office of governor, 171. carried the prince to the king at Greenwich by his command, though prohibited by parliament, 175. one of those who signed the declaration that the king had no intentions of war, 262. appointed by the king his lieutenant-general of all the western parts, 273. sent thither, 287. his actions in Somersetshire, 290. retires to Sherborne, 291. the earl of Bedford comes against him, *ib.* his challenge to fight not accepted by the earl, 296. his proceedings in the west, *ib.* thence transports himself into Glamorganshire, *ib.* he and prince Maurice, as his lieutenant-general, with their forces, join the Cornish army at Chard, 399. whither they had been sent by the king, *ib.* takes Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, 400. some jealousy between him and prince Maurice, 401. he and the prince prepare their march for Oxford, *ib.* followed by sir W. Waller, *ib.* 402, 403. beat sir W. Waller in the battle of Lansdown, 403. they come to Oxford, 405. return to Bath, 407. jealousies between him and prince Rupert, 412. sir Ralph Hopton firmly devoted to him, 413. why removed from the army to attend the king, 414. against his inclination, *ib.* observations on this change, 415. difference between him and prince Maurice relative to appointing sir A. A. Cooper governor of Weymouth, 42. the king with difficulty persuaded by the chancellor of the exchequer to gratify the marquis, 426. returns to the king at Oxford, *ib.* 435. one of the king's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 520. attended Charles I.'s funeral, 698. the garter conferred on him by Charles II. on his restoration, 910. dies shortly after, *ib.*

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Hesse, landgrave of, contributed not to the subsidy granted by the diet

in Germany to Charles II. though under obligations to James I. and Charles I, 816.

Hesse Darmstadt, Elizabeth Amelia, daughter of George II. landgrave of, married the duke of Newburgh, 819.

Hewet, (Huet,) Dr., tried before a high court of justice for sending money to Charles II, 850. refused to plead, *ib.* condemned, 851. executed, 852. notice of him, *ib.* lord Falconbridge and his wife, a daughter of Cromwell, interceded for him in vain, *ib.*

Hewson, colonel, suppresses a rising of the city apprentices, 884.

Heydon, sir John, lieutenant of the ordnance to Charles I, 289, 305.

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High court of justice, constituted by the commons for trial of Charles I, 692. Bradshaw its president, *ib.* lawyers and other officers appointed, *ib.* proceedings, 695. disturbance in the court by lady Fairfax, 696. a new high court of justice sits, 700. duke Hamilton, earls of Holland and Norwich, lord Capel, and sir J. Owen, tried and condemned, 700, 701. a high court of justice erected to try persons holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, 798. Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel tried, *ib.*

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Hinchman, Dr., prebendary of Salisbury, meets Charles II. in his flight after the battle of Worcester, on Salisbury plains, and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's house, 771.

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Hispaniola, the English fleet under Pen, and the troops under Venables, unsuccessful in an attempt upon, 833.

Hochstraten, village, notice of, 860.

Hochstraten, count of, owner of the village of that name, 860. one of greatest nobles in the duchy of Brabant, *ib.*

Holland, the privilege allowed to the English ambassador of voting in the States General discontinued, 27. how long permitted, *ib.* Holland entered into a close correspondence with the Scotch covenanters, 51. the States hostile to Charles I. and favourable to the parliament, 269. substance of the declaration of the parliament to the States General, 325. the prince of Wales desires the States to intercede with parliament for his father, 691. their answer, *ib.* they send an ambassador, *ib.* who was not admitted to an audience till after his death, *ib.* the States condole with Charles II. on his father's murder, 704. circumstances that made Charles II.'s departure from Holland necessary, 711. he delivers a

memorial to the States, 712, 713. the States unwilling that he should return to the Hague, 738. or that the duke of York should remain there, 758. invited by the English parliament to a strict union, 784. without effect, *ib.* thereupon the act of navigation passed against them, *ib.* their ships ordered in consequence not to strike to the English, 785. a war begun on this account, *ib.* the message of the States to parliament, *ib.* their answer, 786. Blake takes their fishing busses, and their guard ships, *ib.* sir G. Ayscue takes or sinks thirty sail of their merchants, *ib.* and fights their fleet near Plymouth, *ib.* Charles II. proposes that he should join his interest with theirs, *ib.* they thank him, but decline his proposal, 787. their fleet beaten by Blake, *ib.* they send again to the parliament for peace, *ib.* Cromwell never zealous for this war, but governed in it by Saint-John, *ib.* their fleet beaten again, 1653, 796. they send four commissioners to treat of peace with the protector, *ib.* how received, *ib.* their fleet again beaten, and their admiral, Van Trump, slain, 797. Cromwell makes peace with them, *ib.* the States General congratulate the king's coming to Breda; and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague, 908. his reception and entertainment there, *ib.* the fisheries on the coasts of Scotland and the isles of Orkney, a source of great trade to Holland, 786.

Holland, Henry Rich, first earl of, 64, 111, 114, 119, 170, 278, 282, 422, 437, 665, 738. his family, 25. served in the war in Holland, *ib.* became very acceptable to the duke of Buckingham, 26. whom he courted implicitly, *ib.* but his friendship was more entire to the earl of Carlisle, *ib.* had a fortune by his wife, Isabel Cope, *ib.* placed about the prince of Wales through the duke's interest, *ib.* made earl of Holland, *ib.* his other honours, *ib.* had the queen's good opinion, *ib.* and was consequently an enemy to the earl of Portland, *ib.* made general of the horse against the Scotch covenanters, 46. his retreat from Dunce, 48. how he received the covenanters' letter to him, *ib.* neither loved the marquis of Hamilton, Wentworth, nor archbishop Laud, 49. nor almost any thing then done in church or state, *ib.* challenged by the earl of Newcastle to fight, in consequence of an occurrence in the Scotch expedition, but declines, 50. not employed in the second Scotch expedition, 57. irreconcilable to the earl of Strafford, *ib.* and why, 60. one of the commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 63. courted by the Scotch commis-

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- Hollis, Denzil, 166, 262. his family, character, and conduct, 75. a plan of making him secretary of state, 72, 85, 101. not hostile to the church, 94. what advantage might have arisen from his being gained over, 129. one of the five members of the commons accused of high treason by the king's order, 143. further particulars relative to the charge, 143, 144, 148, 150, 152, 153, 156, 158, 167, 174, 178, 179, 185, 187, 193, 195, 221, 225, 241, 256, 282. sent down by parliament into the west with the earl of Bedford, 291. lieutenant of Bristol, 290. one of the parliament's commissioners to treat at Uxbridge, 520. his feeling with respect to the presbyterian and independent parties, 529. opposed the self-denying ordinance, 532. one of the leading members in the commons, 616. his insult to Ireton, *ib.* one of the eleven members impeached by the army, *ib.* Monk consults him and other leaders of the presbyterian party respecting Charles II.'s restoration, 894. one of the committee sent by parliament to wait upon the king at the Hague, 908.
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- Hopton-heath, the earl of Northampton slain there, having first vanquished the parliament's horse, 349.
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- Hotham, the son, 126. sent with his father by the parliament to Hull, 156. who had more confidence in him than in his father, 206, 283. and used him as a spy over him, *ib.* what his father said against him, 284. cabals against his father, 285. infested Yorkshire, 344, 345. was against allowing a neutrality in that county, *ib.* executed with his father, chiefly for holding a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, 539.
- Howard of Escrick, Edward, lord, one of the king's commissioners to treat with the Scots at Rippon, 63. coincided with others in the prosecution of archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford, 74. one of the committee sent by parliament to be a check upon Charles I. in Scotland, 112, 119. one of those sent with the parliament's answer to the king's message concerning Hull, 206. one of the few lords who attended parliament, 467.

- Howard, colonel Thomas, 400, 402.
- Howard, William, signed the anabaptists' address to Charles II, 855.
- Hudleston, — sent to Charles II. in his flight from Worcester, by Careless, and brings him to lord Wilmot, 767. and to Mrs. Lane's house, 768.
- Hudson, — acted as guide to Charles I. through the by-ways from Oxford, when he put himself into the Scotch quarters before Newark, 601.
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- Hugonots in France, declared enemies to Charles I, 327.
- Hull, sir J. Hotham appointed governor of, by parliament, 154. differences between the king and parliament respecting this appointment, 156, 196, 197, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 211, 214, 215, 231, 232, 234, 235, 244, 251, 264, 268, 273, 275, 277, 281, 283. order of parliament concerning Hull, 182. their petition to the king to remove the magazine from thence, 195. his answer, 196. the magazine removed notwithstanding, 197. particulars of sir J. Hotham's refusing the king admittance into Hull, 203. his conduct approved of by parliament, 204, 206.
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- Huntingdon, Henry Hastings, fifth earl of, 348.
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- Huntington, major, 623. one of the best officers the parliament had, *ib.* on whom Cromwell relied more than any one, *ib.* made tender of his services to Charles II, 892.
- Hurry, (see Urry.)
- Hutton, sir Richard, judge, notice of, 578.
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Colepepper's advice, *ib.* lord Digby had been instrumental in promoting these three to the king's favour, 138. and had a great esteem for them himself, *ib.* the three discouraged, by the king prosecuting lord Kimbolton and five members of the commons without consulting them, 145. advised not to approve of the king's prosecution, *ib.* his speech notwithstanding, 146. one of those most trusted in the commons, by the king, 228. had a great friendship with lord Falkland, *ib.* and a great respect for lord Littleton, *ib.* his conversation with him respecting the king's being dissatisfied with his conduct, *ib.* 229. one of those excepted by parliament from making peace with them on any terms, 300. made chancellor of the exchequer, (under which title he is hereafter mentioned,) 369, 520. and the earl of Southampton, 370. why entertained great kindness for the earl of Pembroke, 373. supposed to know as much as most men about the design of Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, 389. seldom spoke without some earnestness, 421. advises that the lords who came over to the king from parliament should be well received, 422. why very civil to the earl of Holland, 423. with difficulty persuades the king to make sir A. 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leaves him in displeasure, *ib.* sends secretary Morrice to demand the great seal of the chancellor, 1236. in his speech at the meeting of parliament he reflects on the chancellor, 1237. is offended, because a motion for thanks to him for removing the chancellor was opposed in the commons, 1238. declares his belief in the chancellor's innocence, 1240. which he afterwards disowns, *ib.* is prevailed upon to encourage the prosecution of the chancellor, 1241. expresses a wish that he would withdraw, 1244. sends to him to that effect by the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*

Chatham, attempt made upon it by the Dutch, 1225.

Chillingworth, Mr. William, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. wrote his excellent book against Mr. Nott the Jesuit at sir Lucius Carey's house, 926. spent all his younger time in disputation, 930. becomes a sceptic in the greatest mysteries of faith, *ib.* falls off to the church of Rome, *ib.* goes to St. Omer's to perfect his conversion by the conversation of the greatest men there, *ib.* finds no satisfaction, and returns with as much haste from them to the church of England, *ib.* thought all war to be unlawful, 930. shut up in Arundel-castle, *ib.* falls into the rebels' hands, *ib.* is cruelly treated by them, and dies shortly after in prison, *ib.* character, *ib.*

Cholmondley, sir Hugh, 949, 951.

Churchill, Mr., 1096.

Cirencester taken by the king's forces, 958.

Clarendon, earl of, (see E. Hyde.)

Claverton, near Bath, 915.

Clergy, a clamour raised against them by their tenants, 1047. the injustice of it, 1048.

Clifford, Mr., 1096.

Clotworthy, sir John, 1026. one of the commissioners from the state of Ireland, 1025. his animosity against the bishops, the cross, and the surplice, 1026.

Colepepper, sir John, 939, 941, 942, 944, 947, 953, 957, 973, 974. called to the privy-council, 938. is entrusted, together with lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, 939. his character, services, and principles, 940. friendship with Mr. Ashburnham, *ib.* advises the king to pass the bill against the bishops, 942. prevails by means of the queen, *ib.* watches the earls of Essex and Holland, 947. a design formed of sending him to the Tower, *ib.* it is defeated, *ib.* he goes to York, 952. made master of the rolls, 957. unwillingly resigns the chancellorship of the exchequer, *ib.* is made one of the junto, 966.

Colepepper, the lord, one of the

- king's council at the restoration, 992. character of him, 993. his great parts and present wit, *ib.* trusted by the late king to wait on the prince, *ib.* in good correspondence with the chancellor, *ib.*
- Comminge, monsieur, ambassador from the French, in England, 1139.
- Commissioners of appeals appointed, 1127. the injustice of their sentences, *ib.*
- Commissioners for inspecting the public accounts appointed, 1209.
- Committee of the lords for relaxing the penal laws against the Roman catholics, 1072. is discontinued, *ib.*
- Common Prayer, endeavours of the presbyterians to abolish it, 996.
- Commons, house of, (see Parliament.)
- Compton, sir William, master of the ordnance, 1074.
- Convocation summoned, 1047.
- Conway, the lord, 933. reprehends Dr. Langton for not giving proper respect to king James's letter, 916.
- Cooper, sir Anthony Ashley, sworn of the king's council, 995. made chancellor of the exchequer, 1006.
- Coote, sir Charles, 1025. made earl of Montrath, 1057.
- Coronation of Charles II, 1048. the ceremony and expense attending it, *ib.* two unlucky accidents which attended it, *ib.*
- Cosins, Dr., forbid by the queen to officiate to the protestants in her suite at Paris, 984.
- Cottington, the lord, chancellor of the exchequer, 920. made one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, *ib.* made one of the junto, 966. remains at Dieppe with the chancellor, 976. proceeds with him to join the prince, but was prevented arriving at the Hague, 979.
- Cotton, Charles, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, *ib.*
- Coventry, 948.
- Coventry, lord keeper, 928. one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, 920.
- Coventry, Harry, 1096. sent ambassador to Sweden, 1123. success of his embassies there, 1146.
- Coventry, Mr. William, his character, 1094. great influence with the king, 1095. his intrigues against the chancellor, 1096. admitted of the privy-council and the private council at the request of the duke of York, 1158. where he constantly opposes the chancellor and the treasurer, *ib.* casts unjust reflection on lord Sandwich, 1159. joins with lord Arlington against the treasurer, 1165. his malice against the chancellor, *ib.* appointed a plenipotentiary to treat for a peace, 1220. incenses the house of commons against the chancellor, 1229.
- Country, great discontents expressed in the country upon the great taxes, &c. 1099. danger of an insurrection, *ib.*
- Court, the, great license in it, 1179.
- Cowley, the poet, his character, 923.
- Coyet, a Swedish senator, sent ambassador into England, 1212. his character, *ib.*
- Crane, Mr., an apothecary at Cambridge, 917. bred up under Dr. Butler, *ib.*
- Crawford, Lindsey, earl of, some account of him, 1022.
- Crofts, Mr., a natural son of Charles II. brought into England by the queen mother, 1107. he is contracted to the countess of Buccleugh, *ib.* is publicly owned by the king, and created duke of Monmouth, 1108.
- Crofts, the lord, 1107.
- Cromwell, Oliver, the first cause of his enmity to Mr. Hyde, 936. publishes a declaration justifying his order for decimating the king's party, 991.
- D.
- D'Aumont, marshal, 1250.
- D'Elbœuf, duke, *ib.*
- Denmark very jealous of Sweden, 1146. connives at the attack upon the Dutch at Bergen, 1147. joins the Dutch, 1173.
- Derbyshire, 948.
- De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, returns from Guinea, and thus increases the strength of the Dutch fleet, 1145.
- Descartes, 988.
- De Wit, the pensionary of Holland, persuades the Dutch to prepare another fleet, 1145. his malice against Van Trump, 1145. pretends to desire a peace, 1176. allows Mr. Bewett to enter into a correspondence with the English court, *ib.* a breach between him and Bewett, 1177. detects Bewett's secret correspondence, 1178.
- Dieppe, 976.
- Digby, sir Kenelm, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, 924.
- Digby, lord, 939, 974. his friendship with Mr. Hyde, 938. reads Mr. Hyde's answer to the parliament's remonstrance, *ib.* reports it to the king, *ib.* made secretary of state, 966. his discourse with the chancellor concerning the prince's going to France, 969.
- Dinton, in the county of Wilts, the birthplace of lord Clarendon, 915. improper rectory of, *ib.*
- Dissenters, (see Presbyterians.)
- Disunion of the king's friends, 997. a review of the causes of this disunion previous to the restoration, 998.
- Ditchley, 948.
- Dorchester, the marquis of, a scuffle between him and the duke of Buckingham, 1202. is sent to the Tower, *ib.*
- Dorset, earl of, 933, 957.
- Dort, synod of, 929.
- Dover, 942, 943.
- Downing, sir George, the king's resident in Holland; his character, 1116. endeavours to bring about a war, 1117. a short account of him, 1165. very grateful to lord Arlington and sir William Coventry, *ib.* his project to new-model the treasury, *ib.* offers a proviso in the bill for a supply, 1167. which is passed, 1170. is sharply reprehended by the chancellor, *ib.*
- Drinking, many of the king's friends much addicted to it, 1002.
- Duck, Mr., pays down three thousand pound in part for the office of master of the rolls, 957. which is repaid to him, *ib.*
- Dunkirk, the sale of, with an account of the whole proceeding, 1105. et seq.
- Dunsmore, the lord, 957.
- Durnford near Salisbury, 915.
- Dutch, the; first rise of the war with them, 1102. the merchants desirous of it, 1103. the duke of York for it, *ib.* the king against it, *ib.* it is also opposed by the chancellor, 1104. the design for the present is dropped, *ib.* the merchants remonstrate to the king against the Dutch, 1116. insolent behaviour of the Dutch on the coast of Guinea, 1117. one of their forts on the coast of Africa seized by an English captain, *ib.* they prepare a strong fleet for Guinea, 1118. their treacherous behaviour, *ib.* upon which their ships are seized, 1119. they commence hostilities in Guinea, *ib.* refuse to redeliver, according to the treaty, the island of Poleroone, *ib.* still disclaim all thought or purpose of war, *ib.* and seem highly offended with their governor of Poleroone, *ib.* their fleet puts to sea under Opdam, 1140. the first general engagement, *ib.* advance with great courage and resolution, *ib.* many of their best ships burnt or taken, *ib.* the remainder of their fleet escapes by night, *ib.* their great loss, (eighteen ships,) *ib.* persuaded by De Wit to prepare another fleet, 1145. make a reformation in their navy, *ib.* Denmark joins them, 1173. the bishop of Munster compelled by the French to make peace with them, 1175. jealous of France, *ib.* their fleet puts to sea, 1182. the second general engagement, *ib.* which lasts four days, 1183. both sides claim the victory, *ib.* a third general engagement, in which the English are victorious, *ib.* their fleet puts to sea again, 1184. France and Holland jealous of each other, 1213. refuse to restore Poleroone according to overtures made through France, 1217. in the negotiations at Breda defer agreeing to a cessation, 1224. make an attempt upon Sheerness and Chatham, 1225. (see Holland.)

- E.
- Earles, Dr. John, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. frequently staying with sir Lucius Carey, 926. his character, 928.
- Earles, Mr., 928.
- Earl marshal's court; Mr. Hyde's speech against it, 934. succeeds in suppressing it, 935.
- East India company, counselled by the king in relation to Poleroone, 1219. give up their claim to Poleroone, 1228.
- East India prizes sold for the service of the war, 1161.
- Edge-hill, 954, 956.
- Elizabeth, queen, animosity of pope Sixtus V. to her, 916.
- Elliot, Mr., 950, 951.
- England in the enjoyment of the greatest measure of felicity that it had ever known, A. D. 1639, 934. the condition of it in respect to its neighbours in 1665, 1122.
- English, the, protected by cardinal Allen at Rome, 916. take a Dutch fort on the coast of Africa, 1117. prepare a strong fleet for the coast of Guinea, 1118. seize the Dutch ships, 1119. expedition used in getting ready a fleet, 1132. it puts to sea, *ib.* many noblemen go in it as volunteers, *ib.* it engages and beats the Dutch, 1140. persons slain on the side of the English, *ib.* reasons why the victory was no further improved, 1142. the fleet again prepared, 1143. which puts to sea under the command of the earl of Sandwich, 1144. ill success at Bergen, 1148. success after that attempt, 1158. preparations for setting out the fleet again, 1173. it puts to sea under the command of prince Rupert and the general, 1181. second general engagement, 1182. which lasts four days, 1183. both sides claim the victory, *ib.* third general engagement, *ib.* the English victorious, *ib.* make an attempt on the island of Schelling, 1184. burn the chief town, and a large fleet of merchantmen, *ib.* the English fleet dispersed by a storm, *ib.* a resolution taken to act on the defensive, 1186. great consternation throughout the kingdom in the attack of the Dutch upon Sheerness and Chatham, 1226.
- Escalona, duke of, 984.
- Essex, earl of, 931, 947, 949, 950, 965. surprises Mr. Hyde, in conference with the king, 944. his character, 945.
- Eureux, 1254.
- Europe, general state of, A. D. 1639, 934.
- Eustace, sir Morrice, lord chancellor of Ireland, 1057. appointed one of the lords justices of Ireland, *ib.*
- F.
- Fairfax, sir Thomas, son of lord Fairfax, 949, 950.
- Falkland, lord, 927, 928, 939, 941, 944, 947, 948, 953, 954, 955, 957, 963. deputy of Ireland, 925. called to the privy-council, 938. is intrusted, together with sir J. Colepepper and Mr. Hyde, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, 939. some account of his temper and principles, *ib.* a design formed of sending him to the Tower, 947. it is defeated, *ib.* goes to York, 952. prepares an answer to the nineteen propositions of parliament, 953. his wager with the king respecting Mr. Hyde's style, 954. solicits the king to make Mr. Hyde chancellor of the exchequer, 957. attends the king to Bristol, 963. is killed in the battle at Newbury, 966. his character, *ib.*
- Falmouth, earl of, (see sir Charles Berkley.)
- Fanatics, they defend the cause of the regicides, 1033. cause their last speeches to be published, *ib.* have a conference of assassinating the general, *ib.* an insurrection of them raised by Venner in London, *ib.* for which he is executed with his associates, *ib.*
- Fanshaw, sir Richard, an account of his embassy into Spain, 1162. from whence he is recalled, 1163.
- Felton, John, kills the duke of Buckingham, 917.
- Ferrers, lord viscount, attends the duke of York as a volunteer, 1132.
- Fiennes, Nathaniel, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, 937.
- Finch, the lord keeper, 936.
- Fleet prepared against the Dutch, 1132. again prepared, 1143.
- Flemming, a Swedish senator, sent ambassador into England, 1212. his character, *ib.*
- Florence, the ambassador of, at Madrid, his character, 983.
- Flushing, 977, 978, 979.
- Fonde, monsieur le, 1250, 1251, 1254, 1255.
- Fouquet, monsieur, superintendant of the finances in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 1043. makes some overtures to the chancellor concerning the treaty with Portugal, *ib.*
- France; war with England, 917. worries Spain, 934. infests Italy, *ib.*
- French, the, send ambassadors into England under pretence of mediation between the English and Dutch, 1139. prepare a fleet, 1173. negotiations of the French at this time, 1174. prevent the neighbouring states from assisting the bishop of Munster, *ib.* force him to make peace with the Dutch, 1175. their fleet narrowly escape in a storm, 1184. Holland and France jealous of each other, 1213. make overtures, 1215. make new overtures, 1218. invade Flanders, 1228. French ambassador urges the chancellor to retire to France, 1245.
- French ambassadors, the, neglect an opportunity of making peace, 1143. seem desirous of mediating a peace, 1146. a further negotiation with them, 1149. complain of the damage the subjects of France had sustained by the king's ships, and remonstrate warmly against the English, 1151. have a conference with the English ministers in consequence of their remonstrance, 1152. receive their final answer, and leave the kingdom, 1153.
- Frescheville, Mr., created lord Frescheville, 1133.
- Fuy, sir George, of Kyneton, 915. marries Susanna Hyde, *ib.*
- G.
- Gabell, chief minister of the king of Denmark, 1146.
- Garraway, Mr., 1197.
- Gassendas, 938.
- Germany, state of in 1639, 934.
- Gilasp, a seditious preacher in Scotland, is executed, 1110.
- Glencarne, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. his character and some account of him, *ib.* made chancellor of Scotland, 1022.
- Gloucester, 965.
- Glyn, Mr., 948.
- Godolphin, Sidney, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. his character, 927. death, *ib.*
- Goring, the lord, 973.
- Gourny, alderman, lord mayor of London, his character, 946.
- Grandison, William, viscount, 918, 943, 944. sent express by Mr. Hyde with a letter to the king at Theobald's, 945. surprised by the parliament forces, 958.
- Grana, the marquis of, the emperor's ambassador at Madrid, his character, 982.
- Gravesend, 943.
- Greenvil, sir Richard, 973.
- Greenwich, 943, 944.
- H.
- Hague, the, 929, 979.
- Hales, John, of Eton, an intimate friend of Edward Hyde, 925. Greek professor in the university of Oxford, and fellow of Merton college, 929. assisted sir H. Saville in his edition of St. Chrysostom's works, *ib.* present at the consultations of the synod at Dort, *ib.* would never take any cure of souls, *ib.* a great contemner of money, *ib.* interview with archbishop Laud, *ib.* his discourse on schism, *ib.* made prebend of Windsor, 930. his character, 929.
- Hambden, Mr., 936, 939.
- Hamilton, the marquis of, 918. Edward Hyde introduced to him, *ib.* comes into the queen's confidence, 919. found Mr. Hyde early in private with the king, 947.
- Hammond, Dr. frequented the house of sir Lucius Carey, 926.
- Hampton-Court, 1144.
- Harlow, sir Robert, sent for by the

- duke of Buckingham, and questioned as to the chancellor's conduct in appointing lord Willoughby governor of the Barbadoes, 1239.
- Harcourt, the count of, sent in an embassy from the court of France, 966. arrives in London, *ib.*
- Haro, don Lewis de, waits upon the chancellor, at Madrid, 983.
- Harvey, Daniel, a merchant, complains to archbishop Laud of the earl of Portland, 920. mentions Mr. Hyde to the archbishop, *ib.*
- Harvey, Mr. Justice, one of the judges of the common pleas, 917.
- Haslerig, sir Arthur, 936.
- Henderson, Alexander, the Scottish high priest, 962.
- Henrietta Maria, queen to Charles I, takes the marquis of Hamilton into her confidence, 919. endeavours to persuade Mr. Hyde to accept the office of solicitor general, 938. resolves to go abroad, 941. prevails on the king to pass the bill against the bishops, 942. goes to Dover accompanied by the king, 943. puts to sea, *ib.* description of the king's affection for her, 961. the king promises not to make any peace but by her mediation, *ib.* lands in the north, *ib.* forms a design of drawing the prince into France, 970. is displeased at the chancellor's going to Spain, 980. her strong opinion of his sincerity, *ib.* her reception of him on his return from Spain, 984. complains to him of the duke of York's conduct, *ib.* is much offended with sir Edward Herbert and sir George Ratcliff, *ib.* sends Mr. William Mountague to confer with the chancellor, 985. greatly incensed at the duke of York's marriage, 1010. congratulated by the privy-council on her return, 1011. receives the chancellor graciously, *ib.* greatly offended with the duke of York's behaviour towards the duchess, 1113. suddenly alters her behaviour, 1014. the reason of it, *ib.* is reconciled to the duchess, 1015. and to the chancellor, *ib.* brings a natural son of the king's into England, 1107. leaves England, 1139. prevents the duke of York's going to sea again, 1143. endeavours to bring about a peace between England and France, 1214. sends the earl of St. Alban's into England for that purpose, *ib.* forbids Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her suite, 984. on which the chancellor remonstrates with her, *ib.* her majesty's answer, *ib.*
- Herbert, sir Edward, attorney general, advises the king to declare the parliament dissolved, 968. his character, *ib.*
- Hereford, bishop of, sent to the chancellor to persuade him to leave the kingdom, 1244.
- Hertford, marquis of, 994, 1049. governor to the prince of Wales, 943. has leave from Cromwell to attend the king's funeral, 1049. inserted in the list of privy counselors recommended to the king by Monk, 994.
- Holland, 929, 934.
- Holland, earl of, 947, 953, 954, 955. surprises Mr. Hyde in conference with the king, 944. his journey to Beverley, 953. the king's reception of him, 954.
- Hollis, Mr., 948.
- Hollis, lord, appointed a plenipotentiary to treat for peace, 1220.
- Hopton, sir Arthur, 975.
- Hopton, sir Ralph, 965. committed by the commons to the Tower, 947.
- Hopton, the lord, 930, 972, 973, 975. his stay in and departure from Jersey, *ib.*
- Howard, lord Edward, 949, 951.
- Howard, sir Robert, 1197.
- Hubert, a Frenchman, makes a strange confession that he had caused the fire of London, and had been hired in Paris a year before to do it, 1187. upon which he is executed, 1188.
- Hull, 952, 953, 954.
- Humskerke, Laurence Van, advises prince Rupert to make an attempt on the island of Schelling, 1184.
- Huntingdon, 947.
- Hussy, sir James, one of the masters in chancery, brings the plague to Oxford, 1625, 916. dies in New college, *ib.*
- Hyde, Alice, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to John St. Loe, *ib.*
- Hyde, Anne, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to Thomas Baynard, *ib.*
- Hyde, Anne, daughter of the chancellor, appointed maid of honour to the princess royal, 990. is married to the duke of York, 1007. her character traduced by sir Charles Berkley, 1011. upon which the duke resolves to deny the marriage, *ib.* is delivered of a son, *ib.* accepts sir Charles Berkley's submission, 1014. the queen mother is reconciled to her, 1015. endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of her, 1180.
- Hyde, Edward, (afterwards earl of Clarendon,) born at Dinton, co. Wilts, 915. third son of Henry Hyde, 916. born 18th of Feb. 1608, *ib.* educated by a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of the parish, *ib.* sent to the university of Oxford at the age of thirteen, *ib.* designed to the clergy, *ib.* was to make his own fortune by his industry, *ib.* candidate for a demyship of Magdalen college, *ib.* recommended by king James to Dr. Langton, the president, *ib.* but was not chosen, *ib.* remains at Magdalen hall, *ib.* under the tuition of Mr. John Oliver, *ib.* chosen demy the following year, though there was no vacancy, *ib.* upon the death of his elder brother Henry, is sent by his father to the inns of court, *ib.* enters at the Middle Temple, *ib.* in consequence of the plague did not go there till Michaelmas term, 1625, *ib.* takes his degree of bachelor of arts, 917. character at that time, *ib.* arrives in London, *ib.* seized with a quartan ague, *ib.* goes to Pirton, *ib.* recovers, and returns to the Middle Temple, *ib.* gets acquainted with some officers, *ib.* retreats from their company without hurt or prejudice, *ib.* cannot bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, *ib.* loved polite learning and Roman history, *ib.* goes the Norfolk circuit in 1626, *ib.* arrives at Cambridge, and lodges in Trinity college, *ib.* seized with the small-pox, *ib.* put under the care of Mr. Crane, *ib.* in great danger, *ib.* recovers and goes to his father's house at Pirton, *ib.* receives the account of the death of the duke of Buckingham, *ib.* returns to his studies at the Middle Temple, 918. loses his uncle and patron sir Nicholas Hyde, *ib.* marries the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, *ib.* loses his wife within less than six months from the small-pox, at Reading, *ib.* employed in a cause in the court, *ib.* the occasion of his introduction to the marquis of Hamilton, 919. marries the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, bart. *ib.* betakes himself seriously to his profession, *ib.* laments his father's death, *ib.* his name mentioned by Mr. D. Harvey to abp. Laud, 921. is sent for by the archbishop, *ib.* the conversation between them respecting the complaints against the earl of Portland as treasurer, *ib.* is taken particular notice of by the archbishop, 922. in consequence receives encouragement in his profession, *ib.* method of spending his time, *ib.* some account of his chief acquaintance, 923. of these he looked upon Mr. Selden with most affection and reverence, 925. afterwards he forms a more intimate friendship with others, whose characters are given, *ib.* fortunate in his acquaintance and friendships in his profession, 931. the countenance he received from certain great men made him looked upon by the judges in Westminster-hall with great condescension, *ib.* reconciles abp. Laud to the earl of Hertford, *ib.* his free expostulation with the archbishop, *ib.* his reverence for, and opinion of him, 932. gives up his whole heart to his profession, *ib.* his family, three sons and a daughter, 933. reflections on the younger part of his life, *ib.* his own character, *ib.* chosen to serve for two places in the parliament of 1640,

viz. Wotton-Basset and Shaftesbury, 934. chooses to serve for the former, *ib.* his first speech in the house against the earl marshal's court, &c. *ib.* endeavours to prevail on abp. Laud to oppose the dissolution of the parliament, 935. is chosen to serve in the second parliament of 1640, *ib.* the parliament prejudiced against him, *ib.* renews his motion for the suppression of the earl marshal's court, *ib.* succeeds in abolishing it, *ib.* receives the thanks of the earl marshal for his treatment of his person on that occasion, *ib.* lays aside his gown, and wholly gives himself up to public business, *ib.* in the chair of the committee against the court of York, 936. and of that against the judges, *ib.* and against the marshal's court, *ib.* and of that concerning the lord president and council of the marches of Wales, *ib.* and of many other committees, *ib.* particularly of an enclosure, in which arose the first cause of Oliver Cromwell's enmity to him, *ib.* in the chair in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, *ib.* the discontented party make great court to him, *ib.* his conversation with Nathaniel Fiennes respecting his attachment to the church, *ib.* and with Harry Martin about the proceedings of the houses, 937. is sent for by the king, *ib.* their discourse, *ib.* undertakes for the care of the church and episcopacy till the king goes for Scotland, *ib.* receives the king's thanks by secretary Nicholas, *ib.* draws up an answer to the parliament's remonstrance, 938. reads it to lord Digby, *ib.* refuses to have it communicated to the king, *ib.* the king hears of it, and sends for it, *ib.* it is read before the privy-council, *ib.* and is printed, *ib.* sent for by the king, who offers him the place of solicitor general, which he declines, *ib.* refuses another post, 939. is intrusted, jointly with lord Falkland and sir J. Colepepper, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, *ib.* account of his disposition and principles, 940. sent by the parliament to the king with a message respecting the removal of the prince of Wales from Richmond, 943. prevails with the king to alter his answer to the parliament, 944. the king's discourse with him in the privy gallery at Greenwich, *ib.* is directed by the king to prepare answers for him to the parliament's declaration and messages, *ib.* is surprised in the midst of his discourse by the earls of Essex and Holland, *ib.* sends the king an account of a message from parliament respecting their privileges, 945. his advice thereupon,

ib. a design formed to send him to the Tower, 947. it is defeated, *ib.* required by his majesty to attend him at York, 948. disposes the lord keeper to send the great seal to the king, and himself attend the king, *ib.* begins his journey to York, *ib.* stops at Ditchley, *ib.* stops at Nostall, *ib.* sends the king an answer to the declaration of the 19th of May, *ib.* receives from the king the declaration of the 26th of May, and is desired to answer it speedily, *ib.* writes to the king from Nostall in favour of the lord keeper, 950. goes to York, *ib.* his reception there, 951. he reconciles the king to the lord keeper, *ib.* is required by the committee from parliament to attend the house, *ib.* his answer, *ib.* advises the king not to publish the answer to the parliament's nineteen propositions, 953. lord Falkland's expostulation with him thereon, *ib.* his conversation with the earl of Holland, *ib.* is exempted from pardon by a vote of the houses, *ib.* his conversation with sir Edmund Varney, 954. laments the loss of many of his writings, 955. declines the office of secretary of state, 956. accepts the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 957. is sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, *ib.* advises the king to comply with Mr. Pierrepont's proposal of making the earl of Northumberland lord high admiral of England, 960. delivers his opinion on the Scottish commissioners' request for the abolition of episcopacy, 962. attends the king to Bristol, 963. his office invaded by Mr. Ashburnham, 965. loses his dear friend lord Falkland, 966. refuses the office of secretary of state a second time, *ib.* is made one of the junto, 967. dissuades the king from dissolving the parliament, *ib.* is commanded to attend the prince into the west, 969. his conversation with lord Digby, concerning the prince's going to France, *ib.* he endeavours to reconcile the king and the duke of Richmond, 972. without success, *ib.* his last conference with the king, *ib.* his promise to the king at parting, 973. sets out from Oxford, *ib.* arrives at Bath, where he has the first fit of the gout, *ib.* arrives at Bristol, *ib.* goes to Scilly, *ib.* and from thence to Jersey, 974. receives the prince's permission to remain there, *ib.* remains there about two years, in great intimacy with sir George Carteret, 975. betakes himself to a continuance of the history begun at Scilly, *ib.* builds a lodging in Elizabeth castle, *ib.* receives great assistance from the king, in information and documents, towards his History, 976. publishes an answer to the parlia-

ment's declaration, that they would receive no more addresses from the king, *ib.* leaves Jersey, and goes to Caen, thence to Rouen and to Dieppe, *ib.* whence he embarks for Dunkirk, 977. [and afterwards proceeds to join the prince's fleet, *ib.* but is taken by some frigates of Ostend, *ib.* plundered and carried into that port, *ib.* is set at liberty, and promised satisfaction, *ib.* but cannot obtain it, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances, 978. goes to Flushing, 979. from thence to Middleburgh, *ib.* embarks aboard the Hind frigate to attend the prince in the river Thames, *ib.* is driven back, *ib.* arrives at the Hague, *ib.* is appointed ambassador to the court of Spain, *ib.* which is much murmured at, *ib.* but is himself much pleased with the commission, 980. sends for his wife and children to Antwerp, *ib.* attends the masquerade at Madrid, 981. and the toros, *ib.* is visited by the other ambassadors at Madrid before his audience, 982. demands his audience, 983. prepares mourning for himself and train to appear in at the audience, *ib.* changes his purpose at the request of don Lewis de Haro, *ib.* applies himself to learning Spanish, *ib.* leaves Madrid, 984. attacked with the gout at Pampeluna, *ib.* notwithstanding continues his journey, and arrives at Paris, *ib.* his reception by the queen mother, *ib.* speaks with her upon her forbidding Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her family, *ib.* her majesty's answer, *ib.* confers on the subject with sir Walter Mountague, 985. goes to Brussels, *ib.* has an audience with the archduke, *ib.* joins his family at Antwerp, *ib.* goes to the duke of York at Breda, *ib.* persuades him to return to the queen mother, *ib.* remains with his family at Antwerp, 987. his friendship with sir Charles Cavendish, *ib.* whom he persuades to go to England, 988. gives an account of his proceedings to the king, 989. his answer to the queen, who endeavoured to attach him to her interest, *ib.* state of his family at Antwerp, 1007. he removes with them to Breda, *ib.* declines the offer made to his daughter by the princess royal, of the situation of a maid of honour, 990. which his wife accepts, and he at length gives his consent, 991. answers Cromwell's declaration, *ib.* is one of the king's council at the restoration, 992. highest in office, and thought to be so also in trust, the reasons why, 993. his intimacy with the marquis of Ormond, *ib.* some intimations made to the king at the Hague of his being very much in the prejudice of the presbyterian

party, with advice to leave him there till he himself should be settled in England, which the king receives with indignation, *ib.* his request to the king to decline giving him any protection, *ib.* his resolution of withdrawing himself, *ib.* receives from the king the list of privy counsellors recommended by Monk, 994. by the king's desire has a conference with Morrice concerning this list, 995. takes his seat in the house of peers with a general acception and respect, *ib.* is thought to have most credit with the king, 1004. all matters referred by the king to him, *ib.* resigns the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 1006. he foresees a storm of envy and malice against him, *ib.* is informed by the king of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 1009. is struck to the heart with the news, *ib.* and breaks out into violent passions, *ib.* acts severely towards his daughter, and orders her to keep her chamber, 1010. his language upon this affair in the presence of the king, 1009. the king presents him with twenty thousand pounds, 1011. and creates him a baron, *ib.* is well received by the queen mother on her return, *ib.* his conference with the duke of York, and answer to his highness's threats, 1012. absolutely refuses to make any application towards appeasing the queen's anger, 1013. the queen suddenly alters her behaviour towards him, *ib.* the reason given him by abbot Mountague, *ib.* receives sir Charles Berkley's professions civilly, 1014. his reply to the king's reproof, *ib.* desires leave to retire beyond the seas, *ib.* is introduced by the earl of St. Alban's to the queen mother, 1015. who is reconciled to him, *ib.* not elated by the marriage of his daughter, *ib.* some instances of his disinterestedness, 1016. refuses an offer of crown lands, *ib.* declines being made a knight of the garter, 1017. also declines being made an earl, 1018. but finds he cannot prudently refuse it longer, *ib.* urged by the marquis of Ormond to resign his office of chancellor, *ib.* and betake himself wholly to wait upon the king, *ib.* which he refuses, 1019. anxious in council and in parliament to remove all obstructions in the way of the bill of indemnity, 1032. is consulted by the king concerning a treaty of marriage with the infanta of Portugal, 1036. whom he desires to refer it to a committee, 1037. appointed of the committee, *ib.* some overtures made to him by monsieur Fouquet, the French minister, concerning the treaty with Portugal, 1043. with which he acquaints the king, 1044. his integrity in

refusing money (ten thousand pounds) offered him by the French minister, *ib.* which he complains of to the king, but is desired by him to continue his correspondence, 1045. expresses himself warmly upon the duke of Ormond's being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1059. his vindication of himself with regard to Irish affairs, 1068. his speech to parliament previous to its being prorogued, 1084. is hated by the queen, 1087. the king imparts to him all his unquietness of mind respecting the queen, 1088. endeavours to reconcile their majesties, 1088—1092. but is unsuccessful, 1092. his interest declines on the appointments of sir Harry Bennett and sir Charles Berkley, 1101. however he still retains the king's favour, *ib.* opposes the war with the Dutch, 1104. the duke offended with him for it, *ib.* he satisfies the duke, *ib.* a full statement, in vindication of himself, of the proceedings relative to the sale of Dunkirk, 1105. his advice to the king regarding his natural son Mr. Crofts, 1108. is accused of high treason by the earl of Bristol, 1109. who absconds, 1110. receives proposals from the bishop of Munster for an alliance against the Dutch, 1123. which he communicates to the king, *ib.* beseeches the king to reconsider his appointment of lord Ashley to be treasurer of the prize-money, 1128. is obliged by the king to seal the grant, *ib.* measures taken to prejudice the king against him, 1129. opposes the bill for liberty of conscience, *ib.* speaks against it in the house of lords, 1130. and drops some unguarded expressions, *ib.* the king offended with him upon it, 1131. refuses to put the seal to the Canary merchants' charter till they had satisfied the city of London, 1136-37. a vindication of the chancellor in this affair, 1138. his reflection upon the attempt made on the Dutch at Bergen, 1149. substance of his speech to the parliament which met at Oxford, 1150. prospect of the king's affairs about this time, 1152. an attempt to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, 1154. the occasion of it, *ib.* is consulted by the duke of York respecting two suits he intended to make to the king, 1156. is against removing the earl of Sandwich from the command of the fleet, 1162. his conference with the earl, 1163. the malice of lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against him, 1165. is desired by the king to persuade the treasurer to resign, 1171. he earnestly entreats the king against it, *ib.* and at length prevails, 1172. his interest declines while the courtiers

affect to represent it at the highest, 1190. repeats to the king the conversation which had passed between him and lord Arlington on the king's course of life, 1191. he seriously remonstrates with the king, 1192. delivers his opinion very freely to the king in the private committee against the bill for examining the public accounts, 1196. which is soon reported to his prejudice, 1197. in the debate of the Irish cattle bill, he defends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments, 1204. he offends the lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon privilege, 1205. advises the king against putting the treasury into commission, 1223. is against the king convening the parliament during the prorogation, 1227. the storm beginning to arise against him, 1229. the house of commons incensed against him by the agency of Mr. William Coventry, *ib.* his fate hastened by the singular behaviour of the duke of Buckingham, 1230. the chancellor's advice to the duke, who had requested him to interpose in his behalf with the king, 1232. declines to give the king any advice as to staying the prosecution, till the duke had surrendered himself, *ib.* loses his wife, 1233. the duke of York sent to him to desire him to resign, *ib.* many persons of eminence interpose in his behalf, 1234. he attends the king at Whitehall, *ib.* the conference between them, *ib.* the king leaves him in displeasure, 1235. the duke of York interests himself in his behalf, *ib.* the great seal taken from him, 1236. the duke of Buckingham is much inflamed against him, 1237. and is persuaded to concur in the prosecution of him, *ib.* the king also expresses great displeasure against him, *ib.* and reflects upon him in his speech to the parliament, 1238. one Tomkins moves the house to thank the king for removing him, *ib.* unfair methods used to induce the house to adopt that motion, *ib.* persons sought after to furnish matter of impeachment against him, 1239. is accused of high treason by Mr. Seymour, *ib.* many advise him to make his escape, *ib.* which he refuses to do, *ib.* the king declares his belief in his innocence, 1240. which he afterwards disowns, *ib.* articles of the charge against him, *ib.* proceedings against him in the house of commons, 1241. Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, 1242. debates in that house concerning his commitment, *ib.* he is again advised to withdraw, 1243. but refuses, *ib.* the king offended with him for

the part he is reported to have taken with respect to the duke of Richmond's marriage, *ib.* his letter to the king upon that subject, *ib.* the king expresses a wish that he would withdraw, 1244. the bishop of Hereford sent to him to advise him to leave the kingdom, *ib.* which he refuses to do without receiving a command from his majesty, 1245. is urged by the French ambassador to retire to France, *ib.* but cannot be prevailed upon, *ib.* receives a notice from the king to withdraw, *ib.* he unwillingly obeys, and leaves the kingdom, 1246. he lands at Calais, *ib.* an instance of his generous behaviour to his enemies, *ib.* his address to the house of lords on his withdrawing, 1247. which is burned by order of both houses, *ib.* writes to the French court for leave to remove to Roan, 1250. which is granted to him, *ib.* on his journey he receives orders to leave France instantly, *ib.* appeals to that court in consequence of the ill state of his health, *ib.* the occasion of the ill treatment he meets with in France, 1251. proceedings against him in England, *ib.* a bill of banishment passed against him, *ib.* receives reiterated orders to quit France instantly, *ib.* again represents the ill state of his health to the French court, *ib.* the French king renews his commands for his speedy departure, *ib.* receives an express, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament against him, 1252. is advised by the duke of York to hasten his return, and undergo his trial, *ib.* for that purpose he returns to Calais, *ib.* where he is confined to his bed by a dangerous illness, *ib.* is notwithstanding required to leave the place, and retire out of the French territories, *ib.* the French court suddenly alters its behaviour towards him, 1253. and permits him to go to what place he would, *ib.* which is a great relief and comfort to him, *ib.* he returns to Roan, 1254. from thence proceeds towards Avignon, *ib.* is greatly abused, and almost murdered by some English at Eureux, *ib.* removes from thence to Bourbon, 1255. and from thence to Avignon, *ib.* where he is received with the greatest kindness, 1256. visits Montpellier, *ib.* where he receives great civilities and respect, especially from lady Mordaunt, *ib.* he writes a vindication of himself, 1257. his answer to the several articles of the charge against him, 1257—1275. enjoys great tranquillity of mind, 1275. two apprehensions discompose him, *ib.* first, the insufficiency of his fortune, *ib.* this was composed in the assurance he had of the affection and

piety of his children, *ib.* the second, the fear of being again persecuted in his banishment, *ib.* this removed by an entire acquiescence in the good pleasure of God, 1276. reflections on the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution against him, *ib.* which raise his confidence in God, *ib.* his reflections on his conduct from the time of the king's restoration, *ib.* blames himself for the vast expense he had made in the building of his house, *ib.* esteems himself most happy in what he calls his three acquiescences, or retreat from public business, 1277. his first acquiescence was his residence in Jersey; his second was, when he was ambassador in Spain; and his third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment, *ib.* in all these he had learned more, knew himself and others better, and served God and his country with more devotion, *ib.* a summary recapitulation of his life, *ib.* his writings, 1282.

Hyde, Henry, father to lord Clarendon, 915. of the Middle Temple, *ib.* master of arts in Oxford, *ib.* has an inclination to travel, *ib.* goes to the Spa for his health, *ib.* passes through Germany into Italy, to Florence, Syena, and Rome, 916. averse to the Roman catholics, *ib.* protected at Rome by cardinal Allen, *ib.* returns to England, *ib.* persuaded by his mother to marry, *ib.* marries Mary, daughter of Edward Langford, *ib.* lives a private life at Dinton, *ib.* his character, *ib.* serves as Burgess in several parliaments, *ib.* has four sons and five daughters, *ib.* removes to Pirton, 917. in a very dangerous state of health, 919. removes to Salisbury, *ib.* dies suddenly, aged sixty-nine, 920. character, *ib.*

Hyde, Henry, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died aged twenty-six or twenty-seven, *ib.* was master of arts in the university of Oxford, *ib.*

Hyde, Joanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to Edward Younge, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, of West-Hatch, grandfather to lord Clarendon, 915. his education, *ib.* a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, *ib.* married Anne widow of Matthew Calthurst, *ib.* had four sons and four daughters, *ib.* purchased the manor of West-Hatch, *ib.* where he died, *ib.* left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Robert, *ib.* and the impropriate rectory of Denham to his second son Laurence, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, *ib.* a lawyer of great

name and practice, *ib.* possessed from his father the impropriate rectory of Dinton, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Nicholas, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. treasurer of the Middle Temple, 916. afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench, 915, 916. death and character, 918.

Hyde, Nicholas, brother of lord Clarendon, 916. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Robert, of Norbury, co. Chester, great grandfather to lord Clarendon, 915.

Hyde, Robert, uncle to lord Clarendon, 915. married Anne Castilian, *ib.*

Hyde, Susanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, 915. married to sir G. Fuy, *ib.*

I.

James I. recommends Edward Hyde to Dr. Langton, 916.

Jermyn, Mr. Thomas, 974.

Jermyn, Mr., master of the horse to the duke of York, 1048.

Jersey, 973—976.

Ignoto, the illegitimate son of lady Roos, 1207.

Indemnity, act of, transactions in parliament concerning it, 1031. great delays respecting it, 1032. is at last passed, *ib.*

Inspruck, the archduke of, character of his minister at Madrid, 983.

Insurrection, danger of, 1099.

Johnson, Ben, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, *ib.*

Ireland, 973, 974. commissioners sent thence to the king, 1020. state of that kingdom, 1025. commissioners sent from different parts of the kingdom, *ib.* commissioners from the state, *ib.* deputies from the bishops and clergy, 1026. a committee deputed by the adventurers, *ib.* a committee from the army in present pay there, "for the arrears due to them," 1028. a committee from the officers who had served the king, *ib.* a committee for the Irish catholics, 1029. Monk still continues lord lieutenant, 1030. lord Roberts made deputy, 1031. affairs of, taken into consideration, 1050. church lands restored, and new bishops appointed, 1051. the Irish catholics favoured by the king, 1052. the different pleas of the Irish, *ib.* a great number of the Irish catholics who had served the king restored, 1055. the first act of settlement passed, 1057. three lords justices appointed, *ib.* partiality of the commissioners appointed by the first act, 1058. a second act of settlement transmitted to the king, *ib.* new commissioners appointed to execute it, *ib.* second act passed, *ib.* they publish their intended method of proceeding, 1060. their sentences

and decrees favourable to the Irish, *ib.* reflections on their proceedings, *ib.* too many of the Irish rebels restored to their estate, 1061. many who had served the king condemned by the commissioners, *ib.* many of their decrees made upon settlements notoriously forged, 1062. the defence of the commissioners on these proceedings, *ib.* their defence by no means satisfactory, 1063. their decree in favour of the marquis of Antrim extremely complained of, 1064. the difficulties of a settlement increased, 1066. by some acts of bounty from his majesty, *ib.* which are attributed to the earl of Orrery, *ib.* the different parties agree upon an expedient for a settlement, 1067. the third act passed, *ib.* the privy-council remonstrate against the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, 1108. Italy, infested by the arms of Spain and France, 934.

K.

Killigrew, Harry, 949.
Killigrew, Mrs., one of the maids of honour to the princess royal, 989. dies of the small-pox, *ib.*
Kingston, co. Wilts, 915.
Kyneton, co. Wilts, 915.

L.

Lambert, general, 1074. close prisoner in the Tower, 997. still has his faction at work, *ib.*
Lane, Mr., attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards chief baron of the exchequer, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931. upon the death of lord Littleton, is made keeper of the great seal, *ib.* dies in banishment, *ib.*
Langford, Edward, of Trowbridge, 916.
Langford, Mary, married to Henry Hyde, father of lord Clarendon, 916.
Langton, Dr., president of Magdalen college, Oxford, 916. king James recommends Edward Hyde to him, *ib.* pretends that the letter came too late, *ib.* receives reprehension from lord Conway for not giving more respect to the king's letter, *ib.*
Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 920. one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, *ib.* character upon undertaking that duty, *ib.* receives information and complaints from Mr. Harvey, *ib.* sends for Edward Hyde, 922. is reconciled to the earl of Hertford through Mr. Hyde, 931. his greatest want, a true friend, *ib.* Mr. Hyde's free expostulation with him, 932.
Lautherdale, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. his character and some account of him, *ib.* is made secretary of state in Scotland, 1022. opposes the re-establishment of episcopacy in

Scotland, 1023. strives to get it delayed, *ib.* his discourse makes some impression on the king, 1024. his design is discovered by the other commissioners, *ib.* and prevented, *ib.*

Lawson, sir John, 1038. much consulted by the duke of York, 1132. killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1141. his character, *ib.*

Lee, the lady, (afterwards countess of Rochester,) 948.

Leicester, earl of, 927.

London, the plague there in 1625, 917. the small-pox rages there in 1628, *ib.* opposes the Canary merchants' petition for a charter, 1137. a terrible fire breaks out Sept. 1, 1666, 1185. which continues four days, 1186. it decreases, *ib.* various surmises and idle stories respecting it, 1187. the inestimable loss sustained by the fire, 1188.

Lopez, Dr., a learned Jew and physician, 984.

Lords, house of, (see Parliament.)

Lorn, lord, son of the marquis of Argyle, restored, and created earl of Argyle, 1113.

Loudon, earl of, 927.

Low Countries, 927.

Lumley, the lord, 933.

Lutterworth, 948.

Lindsey, earl of, 1049. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, *ib.* lord high chamberlain of England, 1017. is created knight of the garter by the chancellor's means, *ib.*

Lionne, monsieur de, 1251. secretary of state in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 1043.

Littleton, lord keeper, prevailed upon by Mr. Hyde to send the great seal to the king at York, and attend himself upon his majesty, 948. out of favour at court, 950. Mr. Hyde reconciles the king to him, 951.

Liturgy, an account of the revisal of it, 1074. some of the bishops are against all alterations in it, *ib.* others press both for alterations and additions, *ib.* inveighed against by all the factious preachers of all persuasions, 1075. presented to the house of lords with the king's confirmation, 1077. consented to by them, *ib.*

M.

Madrid, 982.

Maltravers, the lord, 957.

Manchester, the earl of, 931, 936. made lord chamberlain, 1005. one of the committee appointed to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador concerning the king's marriage, 1037.

Mandevile, the lord, son of the earl of Manchester, 936.

Manly, sir Richard, 936.

Marlborough, taken by the king's forces, 958.

Marlborough, the earl of, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1141.

Martin, Harry, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, 937. owns himself a republican, *ib.*

Martin, sir Henry, 935.

Masquerade, the, at Madrid, description of it, 981.

Maurice, prince, disunion between him and prince Rupert, 963.

May, Thomas, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, 924.

May, Mr., presumes to speak lightly to the king of the fire of London, 1189.

Maynard, John, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931. afterwards bowed his knee to Baal, and swerved from his allegiance, *ib.*

Mazarine, cardinal, 1043.

Mervin, sir Audley, one of the commissioners from the state of Ireland, 1025.

Middleburgh, 979.

Middleton, declared by the king one of the Scotch commissioners, 1022. created earl of Middleton, 1023. proposes the rescinding the act of the covenant, and reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, *ib.* discovers Lautherdale's design of delaying it, 1024. and prevents it, *ib.* the king's commissioner in Scotland, 1110. is well received there, *ib.*

Molina, the conde of, ambassador from Spain to England, his character, 1213. endeavours at a separate treaty with Holland, *ib.*

Monk, general, recommends a list of privy counsellors to the king, 994. his reasons for doing so, 995. is made knight of the garter, and admitted of the council, *ib.* is confirmed by the king in all the offices before assigned him by the parliament, 1005. sworn also gentleman of the bedchamber, and master of the horse, *ib.* continues lord lieutenant of Ireland, 1030. resigns that appointment when duke of Albemarle, 1058.

Monmouth, duke of, (see Crofts.)

Montague, Mr., master of the horse to his majesty, dies, 1154. his brother appointed in his room, 1155.

Montpelier, 1256, 1275.

Montrath, earl of, one of the lords justices of England, 1176. his death, 1177.

Montrevil, 1250.

Mordaunt, Mr., created a viscount, 1002. unjustly censured and reproached, *ib.* a most zealous servant to the king, *ib.*

Mordaunt, lady viscountess, her great civilities to the chancellor at Montpelier, 1256.

Morley, Dr. (see bishop of Winchester,) 948. one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. frequently staying with sir Lucius Carey,

926. his character, 928. preaches a sermon at the coronation, 1048.
- Morrice, Mr., a particular friend of general Monk's, 995. his conference with the chancellor on the list of privy counsellors given to the king by Monk, *ib.* receives the signet from the king, and is sworn of the council and secretary of state, *ib.* his character, 1100.
- Mountague, Abbot, 1251, 1254, 1276. gives the chancellor a reason for the alteration of the queen's behaviour, 1013.
- Mountague, sir Sidney, 949.
- Munster, the bishop of, makes proposals for an alliance against the Dutch, 1123. which the king approves of, *ib.* engages to invade the United Provinces, 1145. the French deter the neighbouring states from assisting the bishop, 1174. who notwithstanding remains firm to his engagements with England, *ib.* but is at length forced by the French to make peace with the Dutch, 1175.
- Muskerry, the lord, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1140.
- N.
- Navy, state of, from the king's restoration, 1125. state of it at the commencement of the Dutch war, 1127. fleet prepared, 1132.
- Naseby, 973.
- Newark, 974.
- Newbury, battle of, 965.
- Newcastle, the king and the army retire thither, 974.
- Newcastle, the marquis of, 985.
- Nicholas, secretary, desired by the king to thank Mr. Hyde for his zeal in his service, 937. the king's character of him, 944, 957. is made master of the wards, *ib.* one of the king's council at the restoration, 992. character of him, 993. his reputation, integrity, and experience, *ib.* his trust with the late king, *ib.* his friendship with the chancellor, *ib.* appointed one of the committee to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador relative to the king's marriage with the infanta, 1037. his character, 1100. resigns his office of secretary of state, 1101.
- Norbury, in the county of Chester, the family estate of the Hydes since the conquest, 915.
- Northumberland, earl of, 955. Pierrepoint solicits the king to make him lord high admiral, 959. complains to the king of lord Ossory, 1048. proposes that the old Book of Common Prayer might be confirmed without any alteration or addition, 1077. known to be of the presbyterian party, *ib.*
- Nott, Mr., the Jesuit, Mr. Chillingworth's book against him, 926.
- Nostall, 948, 950.
- O.
- Oliver, John, fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, 916. tutor to Edward Hyde, *ib.*
- Opdam, admiral, puts to sea with the Dutch fleet, 1140. engages the English, *ib.* perishes in his ship, which is burnt, *ib.*
- Ordination, debates in the house of lords on the clause of the act of uniformity requiring episcopal ordination, 1077.
- Ormond, marquis of, is informed of the prince's arrival in the island of Scilly, 973. is restored to his estate, 1051. accepts the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, when duke of Ormond, 1059. upon the chancellor's regret at the appointment, he states to him his reasons for accepting it, *ib.* sets out for Ireland with the commissioners, *ib.* an attempt by Dick Talbot to assassinate him, 1193. the duke of Buckingham's hatred to him, 1197.
- Ormond, marchioness of, present at the duchess of York's delivery, 1011.
- Orrery, earl of, (see lord Broghill,) one of the lords justices of Ireland, 1057. the cause of some improvident acts of bounty in the king, 1066. and this without the chancellor's knowledge, 1067.
- Ossory, lord, eldest son of the duke of Ormond, challenges the place before the lord Percy at the coronation, 1048. is ordered by the king to desist from his pretence, 1049. sends a challenge to the duke of Buckingham, 1200. is sent to the Tower, 1202.
- Ostend, 977, 978.
- Oxford, 949, 954. the parliament commissioners in Oxford, 958, 961, 974. plague brought there by sir James Hussey, 916.
- P.
- Palmer, Geoffrey, attorney general, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931.
- Pampeluna, 984.
- Papists, the king meditates two bills against them, 1097. their imprudent behaviour, 1098. a design formed to have them convicted, *ib.* which they frustrate, *ib.*
- Paris, 974, 975.
- Parliament, the, in the year 1625, adjourned to Oxford in consequence of the plague, 916. called by Charles I. upon the rebellion in Scotland, April 1640, 934. dissolved in May following, 935. another called in November, *ib.* temper and constitution of it, *ib.* discovers a prejudice against Mr. Hyde, *ib.* make a recess during the king's absence in Scotland, 937. their remonstrance of the state of the nation, and its particular grievances, printed, 938. answered by Mr. Hyde, *ib.* pass and send to the king the two bills for granting the militia, and the removing the bishops out of the house of peers, 942. the latter bill passed by the king, *ib.* sends Mr. Hyde with a message to the king respecting the removal of the prince of Wales, 943. the king's answer delivered to the houses, 945. send a committee to the king about violating their privileges, *ib.* discomposed at the spirit and firmness of the king, 946. their conduct thereupon, *ib.* send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the king, 958. but with very restrained powers, *ib.* vote that no more addresses should be made to the king, 976. which is answered by the chancellor, *ib.* meeting of both houses after the restoration, 995. character of the house of commons, 996. and of the presbyterian party in it, *ib.* transactions in it concerning the act of indemnity, 1031. delays respecting it, 1032. at last passes it, *ib.* is adjourned, *ib.* meet again, 1035. raise several sums for the army and navy, 1034. pass several acts for the settling a future revenue for the crown, *ib.* vote to raise that revenue to twelve hundred thousand pounds, *ib.* give seventy thousand pounds towards the discharge of the coronation, *ib.* thank the king for his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, 1035. a new parliament summoned to meet, *ib.* it meets on the 8th of May, 1046. the two houses express their joy at the king's intended marriage, *ib.* passes an act to restore the king's friends, 1051. enters with alacrity upon all affairs which refer to the king's honour, safety, or profit, 1069. asserts the king's prerogative, *ib.* unwilling to confirm the act of indemnity, *ib.* prevailed upon by the king to do so, 1070. commons pass a bill for restoring bishops to their seats in parliament, *ib.* which is objected to in the house of lords by the earl of Bristol, *ib.* but which is passed, 1071. parliament is adjourned, *ib.* meets again on the 30th of July, 1661, 1073. pleased with the king's speech to them, *ib.* sent for to attend the king at Whitehall, 1076. his speech to them, *ib.* house of lords consents to the Liturgy as presented to them by the king, 1077. debates there upon the act of uniformity, *ib.* upon the clause requiring episcopal ordination, *ib.* the lords pass the bill, 1078. amendments made in it by the house of commons, *ib.* bill returned to the lords, *ib.* debates upon the amendments made by the commons, *ib.* the lords agree to most of the amendments of the commons, 1079. who submit to all the lords had done, *ib.* and so the king is obliged to confirm the bill, *ib.* great animosities in parliament about private bills, 1083. their

behaviour towards the king notwithstanding most respectful and dutiful, *ib.* the king's speech to them, *ib.* Feb. 18, 1662, the parliament is prorogued, 1084. meets again, Feb. 18, 1663, 1093. state of the house, and character of the two leading men in the house of commons, *ib.* an alteration in the management of that house owing to the intrigues of sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, 1097. remarks on the proceedings in parliament, *ib.* it grants the king four subsidies, *ib.* is prorogued, *ib.* sends to the king the articles of high treason brought against the chancellor by the earl of Bristol, 1109. favourable to the withdrawing of the English garrisons from Scotland, 1113. meet again in March 1664, *ib.* the king's speech, 1114. repeal the triennial bill, 1115. passes several acts, *ib.* is prorogued, 1116. meets again in November, 1665, 1118. measures taken to dispose parliament to grant supplies for a war, 1119. they vote a supply of two millions and a half, 1121. a bill presented to the house of lords for liberty of conscience, 1130. which is opposed by the treasurer and bishops at its first reading, *ib.* also at its second reading, *ib.* the chancellor speaks against it, *ib.* the parliament is prorogued, 1131. adjourned to Oxford on account of the plague, 1144. meets them, 1150. the king's speech to it, *ib.* grant a further supply, 1151. pass an act for attainting the English who resided in Holland, or continued in the Dutch service, *ib.* short review of its proceedings, 1165. a bill brought in for a supply, 1167. sir George Downing offers a proviso, *ib.* which is opposed by the solicitor general, *ib.* the commons pass it, *ib.* some of the lords remonstrate against it, 1168. at last is passed by the lords, 1170. the parliament is prorogued, *ib.* meets again Sept. 21, 1666, 1195. the king's speech, *ib.* discontents in the house of commons, *ib.* a committee appointed to inquire into the cause of the fire, 1196. a bill brought in for examining the public accounts, *ib.* an opposition in both houses, 1197. a bill brought in against the importation of Irish cattle, *ib.* the privy-council of Ireland remonstrate against the bill, 1198. and the privy-council of England divided in their opinions, 1199. the bill, after great opposition, passed by the commons, *ib.* as also the bill for inspecting the public accounts, *ib.* the propriety of dissolving the parliament at this time considered, *ib.* great animosities in the house of peers upon the bill against importing Irish cattle, 1200. the house of lords send lord

Ossory and the duke of Buckingham to the Tower, 1202. sends him again to the Tower with the marquis of Dorchester, *ib.* arguments against the Irish bill in the house of lords, *ib.* particularly against clauses in it derogatory to the prerogative, *ib.* these clauses are amended by the lords, 1203. the commons adhere to their bill, *ib.* an instance of the violent passion of the house of commons in this affair, *ib.* it is at length consented to by the house of lords, 1204. in the debates the chancellor defends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments, 1205. a bill of divorce for lord Roos brought into parliament, 1207. some of the lords against a precedent of this nature, 1208. but it is at length passed, *ib.* the king passes the Irish bill, *ib.* a supply is granted, 1209. parliament is prorogued with a speech, *ib.* is summoned to meet, 1228. meets, and is immediately prorogued, 1229. at the meeting of parliament the king in his speech reflects on the chancellor, 1238. both houses thank the king for his speech, and for removing the chancellor, *ib.* a charge of high treason brought against the chancellor in the house of commons by Mr. Seymour, 1230. articles of the charge stated, 1240. proceedings thereupon, *ib.* Mr. Seymour accuses the chancellor at the bar of the house of lords, 1242. debates in that house concerning his commitment, *ib.* differences between the houses, *ib.* the house of lords receives from the chancellor an address on his leaving the kingdom, 1247. which is burned by order of both houses, 1249. a bill of banishment passed against the chancellor, 1251.

Paston, sir Robert, moves for a supply of two millions and a half, 1121. which is agreed to by the parliament, *ib.* he is caressed by sir Harry Bennet and sir Charles Berkley, 1122.

Peard, 949.

Pembroke, earl of, 945, 954, 955. lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, 951.

Pen, sir William, much consulted by the duke of York, 1132.

Pendennis, 973.

Pennington, sir John, 946.

Percy, the lord, 1048.

Peterborough, the earl of, attends the duke of York as a volunteer, 1132.

Piercy, Mr., sent by the king for Mr. Hyde, 937.

Pierrepoint, Mr., sent by the parliament to treat with the king, 958. proposes that the king should make the earl of Northumberland lord high admiral of England, 959.

Pirton, in North Wiltshire, 917.

Pistoja, 982.

Plague at London, 1625, 916. extends to Oxford, *ib.* breaks out, 1666, 1131. increases in London, and spreads about the country, 1144. it decreases, 1173. the number supposed to have died of it, *ib.*

Poland, 934. ambassador of, at Madrid, his character, 983.

Pollard, sir Hugh, 1096.

Portland, the earl of, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 1141.

Portugal; defection of, from Spain, 934. the ambassador from that power to the Cromwells kindly received by the king, 1036. proposes to the king a marriage with the infanta of Portugal, *ib.* which is approved of by the king, 1037. treaty of commerce settled, 1039. ambassador goes into Portugal for further powers, *ib.* on his return is received coldly by the king, 1042. measures in Portugal relative to the marriage, 1045. not able to pay the queen's portion, 1085. permitted by the earl of Sandwich to send merchandise &c. to England, by the sale of which the money might be raised, *ib.*

Presbyterians; their party in the house of commons after the restoration, 996. its character, *ib.* urges the settlement of ecclesiastical government according to the covenant, *ib.* two instances of the disingenuity of the presbyterian ministers, 1034. the unhappy policy of making partial concessions to them, 1075. none of them gained by the concessions now made, *ib.* inveigh publicly in their pulpits against the Common Prayer, *ib.* complain that the king had violated his declaration, 1079. reflections on the behaviour of the presbyterian ministers, 1080. who have too free access to the king, *ib.* their importunity distresses the king, 1081. their great disingenuity, 1082. endeavour to raise discontents among the people, *ib.* but most of them at length conform, *ib.*

Privateers, too much encouragement given to them at the commencement of the Dutch war, 1127.

Privy-council, advise the king to conclude the treaty with Portugal, 1046.

Pym, Mr., recapitulates in the house the grievances, &c. in the state, 934.

Q.

Queen from Portugal arrives at Portsmouth, 1085. endeavours used to alienate the king's affections from her, *ib.* some circumstances which contribute towards a misunderstanding, 1086. the chancellor endeavours to reconcile the king and queen, 1088, 1089.

but is unsuccessful, 1092. the queen miscarries, 1179.

R.

Ramekins, fort of, 979.

Ranzaw, marshal, 977. receives the chancellor with great civility, *ib.*

Ratcliff, sir George, 984, 986, 987.

Ree, Isle of, 917, 933.

Regicides, the, tried and executed, 1033.

Rents, a sudden fall of, 1099.

Restoration, excessive joy throughout the nation upon it, 995.

Richmond, 943.

Richmond, duke of, 943, 963. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, 1049. made one of the junto, 966. the beginning of his friendship with the chancellor, 971. his character, *ib.* his coldness towards the king, and the cause of it, *ib.*

Roan, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253.

Roberts, the lord, some account of him, 1030. is made deputy of Ireland, 1031. his character, 1050. is offered the privy seal, *ib.* which he accepts, 1051.

Roman catholics, the true ground of the king's favour to them, 1071. committee of the lords to relax the penal laws against them, 1072. they disagree among themselves, *ib.* upon which the committee is discontinued, *ib.*

Roman catholics of Ireland send a committee to the king, 1029.

Rome, dangerous to all the English nation who did not profess themselves Roman catholics, 916.

Roos, the lord, eldest son to the earl of Rutland, moves for a bill to set aside the issue of his lady, 1206. a bill brought in for this purpose, 1207. some lords against a precedent of this nature, 1208. the bill obstructed by the duke of Buckingham, *ib.* but is at length passed, *ib.*

Rospigliosi, Julio, nuncio for the pope at Madrid, his character, 982.

Roths, the earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 1022. made president of the council in Scotland, *ib.*

Rupert, prince, disunion between him and prince Maurice, 963. offers his services to the king to command a fleet against the Dutch, 1118. expected to have been joined with the earl of Sandwich in 1665, to command the fleet then sent out, 1144. heartbroken at being refused, *ib.* commands the fleet jointly with the general, 1181. desires to go himself with part to meet the duke of Beaufort, *ib.* a neglect in forwarding an order to him to rejoin the fleet, 1182. he returns on the third day of a general engagement between the two fleets, 1183. the engagement lasts another day, and both parties claim the victory, *ib.* a third general en-

gagement, in which the English are victorious, *ib.* makes an attempt upon the island of Schelling, 1184.

Ruvigny, Mr., 1251.

S.

St. Alban's, earl of, introduces the chancellor to the queen mother, 1015. labours to prevail on the king to receive monsieur Bourdeaux as ambassador from France, 1035. sent into England by the queen mother in hopes of bringing about a peace between England and France, 1214. returns to France, 1215.

St. John, Mr., 938.

St. Loe, John, of Kingston, co. Wilts, 915. marries Alice Hyde, *ib.*

Salisbury, 1145.

Salisbury, earl of, 955.

Sandwich, earl of, 1038. admiral of the fleet, made ambassador to Portugal, to receive the queen and conduct her to England, 1047. takes possession of Tangier, 1084. a design formed of not giving it up to him, 1085. comes to Lisbon at a critical conjuncture, *ib.* finds the Portuguese unable to pay the queen's portion, *ib.* allows merchandise, &c. to be brought to England, by the sale of which the portion may be raised, *ib.* appointed to the command of the fleet which is sent out against the Dutch, 1144. declines making a second attempt upon the Dutch at Bergen, 1149. success of the fleet after the attempt at Bergen, 1158. not able to come to an engagement with De Ruyter, *ib.* but takes many of his ships, 1159. sir William Coventry's unjust reflections upon him, *ib.* his imprudent conduct after his return in rewarding his officers out of his prizes, *ib.* the king is offended with him, *ib.* the duke also highly offended, *ib.* his character, 1160. is very injuriously treated, *ib.* clears himself fully of the charge of misconduct at sea, *ib.* but confesses he had been much to blame in distributing any part of his prizes, 1161. with which the king is satisfied, *ib.* the king is persuaded to remove him from the command of the fleet, *ib.* but resolves to dismiss him with honour, *ib.* a conference between him and the chancellor, 1163. is sent ambassador extraordinary into Spain, *ib.*

Savile, sir George, the duke of York moves the king to make him a viscount, 1157.

Savile, sir Harry, 929. his edition of St. Chrysostom's works, *ib.* assisted in it by Mr. Hales, *ib.*

Say, the lord, 956.

Schelling, island of, an attempt made upon it by the English fleet under prince Rupert, 1184. the

chief town, and a large fleet of merchant ships burned, *ib.*

Scilly, isle of, 973, 974.

Scotch bishops consecrated, 1111.

Scotland, rebellion there in 1640, 934. state of affairs there, 1663, 1110. Middleton the king's commissioner well received, *ib.* proceedings of the Scotch parliament, *ib.* petition the king to restore episcopacy, 1111. they prepare an abjuration of the covenant, *ib.* settle a standing force, *ib.* upon which the commissioner returns to London, *ib.* Scotch bishops consecrated, *ib.* Scotch desire the English garrisons may be withdrawn, *ib.* the commissioner and bishops return to Scotland, 1113.

Scottish commissioners desire the abolition of episcopacy, 962. return to London with manifest dissatisfaction against sir Edward Hyde for his advice to the king, 963. commissioners sent to the king, Charles II, 1020. state of Scotland at that time, *ib.* some account of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. they all, except Lautherdale, agree to the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, 1023.

Selden, John, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, *ib.* looked upon with much affection and reverence by Mr. Hyde, 925.

Selkirk, earl of, chief of the Scotch commissioners, 1021. his character and some account of him, *ib.*

Seymour, Mr., accuses the chancellor of high treason in the house of commons, 1239. carries up the charge to the bar of the house of lords, 1242.

Shaftesbury, Mr. Hyde returned to serve for it, 934. but declines, *ib.*

Sheerness, the fortifications there inspected by the king, 1211. attempt made upon it by the Dutch, 1225.

Sheldon, Dr. Gilbert, one of Mr. Hyde's intimate friends, 925. frequently stayed with sir Lucius Carey, *ib.* his character, 928. warden of All Souls' college, Oxford, *ib.* communicates the king's sentiments to the chancellor at Derby, 976.

Sixtus V. pope, [has] great animosity to queen Elizabeth, 916.

Slanning, sir Nicholas, 1133.

Small-pox rages in 1628 in London, 918.

Soissons, the count of, sent by the French king as ambassador in the room of monsieur Bourdeaux, 1036.

Southampton, earl of, 994, 995, 1049. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, 1049. is inserted in the list of privy counsellors recommended by Monk to the king, 994. is made lord high treasurer, 1006. is sent by the king to inform the chancellor of

his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 1009. his friendship with the chancellor, 1015. one of the committee appointed to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador respecting the king's marriage, 1037. opposes the bill for liberty of conscience, 1129. the king is displeased with him on that account, 1131. an attempt to make a breach between him and the chancellor, 1154. the occasion of it, *ib.* an attempt to remove him, 1165. the king desires the chancellor to persuade him to resign, 1171. the plan laid aside, 1172. he dies, 1220. his character, *ib.* and general review of his life, 1222.

Spa, the, 915.

Spain, 979. war with England, 917. worries France, 934. infests Italy, *ib.* state of that court, and of the different ambassadors resident there, 982. endeavours to obstruct the marriage of the king (Charles II.) with the infanta of Portugal, 1040. extravagant behaviour of the Spanish ambassador, 1043. causes to be printed in English, copies of all the memorials which he had presented against that match, *ib.* for which he is desired to leave the kingdom, *ib.*

Spanish ambassador anxious to establish a peace between the English and the Dutch, 1153. and that they would join in a defensive alliance with Spain, *ib.* endeavours to make a separate treaty with Holland, excluding France, 1213.

Spencer, Mr. Robert, anxious to be appointed master of the horse to her majesty, 1154.

Stapleton, sir John, 949, 951.

Steward, Dr., dean of the chapel to the king, his character, 986.

Stuart family, their temper and disposition, 1180.

Sunderland, countess of, present at the duchess of York's delivery, 1011.

Sweden, 934. disposed to assist the English, 1212. sends ambassadors into England, Flemming and Coyet, *ib.* is desirous of a separate treaty with Holland, 1213. the Swedish ambassadors mediators at the treaty at Breda, 1220.

T.

Talbot, Gilbert, called colonel Talbot, his character, 1193.

Talbot, sir Gilbert, sent ambassador to Denmark, 1123. success of his embassy there, 1146.

Talbot, Richard, designs to assassinate the duke of Ormond, 1193. an account of his family, *ib.* the characters of the five brothers, *ib.* he is sent to the Tower by the chancellor's advice, 1194. but soon released by the artifice of the chancellor's enemies, *ib.*

Talbot, sir Robert, his character, 1193.

Talbot, Peter, a Jesuit, his character, 1193.

Talbot, Thomas, a Franciscan friar, his character, 1193.

Tangier, 1037. taken possession of by the earl of Sandwich, 1084. a design formed of not giving it up to him, 1085.

Tellier, John de, 1252. secretary of state in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 1043.

Temple, sir Richard, 1197.

Theobalds, 944, 946.

Thynne, sir John, the first of that name that was known, 915. left the house of Longleat to his heir, *ib.*

Tomkins, Mr., moves the house of commons to thank the king for removing the chancellor, 1238.

Toros, the, description of, 981.

Treasurer, office of, given to commissioners, 920.

Treasury, the, a proposal of sir George Downing to remodel it, 1165. the king resolves, on the death of the earl of Southampton, to put it into commission, 1223. commissioners appointed, 1224.

Trowbridge, co. of Wilts, 916.

Tyrconnel, earl of, hardly dealt with by the Irish commissioners, 1061.

V.

Van Trump, admiral, De Wit's malice against him, 1145.

Varney, sir Edmund, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, 954. killed at Edge-hill, *ib.*

Vavasour, colonel William, 979.

Vaughan, John, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, 923. his character, *ib.*

Venner, raises an insurrection of the fanatics in London, 1033. for which he and several of his associates are executed, *ib.*

Vic, sir Henry de, 987.

Villiers, John, duke of Buckingham, killed by John Felton, 917.

U.

Uniformity, act of, debates upon it in the house of lords, 1077. a clamour raised about the clause of assent and consent, 1078. passed by the lords, *ib.* amendments made in it by the house of commons, *ib.* debates thereupon when the bill is returned to the lords, *ib.* confirmed by the king, 1079. is in general well received, 1080.

W.

Waller, Edmund, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. his character, 927.

Wanstrow, co. Somerset, 915.

Warwick, earl of, 954. proposed by the parliament to succeed the earl of Northumberland in the command of the fleet, .

Wenman, sir Francis, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, 925. his character, 927.

Wenman, lord, 955. sent by the

parliament to treat with the king, 958.

West-Hatch, 915. purchased by Laurence Hyde, *ib.*

Whitlock, Bulstrode. 955. a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, 931. afterwards bowed his knee to Baal, and swerved from his allegiance, *ib.* one of the commissioners sent by the parliament to treat with the king, 958.

Williamson, Henrique, resident of Denmark at Madrid, his character, 983.

Willoughby, the lord, appointed governor of the Barbadoes, 1239.

Winchester taken by the parliament forces, 958.

Winchester, bishop of, (see Dr. Morley,) attended at the duchess of York's delivery, 1012. sent by the duke of York to the chancellor, to inform him of the king's wish that he would leave the kingdom, 1245.

Windsor, 947.

Windsor, prebendary of, given to Mr. Hales, 949.

Winston, Dr., 930.

Worcester, 974.

Worstenholme, sir John, 948, 950.

Wotton Basset, Mr. Hyde serves for it in parliament, 934.

Wren, Mr., makes public the king's declaration of the chancellor's innocence, 1240. which much displeases the king, *ib.*

X.

Ximenes, cardinal, the college and other buildings erected by him at Alcala, 984.

Y.

York, 944, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954.

York, court of, committee against it, 936.

Yorkshire, an insurrection intended there, 1113. but is prevented, 1114. some of the rioters executed, *ib.*

York, duke of, left by the king his father at Richmond, 946. sent for by the king, *ib.* his education neglected, 986. account of his conduct to the queen mother, *ib.* cause of his leaving Paris, *ib.* returns to Paris, 987. marries the chancellor's daughter, 1006. desires the chancellor not to be offended with his daughter, 1010. in consequence of sir Charles Berkley's insinuations against her, he resolves to deny the marriage, 1011. is incensed against the chancellor, 1012. grows melancholy, *ib.* is much pleased with sir Charles Berkley's confession of the falsehood of the charge he brought against the duchess, *ib.* to whom he writ that he would speedily visit her, 1013. pleased with the queen mother's change of behaviour towards him, 1014. proposes to the chancellor to accept of the garter, 1017. is dis-

pleased at his refusal, *ib.* made governor of the African company, 1102. procures a charter for it, *ib.* is in favour of a war with the Dutch, 1103. endeavours to persuade the king to engage in it, *ib.* is offended with the chancellor for opposing it, 1104. but satisfied by his explanation, *ib.* consults with three eminent sea-officers, (on the breaking out of the Dutch war,) 1132. he puts to sea, *ib.* many noblemen attend him as volunteers, *ib.* continually sends for reinforcements, 1139. returns to the English coast, *ib.* engages the Dutch, and gains a signal victory, 1140. the queen mother prevents his going to sea again, 1143. per-

suaded by Mr. Coventry to spend the summer of 1665 at York, 1144. consults the chancellor about two suits which he intends to make to the king, 1156. moves the king to make sir George Savile a viscount, 1157. which is refused, *ib.* desires that his secretary, Mr. William Coventry, may be admitted of the privy-council, 1158. which is granted, *ib.* highly offended with the earl of Sandwich, 1159. an attempt to raise jealousies of him in the king, 1180. his temper and disposition, *ib.* is sent by the king to the chancellor to desire him to resign, 1233. interests himself in behalf of the chancellor, 1235. asks the king

whether he desires to have the chancellor's life, or that he should be condemned to perpetual banishment, 1240. continues his services in the chancellor's behalf, 1242. unfortunately falls sick of the small-pox, *ib.* receives from the king an intimation of his wish that the chancellor would withdraw, 1245. which he communicates to him by the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*

Young, Edward, of Durnford, near Salisbury, 915. marries Joanna Hyde, *ib.*

Z.

Zested, Hannibal, ambassador from Denmark to France, his conduct in England, 1123.

THE END.

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